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# A DIFFERENT KIND OF INDIANS

## Negotiating the Meanings of "Indian" and "Tribe" in the Puget Sound Region, 1820s-1970s

by

Alexandra Harmon

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

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Abstract

A Different Kind of Indians:
Negotiating the Meanings of "Indian" and "Tribe"
in the Puget Sound Region, 1820s-1970s

by Alexandra Harmon

Chairperson of the Supervisory Committee:
Professor Richard White
Department of History

In order to show how formulations of Indian identity have reflected specific historical relations, this dissertation traces changing ideas about Indians in a region where Indians' relations with non-Indians have been unusually extensive and intimate -- the Pacific Northwest's Puget Sound basin. Characteristics of Indians there have altered drastically since relations with Europeans began, necessitating the continual redefinition of Indianness.

Recognizing that different ethnic groups depend on each other for their self-definitions, this history explains how some people came to conceive of themselves as Indians, then describes how Indians' self-conceptions evolved through give-and-take with others. The account begins in the 1820s, when Hudson's Bay Company initiated land-based trade with diverse indigenous people who lived in many autonomous but interlinked villages. It ends in the 1970s, when people organized in a score of tribes seized on a single treaty promise as the principal emblem of their shared Indian identity.

Several times regional peculiarities thwarted American efforts to deal with Indians of Puget Sound strictly according to national models. Even after they achieved hegemony late in the 1800s, Americans could not define Indians unilaterally. During

years when national policy favored segregating Indians by tribal groups, local aborigines' habits -- their reciprocal relations with outsiders, mobility, and economic independence -- had a countervailing effect. At other times, when the principal federal goal was to assimilate Indians, local Indians' contacts with non-Indians reminded people in both groups that important differences remained between them.

The cultural, biological, and legal lines around Indians and tribal groups remained indistinct and contested into the twentieth century. Those people who believed they were inside the lines, growing ever more diverse, tried to give their shared classification a satisfying meaning. Using public forums such as courts, they gradually formulated a history that identified them principally as descendants of people who had established a special relationship with American leaders through treaties.

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# INTRODUCTION

In 1980 the Suquamish Indian Tribe sued in federal court to settle a long-standing dispute about the waterward boundary of its reservation, which lies across Puget Sound from the city of Seattle. I accepted responsibility for prosecuting the suit two years later when I became the tribal government's staff attorney. The assignment required that I do some history homework, because the basis of the tribe's claim was a treaty the United States had concluded 125 years earlier with the Suquamish and many other Indians.[1]

Those whom the tribe named as defendants -- the State of Washington and several hundred individuals with state deeds to reservation waterfront -- responded in part by questioning the tribe's authenticity. The original Suquamish Tribe ceased to exist, they argued, a few decades after Chief Seattle signed the Point Elliott Treaty on behalf of the Suquamish and Duwamish Indians. The modern corporate body bearing the same name was a twentieth-century creation of the federal government. To prove these points the defendants offered witnesses -- a historian and an anthropologist -- who would tell a tale of native people so dispersed and transformed by their relations with American settlers that they failed to preserve the historic bases for their group identity.

If the judge had allowed the defendants' witnesses to testify as proposed, they would have stressed that most of the Indians did not honor their promise to move onto the reservation but stayed in their scattered villages or hung around growing American towns. Thirty years after the treaty, when the government assigned tracts of reservation land to individuals,

there were only fifty-one takers; and they were descendants not only of Suquamish and Duwamish people but also of Snohomish, Skagit, and Canadian Indians and of white and black Americans and Chileans. The defendants planned to argue further that the handful of persons who settled on reservation land did not organize a government until federal policy tempted them to do so late in the twentieth century. By that time they not only lived among non-Indians, who far outnumbered them on the reservation, but they also looked, spoke, and earned their livings like those non-Indians. How could such people, the defendants asked, claim historical continuity with the Indians who signed the treaty?

The Suquamish Tribe's governing council and I realized that we could not answer this question without challenging prevalent stereotypes of Indians. Fearing that a jury would consequently regard the modern Suquamish as something other than real Indians who deserved treaty benefits, we appealed to the judge to decide the issue as a matter of law, without time-consuming testimony. The judge obliged, declaring himself bound by an earlier court decision that had recognized the plaintiff tribe as the legal and political successor of the treaty party with the same name.[2]

The Suquamish boundary litigation was neither the first nor the last occasion in western Washington when someone publicly questioned a group's or an individual's claim to Indian identity. Just a year before the Suquamish Tribe filed its suit, five plaintiffs in a different federal case lost their bid to be recognized as the modern incarnations of tribes that signed the Point Elliott and Medicine Creek treaties.[3]

Contests about the authenticity of a professed Indian

identity are not peculiar to western Washington, but authenticity is an issue peculiarly associated with Indian identity. Around the United States people who claim to be Indians or members of Indian tribes have had to defend their claims with a frequency and rigor not demanded of other racial and ethnic groups. Their predicament has complex origins. Because of past efforts on Indians' and non-Indians' parts to incorporate each other culturally and genetically, there has long been a large body of people with dual or multiple genetic and cultural heritages. The people who have had some basis for accepting the label "Indian" have been very diverse. The United States government developed and has perpetuated a legal system that reserves certain valuable resources to Indians but lacks a single definition of Indians. In interaction, these phenomena have created discrepancies between legal or political definitions of Indians and the ethnic or racial classifications that people have ascribed to themselves and others.[4]

As the defendants in the Suquamish boundary case sensed, historic events and tangled human relations have made Indian identity particularly problematic in the Puget Sound basin. For more than 150 years the region's aboriginal peoples and their descendants have had extensive and intimate relations with immigrants and the progeny of immigrants, who constitute the vast majority of the present population. Most avowed Indians are now knit into the fabric of regional society geographically, economically, culturally, and genetically. In many cases little remains of the visual and behavioral characteristics that distinguished their ancestors from the English explorers who

named the area in 1792. After two centuries of colonization, Indians in western Washington group and identify themselves in ways that differ dramatically from the ways their indigenous ancestors did. When such people nonetheless lay claim to a distinct identity as Indians, basing their claim on membership in tribes they describe as historic entities, they raise intriguing questions: How did changes in so-called Indians' affiliations and identifying characteristics come about, and what factors determined the direction of change? Have people claimed and maintained an Indian identity in spite of or because of their extensive relations with non-Indians? As they have changed their habits and the nature of the groups they associate with, have Indians undermined or reinforced the identity they have assert?

Questions such as these, which lawyers for Indians may wish to avoid at trial, are questions that historians should be and are increasingly eager to address. During the last decade particularly, American historians have awakened to the importance and potential rewards of viewing race and ethnicity as historically determined human constructs. In fields where race was rarely if ever before historicized, scholars are more frequently asking how racial and ethnic groups have developed, been defined, and persisted. On the understanding that people perceive and style themselves as members of a racial or ethnic group in contradistinction to others, historians have waxed especially enthusiastic about investigating interactions along the frontiers of contact between formerly separated populations. Some historians of the American West, where such frontiers have been numerous and often enduring, have staked a credible claim to

a significant share of this intellectual territory. Their work bears out an argument Richard White made in 1986: the West is a uniquely favorable context for studying interactions that have generated new racial and ethnic enclaves.[5]

Nevertheless, scholars have barely begun to explore the implications of such insights for the history of Indians in the United States.[6] Along with White, historians James Merrell and J. Leitch Wright have shown how Indian nations and tribes have disintegrated, fused, and dissolved again in the cauldrons where traders, colonists, African slaves, displaced American aborigines, and indigenous groups have mingled. Yet their studies leave much still to do. The events they chronicle took place east of the Mississippi River and mostly before Indians' undeniable economic and political subordination to whites. Their studies do not follow Indians into the twentieth century, asking how more recent conditions have affected the salience, content, and expression of identities forged a century or more ago.[7]

This dissertation does look West, and it keeps looking long after the nineteenth century closes. It is a history of Indians in the Puget Sound region of the Pacific Northwest. Building on the premise that race and ethnicity are temporal social constructs, it presumes that significant processes of construction and deconstruction continue to the present. It therefore inquires into twentieth-century variations in Indian and tribal identities.

What began as a simple plan to relate the history that the judge did not want to hear in the Suquamish Tribe's case has thus become part of a larger, ongoing scholarly endeavor. The

resulting narrative confirms that modern Indian identity must and can be understood historically. In a broader sense it also responds to White's call for historical studies documenting and explaining the daily relations and symbolic activity that have created, defined, and redefined the West's many racial groups.

In order to answer questions the Suquamish case raised, I have had to analyze not one tribe's metamorphosis but the course of human relations in an entire region. The dissertation's focus is on the rough oval encompassed by running a line from the Strait of Juan de Fuca at its mid-point along the mountains west of Hood Canal to the southern reaches of Puget Sound, then southeastward to the Cascade Mountains at Mount Rainier, then northward to the Canadian border, westward to Point Roberts, and southwestward to the starting point. Although the Puget Sound proper is only a portion of the sheltered salt water within the study area, I borrow its name, as geologists do, to designate a larger region carved out by the Vashon glacier twelve to twenty-five millenia ago.[8]

The line circumscribes localities that are united by climate, geology, and political and economic history; but these commonalities are secondary reasons to adopt a regional focus. Certain practices of the aboriginal peoples and of their descendants provide the principal impetus for a regional approach. A network of relations among those peoples has not only bound them together but has also been a vital aspect of their understanding of themselves for the past two centuries.

This is not to say that the original human inhabitants of the Puget Sound basin regarded themselves as one people when this

history begins. On the contrary, circa 1820 they spoke several mutually unintelligible languages, and many of them were strangers and even enemies to each other. If asked to name the people with whom they identified, individuals in this heterogeneous population would typically have responded with words formed from the names of the villages where they resided in the winter and a suffix or prefix meaning "people of." Each winter village was cohesive and autonomous. In some places and/or periods villagers also conceived of themselves as members of a larger population with a common language, territory, or culture; but the defining characteristics and political significance of these larger aboriginal "tribes" -- also numerous -- is the subject of vigorous debate among anthropologists. The controversy reflects the fact that most Puget Sound villagers had multiple affiliations, multiple loyalties, and multiple ways to identify themselves to other people.[9]

The principal reason for individuals' ambiguous or multi-faceted identity was kinship relations. Throughout what is now western Washington native people, especially the well-to-do, aspired for economic and social reasons to marry outside their villages and even outside their language groups. Local communities therefore incorporated outsiders and dispersed some of their members to other communities, with the consequence that most villages had culturally and linguistically heterogeneous populations. Conversely, most persons had close relatives residing in numerous other places, and many persons lived in more than one village during their lifetimes.

The reciprocal courtesies of kin enabled individuals and

families to visit, move to, or use resources in their in-laws' territories, where they would otherwise have been regarded as potentially hostile strangers. On the invitation of their scattered relatives, many well-to-do people also took part in other communities' ceremonial life, including ceremonies validating their own and their extended families' achievements. Thus, through exogamy and a well-ordered system of intervillage relations, the elite of Puget Sound's aboriginal societies forged social bonds that transcended local loyalties.

Most people's familial ties were to communities in contiguous territories, and often they followed lines that persisted over generations. Between distant groups -- between people along the Strait of Juan de Fuca and residents of the central Cascade foothills, for example -- there were few or no relations. Yet a complete diagram of kinship links at mid-nineteenth century would have caught villagers in an unbroken web of overlapping lines extending from the southernmost reaches of Puget Sound to (and across) the international boundary in the north. Any attempt to subdivide peoples with such complex and dynamic social relations could therefore fail to account for important social ties cutting across those subdivisions.

As the following history shows, descendants of the indigenous peoples have been equally eager to establish ties to outsiders and at least equally mobile. Their mobility and their numerous social options long worked at cross purposes with U.S. Government efforts to sort them into a manageable number of tribes, assign them to a few reservations, and administer their affairs on a tribe-by-tribe basis. A historian who took tribal

subdivisions as givens would face frustrations for the same reason. Among other things, such an approach could screen out the many individuals -- some of them important protagonists in the historical drama -- who have moved from community to community, assuming or emphasizing different tribal identities in different contexts.

The circulation of people has entailed the circulation of intangibles such as technology, rituals, and ideas, thus promoting the standardization of many practices. Not surprisingly, anthropologists have seen so many similarities among the indigenous peoples of the region that they have designated it a single culture area. On the other hand, one author who concurs in this designation also asserts that no population of American Indians included a more diverse assortment of peoples.[10]

For the paradoxical statement that Puget Sound Indians were a single yet exceptionally fragmented and diverse people, several anthropologists offer a plausible explanation; and that explanation in turn has important implications for anyone undertaking a history of those Indians. The same exchanges of personnel, material items, and ceremonial visits that had the effect of standardizing some practices also introduced variations and encouraged innovations in local communities. Intervillage contacts were usually occasions for self-representations and comparisons that probably reinforced everyone's consciousness of group differences and stimulated local pride. At ceremonial gatherings, for example, members of each village group in turn performed their unique songs and dances and displayed the fruits

of their special relations with supernatural beings. Thus, one of the most important things the aboriginal communities of Puget Sound shared was a system of communicating and conducting relations with people they regarded as different; and by those communications and relations they recognized themselves as unique individuals and members of distinctive groups.[11]

Ramon Gutierrez says succinctly that Spaniards and Indians in colonial New Mexico fundamentally depended on each other for their self-definitions.[12] With specific awareness of the way that early nineteenth-century natives of the Puget Sound region also defined themselves through their relations with outsiders, I have made this axiom the guiding principle of my research and exposition. I find support for this premise not only in the work of historians but also in social scientists' theoretical and empirical studies of ethnicity.

Recently, the paths of historians and social scientists concerned with ethnicity have converged as the latter have rejected the view that "primordial" sentiments determine ethnic identity and have turned to historical data for insights into ethnogenesis. Most anthropologists and sociologists now conceive of ethnicity as the subjective product of specific social relations. In the past quarter century they have focused their investigations on the processes of group differentiation -- on what Fredrik Barth calls "boundary maintenance" -- and thus on the particular conditions and repercussions of differentiation. Anthropologists in particular have sought to understand ethnic identity historically, tracing the creation, perpetuation, or dissolution of distinct groups in a variety of geographical and

temporal settings.[13]

The comparative studies of two anthropologists, Manning Nash and Eugeen Roosens, highlight the reasons to view ethnicity historically. They illustrate that ethnic groups are not unchanging islands. Ethnic boundaries and the groups they enclose may endure while people flow across the boundaries in either direction. Groups may also persist even as their cultures change markedly. On the other hand, culturally homogeneous, isolated people may disperse or disavow a group identity. Findings such as these bolster my resolve to view "Indian" and "tribe" as categories created and continually re-created by humans interacting in historical time. Ties that both Indians and non-Indians may regard as "primordial," including the characteristic commonly called race, have in reality been defined socially and have always been open to negotiation and redefinition.[14]

As they have historicized ethnicity social scientists have asked questions that I also ask regarding the transformation and persistence of Indians in the Puget Sound region. What is the source of perceptions that some people belong in a class called Indians or in particular Indian groups called tribes? Why and how have people erected boundaries between Indians and others or between Indians of allegedly different kinds? Who has contributed to the maintenance of the boundaries and in what ways? Who has ignored boundaries or tried to eliminate them? When and how have people's claimed or imputed Indian identities defined their relations with others?

Both Nash and Roosens conclude that a scholar tackling

questions such as these should begin by looking at economic and political relations, particularly economic and political power differentials and the significance people have attributed to them. Nash asserts that modern nation states have produced and structured the entities we call ethnic groups. Roosens sees national ethnic policy and access to economic resources as the two most important factors determining whether people represent themselves as members of an ethnic group. Yet both men note that culture also influences how people interpret and respond to their economic and political environments. Culture refers to the beliefs and patterns of association that group members regard as right and natural. As their circumstances change people may invent or borrow a cultural heritage; yet even a synthetic heritage may become the basis for a genuine sense of distinctiveness. It can take on a force of its own.

I too assume that the most important determinant of Indian identity has been the relative power of Indians and non-Indians to control the settings where they interact and to structure each other's fields of action.[15] Demographics -- specifically, the numbers of people who have had reason to request or accept identification as Indians and non-Indians -- have been an essential part of this power calculation. Distinctive conditions arising from population distribution, economic activities, political institutions, or national policy therefore frame each of my eight chapters. In each successive political and economic context, the historical protagonists have pondered anew, debated, and revised the indicators and the implications of Indian identity in the Puget Sound region.

On the other hand, I do not assume that all the people involved in formulating Indian identity have thought about group power relations the same way. Instead, I recognize that they have interpreted relations in light of differing, culturally specific ideas; and the differences in their thought extended for many years to such elemental concepts as power.[16] Roosens's understanding of the power invested in a coercive state, for example, is common in his culture; it rests on assumptions that were foreign to indigenous people around Puget Sound, as I explain in Chapter 1. This kind of cultural difference has played as important a part in the evolution of Indians' ethnic identities as demographics and policy. For each historical period I have therefore assessed the balance of economic and political power in terms that people on the non-Indian side of the ethnic boundary would have understood; but I have also asked whether people on the other side would have shared that assessment and how they would have understood their power relative to non-Indians.[17]

Subjectivity of this kind -- a sense of power or powerlessness, difference or affinity -- is the essence of ethnicity. My aims include discerning the subjective aspects of Indian identity: I want to discover the various meanings people have assigned to the social categories they have helped to create. But questions about subjective matters lead a historian to what could be treacherous ground, especially when the members of one group have generated the bulk of the documentary record. Again anthropologists suggest where to look for answers. They show that people communicate ideas and feelings about their

ethnicity through acts and symbolic displays that are often visible to the historical researcher.

Barbara Myerhoff saw this performative aspect of ethnicity among aging Jews in Venice, California. She watched people from diverse European countries invent a common ethnic identity and validate their invention through activities such as storytelling, staging social dramas, and mounting a political protest. Myerhoff's subjects showed each other who they understood themselves to be and in the process convinced each other that they had a common heritage. Their displays are analogous to the intervillage ceremonies where aboriginal peoples of the Puget Sound area induced and proclaimed pride in their local communities.[18]

Group members may also create and express a sense of community by assuming or accepting certain economic and social roles. Names, language, folk histories, dress, and etiquette become symbols of identity as well. However, such emblems of ethnicity are seldom unanimously endorsed or enduring. They may draw the fire of people who want to mark, erase, or move boundary lines between groups. They come into question when people need to invest the categories inside the lines with new meanings. Fortunately for the historian, those who take issue with prevailing or proposed symbols of ethnic identity are likely to put on the record why they feel like arguing.[19]

Ethnicity is strategic, and its strategic aspect also fosters dialogues that appear in the historical record. Ethnic distinctions are often integral to the schemes that individuals and groups employ to survive, prosper, and undergird their self-

respect.[20] Inquiring into the strategic significance of measures that Indians and non-Indians have adopted in dealing with each other has been useful for me, among other reasons, because the circumstances that have compelled people to formulate a strategy for action have provoked disagreements about strategy; and the records of such debates afford glimpses into the debaters' conceptions of themselves, their kind, and other kinds of people.

On the other hand, people do not always act consciously as agents of an ethnic group. Ethnicity and strategy are abstractions that do not necessarily motivate individuals. As Dening notes in Islands and Beaches, changes in the composition and culture of a human society come about as numerous individuals make an infinite number of choices in a changed environment. Rather than choosing to be Indian or white, many persons have simply decided how to respond to new and often difficult situations. It falls to those who have a historical perspective to suggest how their actions helped to define or redefine ethnic boundaries.[21]

To document the subjective aspects of Indian identity I have looked not only for explicit dialogues about the nature and proper place of Indians but also for public enactments and other rituals that may have characterized Indians or tribes symbolically. I have focused particularly on occasions of economic, ceremonial, or antagonistic contact between people who were likely to perceive or want a boundary between them -- meetings at trading posts and workplaces, treaty conferences, battlefields, trials, and commemorations. Often identities and affiliations have been explicitly or implicitly at issue in such

meetings. Always emblems of identity have been on display.

On some occasions people have established literal lines of demarcation between the supposedly distinct peoples. The first Englishmen to encounter aboriginal inhabitants of the Puget Sound region did so. In memoirs of the voyage that brought him to the Pacific Northwest in 1792, Captain George Vancouver described how his crew separated themselves from seventeen native men who approached them on the eastern shore of the Olympic Peninsula: "On a line being drawn with a stick on the sand between the two parties, they immediately sat down, and no one attempted to pass it, without previously making signs, requesting permission for so doing." A fortnight later Vancouver's lieutenant sorted out the people on another beach by again drawing a line "to divide the two Parties, the Intent of which the Indians perfectly understood."[22] Establishing and symbolizing racial and cultural boundaries between so-called Indians and others in the Puget Sound basin has rarely since been so easy, but it has often been equally explicit and carefully recorded.

Members of an ethnic group do not direct their manifestos of difference or their displays of affinity solely at the people across the border. Ethnicity wears two masks, one donned for meetings with outsiders and another presented to members of the same group. To explain how a Comanche Indian community has persisted despite drastic disruptions of the original bases for community members' association, Morris Foster looks not so much at how the Comanches have defined themselves in relation to outsiders as at their internal mechanisms for generating and preserving a common identity.[23] When explaining the

transformation and persistence of Indian communities in Puget Sound, I, like Foster, have noted some internal processes of self-definition. Nevertheless, because Indians' interactions with other Indians have always taken place in the context of their relations with non-Indians, my priority has been to document relations between Indians and non-Indians.

A word about words is necessary, for the history I relate is in an important sense a history of certain words and their meanings. Vancouver and his crew not only knew where to draw the lines between Englishmen and Northwest natives but they had a single, ready-made label for everyone on the other side from them. "Indian," however, is not a term that the people so labeled knew. It does not even denote a category for which they had a word. And although it is a term they or their children eventually learned and used to identify themselves, it has not since been a self-defining or static category.[24]

From the moment I sat down to write a history of Indian identity I have been painfully aware of the limitations and hazards of the lexical tools at my disposal. In undertaking to trace the evolving content and uses of a gross social classification, and especially in adopting a regional rather than a tribal focus, I need general designations for the people who are my subjects. But the designations in currency now -- words such as "Indian," "tribe," or even "Suquamish" -- presuppose the existence of the very entitities whose conceptualization, creation, transformation, dissolution, or re-invention I propose to investigate. Any racial or ethnic labels tend to reify their referents. They have connotations of permanence, naturalness,

and indisputability, which are precisely the assumptions I want the reader to set aside. Yet how can a historian challenge antiquated ideas about race without using the antiquated language of race?[25]

A few historians, in order to remind us that race is a social and historical construction rather than a biological fact, have experimented with new terms. Their efforts -- part of the search for narrative forms appropriate to a pluralistic conception of history -- recognize that naming is an exercise and a source of power. The ethnic names used in most histories are those bestowed by the groups that have dominated the intercultural discourse.[26] Greg Dening, for one, makes an admirable attempt to shift the balance, narrating a history of colliding cultures in the Marquesas using the native people's terms for natives and outsiders. I would emulate him if data for the Northwest permitted.[27] There is no evidence, however, that the indigenous peoples of Puget Sound had a comparable single name for themselves until they assumed the name "Indian." Nor have they agreed on a single name for non-Indians.

To consider using the names for non-Indians that have had currency in various periods is to realize how such labels can obscure the diversity of the people and the elasticity of the categories they designate. For instance, by 1850 indigenous people throughout the Northwest had grouped most colonists into two broad categories -- King George men and Bostons -- which historians have translated as "Englishmen" and "Americans." Among the former there were people from Hawaii, Iroquoia, and French Canada. The latter soon included nationals of many

European countries and eventually of China, the Philippines, and Latin America. It is easy to see that the terms "King George men" and "Bostons," as well as the common reference to non-Indians as "whites," are overgeneralizations. By the same token, using the label "Indians" or even "Suquamish Indians" downplays the fact that the chosen term refers to a heterogeneous collection of people, many of whom at any given time have been moving in both directions across the porous boundaries of their supposed group.

I can circumvent some limitations of our vocabulary of race and ethnicity with the help of qualifying phrases. Occasionally, therefore, I remind readers that ethnic labels may be inapt or over-broad by using qualifiers such as "so-called Indians" or "people who identified themselves as Indians." But these devices -- too cumbersome to employ at every possible opportunity -- do not alleviate entirely my anxiety about discussing inchoate, contested, impermanent entities in a language that implies certainty and continuity. Narrating this history of Indianness has sometimes seemed like drawing lines in sand. No sooner have I inscribed a term for the people I am delineating than the winds of change have altered its location or blurred its definition.

Virtually every reference I make to a population's or a person's race or ethnicity has required that I consciously choose from a limited assortment of unsatisfactory terms. On many occasions I have selected a word or phrase appropriate for people who did not (yet) label themselves as a unit -- "indigenous peoples," for example. In most circumstances, however, I apply an ethnic or racial label, trying as I do so to follow a simple

principle. I use the word either because the subject of the sentence used it at the time of the events narrated or because the people so labeled would likely have designated themselves that way then, at least in interracial or intercultural relations. While bearing constantly in mind the deceptive nature of any collective name, a reader should therefore construe each reference to Indians, for example, as carrying an implicit qualification -- "the people they called Indians" or "people who thought of themselves as Indians." Some of the epithets I revive by adopting this rule, such as "half breed," offend modern sensibilities. No doubt I have not been careful enough and have occasionally denoted or described groups of people in ways that tend to negate my stated purposes and assumptions. But the reader who notices and regrets such lapses is at least approaching this history with the consciousness that it hopes to promote.[28]

So limited is the historical scholarship concerning Indians in western Washington that my interpretation of the subject is necessarily preliminary and general. In order to analyze ethnic relations and explain the shifting markers of Indian identity I have had first to assemble basic economic and political information that I had hoped to find more definitively covered in other scholars' work. Furthermore, the field of activity that influences and reflects ethnic strategies is very large. In selecting some subjects for investigation or emphasis I have had to neglect others of arguably equal importance. Given the opportunity to expand on this analysis, I would examine four aspects of the Indian experience that get short shrift here:

schools, anthropologists, family relations, and language.

There can be little doubt that schools, particularly the boarding schools where so many children identified as Indians spent their formative years, had a profound effect on Indians' conceptions of themselves and their role in the broader society. It would be well worth reviewing images of Indians conveyed in school textbooks or curricula. It is even more important to investigate the role of common boarding school experiences in altering patterns of intercommunity relations. Yet I do little more here than allude to the schools as intended agents of Indian resocialization.[29] Similarly, anthropologists have helped to shape Indians' present sense of themselves in ways I do not explain. Besides stimulating feelings of pride in those elderly people whom they consulted, as I indicate, some ethnographers of the early and mid-twentieth century produced texts and gave public testimony that undoubtedly influenced, either directly or indirectly, the way people have since characterized their claimed Indian heritages. Nevertheless, I have had to leave for another time the pursuit of this line of thought.[30]

From the recorded reminiscences of people born in the mid-nineteenth century who have identified themselves as Indians, it is evident that they thought of themselves first and foremost as members of particular family lineages. Most provided information about the relations among Indians around the Puget Sound in concrete personal terms, describing the family ties and specific errands that linked them to other communities.[31] To develop a fuller picture than I present of the ways family ties persisted or loosened requires a look at records besides censuses and

enrollment reports. Many of the genealogical records and probate case files that would be useful for this purpose are subject to government privacy protections, but it would be worth gaining access to more such records than I have done and perhaps subjecting them to quantitative analysis.

Finally, convinced that language both structures thought and reflects the structure of its users' thought, I have regretted throughout this project my ignorance of the indigenous languages of the study area. Sergei Kan, among many others, has shown that language can be a window into the values and meanings that guide a people's reaction to change, including change associated with intercultural contact. As Kan, Stephen Gudeman, and Marshall Sahlins argue, different peoples often interpret their relations with each other by reference to very different metaphors, and those metaphors determine how they understand or misunderstand each other.[32] I have tried to allow for such miscommunication when I speculate that Puget Sound Indians and their colonizers long conceived of power differently. A deeper analysis of relations between Indians and non-Indians would surely be possible if I were familiar with the relational framework and analogic associations reflected in the aboriginal peoples' original languages.[33]

From Hudson's Bay Company journals, Bureau of Indian Affairs records, ethnographies, tribal archives, periodicals, photographs, diaries, memoirs, and other documents, I have constructed a story with several interwoven subplots. Like Vancouver and his colleagues, Europeans and diverse Americans in the story strived repeatedly to keep the people they called

Indians at a comfortable distance, to define a boundary across which two distinct peoples could conduct orderly relations. Yet many of the Europeans and Americans as well as many Indians approached each other, hoping to benefit from relations, and repeatedly trampling the proposed boundary lines in the process. Their relations therefore gave rise in turn to new or renewed urges to separate the intertwined, to define peoples, and to indicate clearly each people's special characteristics and status.

For native villagers of the early nineteenth century, approaching and crossing a perceived boundary between themselves and certain other kinds of beings, while dangerous, could be a source of personal power and thus a way of establishing or reaffirming an estimable persona. As long as natives or their heirs believed that relations with King George men and Bostons might be similarly empowering -- and many did for most of 150 years -- they did not treat the intruders as a threat to their existence as peoples. Instead, they saw relations with these outsiders as an opportunity to validate their existence. Many non-Indians also expected to realize their power and peoplehood through relations with Indians, but most aimed to do so by breaking rather than tapping the power of the Other.

Establishing orderly relations required a measure of understanding, and the people who met at what they perceived as a cultural border usually made sincere efforts to discern their counterparts' thoughts. They could only interpret the others' signs, however, according to concepts and values they had learned to regard as natural and right. Although there were congruities

in the peoples' concepts and values, there were also important differences; and misunderstandings were inevitable. As Richard White shows astutely in The Middle Ground, mutual misunderstandings can become the basis for new conventions that govern activity in the realm where different peoples interact. This dynamic helps to explain the seeming paradox that prolonged, extensive interaction has simultaneously reduced many differences between Indians and non-Indians and has prompted repeated assertions that differences remain.

Before the end of the nineteenth century, non-Indian Americans acquired political and economic hegemony in the region and from that hegemony drew the power to set many of the terms of interaction and to erect important markers along the boundary with Indians. Yet the people who found themselves on the other side of the line did not passively mirror the image of Indians that non-Indians held up for them to see. Instead they often resisted the definitions that others wanted to impose, developing and promoting their own conceptions of themselves, of their important affiliations, and of their relations to people who were not Indians. On some occasions they were able to secure non-Indians' acceptance of their preferred self-definition by seizing and using skillfully the very tools -- laws and courts, for example -- with which non-Indians expected to push them into a more restrictive mold.

In 1973 a representative of the Lummi Tribe told a federal judge, "The U.S. has tried to build a glove to fit us into, and we haven't been able to fit because there is a cultural value difference."[34] I like the image of wriggling fingers that the

Lummi man's words evoke; for the people whom non-Indians have tried to encase in stereotypical garb are many, and they have moved independently of each other. Indeed, they have moved in divergent directions. Moreover, the different wriggling digits often touched not an American fist but the equally animated fingers of a diverse non-Indian population. When indicating the paths Indians should take if they want to establish good relations, the many-fingered non-Indians pointed in different directions.

This narrative of intercultural relations begins circa 1827 with the appearance in Puget Sound of Hudson's Bay Company traders intent on instituting land-based trade with the region's residents. It ends 150 years later with a federal court ruling that resolved long-standing questions about Indian identity and its perquisites. At either extreme of this time period the people called Indians were likely to identify themselves to outsiders as members of groups that had particular resources, particular common ancestors and histories, unique ways of doing things, and special partnerships with beings who had power to ensure their health and prosperity. Yet in the intervening century and a half, the resources, histories, customs, and sustaining partnerships that demarcated Indian groups changed as much as the populations they encompassed.

The transition from a world composed of interconnected, autonomous villages to a world where Indians were distinguished from non-Indians by their membership in politically and geographically defined corporate tribes was slow, halting, and incomplete. As always in history, actions had consequences the

actors did not anticipate. Non-Indian Americans have usually overlooked significant differences in order to lump assorted people in a single racial or tribal category; but the ironic effect of many of their actions has been to increase the cultural, social, and genetic diversity of the people called Indians. American government measures intended to fuse scattered Indian communities have just as often severed or frayed ties among people who thought of themselves as Indians.

Similarly, the strategic choices of aboriginal peoples and their descendants have frequently had surprising results. Some who declined to mold themselves to fit the glove the government held out have found themselves classified as less Indian than others who set out consciously to become like whites. It is not just non-Indians who have made such classifications; self-identified Indians, too, have claimed a right to classify each other. Yet in the Puget Sound area Indians, more often than non-Indians, have recognized that there there are many ways to be Indian and have maintained fraternal relations with each other across the geographical, legal, and political lines that government officials have run around them.

NOTES TO INTRODUCTION

1. United States and Suquamish Indian Tribe v. Dorwin Aam, et al., United States District Court for the Western District of Washington, No. CV 82-1522. I have summarized pleadings, briefs, and evidence in files at the Suquamish Tribal Center.

2. For a meditation on the difficulties of unseating jurors' notions about culture and culture change as they affect perceptions of Indianness, see James Clifford, "Identity in Mashpee," in The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth Cntury Ethnography, Literature, and Art (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988), 277-346.

3. United States et al. v. State of Washington et al., 476 Federal Supplement 1101 (United States District Court for the Western District of Washington, 1979).

4. C. Matthew Snipp, "Some Observations about Racial Boundaries and the Experiences of American Indians," unpublished paper presented at a seminar entitled "Comparative Study of Ethnicity and Nationalism," University of Washington, April 22, 1993; James A. Clifton, Being and Becoming Indian: Biographical Studies of North American Frontiers (Chicago: The Dorsey Press, 1989), 17-18, 27.

5. Richard White, "Race Relations in the American West," American Quarterly 38 (1986): 396-416; Sarah Deutsch, "Landscape of Enclaves: Race Relations in the West, 1865-1990," in Under Open Skies: Rethinking America's Western Past, eds. Miles, Gitlin, Cronon, et al. (New York, W.W. North & Company, 1992), 110-131; Peggy Pascoe, "Race, Gender, and Intercultural Relations: The Case of Interracial Marriage," Frontiers 12 (1991): 5-18; Ramon A. Gutierrez, When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away: Marriage, Sexuality, and Power in New Mexico, 1500-1846 (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1991), xvii-xviii; James Gregory, American Exodus: The Dust Bowl Migration and Okie Culture in California (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989); George J. Sanchez, Becoming Mexican American (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993). A useful work by a geographer who describes the process of racialization historically is Kay J. Anderson, Vancouver's Chinatown: Racial Discourse in Canada, 1875-1980 (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991).

6. Historians of Latin America have built upon such insights for a longer time. They include Carl N. Degler, Neither Black Nor White: Slavery and Race Relations in Brazil and the United States (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1971); John K. Chance, Race and Class in Colonial Oaxaca (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1978); Magnus Morner, Race Mixture in the History of Latin America (New York: Little, Brown & Company, 1967); Magnus Morner, ed., Race and Class in Latin America (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970); Richard Graham, ed., The Idea of Race in Latin America, 1870-1940 (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990).

7. James H. Merrell, The Indians' New World: Catawbas and Their Neighbors from European Contact through the Era of Removal (New York: W.W. Norton Company, 1989); J. Leitch Wright, Jr., Creek & Seminoles: The Destruction and Regeneration of the Muscogulge People (Omaha: University of Nebraska Press, 1986); Richard White, The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815 (New York and London: Cambridge University Press, 1991). See also, Jacqueline Peterson and Jennifer S.H. Brown, The New Peoples: Being and Becoming Metis in North America (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985); Melissa L. Meyer, "Signatures and Thumbprints: Ethnicity among the White Earth Anishinaabeg, 1889-1920," Social Science History 14 (1990): 305-45. For an anthropologist's study of issues of race and Indian identity arising from historic dislocations and intercultural relations, see Karen Blu, The Lumbee Problem: The Making of an American Indian People (New York and London: Cambridge University Press, 1980).

8. Richard White, Land Use, Environment, and Social Change: The Shaping of Island County, Washington (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1980), 8 and sources cited there.

9. Ethnographies for this region are relatively scarce. Most attempt to reconstruct the culture of particular language or territorial groups at or before the time of contact with non-Indians. Even though this objective presupposes the existence of a discrete people, all the resulting profiles describe societies that participated to some extent in the regional network described here. June McCormick Collins, Valley of the Spirits: The Upper Skagit Indians of Western Washington (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1974); William W. Elmendorf, The Structure of Twana Culture: Pre-White Tribal Lifeways on Washington's Hood Canal (Monographic Supplement No. 2, Research Studies, a Quarterly Publication of Washington

State University XXVIII, 1960; reprint, Pullman: Washington State University, 1992); Erna Gunther, "Klallam Ethnography," University of Washington Publications in Anthropology 1 (1927); Hermann K. Haeberlin and Erna Gunther, "Indians of Puget Sound," University of Washington Publications in Anthropology 4 (1930); Marian W. Smith, "The Coast Salish of Puget Sound," American Anthropologist 43 (1941): 197-211; Marian W. Smith, The Puyallup-Nisqually (Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology 32, 1940; reprint, New York: AMS, 1969); Sally Snyder, "Skagit Society and its Existential Basis: An Ethnofolkloristic Reconstruction," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington, 1964); Bernhard J. Stern, The Lummi Indians of Northwest Washington (New York: Columbia University Press, 1934); Wayne Suttles, Coast Salish Essays (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1987); Suttles and Barbara Lane, "Southern Coast Salish," in Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 7, ed. William C. Sturtevant (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1990), 482-502; Ruth M. Underhill, Indians of the Pacific Northwest (Riverside, California: Sherman Institute Press, 1945).

Additional anthropological analyses that support or illustrate points summarized here include E.J. Allen, Jr., "Intergroup Ties and Exogamy among the Northwest Coast Salish," Northwest Anthropological Research Notes 10 (1976): 168; Colin Twedell, "A Componential Analysis of the Criteria Defining an Indian 'Tribe' in Western Washington," in Western Washington Socio-Economics: Papers in Honor of Angelo Anastasio, eds. Herbert C. Taylor, Jr., and Garland F. Grabert (Bellingham: Western Washington University, 1984), 61-80; Findings and Opinions of the Indian Claims Commission, Coast Salish and Western Washington Indians (Garland Publishing, 1974); Kenneth D. Tollefson, "Political Organization of the Duwamish," Ethnology (1989): 135-149; Daniel Boxberger and Bruce G. Miller, "Creating Chiefdoms: The Puget Sound Case" (unpublished manuscript, 1993); Bruce G. Miller, "Centrality and Measures of Regional Structure in Aboriginal Western Washington," Ethnology 28 (1989): 265-276; William W. Elmendorf, "Coast Salish Status Ranking and Intergroup Ties," Southwestern Journal of Anthropology 27 (1971): 353-380; Kenneth D. Tollefson, "The Snoqualmie: A Puget Sound Chiefdom," Ethnology 26 (1987): 121-136; Astrida Onat, "The Interaction of Kin, Class, Marriage, Property Ownership and Residences with Respect to Resource Locations among the Coast Salish of the Puget Sound Lowland," Northwest Anthropological Research Notes 18 (1984): 86-96; June Collins, "Multilineal Descent: A Coast Salish Strategy," in Currents in Anthropology, ed. Robert Hinshaw (The Hague: Mouton, 1979), 243-254.

10. Underhill, Indians of the Pacific Northwest, 10; Smith, The Puyallup-Nisqually, 3-4, 6, 23, 201; George Gibbs, "Tribes of Western Washington and Northwestern Oregon," Contributions to North American Ethnology 1 (1877): 163; Arthur Ballard, "Some Tales of the Southern Puget Sound Salish," University of Washington Publications in Anthropology 2 (1927): introduction; Erna Gunther, "The Indian Shaker Church," Indians of the Urban Northwest, ed. Marian W. Smith (Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology 36, 1949; reprint, New York: AMS, 1969), 57.

11. For a similar explanation of diversity and regional bonds among Northwest Coast Indians, see Yvonne P. Hajda, "Regional and Social Organization in the Greater Lower Columbia, 1792-1830," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington, 1984).

12. Gutierrez, When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away, xvii-xviii.

13. Fredrik Barth, Ethnic Groups and Boundaries (Boston: Little, Brown, 1969), 9-38; Manning Nash, The Cauldron of Ethnicity in the Modern World (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989); Eugeen E. Roosens, Creating Ethnicity: The Process of Ethnogenesis (London and Newbury Park: Sage Publications, 1989). The essay usually cited for the argument that primordial sentiments or ties bind people into ethnic groups is Clifford Geertz, "The Integrative Revolution: Primordial Sentiments and Civil Politics in the New States," in Old Societies and New States: The Quest for Modernity in Asia and Africa, ed. Geertz (New York: Free Press, 1963), 105-57. Debate continues about whether universal categories of thought underlie all ethnicities. Charles Keyes describes ethnicity as a culturally and historically determined interpretation of descent -- both cultural and biological descent. Charles Keyes, "The Dialectics of Ethnic Change," in Ethnic Change, ed. Keyes (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1981), 4-30, 5.

14. For a recent restatement of prevailing ethnicity theory by a scholar of literary criticism and theory, see Frank Shuffelton, ed., A Mixed Race: Ethnicity in Early America (New York and London: Oxford University Press, 1993), 7-8: "Scholars see at the center of ethnicity a dynamic relation. So it manifests itself differently in what might seem to be the same cultural group at different periods."

15. These are two of four "modes" of power that Eric Wolf lists in "Distinguished Lecture: Facing Power -- Old

Insights, New Questions," American Anthropologist (1990): 585.

16. Many anthropological and philosophical works assert that different peoples act on different constructions of reality, and they discuss some of the implications of this fact for cross-cultural relations. I have found the following useful: Tzvetan Todorov, The Conquest of America: The Question of the Other (New York: Harper & Row, 1984); Marshall Sahlins, Historical Metaphors and Mythical Realities: Structure in the Early History of the Sandwich Islands Kingdom (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1981), 5-8; Daniel T. Linger, "The Hegemony of Discontent," American Ethnologist 20 (1993): 3-24; Stephen Gudeman, Economics as Culture: Models and Metaphors of Livelihood (London and Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1986); Roy Wagner, The Invention of Culture (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981); Ron and Suzanne B.K. Scollon, Narrative, Literacy and Face in Interethnic Communication (Norwood, New Jersey: ABIEX Publishing, 1981); Sergei Kan, Symbolic Immortality: The Tlingit Potlatch of the 19th Century (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1989).

17. Using what he calls an ethnographic approach, Thomas Kochman observes that black and white Americans assign different meanings to the same behavior because they give different answers to questions as basic as what constitutes authority. Black and White Styles in Conflict (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981). For an argument that ethnological inquiries into power relations among Indians have been hampered by an ethnocentric definition of power, see Pierre Clastres, Society against the State: The Leader as Servant and the Humane Uses of Power among the Indians of the Americas (New York: Urizon Books, 1977).

18. Barbara Myerhoff, "'Life Not Death in Venice': Its Second Life," in The Anthropology of Experience, eds. Victor Turner and Edward Bruner (1986), 261-286.

19. Barth, Ethnic Groups and Boundaries, Introduction, 25, 28, 34-35; Nash, The Cauldron of Ethnicity, 11-16. "[T]he business of ethnicity," writes Frank Shuffelton, "is carried on by means of signs and markers that are generated on both sides of a boundary of cultural confrontation." A Mixed Race, 8.

20. Keyes, "Dialectics of Ethnic Change," 10. A history that makes an impressive contribution to understanding the uses of ethnicity in economic and political strategy is John Modell's The Economics and Politics of Racial

Accommodation: The Japanese of Los Angeles (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1977).

21. Greg Dening, Islands and Beaches: Discourse on a Silent Land, Marquesas 1774-1880 (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1980), 125.

22. George Vancouver, A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean and round the World, 1791-1795. vol. II (London: J. Stockdale, 1801; reprint, London: The Hakluyt Society, 1984), 524; "The Vancouver Expedition: Peter Puget's Journal of the Exploration of Puget Sound, May 7-June 11, 1792," ed. Bern Anderson, Pacific Northwest Quarterly 30 (April 1939): 199.

23. Morris W. Foster, Being Comanche: A Social History of an American Indian Community (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1991).

24. Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present (New York: Vintage Books, 1978), 3-31; Hazel W. Hertzberg, The Search for an American Indian Identity (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1971), 1-2. Referring to North America as a whole, James Clifton asserts that native people did not accept "Indian" as a label for all of them until several hundred years after Europeans found the continent. Clifton, Being and Becoming Indian, 22. Myron Eells noted in 1887 that the word for "Indian" or "people" among the Twana of Washington was "Klo-wal-bish." "The Indians of Puget Sound," American Antiquarian 9 (1887): 3. Thom Hess's Dictionary of Puget Salish (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1976), 643, also includes a word for "Indian" that doubles as the word for "people."

25. Clifton, Being and Becoming Indian, 22. Sociologist Stephan Palmie argues that labels such as "black" or "Hispanic," by suggesting relatively coherent group identifications, tend to create spurious impressions of cultural homogeneity about groups which are internally differentiated. "Spics or Spades? Racial Classification and Ethnic Conflict in Miami," Amerikastudien/American Studies 34 (1989): 211-221.

26. Eric R. Wolf, Europe and the People without History (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), 388; Pascoe, "Race, Gender, and Intercultural Relations," 10; Deutsch, "Landscape of Enclaves," 112.

27. Dening, Islands and Beaches.

28. Of course, the name "Indian" preserves Columbus's failure to realize where he was in October of 1492. For purposes of this manuscript, I have not joined those who seek a corrective label for all of America's indigenous peoples and their descendants -- they suggest terms such as "Native Americans," "native peoples," "aboriginal peoples," or "First Nations" -- because most people who are the subjects of this dissertation have not participated in that search. As of the late twentieth century "Indian" was the label most people used to claim descent from those whom Vancouver called by that name.

29. See Chapters 5 and 6 particularly and sources cited there.

30. Analysis of anthropologists' work must also include consideration of what James Clifford and George E. Marcus call "The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography" in Writing Culture, Clifford and Marcus, eds. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989). Ethnographers, whose idea of culture is itself culturally and historically specific, bring a conceptual framework to the ethnographic encounter, obtain their information in a dialogue with persons who have very different frameworks, and shape and translate the information they obtain according to their own preconceptions. Clifford, The Predicament of Culture, Chapters 2 and 3; Wagner, The Invention of Culture; Robert C. Ulin, Understanding Cultures (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1984), Chapter 1.

31. For example, June M. Collins, "John Fornsby: The Personal Document of a Coast Salish Indian," in Indians of the Urban Northwest, 287-341; William W. Elmendorf, Twana Narratives: Native Historical Accounts of a Coast Salish Culture (Seattle and Vancouver: University of Washington Press and University of British Columbia Press, 1993); Paul Fetzer, "George Swanaset: Narrative of a Personal Document," in the Melville Jacobs Collection, University of Washington Manuscripts 1693-71-13, Box 112; Meeker Family Papers, Notebooks 1-3, University of Washington Manuscripts, Vertical File No. 362 A-C.

32. Kan, Symbolic Immortality; Sahlins, Historical Metaphors and Mythical Realities; Gudeman, Economics as Culture.

33. Ethnographer Greg Sarris cautions that language alone does not reveal how a speaker thinks and conceives of his or her world. He adds, however, "To begin to understand the complex relation of language to culture and history, it is imperative that scholars and other readers have an accurate sense of the speaker's language." Sarris, Keeping Slug Woman Alive: A Holistic Approach to American

Indian Texts (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993), 99. I am aware of only one scholar whose effort to reconstruct the values and inherent tensions of Indians in my study area involved some linguistic analysis. Sally Snyder, "Skagit Society and Its Existential Basis." Few native speakers of the original languages of Puget Sound still live. Although there are dictionaries of at least two of the languages, I was unable to locate any linguistic analyses of those languages that compare the assumptions they reflect with those common in English.

34. Transcript, United States et al. v. State of Washington et al. (United States District Court for the Western District of Washington, Civil No. 9213), 3041.

# CHAPTER 1

## NATIVES AND TRADERS: THE POWER IN RISKY ENCOUNTERS

The mother of Frank and Henry Allen was born in the early years of the nineteenth century at a village on the Strait of Juan de Fuca. Frank and Henry referred to her as a Dungeness Klallam Indian, but she traced her family line back to Skagit as well as Klallam Indians. In 1940, Frank Allen told anthropologist William Elmendorf how he came to have Skagit ancestors.

> The Dungeness Klallam get ready to go to Skagit....They're going to Skagit now for war. Going for women and slaves now. They go and get to Skagit...at night, and they land away from the village and haul their canoes into the woods and hide.
>
> Next morning they see two little girls playing on the beach. The Klallam catch them and ask them, "Who are your people?" One of the girls says, "My grandfather's name is [Kwalhkedub]." That is the chief of the Skagit people....
>
> And one man, [Skhwilatsum], says, "I'm going to take this girl home, this grandchild of [Kwalhkedub] and keep her for my wife...."
>
> And now after [Kwalhkedub] hears that the Klallam got his grandchild..., he gets ready now for the Klallam, he gets ten slaves ready, preparing for the Klallam when they come to buy his daughter.
>
> And...the Klallam are preparing, too. Gathering slaves and goods, getting ready to go and pay for that girl. My grandfather told me they took more than twenty slaves to buy [Manaylh].
>
> Now they are landing, they sing as they show the mask: "...(I'm the great Klallam)." They are showing off now, showing off the mask, showing they are high-priced people now....
>
> Now [Kwalhkedub's] interpreter hollers to all the Klallam to come to the chief's house and eat. So they all come. Now cooking, eating, good time....And [Kwalhkedub] sings now, he is happy now, with those twenty slaves and that canoe....Now he takes [Manaylh] over to where [Skhwilatsum] is sitting and seats her beside him. That is marriage now.
>
> And after a while the Skagit bring those ten slaves [Kwalhkedub] had raised from his people. That is all he had to give, those ten slaves; the Klallam beat him there, in giving. Now [Skhwilatsum] divides the ten slaves to his people, gives one to this man, one to that, gives them to his tribe....
>
> That is where we are from; my family is from that line on my mother's side. So we are related to the

Skagit people from that time.[1] 

According to Elmendorf's calculations, the Allens' Skagit and Klallam ancestors converted war into marriage around the turn of the eighteenth century. Although Europeans may already have sailed the waters between Dungeness and Skagit by then, none yet resided in the area. It was the new couple's children and grandchildren who would see their world transformed --capsized, as Henry Allen said -- when pale foreigners came to stay.[2]

The first Europeans to settle in the region did not roil the waters dangerously, but their ways were strikingly different from those of other people the Klallams knew, and navigating in a world they shared was tricky. To Klallam villagers even the people of Skagit country were strange: their language was unintelligible; they had different songs, dances, names, and food specialties. Still, the Klallams knew that the Skagits understood the protocol of relations between communities. Skagits would not be startled by a Klallam proposal to link the warring communities by marriage. They knew how to conduct themselves at a wedding feast and would properly reciprocate a gift of twenty slaves. What the pale newcomers understood and expected, on the other hand, was a puzzle.

Many people with gumption like [Skhwilatsum's] approached the newcomers, hoping through familiar means to achieve many of the same ends that motivated their relations with other strangers. They treated the Europeans' presence as a new opportunity to prove their mettle, to forge kinship links with new chiefs, to acquire and redistribute more wealth, and thus to draw the admiration of neighbors and one-time enemies. For the most part the resulting relations did not disillusion these adventuresome people; but the Europeans' peculiarities required

indigenous people to alter some of their practices and to work out a new protocol of community relations.

A few Europeans -- native people called them and their Canadian, Iroquois, and Hawaiian associates all "King George men" -- came to live seventy miles northeast of Dungeness in the summer of 1827.[3] On the Fraser River they built Fort Langley, a Hudson's Bay Company fur trade post. When traveling between the new post and district headquarters on the Columbia River, the traders paddled canoes through the same waters that [Skhwilatsum] and his fellow warriors had crossed during the night before he chose a Skagit captive as his bride.

Five King George men who ventured through those waters in February of 1828 met [Skhwilatsum's] countrymen and shortly thereafter their untimely deaths. The motives of the people who killed Alexander McKenzie and his companions are obscure. Several generations later, Klallam folklore depicted the traders as arrogant men who courted their fate by treating the natives like slaves, thus becoming symbols of the many abusive foreigners who followed them into Klallam country.[4] On the other hand John McLoughlin, top company officer in the district, told his superiors, "From every information I have been able to collect, they committed this crime without having had the least difference with our people & murdered them merely for the sake of their apparel and Arms...."[5]

There are parallels between the incident Frank Allen described and the attack on McKenzie's party. In both, warring Klallams coveted strangers' property and women. In 1828 they again seized a woman -- a travel companion whom the King George

men described as the daughter of an important native man. The events that followed the two incidents differed considerably, however, in part because the strangers of 1828 were unfamiliar with assumptions and conventions that had allowed the Klallams to resolve tensions with the Skagits peacefully, in a wedding celebration.

In 1828 no Klallam raider made the captive woman his wife. Instead, the villagers held her at Dungeness, reportedly expecting that the King George men would negotiate for payment covering the loss of their men and that an offer to release the woman would facilitate a settlement.[6] The King George men partially fulfilled the Klallams' expectations. Four months after the murders they came to Dungeness, intent on settling with the inhabitants; and they did leave with the woman; but they also left behind beaches littered with shattered canoes, the smoldering ruins of two villages, and a score of dead -- reminders that the Klallams had been dealing with a new kind of people. Whether the assailants intended on violence when they arrived at Dungeness is not clear from their records. It is clear, however, that the efforts of Klallams and King George men to understand each other failed.

McLoughlin mustered a force of sixty-three men to go to Klallam country, telling them that "the honor of the whites" and their safety outside company forts were at stake. Everyone agreed on the need for the expedition, noted Frank Ermatinger in the official journal, "if not as a punishment to the tribe in question, at least as an example, in order, if possible, to deter others from similar attempts in future." The expedition's

mission was ill defined, however. Its leaders squabbled throughout about objectives and strategy. Not until they reached the southern shores of Puget Sound did they discuss plans. Commander Alex McLeod argued then that they should first negotiate for the release of the kidnapped woman. When Ermatinger protested that this was a petty objective, which could have been achieved "by a few blankets and without so many men coming so far," McLeod assured him that it was a priority because of "the influence her father had amongst his tribe to do mischief to the whites...."[7]

As the expedition traversed Puget Sound, it attracted an assortment of local people. Some south sound residents were bent on avenging grievances against the Klallams, and several men from Suquamish country also volunteered to act as auxiliaries. Although McLeod spurned the latters' offer, he permitted a Suquamish chief and his retinue to join the group. The Suquamish did not stay long. They pointed out two dwellings at a nearby campsite, alleged that one harbored Klallams, and watched as the King George men killed all members of the family sleeping within; then they left.[8]

By the time the expedition reached Klallam country, it had lost all adjuncts except interpreters; but it soon acquired new ones. The company schooner Cadboro arrived and with McLeod's men began a vigil in front of the village at Dungeness. Not long after, a Snohomish man showed up with a few followers. This man, whom Ermatinger identified as a chief called the Frenchman, eventually arranged the exchange of the captive woman; but the ransom came only after days of posturing that ended in violence.

All parties were aware of language and cultural barriers to communication and tried to signal their desires in terms they thought the others would understand. They alternately brandished their weapons and made gestures that could be construed as conciliatory. One evening, Ermatinger wrote, "a large body of Indians collected, armed, singing and yelping before us." The captain readied the ship for attack, aiming its cannon at a Klallam canoe. When McLeod countermanded the order to fire, the Indians went off in apparent triumph. The next day two men of obvious importance in the village, one "primly dressed in a tensel laced cloth coat," came on board for talks; and they met with a respectful reception.[9]

According to Ermatinger, the effort to reach an understanding then went awry. The two Klallam men, seeing Snohomish canoes approach, left abruptly. When they would not heed calls to stop, McLeod ordered his gunners to fire at them. Some Iroquois sent to ascertain the results found one corpse, which they stripped and scalped, and one wounded man, whom they brought back as a hostage. Since firing had begun, Ermatinger said, the Cadboro's captain then cannonaded the village, destroying it in three shots. While setting fire to the ruined, deserted houses, the Hudson's Bay men found a few items belonging to McKenzie's party. They also found and carried off two boys, but they did not find the murderers. In fact, so far as the disapproving Ermatinger knew, they left without mentioning the reason they came and without arranging more than the swap of captives.[10]

This story of conflict, negotiation, and further conflict belongs to a large body of literature generated by emissaries of expansionist Europe who came into contact with previously unknown, unlettered peoples. Recent interdisciplinary scholarship elucidates the processes at work in many such contacts, suggesting ways to view a one-sided record from the probable standpoint of the silent Indians. Anthropologists and others counsel us to begin an exegesis with the common-sense premise that all parties were equally concerned with projecting images and deciphering the responses they got.[11] The people identified as Klallam, Suquamish, and Snohomish were therefore engaged in an effort that mirrored McLoughlin's and Ermatinger's: guessing not only at the King George men's intentions but also at their interpretation of what the Klallams and other native people did.

The people who endeavored to understand their relations with strangers necessarily did so within their own conceptual and normative contexts. Marshall Sahlins refers to such contexts as structures of significance. He and other scholars have shown that people who considered each other foreigners, spoke different languages, and had very different etiquettes recognized, albeit imperfectly, that they lacked a mutual structure of significance. They then tried to appeal to what they believed the others understood and valued, even though they did it to achieve ends consistent with their own values. Misunderstandings were inevitable. Acting on the basis of misunderstandings or partial understandings, however, the different peoples jointly created new circumstances that each again interpreted according to

familiar principles.[12]

McLoughlin's expedition-eve exhortation and his subsequent letters to superiors confirm that he tried to construe the assault on the Klallams as consistent with British ends. When his men returned, for example, he reported that they had done their duty to their murdered countrymen. But above all, he had to justify the expedition by its effects on so-called Indians. He therefore defended the violence on the ground that nothing else would project to the indigenous people the image HBC had to maintain.

> To pass over such an outrage would lower us in the opinion of the Indians, induce them to act in the same way, and when an opportunity offered kill any of our people, & when it is considered the Natives are at least an hundred Men to one of us it will be conceived how absolutely necessary it is for our personal security that we should be respected by them, & nothing could make us more contemptible in their eyes than allowing such a cold blooded assasination [sic] of our People to pass unpunished, & every one acquainted with the character of the Indians of the North West Coast will allow they can only be restrained from Committing acts of atrocity & violence by the dread of retaliation.[13]

Ironically, then, McLoughlin argued that he could give Indians the right opinion of King George men not by acting according to British ideals but by resorting to measures supposedly consonant with Indian practices and values.

Even as McLoughlin told company governors that the use of force would convey the desired message, he knew what Ermatinger's account shows: his men could not be certain how Indians understood their actions, let alone their words and other attempts to communicate. For five days they had solicited signs that the Klallam villagers recognized and respected the King George men's power. Finally, in anger, frustration, or fear they

had displayed that power in what they hoped were unmistakable terms. Yet their reading of native people's reactions could not be other than conjecture.

McLoughlin himself was ambivalent about what happened. A trader whose business required peace for its success would naturally worry about the conclusions local people were likely to draw from his employees' violence against an entire community. Indeed, McLoughlin expressly doubted that the Klallams' losses, despite their magnitude, would have the desired effect of deterring future attacks on traders.[14] Moreover, he was aware that even his own men differed about what had transpired in Klallam country and what the probable effects would be. Ermatinger and other company servants regarded the incident as a debacle. Some critics, McLoughlin sensed, thought the company's use of force too restrained; others could be expected to condemn the violent measures against "our fellow beings."[15]

Evidence available to modern scholars tends to support McLoughlin's claim that he adopted tactics familiar to native people. Oral histories and ethnographies contain descriptions of eighteenth and early nineteenth-century warfare among western Washington's indigenous peoples that resemble Ermatinger's account in many respects. Not all hostilities concluded in marriage, as in Frank Allen's story. The Allens' forebears also told stories of violence and diplomacy that feature villagers directing retribution at persons besides the particular offenders, recruiting allies from other communities, displaying or summoning up war powers in ritual and pantomime, using high-status people as intermediaries, exchanging persons or property

to resolve conflict, burning villages, destroying canoes, and taking captives.[16]

Yet precisely because the Hudson's Bay Company actions fit familiar patterns, native people may not have seen in them the significance that McLoughlin wished. Rather than inferring that King George men disapproved and intended to put a stop to violence and robbery, Klallam villagers could have concluded that the newcomers had embraced the conventions governing local people's relations with strangers, including occasional retaliatory raids. In fact, McLoughlin's awareness that native people regarded vengeful acts as grounds for further retaliation was a reason for his doubts about the punitive expedition's deterrent effect.

While there is no record that Klallam villagers took revenge on the King George men, Hudson's Bay personnel were leery of Dungeness residents for several years thereafter; and other native people indicated that a basis existed for such uneasiness. In 1833, a man identified as Suquamish offered to protect the new company post at Nisqually from rumored imminent Klallam attacks. The plotters, he reported, were McKenzie's murderer and the son of a person killed by the King George men in 1828.[17]

I have found only two traces of the Dungeness expedition in recorded Indian folklore. Both give the story as later generations remembered it and thus preserve views that may differ from those of victims and witnesses at the time. Both are consistent, however, with the supposition that the Klallams and their neighbors regarded the King George men's response to McKenzie's murder differently than McLoughlin hoped; and one

story indicates that company retaliation did beget more violence. According to Edward Curtis's sources, Klallam raiders, angry that Snohomish people guided the King George men to the Dungeness village, afterward attacked some Snohomish on Whidbey Island, killing many. A few years later "the leading [Dungeness] warrior redeemed a vow he had made by killing Quaiaks, whose attack on the white men had resulted in the burning of the village."[18]

The issue that Hudson's Bay men most ardently hoped to reach agreement on at Dungeness was the different peoples' relative power, especially their power to thwart each other's unwelcome designs. McLoughlin preferred to construe what transpired as proof that his company could marshal power equal or superior to that of the native people. Now that the power of Europeans and their American offspring to restructure the world of North America's aboriginal peoples has been proved beyond dispute, it is tempting to accept this interpretation and even to see the destruction of the Dungeness village as a symbol of the subordinate status awaiting the villagers' descendants. It is difficult to imagine that the indigenous people, even without the benefit of our chronological vantage point, did not recognize the destruction of their villages as a demonstration of superior power. If nothing else, the British cannons could have promoted this conclusion.[19]

There are at least two reasons, however, to be wary of projecting this interpretation onto the indigenous people. First, the confrontation at Dungeness did not pit united Britons against so-called Indians as a whole. McLeod's desire to ransom the chief's daughter is one of several clues that Hudson's Bay

Company had already established alliances with other local people. McLoughlin hoped to make all Indians respect his company's power, yet so-called Indians saw that his men had to rely on native people as guides and mediators. Natives also took part in the conflict on both sides.[20] Furthermore, the Chief Factor was acutely aware, notwithstanding his rhetorical appeal to the whites' honor, that his men were neither all British nor united around a common code of honor. In 1830 he told George Simpson that ventures such as the Dungeness expedition

> are extremely difficult to manage Composed as they are of Canadians Iroquois a few Europeans Owhyees and native Indians whose language we do not speak nor they ours and even hardly understand us of hired servants who consider themselves bound to defend our persons and property when attacked but conceive it no part of their duty to go to war and merely go to oblige and of freemen who may be led but will not be commanded.[21]

Second, McLoughlin's favored construction of events assumes that the indigenous people shared or understood his conception of power -- of power's sources, varieties, loci, and implications for human relations. Instead, the people hiding in the forest behind Dungeness village would have evaluated what they saw according to their own structures of significance. Folklore, oral histories, and ethnographies reveal that their thinking differed significantly from McLoughlin's. Such sources suggest that they would not have considered the question of relative powers -- King George men relative to Klallams or King George men relative to all local peoples -- settled for good. In fact, they probably did not even frame the question as the Britons did. Instead, they thought in terms of many kinds of power and many ways to use power; and they had reason to believe that people among them would someday even the score by demonstrating powers

worthy of the King George men's respect.[22]

The powers that Klallams claimed did not originate in the human realm. They were endowments from spirits or supernatural beings. In the waters, forests, and mountains around Klallam villages and in neighboring countries were multitudes of spirits, each of which could confer on humans one or more useful powers. By proper preparation a young person might attract and meet a spirit willing to enter a partnership. In return for satisfying the spirit's appetite for ceremony, the human partner might obtain one or more powers valued in the community: power to hunt, to acquire wealth, to make canoes, to resist or cure or inflict illness, to survive enemy assaults, to speak well, or to win gambling games, among others. Without supernatural help a person was weak, ineffective, and poor; but with help a person could have skills and abilities that served people's needs. A person who possessed such powers, therefore, won approval from neighbors and kin.

Ethnographers agree that all peoples who inhabited the Puget Sound basin and adjacent areas in the early nineteenth century conceived of human agency this way. The belief was central to their perception of individuals' abilities. They understood virtually all individual and collective success to be proof of supernaturally bestowed powers; and when they attracted the favors of supernaturals, they expected to be effective as individuals and therefore successful as members of their societies.[23]

For Puget Sound aborigines this understanding of power had important social implications. Powers did not so much make it

possible to subject other persons to one's will as they made it possible to be free of subjection to others. This was true because in theory anyone could obtain powers from spirits.[24] Since there was a strong social sanction against announcing explicitly what powers one had obtained, it was prudent to assume that everyone "had something." Most people took pains to project an image consistent with their powers, but the possibility that any person might have an undisclosed power helped to assure almost all free persons a measure of cautious respect. A twentieth-century ethnographer said of people who held these beliefs, "Coast Salish Indians are also genuinely afraid of offending those whom they believe have strong spirit powers, because the spirits may take umbrage at the insult offered their human partners and retaliate without the conscious participation of the injured person." Making allowances for other people's powers, however, was not inconsistent with deriving self-confidence from one's own powers.[25]

Prudence based on this theory of the supernatural may account for the fact that some indigenous people fled at first sight of English explorers and fur traders in Puget Sound.[26] Possibly it was a rationale for the deferential reception that most aborigines later gave European and American immigrants to their region. It could even help to explain the absence of evidence that Dungeness Klallams counterattacked British traders after 1828. However, such prudence should not be read as a concession that the foreigners' powers were superior to any powers the Klallams or their neighbors had or might obtain in the future. In Klallam logic, the probability that someone had

powers capable of doing harm had its converse: the King George men would be foolish not to assume that the Klallams included people with formidable powers yet to be demonstrated.

Although members of later generations spoke of certain communities possessing particular powers, the spirits allied with individuals rather than groups.[27] Ideally, those individuals used their powers to enhance the well-being and hence the prestige of all related to them -- for instance, by procuring subsistence for their families, producing canoes, amassing and redistributing wealth, curing the sick, or leading raids.[28] However, the fact that human powers derived from individual partnerships also decreases the likelihood that the Klallams and other aboriginal peoples understood the destruction at Dungeness as an indication of the relative collective powers of two large categories of people -- Klallams and King George men. They had no reason at all to weigh Hudson's Bay (or British) power against the combined powers of the people McLoughlin called Indians.

Furthermore, success in battle was only one kind of power the Klallams and their neighbors valued. Early nineteenth-century Klallams did take pride in their reputation for pugnacity; but in most communities around the Puget Sound and adjoining waters, a person garnered more social approval for powers to produce than for powers to destroy. Just as Hudson's Bay Company gentlemen understood that their institutional power was based on more than the Cadboro's cannons, indigenous people's confidence that they could operate effectively in the world they shared with King George men did not depend solely on their having warrior powers. Those whose spirit partners enabled them to

attract wealth or heal the sick would not necessarily lose confidence when they saw the British power to kill and destroy.[29]

They would, of course, be impressed with the King George men's extraordinary ability to generate marvelous wealth goods -- an ability that was as much a basis for the Britons' sense of their own power as firearms.[30] Native people, however, were more attracted to than intimidated by the fur traders' wealth power. Their positive response when Hudson's Bay opened trading posts nearby confirms that many local people saw the traders' presence as an opportunity to employ their own powers to acquire wealth.

Virtually all the original peoples of the Puget Sound region had time-honored techniques for turning encounters with outsiders to their benefit. Foreigners -- that is, all the people in villages where a person had no known kin -- were potentially dangerous; yet there could be reasons to approach them. Just as relations with dangerous supernatural beings could pay off in prosperity and social approval, dealings with humans beyond a familiar social circle could bring wealth and prestige and affirm a person's place in the world. While such relations might involve raiding or war, they were more often peaceful encounters, including trade. Despite their linguistic and cultural diversity, people throughout the region interpreted these encounters in similar ways, because they shared a system of symbols and conventions governing relations among people from different communities. Frank Allen's tale about his ancestors shows the system in operation.[31]

This way of thinking about intercommunity relations enabled residents of the Puget Sound region to assimilate rapidly the

idea of people as foreign as the King George men and to formulate strategies for dealing with them. According to local folklore, Europeans seemed so different from familiar humans that the first Indians who saw them thought they were spirits; but this interpretation of the Britons' alien appearance and conduct was probably neither universal nor long in vogue.[32] In 1792 George Vancouver and members of his exploring expedition found people willing to trade who had probably never seen Europeans. By the time the Hudson's Bay Company initiated land-based trade with inhabitants of the greater Puget Sound region, many of those people not only recognized the King George men as fellow human beings but were eager for relations.[33]

In 1827 Archibald McDonald, on his way to establish Fort Langley, led eighteen Hudson's Bay Company men northward through Puget Sound. Residents of the villages along his route already knew quite a bit about their visitors. Many had seen a large contingent of King George men who made the round trip between the Columbia and Fraser Rivers in 1824. In fact, the settlements where McDonald stopped -- he identified them as "Soquams" [Suquamish], "Sinahomis" [Snohomish], and "Scaadget" [Skagit] -- had probably hosted the earlier expedition. By 1827, too, Snohomish, Skagit, and Klallam villagers had welcomed British and American trading ships to their waters for years. Some had even traveled two hundred miles to trade at the foreigners' forts on the Columbia.[34]

Even villagers who had not come face-to-face with the foreigners or seen their ships were aware of their presence in the region. All had seen exotic things circulating among the

well-to-do and knew that they came from equally exotic people.[35] Descriptions of the strangers probably made them seem disgusting. Some were unnaturally pale; some had hairy faces; all had the unflattened foreheads of slaves and spoke a language as unintelligible as birds' chirping.[36] Nonetheless, the foreigners, who deserved respect for the riches they had acquired, knew how to signal their interest in trading.

The King George men also bestowed valuables on people willing to render service as guides and interpreters. Therefore, when they inquired at local villages for "chiefs" who would accompany them in those capacities, one or more people commonly obliged. At least two "Sinnahomis chiefs" who greeted McDonald's party in 1827 were well practiced at such functions. One, whose name McDonald gave as Sinokton, was likely a man who had served the 1824 expedition as interpreter. The other was so familiar to company personnel that a Briton who met him in 1825 described him as "a famous chief named Waskalatchy, who had wandered more over the N.W. coast than any Indian upon it." Waskalatchy, also known as the Frenchman, was none other than the fellow who volunteered to mediate at Dungeness in 1828.[37]

By 1827 the people around Puget Sound had sorted the wealthy ship-borne foreigners into two categories -- King George men and Bostons -- in the apparent belief that those names indicated where they came from. Word that Bostons had killed residents of Vancouver Island may have reached Puget Sound, but people in the latter area had as yet little reason to regret the results of their meetings either with Bostons or with King George men. Instead, many of them had grounds for concluding that their own

conduct had induced the foreigners to acknowledge them respectfully, trade, and leave.[38]

For their part, McDonald and his companions came to the Puget Sound armed with information about the country and its shore-dwelling peoples. In McDonald's party was Pierre Charles, a company laborer who had joined the 1824 expedition in the upper Chehalis area after spending "some time" among the natives there. Since at least 1824, too, company ships had plied the waters at the north end of Puget Sound, and company posts on the Columbia had attracted people from territories bordering the sound. Furthermore, gentlemen of the HBC were familiar with Vancouver's memoirs of 1792.[39]

For all these reasons, the travelers of 1827 knew that dense forests covered most lands bordering Puget Sound and adjacent saltwater inlets. They expected to find people living in collections of large, cedar plank houses or mat-covered lean-tos at numerous locations along the sound's convoluted shores. They were prepared for the stench of fish and decaying animal remains hovering over such settlements. And they were not surprised, although some were disgusted, that most inhabitants went nearly naked. They knew that the people had abundant supplies of salmon and shellfish and often traded them as well as animal skins for European manufactures, especially metal. They assumed that each village or camp would have one or more men who took the lead in dealing with strangers. And they believed that villagers grouped themselves by region into tribes, some of whose names they had already heard from Charles and other natives.[40]

In addition to information from their colleagues, from

Vancouver, and from local people, McDonald and his men had company experience elsewhere in North America to guide their conduct at their new post. In two centuries of expansion across the continent, British fur traders had drawn into their international commercial network a large number of indigenous groups, all of which they knew generically as Indians. Although they were not oblivious to differences among those groups in such fundamental realms as economic and social organization, they assumed that methods the company had developed to deal with some Indians would serve as well in most dealings with other Indians. Upon initiating trade in the Pacific Northwest, most company gentlemen therefore took note of local people's peculiarities not with an ethnographer's curiosity but with the utilitarian eyes of entrepreneurs, recording in their journals and letters mainly the customs and expectations likely to affect their success in business.[41]

Doubts that they could do business with people around Puget Sound do not seem to have occurred to the traders; but even if villagers along the Fraser and later the Nisqually River did not initially want permanent trading posts in their midst, the Hudson's Bay men intended to change their minds. By establishing their forts, company officials hoped (indeed, confidently expected) to take out of the region far more wealth than they brought in. This possibility made it worth their while to work out orderly, mutually beneficial relations with the native people.[42]

Attracted to each other yet repelled by each other's alien appearance and behavior, wanting to communicate yet hampered by

language and etiquette differences, King George men and natives of the Puget Sound region had to work cautiously toward a mutual understanding of the bases for their intercourse. They had such strong incentives to enter and maintain trade relations that few of them showed interest in conducting relations through war and raiding, as local peoples were sometimes wont to do. The violence of 1828 was an exception to the rule -- indeed, the only significant exception for two decades. Most of the time conscious effort on everyone's part averted open hostility between King George men and natives.[43]

The conventions that eventually governed relations between Puget Sound peoples and Hudson's Bay personnel have so much in common with those prevailing elsewhere in the company's North American fur trade -- the use of gifts to establish and symbolize relations, the resort to marriage alliances for the same purpose, the role of so-called chiefs as brokers -- that it is tempting either to construe those conventions as company imports or to conclude that the British traders were correct to generalize about so-called Indians.[44] However, relations developed locally through a process that was more complex than the traders' simply imposing their accustomed practices on a new population or playing successfully to what all Indians expected. The divide between dissimilar culture groups was bridged by trial and error, as people on both sides signaled their intentions and desires, assessed the reactions they got, and modified their signs and behavior in the hope of eliciting more desirable reactions. A summary of this process is essential to imagining how relations with the fur traders affected indigenous people's conceptions of

themselves.

When Forts Langley and Nisqually opened for business, the guesswork and improvisation that characterized the 1828 confrontation at Dungeness were crucial to the HBC's relations with residents of the region, despite the formerly separate peoples' growing familiarity with each other. For example, as soon as McDonald found a site for the first post he directed the construction of a bastion; but the fact that he did so in conformity with company policy did not relieve him of the need to assess his actions' effects on local people. The bastion was not just a physical means of keeping those people at a safe remove; it was meant to convey a sense of the company's peculiar character and strength and its intent to remain. McDonald and his men watched warily for signs that the Indians had deciphered the message.[45]

Indians accompanying McDonald's party reported that local people were indeed hostile and threatening to annihilate the King George men. The trader shrugged this news off, however, because he saw forty or fifty other natives peacefully watching the construction work and listening to their important men deliver speeches with friendly themes. Even though he suspected that some ill-disposed natives responded by setting fires, which menaced the post the following month, McDonald did not consider moving. The bastion, he assured himself, commanded the respect of the Indians.[46]

When McDonald chose a site for Fort Nisqually on south Puget Sound six years later, people in that vicinity seemed so accommodating that the traders did not hurry to fortify their

structures. Nevertheless, McDonald's colleagues believed that any Indians would consider robbery or mayhem if the traders appeared weak; so they tried as before to project an intimidating image. William Fraser Tolmie, a young Scottish doctor who had been in the Pacific Northwest only two months, wrote in his journal for June 28, 1833: Spent the night alone, having given my dog to Rendall "who is in great dread of indians & it must be said the temptation tonight, is great only one person in the store & another in a defenceless shed. In my room are five loaded guns in one corner. Rifle, Gun & Pistols loaded at the head of bed."[47]

Tolmie soon concluded that he could relax. The atmosphere at both forts, but particularly at Nisqually, was more often pleasant than ominous. Within two weeks after Tolmie and McDonald set up for business at the southern station, people streamed in from all corners of the region. On many days the waterfront bustled with activity so benign that Tolmie compared it to a country fair. At night he delighted to see visitors' fires blazing at intervals along the beach.[48] In mid July, when the traders relocated from the beach to the prairie above, two dozen men from several indigenous communities helped to carry company goods up the hill. The Britons rewarded them with tobacco and ammunition. By August Tolmie dared to go alone with some local men on a several-day trek into the Cascade Mountains. The people who shared with him their venison, dried cockles, berries, and clothing Tolmie referred to as "my Indians" and "my companions," adding, "Cannot call them my attendants."[49]

The King George men had reason to think they had

demonstrated that local people had more to gain from peaceful relations than from robbery or murder. They had not done so, however, by mechanically balancing displays of power against signs of their willingness to trade tantalizing merchandise. They had also tried to discern and respond to what indigenous people desired from relations with King George men.

Many of the so-called Indians obviously wanted to acquire British manufactures and were willing to gather beaver pelts and other products of the country to exchange for those manufactures; but this eagerness for trade had limits and conditions that Hudson's Bay Company employees had to discover and take into account. McDonald judged the local people to be practiced traders with a keen eye for their own advantage and a shrewd sense of how to secure it. Again and again, he grumbled that the Indians were troublesome customers who subjected him to long harangues about his prices. Two months after they began bringing beaver to Nisqually many people decided to withhold their skins because the company, seeing no American competitors in the region, hiked its prices; and the impasse continued for months.[50]

Even when local people were ready to do business, they insisted by their actions on having a role in defining the ground rules. For instance, they tried various tactics, including intimidation, to engineer the exchanges they desired. Fort Nisqually's staff witnessed many dramas such as that which Babyar (also spelled Babillard) staged when he could not persuade Tolmie to give him more than the standard rate for his last, best beavers. Babyar threw his blankets over the counter and rushed into the back room to repossess the skins he had already traded.

Tolmie, by his own account:

> Collared and bundled him out -- he went to the door and called in his people who were lurking round the house, I now backed by Rendall stood firm, at same time endeavouring by soft words to pacify the savage, which was affected & he at once gave the beaver at the usual barter, his brother who shortly before had gone out in dudgeon now traded without trouble -- we taking the precaution of locking them in -- our weakness is apparent to the rascals & they take advantage of it.[51]

Although the British traders claimed several small triumphs of this kind, the vulnerability that Tolmie acknowledged constrained them to make concessions, both material and social. During the early 1830s, company employees at both regional posts were few.[52] Not only would they fail in business if they alienated the people in whose midst they dwelled; they would not eat well. In addition to needing Indians to bring pelts, the traders needed Indians to supply them with food. After the theft of a crossbar drove McDonald to forbid Indians from landing at Fort Langley, he confessed in the official journal, "[T]he want of fresh provisions will compel us to concede a little in regard to this restriction & indulge them with some familiarity of intercourse that they before enjoyed." Perhaps to convince himself that concessions would not negate the effects of his order, he added, "As it is they already appear to feel the deprivation of our good will and friendly disposition towards them...."[53]

Still, to obtain fresh food as well as pelts, the fur traders had not only to show a friendly disposition but also to provide what local people wanted from the King George men; and they saw that local people appraised both the King George men's attitude and the company's merchandise according to an alien set

of values. From the outset, fcr example, the native patrons of Forts Langley and Nisqually had specific and limited shopping lists. On one occasion McDonald noted that the Snohomish would accept only blankets. On another he described a man with six beaver who demanded shells or, failing shells, blankets of a particular kind. When the man learned that neither shells nor the specified blankets were available, he took back his skins and said he would wait. At Nisqually, native trappers were initially disappointed by McDonald's offerings. They were far less interested in the guns McDonald had stocked than in blankets, textiles, molasses, and rum. They ignored the printed shirts on conspicuous display.[54]

Hudson's Bay personnel adjusted to the exigencies of their situation and the desires of their clientele. They paid the natives for fish and game; they altered their inventories; and they took in trade items valued only or primarily by other natives, such as baskets, rush mats, and strings of dentalia shells.[55] Still, local people indicated that they desired more from relations with the King George men than what they considered a fair exchange of goods. This they did, according to Tolmie, by annoying the British traders "with importunities for presents, before commencing to barter." Trade with certain people proceeded more smoothly if the King George men tendered gifts. McDonald reported that early visitors to Fort Nisqually were initially disappointed at his failure to bring clothing for the chiefs. They also seemed to expect formal hospitality, such as offers of food and tobacco to smoke, often showing no interest in trading until these courtesies had been extended.[56]

The Indians' expectations did not come as a surprise. In fact, it is unlikely that McDonald and his colleagues introduced gift-giving and ceremonial hospitality only after detecting the local people's sense of proprieties. Elsewhere in North America Hudson's Bay Company employees had learned that indigenous people expected trade to involve such gestures. They proceeded accordingly in the Puget Sound country, initiating many encounters and promoting trade with gratuities, receiving the most reliable native traders at the forts with considerable ceremony, and entertaining presumed chiefs and other patrons with food, drink, and tobacco.[57]

These practices, first adopted to suit other peoples, were congenial to inhabitants of the Pacific Northwest because they, like indigenous societies farther east, did not conduct economic relations according to a mercantile or capitalist model. Merchants of nineteenth-century Europe tended to conceive of trade as an impersonal exchange of equivalents. In the emerging market economy, the connection between the money generated in a commercial trade transaction and the social uses and significance of that money became relatively remote.[58] For the people who patronized Forts Nisqually and Langley, on the other hand, all economic activity, including commercial trade, both created and symbolized immediate social relations. Although acquiring valued items was one object of trade, the items acquired were proof of and the means to personal relationships, and relationships were the true indications of a person's worth.[59]

Trade with King George men was an avenue to prestige in local society. Prestige followed not from the accumulation and

possession of property but from the demonstrated ability to acquire prized items and from ritual redistribution of the items. The valuables that shrewd traders obtained, especially in risky ventures and exchanges with people at considerable distance, attested to their powers. When they subsequently gave away what they had obtained in intercommunity ceremonies, they also acquired coveted reputations for generosity. Their names went all over, their descendants said.[60] Furthermore, they could construe the King George men's desire for relations as a reciprocal recognition of their stature, enhancing their standing in local society by associating with the wealthy and presumably powerful foreigners.[61]

Many indigenous people in HBC's Columbia district thus expected important intangible benefits from relations with the foreigners; and by their practices company traders helped, both wittingly and unwittingly, to ensure that their establishments served such social purposes. For example, the King George men accepted the fact that Indians sometimes came in not to trade but simply to make a social call. They saw, too, that many people treated a visit to the fort as an occasion for social and material exchanges with local residents or other visitors rather than the Hudson's Bay Company.[62]

As people from all over the region met at HBC posts, company personnel observed how they behaved toward each other. In that way the King George men learned many of the local conventions of intercommunity relations and adopted them to facilitate their own dealings with customers. Yet because the meetings of diverse indigenous peoples took place in a new context -- one that the

Hudson's Bay Company had created -- company personnel simultaneously contributed to changes in the prevailing conventions.

Congregated around the separate fires that Tolmie saw along Fort Nisqually's waterfront were groups of people he and his colleagues called Cowlitz, Klallams, Puyallups, Skagits, Suquamish, Snohomish, Twanas, and "petty Indians of the house."[63] To the directors of Hudson's Bay, these people were all Indians, classed together because they lacked the same indices of European civilization and because their habits seemed to the Britons more alike than different.[64] Indeed, company officers claimed to see no characteristics except language to distinguish one band of Puget Sound Indians from another. After carefully listing the names and locations of ten major "communities" in the Fort Nisqually district, James Douglas told his superiors, "Under this variety of names we find no traces of national difference, and identity of language proves, beyond a doubt that they are, with the exceptions of [three], one and the same people...."[65]

Yet the residents of the different communities mistrusted and even waged war against each other, as Douglas went on to lament. Although Douglas attributed the friction to specious tribal distinctions, hostilities did not occur only across the "imaginary lines of demarcation which divides [sic] the inhabitants of one petty stream, from the people living upon another." Villagers regarded as potentially hostile any little-known people to whom they had no kinship connections.[66]

Until foreign traders appeared in the Puget Sound region, there were probably few if any occasions for nonviolent, large-

scale gatherings of villagers who were complete strangers to each other. The Hudson's Bay Company's presence changed that. Native people who came to Fort Langley or Fort Nisqually found themselves camping near people from all corners of the fur trade district. On August 23, 1833, for example, Chief Trader Francis Heron estimated the multitude around Fort Nisqually at 800 souls. They belonged, he thought, to eight tribes. Many times after that journal keepers noted the simultaneous presence of peoples from widely separated territories. On one day in the fall of 1835, Indians arrived from Spokane, three hundred miles to the east, and from the Clackamas and John Day Rivers, south of the Columbia.[67]

The prospect of confronting people they did not know or people they considered enemies worried some native traders. Tensions mounted in the camps outside Fort Nisqually, for example, when the Spokane, Clackamas, and John Day groups appeared. Fort Langley journal keepers regularly noted the passage of raiding parties en route to nearby villages. Since the King George men could neither guarantee the safety of their visitors nor provision them, people often stayed no longer than necessary to take care of business.[68]

On the other hand, the business of native visitors frequently included intertribal diplomacy. They came not only to trade with King George men but also to arrange the ransoms of captured relatives or to negotiate alliances with other village groups. It may be that for some people a stop at the trading post was incidental to such maneuvering. On the other hand, the desire to trade regularly and safely with the King George men was

also a new and compelling incentive to court peaceful relations with other patrons of HBC. Those people who had relatives or friends among resident bands at either trading post could look there for protection, while those who had no such ties often set about creating them. At Nisqually many visitors did not approach the King George men until they had paid their respects to leading native residents of the area.[69]

Fort Nisqually diaries afford glimpses of the means that people from different territories employed to allay their natural suspicions of each other. Arriving delegations danced and sang for those in residence and in return received small gifts or invitations to share a pipe of tobacco. Frequent intercommunity gambling probably provided another alternative to violent rivalries. Even so, smoldering resentments sometimes threatened to flare up. And then ambassadors would shuttle between the antagonists until all agreed on a way to cool things off -- usually an exchange of property.[70]

Often, too, peace came with an exchange of people. Marriages were an accepted means of smoothing the way for mutually advantageous relations between potentially antagonistic communities, as Frank Allen's Skagit- Klallam ancestry attested. When traveling in what might otherwise be dangerous foreign territory, a person could look to in-laws for a safe conduct pass and sustenance. A man who wished to trade at Fort Nisqually thus had good reason to marry his daughter or sister to an eminent local resident: it not only eased apprehensions but also entitled his family to secure food while they were on Nisqually home ground.[71] Moreover, a man flush with beaver or trade blankets

had the means to arrange a good marriage. It is no surprise that in the heyday of the trade at Fort Nisqually Lahalet, one of the local community's prominent men, acquired several new wives.[72]

Company officers often watched with amused detachment the complex interactions going on around them. On the other hand, they knew that local people expected them to help preserve peace among the groups who gathered at their invitation. Various natives at times asked the King George men for assurances that they would not be molested. At Fort Langley, small parties of people who did not have relatives in the local community requested and sometimes received permission to stay inside or next to the bastion. At Fort Nisqually, even people on their home ground sought the traders' protection when they feared the intentions of visitors.[73]

The King George men did accept a degree of responsibility for their visitors' safety. Although they usually did not permit Indians to camp inside their compounds, they otherwise assumed the role played by native hosts at inter-community gatherings: they tried to ease tensions among the diverse peoples at their doorstep.[74] Less altruistic than intent on facilitating commerce, they counseled and cajoled the Indians to avoid conflict, intervened to prevent specific misdemeanors and acts of retribution, and encouraged diplomatic missions. Their efforts -- especially the goodwill purchased with their merchandise -- sometimes promoted new alliances between indigenous groups.[75]

The small Hudson's Bay Company staff could not keep the peace, however, without the help of indigenous leaders whose interests dovetailed with their own. Aiming to discourage wars

and thus to promote "freedom of intercourse," John McLoughlin instructed his employees "to operate on the hopes and fears of the Native Chiefs by a system of distinctive rewards, bestowed on such as succeed in preserving the peace, and inducing their followers, to visit the Fort...with the furs in their possession."[76] Consistent with this policy, Fort Nisqually personnel conferred gifts and flattering attention on men and women who seemed able to coordinate the activity of other trappers and travel extensively, communicating with and sometimes mediating among various village groups.[77]

At Fort Langley McDonald immediately set about identifying and cultivating influential trading partners -- he called them "friends" in his journal. Candidates for this status usually identified themselves, indicating by their behavior that special treatment was appropriate for people of their standing.[78] It was not long before McDonald had many "friends," among them people he identified as Klallam, Snohomish, Skagit, and Suquamish chiefs. When Fort Nisqually opened, several of these men journeyed south, where they expected and received a respectful reception.[79]

In Fort Nisqually's early years, customers who could count on the King George men's attention during frequent visits included Waskalatchy, the man from Snohomish country who was also known as the Frenchman. Waskalatchy's nickname alluded to his adoption of European dress and a European grooming convention -- a bushy beard. Another assiduously courted personage was Tslalakum, usually identified in company records as a chief of the Suquamish. (Journal keepers also spelled his name Chihalucum, Challicoom, Challacum, Chilialucum, and Shallicum).

Like Waskalatchy, Tslalakum did not just indicate how he expected to be treated; he also solicited good relations with the King George men by acting in some ways that he must have perceived as consistent with their sensibilities.

Tolmie met Tslalakum a week after arriving at Nisqually and accompanied the chief to his Whidbey Island residence. Tolmie's companions counseled him not to judge Tslalakum's attitude toward traders by his possession of the murdered McKenzie's gun -- more likely a sign of Tslalakum's participation in an intertribal ceremonial network than of complicity in murder. This man's lodge, wrote Tolmie,

> presented a greater appearance of plenty than any yet seen -- he is a chief of some note & well disposed towards the whites, displaying more hospitality than any other of the Indians met with on our journey, for he requested us to eat, on entering, while the others generally bargained for payment before giving what we asked.[80]

By a gesture that Tolmie interpreted as hospitality Tslalakum simultaneously demonstrated, in his society's terms, his power to amass and be generous with food and his intimacy with the powerful foreigners. At the same time he helped to establish a body of mutually accepted etiquette that would bridge the gap between natives and foreign newcomers.

The symbiotic relationship between Tslalakum and King George men flourished, despite lingering apprehensions on both sides. At Nisqually later that month, Tolmie gave Tslalakum a capot and pair of trousers "as a reward for his services and general good conduct. Told him to visit the Klalums, and invite the Chief hither to trade their skins which he promised to undertake."[81] During the next decade Tslalakum often undertook services the

company needed: carrying letters from post to post, offering protection from the Dungeness Klallams, relaying to his people the King George men's words of advice. In 1838 he made Fort Nisqually's chief trader a gift of forty large potatoes -- a crop the Hudson's Bay Company had introduced -- grown in his own garden.[82]

Already rich enough to enjoy recognition and respect in several communities, eager to increase his wealth, eager also for favorable notice from the wealthy King George men, and open to innovation, Tslalakum epitomizes the natives with whom Hudson's Bay preferred to deal. Tslalakum, for his part, solicited the traders because the Hudson's Bay Company represented opportunity for him. In the eyes of native people, the social benefits of Tslalakum's partnership with the King George men would not have accrued only to him. The foreigners' association with a wealthy man such as Tslalakum reciprocally confirmed their prestige.

Indigenous people who sought association with the King George men did not limit themselves to trade relations; many also wanted to establish kinship relations. Most people in the region, but particularly the well-to-do, aspired to marry outside their villages; and the reasons to marry native outsiders were also reasons to arrange marriages with King George men. Intermarriage could ease tensions, facilitate exchanges of food and wealth, enhance status. It was preferable, also, to trade with kin. Strange and suspect, the King George men nonetheless had access to desirable resources; and anyone whose close relative married one of them would expect resulting material as well as social benefits.[83]

By Tolmie's account, several local men saw him as a desirable in-law. In his first two months at Nisqually he respectfully declined offers from three chiefs who "courted [his] alliance" for their daughters or sisters. Tolmie, who regarded these as offers of sex without God's blessing, declared himself untempted by the native women's "blandishments"; but he could understand why a handsome, charming upper class woman from the Columbia River had "made the round of many of the gentlemen." "While living with the whites," he said of the woman whom the traders called Princess Charlotte, "she was looked on as a personage of importance & possessing great influence among the Indians."[84]

Many company gentlemen, like those who had been Charlotte's lovers, were not so resistant to native women's charms as Tolmie claimed to be.[85] Neither were they oblivious to economic and political rationales for marrying the women. At Fort Langley, Archibald McDonald was as intent as his Indian counterparts on giving local men of influence a family interest in the company's fortunes. "We have thought it good policy in Mr. Yale," he explained, "to form a family connection with them and accordingly he has now the Chiefs [sic] daughter after making them all liberal presents...."[86]

McDonald and Yale did not devise the policy. As Sylvia Van Kirk and Jennifer Brown have ably documented, it was standard practice by 1827 for Hudson's Bay Company gentlemen at North American outposts to further their business objectives by marrying or consorting with indigenous women.[87] Alliances between native women and men lower in the hierarchy were also common

although not so well documented as Mr. Yale's. Sprinkled through the Fort Langley and Fort Nisqually journals are references to laborers with wives from the local populations. Of course, many of the liaisons referred to were probably neither solemnized with presents nor permanent.[88]

As Hudson's Bay men and local people married, traded, and tried to ascertain and respond to each other's expectations without forfeiting their own, they figuratively cleared and gradually expanded an arena for their joint activities -- a cultural space where people of different cultures could serve their separate interests by observing a common, specialized set of rules. Richard White, who identified a comparable process in the Great Lakes region during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, coined the term "middle ground" for this culture of relations.[89] In the Puget Sound area, some conventions of the middle ground developed quickly; but because the rules were unwritten and had different meanings to the different peoples, continuous negotiation, testing, and redefinition of the rules were also necessary.

Testing and negotiation were the order of the day when Tolmie discovered that Tslalakum's slaves had been using a company canoe without permission. Tolmie "remonstrated" the chief, threatening to leave the area if the Indians did not stop "pilfering." According to Tolmie's interpreter, this tirade provoked Tslalakum to threaten the white doctor in terms so foul that the interpreter refused to translate them. The next day, however, Tolmie took pains to smooth things over by gestures that Tslalakum understood: "Said did not believe him capable of doing

the whites harm who looked on him as a brother -- gave him some tobacco & the peace was made 'toute suite.'"[90]

On other occasions, according to their journals, the King George men rejected outright some indigenous customs and announced their intent to enforce rules more to their liking. One Sunday in August of 1833 Heron did this in a ritual that must have seemed foreign indeed to Tslalakum.

> Mr. H. got Watskalatchet, Chilialucum, Babyar & Sialah (a brawny Soquamish...) into his room with Lahalet as interpreter and told them to confess to him all their evil actions beginning with the murders & next the thefts. Chilialucum began & confessed having murdered four men, but pleaded guiltless of any other crime. Watskalatchet none. Lachalet killed the murderer of his uncle & a slave of the former chief's. Scaldh [Sialah] in his youth slew a great chief & stole a fathom of very fine payaquas from the Klalum. Babyar, after coughing, blowing & humming frequently, declared himself guiltless of any evil action but recollecting himself shortly after said that he had killed 5 men & stolen their property, also stole two slaves. Chiatza[s]an being called in said he had for a long time been a physician & conductor of the religious ceremonies, that he had never done any harm, but afterwards acknowledged himself the murderer of five, (besides those killed by his medicines). The enormity of the crime of murder was then pointed out to the worthy assemblage & they were told it was as contrary to the Almighty's express command -- they all promised, never again to commit the action, but in self defence & by way of expressing it more strongly on their minds they were made to mark with a pen a sheet of paper on which their names were written.[91]

Company leaders also worked to change native behavior in other ways, particularly by proselytizing for Christianity. Heron, Tolmie, and subsequent chief traders delivered periodic lectures to crowds of Indians, describing "what was proper for them to act in regard to our Divine Being."[92] Yet even this evangelizing was part of the give-and-take process of clearing a middle ground. Although the traders may have acted out of genuine horror at the Indians' ignorance of Christian doctrine

and practice, their lectures stressed particularly those moral precepts conducive to trade. In August 1834 new Chief Trader William Kittson told an assembly of natives "that they should endeavor to keep their hand from killing and stealing to love one another and pray only to the Great Master of Life or as they say Great Chief who resides on high." Kittson had laid out for the Indians what Tolmie called the "commandments most applicable to their state."[93]

At a remove of more than a century Kittson's and the other traders' words and actions, as recorded, seem not only arrogant but also unwisely provocative for men who were outnumbered in someone else's land. However, for several reasons it would be rash to conclude that native people regarded what the King George men said and did as disrespectful or as a refusal to cooperate in building a bridge between cultures.

First, the words that assembled natives actually heard may have been substantially different from the messages Tolmie, Heron, and Kittson said they sent. The Britons usually spoke in English to interpreters whose claims of comprehension they could not verify. Sometimes their words passed through two translations, as when Waskalatchy said he understood the Spokane language that Heron's wife spoke. At other times the only mutually intelligible language was a crude trade jargon known as Chinook. Tolmie, who described the jargon as "a vile compound of English, French, American & the Chenooke dialect," declared that the Indians could not understand his explanations of Christian doctrine because "the Chinook is such a miserable medium of communication, that very few ideas can be expressed in it."[94]

Rendered first in jargon and then in local languages, the traders' sermons could as easily have sounded innocuous as defiant. It was possible to say in Chinook, "When you come here to trade, do not steal our things or kill each other. And if you want to know about our powers, we will show you." It was harder, if not impossible, in 1833 to convey British concepts of sin and barbarism.[95]

Second, like other communications between Britons and indigenous Americans, the traders' religious and moral exhortations were directed at people who placed them in a context largely unknown to the speakers. The sight of eminent men -- and the company chiefs were obviously eminent men --counseling guests to behave properly was not foreign to native people. When a wealthy native man invited outsiders to a ceremonial gathering, he encouraged them to conduct themselves peacefully, just as the King George men were urging. Furthermore, by local standards it was an honor to be included in and addressed at such gatherings.[96] While Tolmie, Heron, and Kittson may have intended to scold people they considered inferior, their listeners may have heard instead an expression of respect consistent with familiar ceremonial protocol. Even the men Heron pressured into confessing their sins probably considered themselves honored by their inclusion in a sacred ritual of the King George men.[97]

Indeed, some native people had asked Tolmie and his colleagues to "'wawa sacchali'" [speak high or sacred].[98] They had good reasons to do so. The foreigners would presumably reveal how they had obtained the favors of a powerful being from the spirit world, and that was a subject of utmost importance to

the inhabitants of the Puget Sound basin in 1833. Since "[e]very one of a man's characteristics, his appearance, his skills, his abilities, was dependent upon the nature of the supernatural he had obtained," it made sense to infer from the wealth and achievements of the King George men that they had obtained the favor of especially powerful spirits. In the early years of the fur trade, many indigenous people apparently thought it wise to learn about those spirits.[99]

By December of 1833 Heron said of the natives' interest in his religious message, "I have at length succeeded in altering their savage natures so far, that they not only listen with attention to what I tell them but actually practice it."[100] It is apparent, however, that Heron's audiences had domesticated his message, using it for purposes consistent with their pre-existing world view and in service of good relations with the King George men.[101] In fact, Tolmie and Heron probably realized that their sermons had induced only limited change among the Indians; for they moderated their religious goals and declared themselves satisfied that the Indians were honoring Christianity in their own way.

The only new Indian practice consistent with Christianity that Heron described was the regular observance of the sabbath; and aside from listening to occasional sermons, that observance consisted of dancing and chanting in a manner unknown in the churches of Heron's native land. Without this devotional dance, the trader wrote, "they would think very little of what we say to them." Several years later a Catholic missionary also noted that Indians of the Puget Sound area sanctified Sunday "after their

fashion, by games and dances to the point of exhaustion."[102]

Tolmie, too, said the Indians held "devotional dances" to show respect for Christianity or its god; yet he referred to the ritual by a telling term -- Samanowash. Usually spelled with an initial T rather than S, this is undoubtedly the Chinook jargon word denoting all native deference to the occult and connoting witchcraft to most Christians.[103]

Tolmie's association of the dances with un-Christian aboriginal practices seems more apt than Heron's hopeful characterization, because native people also danced on occasions that did not appear to involve worship of the Christian deity. One day in 1837, for instance, Fort Nisqually's clerk recorded that a band of Cowlitz arrived and

> proceeded to La ah let's [Lahalet's] tent and there danced, receiving in return for the honor done about twelve fathoms of hyoquois [shell money]. They then proceeded to the beach and honored the Frenchman with the same, he gave them an old Blanket.[104]

Similarly, when a party from Skagit came in 1839, they danced first at the lodges of other Indians "as a token of peace" and later before the fort. Like Lahalet and the Frenchman, the traders gave the dancers presents "for their good will."[105]

The visitors may have danced not to honor their hosts, as Tolmie and Heron thought, but to invoke their own spirit powers as preparation for dealing with outsiders.[106] It is also possible that Sunday dancing induced trances, as some aboriginal ceremonials did, thereby enhancing the dancers' chances to make contact with the powerful spirits that presumably associated with the Christians.[107] In either case a familiar practice was clearly serving new purposes and probably taking on new meanings in the context of relations with new people.

The missionaries' later dealings with Tslalakum, who quickly learned to pray and sing hymns, add evidence that some people sought the foreigners' advice on religious practices in the hope of discovering how to attract a supernatural ally with the powers the Europeans possessed. A few months after Tslalakum formally accepted Christianity he told Bishop F.N. Blanchet that he and his people had won a battle because their enemies did not know God, sang no canticles, and did not make the sign of the cross.[108]

However native people made sense of Europeans' sermons and sabbath rituals -- and they probably did so in assorted ways -- some of their misunderstood responses engendered good will among King George men just as surely as the HBC's hospitality promoted good will among so-called Indians. To bridge the gulf between them, King George men and Indians were constructing a new cultural edifice built of and symbolized by mutually agreeable etiquette -- ceremonial visits to exchange news or share a pipe, small gifts and favors, interpreters and the Chinook jargon, the bluff and bluster of bargaining sessions, and now Sunday sermons and dances.[109]

All the architects of the bridge probably believed they had made concessions to the sensibilities of the alien people on the other side. However, the result of their concessions was neither a merger of cultures nor a submersion of one culture in the other but a specialized, ever widening cultural structure located between societies. To walk onto the bridge did not require a fundamental change of course; people could approach each other without renouncing their separate habits and values. On each side of the bridge there remained realms that people on the

opposite side saw but dimly, if at all. Congruities in the different peoples' values enabled them to come together, benefit from each other's abilities and desires, but pursue divergent agendas without threat to each other.

One fall evening Tolmie thought he saw a likeness between the interlinked peoples; but his account, which depicts activity more parallel than convergent, also illustrates his awareness of difference. About thirty Indians whom he had hired to unload a ship had "wrought manfully."

> The work being concluded the 'savage' [sic] were regaled with a few potatoes, salty salmon, molasses & rum & each received five rings & 4 in. Tob: the rum was liberally 'baled out' & many of the worthies overstepped the bounds of moderation in their potations & their haranguing & blustering in front of the house & noisy clamour in going to the beach reminded me forcibly of Lammas evg at Campbelton. Here the greatest good humour pervaded all; but on getting to the beach they began to squabble & it was necessary to send down Ouvrie to pacify them & he found Lachalet in the clutches of the brawny Soquamish Siasch, & his son & receiving from them a vigorous pommelling from whom he was rescued by O. & is now here loudly vaunting of his courage. The men have also received a 'regale' of pork, potatoes, molasses & rum & are at present loudly chaunting their voyaging songs round the camp fire....[110]

Although most architects and users of the bridge between cultures did not renounce their own cultures, they made choices that had transformative repercussions in their societies. One result for indigenous people was greater economic, social, and cultural diversity. The presence and activities of the exotic King George men challenged all the region's peoples to innovate. To be sure, as communities responded differently to the new circumstances, they also had opportunities to see and borrow each other's innovations when they met at the trading posts. Nevertheless, participation in the fur trade probably diversified

local practices more than it standardized them.

Indigenous people already distinguished each other, among other ways, by the different characters and predominant resources of the territories around their respective winter villages. Those who dwelled on the salt water moved to different economic rhythms and ordered their social relations differently than those in the shadows of the mountains. It is likely that the fur trade exaggerated these contrasts, because people whose homes bordered salt water thoroughfares had more occasions than their inland neighbors to profit from trading and brokering. Residents of Nisqually country, who could also acquire the King George men's goods by providing them with various services, had strong incentives to adjust their living patterns in ways that differed from people even fifty miles away.[111]

Within the various villages or clusters of villages people also distinguished several classes or castes. In addition to the well-to-do there were slaves -- most from distant lands -- and people whose poverty and lack of industry caused the well-bred to regard them as low class.[112] It stands to reason that the fur merchants' introduction of new sources of wealth encouraged the break-up and realignment of classes within some native communities. For instance, by opening its stores to anyone who provided furs or labor, the Hudson's Bay Company made it possible for all ambitious persons to acquire European goods.[113] Even though the early trade enhanced especially the status of men who already commanded resources and respect, it enriched humbler people as well. Some of the latter people must have used the wealth they acquired in trading or paid work to escape from

subordinate positions in wealthier men's households. Tales of people who rose from humiliating poverty to prestigious prosperity were traditional favorites in Puget Sound families. Now that the tales could come true, even for people without proper training, there was reason to question the bases for some long-accepted social relations.[114]

The Europeans' presence also triggered a diversification of local religious practices and laid the basis for unprecedented conflict about spiritual matters. As Skagit shaman John Fornsby later said, some people believed the Christians, and some did not.[115] In addition, since wealth was a sign of religious fulfillment, the influx of wealth provided a basis for new people, besides the Europeans, to claim they had special access to powerful spirits. Early in 1835, for example, a young Suquamish man attracted a following when he described receiving a "written paper" and eighteen blankets from on high. Rumors circulated that the visionary had a coat covered with dollars and had promised to make believers prosperous by distributing blankets annually. According to the Fort Nisqually journal, the man's influence dissipated when someone discovered that he had gotten his riches from graves rather than from heaven.[116]

Confronted with such novel events or simply with the King George men's strange ways, many indigenous people must have become more acutely conscious of themselves and of the lifeways they had long taken for granted. Some may have weighed their countrymen's powers and accomplishments against those of the foreign newcomers. The people who did so had reasons besides the King George men's riches and awesome weapons to see themselves as

King George men's riches and awesome weapons to see themselves as relatively weak, but they also had reasons to think the balance was in their favor.

Some scholars argue that Puget Sound villagers' early interest in Christianity reflects profound doubt about their own power -- a crisis of confidence precipitated by devastating epidemics. The argument has a compelling logic. Previously unknown diseases, which local shamans were powerless to cure, had killed thousands of people in the two preceding generations. Death rates were so extraordinary that people in afflicted communities probably lost their mental and emotional bearings, at least temporarily.[117] Mortality estimated at twenty to eighty percent must also have disrupted kinship networks and subsistence activities on which individuals' material well-being and spiritual self-confidence depended.[118]

In the same era many local communities had also suffered humiliations at the hands of bellicose outsiders with formidable warrior powers. Before fur traders set up residence in the Puget Sound area, their activities had enriched, armed, and emboldened communities on Vancouver Island and along the coast farther north. Cowichans, Kwakiutl, Songish, and other northern peoples descended with increasing frequency on the more pacific inhabitants south of the straits. Frank Allen's ancestors told of a time when attacks by the Kwakiutl prompted a meeting of warriors from at least ten places around the sound. All but two of the communities represented had lost loved ones and property to the northerners.[119]

Since the King George men appeared less vulnerable than local people to epidemics and northern raiders, there was

incentive to hear what they had to say about their supernatural partners and to follow their advice. To some natives it also seemed prudent to propitiate the Europeans' spirit powers because of the likelihood that they could cause the new illnesses. Moreover, if the foreigners could control spirits that made local villagers sick, they could cure or ensure health as well as.[120]

Not surprisingly, then, some native people appealed to the King George men to treat their illnesses. Many also requested or accepted the medicine that prevented the whites from getting smallpox. The traders occasionally flattered themselves that such appeals enabled them to demonstrate superior powers in life and death matters, but the Indians did not consult them to the exclusion of indigenous medical practitioners.[121] After a night made sleepless by the singing and drumming of people who were doctoring a company laborer's wife according to aboriginal procedures, William Kittson wrote, "Sometime I have endeavored to stop the business but believe to no purpose as she is bent on getting blowed by her countrymen." He added that the woman at times had applied to him for medicine yet credited her native doctors with any relief she got.[122]

The sick woman was wise to hedge her bets. British treatments required no less faith in the doctor's control of invisible forces than did "getting blowed," and the British did not demonstrate such control any more infallibly than local shamans did. With Dover's powder, blistering, and warm water foot baths, Kittson appeared to relieve one man's sore throat, but he was powerless to prevent the deaths of his two children when an epidemic scourged the fort a year later. Had Kittson

sought the help of native doctors, the indigenous people would not have construed his act as an admission that English medicine was inferior, for it was common local practice to seek the help of doctors in outside communities.[123]

In other words, neither their curiosity about Christianity nor their willingness to try British medicine is evidence that the first Puget Sound aborigines who had occasion to compare themselves to Europeans lost confidence in themselves as a result. On the contrary, if many of them did approach the Europeans with the hope of contacting and possibly wielding powers as awesome as those of the foreigners, their actions are testimony to their courage. Approaching powerful beings was not a task for the faint-hearted. Rather than doubt about their own worthiness, the native peoples' approach to the Christians suggests a good measure of self-confidence.

Several other factors make it unlikely that the people whom Englishmen called Indians compared themselves wholesale to all "whites" and found themselves deficient. The first is that, for all their amazing accomplishments, the foreigners fell short of many indigenous standards of merit. In the language of south Puget Sound peoples, an elderly native man told a twentieth-century ethnographer, the term for English or white people derives from the word for "left off" and thus connotes "something lacking."[124]

We can infer some of the Britons' perceived shortcomings from what many nineteenth-century south sound peoples considered proper. Most of the King George men lacked wives and families when they came. They lacked the natives' knowledge of the

country and its natural bounty and of the rules for using and renewing that bounty. Not only were they ignorant of fishing techniques, for instance, but until local people educated them they did not understand how important it was to ensure the salmon's return each year by treating the first fish of a run ceremonially.[125]

In other respects, too, the foreigners showed a lack of good advice. The most important men among them appeared lazy, bossing their dependents instead of working alongside them. They did not employ proper self-deprecating expressions when meeting people who were not their relatives. Some did not keep their tempers in check, as well-bred men and women should have. Occasionally, for example, Heron and Tolmie flew into rages, beating the men who worked for them.[126] The wonder is that the indigenous people did not proselytize among the foreigners.[127] (Perhaps they did, but their efforts are hard to see in the record the King George men left.)

Relations with the King George men were unlikely to disturb native people's estimation of their own abilities for a second important reason. Those relations had not thwarted most individuals' powers but had instead provided them with opportunities for display. The people who successfully exploited the foreigners' interest in trade acquired new wealth; and wealth, after all, was proof of estimable powers. Anyone who provided things or services the foreigners wanted could tap the astonishing fount of wealth they controlled. Most communities in the region, especially those in direct contact with the King George men, were therefore richer than they had ever been

before.[128]

Few if any native people would have worried that they had gained in wealth at the expense of strengths that traditionally sustained them. As groups they had not forsaken fishing, clam digging, berry picking, and root digging in order to trade. Most fit calls at the HBC posts into time-honored seasonal rounds, swapping beaver for blankets on their way to or from fishing places or ceremonial gatherings. Salmon migration schedules, not the desires of foreign traders, determined when they should fish and when they should trade.[129] Besides, if some individuals wished to augment their households' store of property by devoting more time to trapping, trading, or working for the King George men, they did not necessarily disrupt their family's other economic activities. In fact, their increasing wealth could enhance their households' productive capacity by making it possible to add wives and slaves.[130]

Intermarriage further militated against viewing native peoples as a single group inferior to the foreigners. By marrying female relatives to the King George men, local people not only crossed the boundaries separating them from the foreigners but also acquired by association a status comparable to their new in-laws.[131] Indeed, whatever the status of the individuals involved, unions of local women and King George men made it hard to create and maintain a ranked distinction between two kinds of people. Amorous or family connections often drew people into extensive, tangled social relations. For instance, Mr. Yale's wedding immediately embroiled him in tensions between her people and the Skagits, who claimed she was already married

to one of their men.[132] McDonald, hoping to prevent Indians from entering the Fort Langley compound to visit his men's wives, complained about the difficulty of keeping his men's family connections "within due bounds."[133]

Marriage alliances also blurred the lines between native and foreigner when women gave birth to children who were neither clearly foreigners nor clearly Indians. The mixed-ancestry children joined populations that were already heterogeneous. And heterogeneity was a fourth factor deterring adverse comparisons of indigenous people as a whole with the King George men as a whole. Neither Hudson's Bay Company staff nor the indigenous people acted as a unit.

Although the HBC arguably had its own culture, the King George men were hardly a homogenous society, as McLoughlin remarked in 1828. The native people perceived a commonality, calling all company servants King George men even though most were not British; and company culture did borrow heavily from early nineteenth-century English culture. The company expected its members to observe established standards of conduct, to participate in well defined social relations, and to interpret actions and events by reference to a common framework.[134] Nevertheless, company personnel differed from each other in place of origin or ethnic lineage, faith, and economic class.[135]

Relations among the diverse King George men often involved tests and reassertions of power similar to those between King George men and natives. Tolmie described beatings that both he and Heron administered in anger to underlings perceived as lazy or insolent. John McLoughlin had a reputation for abusing the

Canadians who constituted a majority of his workforce.[136] Occasionally McLoughlin's restless subjects reached out to native people for leverage against their tormenters in the company. One of Tolmie's outbursts, for example, came when a company laborer made Tolmie look bad to a native man.[137]

Conversely, the indigenous people, no more monolithic than the HBC workforce, did not act in solidarity toward the King George men. Events during the 1828 expedition to Dungeness were not alone in proving that individuals and groups in the native population could create or use ties with the foreigners as leverage in their contentions with each other.

What did the sundry native people, some of them strangers to each other, think when company gentlemen referred to all of them by the name "Indians"?[138] More than blankets and molasses, more than bastions and cannons, more than sermons and medicine, the King George men's label invited the indigenous inhabitants of the Puget Sound region to consider that there were only two kinds of people: Indians and others. As of the 1830s, however, most of what the so-called Indians saw and knew gave lie to that thought.

In November of 1833, preparing to leave Nisqually after nearly six months there, Tolmie settled accounts with the native woman who had done his laundry. He paid her a blanket, a shirt, four feet of cotton cloth, a neckcloth and stiffener, a pair of old trousers, a vest, seven knives, some gilt rings, and assorted trinkets.[139] Tolmie then spent five and a half years at posts farther north before returning to manage Fort Nisqually. During his absence, the Puget Sound establishment's mission changed.

The change meant that many more people than Tolmie's washerwoman began acquiring European goods not by trading furs but by working for the King George men.

On November 22, 1837, Fort Nisqually's Chief Trader noted: "The Indians do not visit us as usual, and our returns in furs are much in the back ground to those of last year at this date." A few months later James Douglas, acting Chief Factor, advised his superiors that Nisqually's fur intake continued to taper off. On the other hand, Douglas added, agricultural efforts at Nisqually had proved worthwhile, the poor soil there notwithstanding. Not long after receiving Douglas's letter, the HBC's directors decided to set up a subsidiary joint stock enterprise called the Puget Sound Agricultural Company. Fort Nisqually became a holding of the new company. By 1841 4,500 sheep and 1,000 cattle grazed where there had been eleven head of cattle and four oxen only four years earlier.[140]

For many native people this shift in emphasis meant expanded opportunities to acquire British goods. At least since the day when Heron and Tolmie passed out tobacco and ammunition to men who had moved goods up the hill, local people had known that they could earn rewards by helping the King George men with projects at Nisqually. They had helped not only to unload and carry cargo but also to cut wood, construct buildings, wash clothes, and keep house. Because Hudson's Bay had always intended to grow food while it collected furs, native people had also helped with some agricultural tasks.[141]

When the company decided to emphasize agriculture over furs at Nisqually, its need for workers increased. Indians continued

to exchange furs and other items for blankets, clothing, ammunition, tobacco, and metal tools; but they also came to shear sheep, round up cattle, build fences, plant and harvest peas and potatoes, and spread manure. By the time Tolmie moved back to Nisqually in 1843, people in several indigenous communities knew the King George men not only as trading partners but also as supervisors of production.[142]

For everyone involved, the first years of the fur trade had required recurring tests and renewals of the basis for friendly relations. As in modern international affairs, relations among the different peoples -- whether from Skagit, Suquamish, King George, Boston, or Owyhee -- involved uneasiness and suspicions that did not disappear with a successful trade or even with kinship by marriage. Understandings reached between King George men and Nisqually villagers or between Nisqually and Snohomish villagers had to be continually renewed symbolically. The rituals of the fur trade culture provided the means of doing this. Those people who had learned by 1843 how to maneuver on the cultural bridge between peoples had important powers they could use in their respective communities' interests. They had also acquired training they would need during events to come.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER 1

1. "Dungeness Klallam marries captured Skagit girl," Twana Narratives, ed. Elmendorf, 108-9. For Elmendorf's orthography, I have substituted in brackets the Roman characters that approximate the same phonetic values.

2. Ibid., 115. Henry Allen refers to the white man's [spuhlatch] or capsizing, using the metaphor that also denotes the change of the world at the end of myth times.

3. Charles Wilkes, Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition During the Years 1838-1842, Vol. 2 (Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchard, 1850), 178; Works Progress Administration, Told By the Pioneers (Washington Pioneers Project, 1937), Vol. II, 84; James G. Swan, The Northwest Coast: or Three Years Residence in Washington Territory (New York: Harper, 1857; reprint, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1972), 196; "Captain Henry Roder's Narrative," from narratives and interviews of early settlers collected by Hubert Howe Bancroft in 1878, copy at University of Washington Library, Microfilm 20 [hereafter Bancroft collection].

4. Edward S. Curtis, The North American Indian, Vol. 9, ed. Frederick Webb Hodge (1913; reprint New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1970), 24-25; Mary Ann Lambert [Vincent], Dungeness Massacre and Other Regional Tales (n.p., 1961), 9-12. Both these accounts portray the murders as justifiable reactions to humiliating treatment at the hands of McKenzie and his companions. In the latter account the Hudson's Bay Company men have become Americans. For an excellent discussion of the significance of themes that persist in folklore, see William Simmons, Spirit of the New England Tribes: Indian History and Folklore, 1620-1984 (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1986).

5. McLoughlin to Deputy Governor and Committee, July 10, 1828, in E.E. Rich, ed., McLoughlin's Fort Vancouver Letters, 1825-1848 (London: The Champlain Society for the Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1941), 55.

6. Word of the Klallams' expectations reached Hudson's Bay Company clerk Frank Ermatinger and his colleagues, through a native guide, as they journeyed through south Puget Sound toward Dungeness. F. Ermatinger, "Earliest Expedition against Puget Sound Indians," ed. Eva Emery Dye, Washington Historical Quarterly 1 (1907): 22, 28-29.

7. Ermatinger, "Earliest Expedition," 21.

8. Ibid., 23-24.

9. Ibid., 26-27.

10. Ibid., 28-29. For the benefit of his superiors, McLoughlin described the Indians at New Dungeness as forted up, ready to give battle, and stalling for five days while the British negotiated for the captive woman's release. The Snohomish whose approach prompted the two Klallam men to bolt, he said, were intermediaries returning from consultation with people in the village. McLeod and company suspected that the Klallam chiefs, who had been requesting a council on shore, fled because they had planned some treachery that would be discovered when the Snohomish arrived. McLoughlin's Vancouver Letters, 63-64.

11. Instructive works of this genre include works cited in the Introduction -- Todorov, The Conquest of America; Dening, Islands and Beaches; Sahlins, Historical Metaphors and Mythical Realities; White, The Middle Ground; Merrell, The Indians' New World; Gutierrez, When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away -- plus Inga Clendinnen, Ambivalent Conquests (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

12. Sahlins, Historical Metaphors and Mythical Realities, 8. In The Middle Ground White provides a lucid summary of this process at x and Chapter 2, 50-93. Daniel T. Linger speaks of "common sense" -- an amalgam of thought and sentiment -- as forming the core of culture. Core common sense, he adds, is found in learned views of religion, familial relations, and economic relations. "The Hegemony of Discontent," American Ethnologist 20 (1993): 3-24.

13. McLoughlin's Fort Vancouver Letters, 55, 63-4.

14. Ermatinger, "Earliest Expedition," 16-17, 29; McLoughlin's Fort Vancouver Letters, 63-4.

15. Letters of Dr. John McLoughlin Written at Fort Vancouver, ed. Burt Brown Parker (Portland: Binford & Mort for Oregon Historical Society, 1948), 83; William Todd to Edward Ermatinger, July 15, 1829, in Washington Historical Quarterly 1 (1907): 257.

16. See Elmendorf, Twana Narratives, 60-64, 126-153, and the recollections of warfare recorded by Myron Eells. The Indians of Puget Sound: The Notebooks of Myron Eells, ed.

George P. Castile (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1985), 24; Elmendorf, Structure of Twana Culture, 467; Collins, Valley of the Spirits, 115; Gunther, "Klallam Ethnography," 266-270. Gunther's consultants also said that time-consuming discussions of the adversaries' various demands and refusals to pay were common. The British did not purport to take slaves -- a common end of Indian raids; yet they did leave the Klallam villages with two children, and surviving Indian adults could reasonably have concluded that the children would be enslaved.

17. William Fraser Tolmie, Physician and Fur Trader (Vancouver, Canada: Mitchell Press, Ltd., 1963), 238, 200; McLoughlin to McDonald, June 17, 1829, Letters...Written at Fort Vancouver, 13. The Suquamish could have fabricated this report. Hudson's Bay Company personnel suspected that many of the reports they received from Indians were invented in order to gain advantages in trade or other dealings with King George men. See, for example, "Occurrences at Nisqually House," in Works Progress Administration, Told by the Pioneers, Vol. I (Olympia: Washington Pioneer Project, 1937), 20; Tolmie, Physician and Fur Trader, 238.

18. Curtis, The North American Indian, 24-25; Lambert, Dungeness Massacre, 9-12.

19. Clendinnen also notes how important to the Mayas' interpretation of their relations with Spanish invaders was the Spanish weapons' superior ability to kill. Ambivalent Conquests, 34.

20. McLoughlin's Fort Vancouver Letters, 58 (requested use of vessel Eagle to transport expedition members so as to prevent Indians from accompanying us to Dungeness).

21. Letters of...McLoughlin Written at Fort Vancouver, 83.

22. Among Puget Sound peoples, scores could be evened by supernatural means; so the Klallams could have taken credit for any subsequent deaths or disasters among the King George men. Twana Narratives; Elmendorf, Structure of Twana Culture, 474. It was also common to wait a long time before evening a score. Snyder, "Skagit Society and Its Existential Basis," 428; Joseph Thomas Heath, Memoirs of Nisqually, ed. Lucille McDonald (Fairfield, Washington: Ye Galleon Press, 1979), 105.

23. Pamela Amoss, "The Power of Secrecy among the Coast Salish," in The Anthropology of Power, ed. Raymond D. Fogelson and Richard N. Adams (New York: Academic Press,

1977), 134; Pamela Amoss, Coast Salish Spirit Dancing: The Survival of an Ancestral Religion (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1978), 12, 172; Collins, Valley of the Spirits, 82; William W. Elmendorf, "Coast Salish Concepts of Power: Verbal and Functional Categories," in The Tsimshian and Their Neighbors of the North Pacific Coast, eds. Jay Miller and Carol M. Eastman (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1984), 282-283; Elmendorf, Structure of Twana Culture, 334, 481-482; Gunther, "Klallam Ethnography," 291; Smith, The Puyallup-Nisqually, 56, 153, 167; Wayne Suttles, Coast Salish Essays (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1987), 204; Wayne Suttles and Barbara Lane, "Southern Coast Salish," in Handbook of North American Indians, ed. William C. Sturtevant (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1990), 497. A less scholarly but consistent explication of powers appears in a letter from William McCluskey, son of a Lummi Indian, to Charles M. Buchanan, April 16, 1918, National Archives, Pacific Northwest Region, Record Group 75, Tulalip Agency Box 71. Artist Paul Kane, who visited the Puget Sound in 1847, said that natives attributed his power of portraying individuals entirely to supernatural agency. Wanderings of an Artist among the Indians of North American from Canada to Vancouver's Island and Oregon through the Hudson's Bay Company's Territory and Back Again (1859; Toronto: The Radisson Society of Canada, 1925), 138.

24. In practice, most people who succeeded in their quests for spirit power had proper advice and training from elders; and the families best able to ensure their younger members' success were those who already had good training and socially desirable powers. In other words, good relations with spirits, wealth, and prestige tended not only to be of a piece but also to perpetuate themselves in certain elite lineages. Collins, Valley of the Spirits, 81, 124; Collins, "Multilineal Descent," Elmendorf, Structure of Twana Culture, 333-34; Smith, The Puyallup-Nisqually, 48; Snyder, "Skagit Society and Its Existential Basis," 96, 99, 135.

25. Amoss, "The Power of Secrecy," 134, 136; Marian Smith, "The Puyallup of Washington," in Acculturation of Seven Indian Tribes, ed. Ralph Linton (New York: Appleton Century Company, 1940), 15; Smith, The Puyallup-Nisqually, 153; Elmendorf, Twana Culture, 508; Marian W. Smith, "The Coast Salish of Puget Sound, American Anthropologist 43 (1941): 15. While living among natives of the Lower Chehalis River in the early 1850s, James G. Swan found Indians naturally reserved before strangers, suspicious and distrustful, deeming every man his enemy until proved otherwise. The Northwest Coast, 152.

Marian Smith notes that people who had acquired spirit-bestowed powers were those who had confidence to venture into areas where they were likely to encounter strangers. The Puyallup-Nisqually, 40.

26. Although the fleeing people no doubt would have feared that the King George men had dangerous powers, their conditioned alarm at the approach of strangers also reflects the knowledge that outsiders might raid them for slaves or property. The central Puget Salish dialect includes a word that Hess translates as "hide self and family from enemy raiding party" and another word meaning "wipe out a village, annihilate whole populace." Dictionary of Puget Salish. See the discussion below of early nineteenth-century increases in raiding by northern groups and Twana Narratives for tales of many such raids. Snyder says of the Upper Skagit Valley peoples that strangers, by definition, were those who had designs on your property. "Skagit Society and Its Existential Basis," 434.

27. The Lummi spoke of themselves as a strong people. Stern, The Lummi Indians, 97. References to the Klallams' thunder power appear in John Peabody Harrington, Papers at the Smithsonian Institution, University of Washington Microfilm A-6952, Reel 16, 142. A war story collected by Erna Gunther suggests that these are short-hand ways of saying that many Klallam warriors had thunder power. According to Gunther's account of a raid on the Snohomish, all but one of the Klallam men who went had thunder power. "Klallam Ethnography," 291. On the other hand, Elmendorf says Twana people believed that villages as well as individuals had something called sho'i, which he translates as luck or fortune. If their sho'i suffered harm, disasters would follow. Structure of Twana Culture, 524.

28. Practically all the spirits that Klallam descendants described for Erna Gunther in the early 1920s either brought wealth directly or bestowed powers by which wealth could be obtained. "Klallam Ethnography," 291. See also, Smith, The Puyallup-Nisqually, 71.

29. Regarding the Klallams' reputation as warriors, see Gunther, "Klallam Ethnography," 26. For claims that other groups, particularly to the south of the Klallams, afforded greater prestige to peaceful pursuits than to success in war, see Elmendorf, Structure of Twana Culture, 465-466; Smith, The Puyallup-Nisqually, 71; Suttles, Coast Salish Essays, 20.

30. Pamela Amoss argues that since the Salish Indians had always determined whether a person had appropriate relations with supernaturals by his or her performance in worldly affairs, they would have evaluated favorably the religious practices of people with guns, metals, textiles, and other wealth goods. Amoss, Coast Salish Spirit Dancing, 22, 172.

31. See discussion in Introduction. For a cogent discussion of similar networks of marriage, visiting, resource collecting, war, and trade linking diverse peoples of the lower Columbia River region, see Hajda, "Regional Social Organization in the Greater Lower Columbia."

32. For oral traditions about the Puget Sound peoples' reactions to first encounters with Europeans or Americans, see Collins, Valley of the Spirits, 31; Albert Reagan, "Some Notes on the Lummi-Nooksack Indians" (1934), manuscript in the Special Collections Library, University of Washington; Samuel Hancock, The Narrative of Samuel Hancock, 1845-1860 (New York: McBride & Company, 1927), 169-70; Clarence Bagley, "Traditions of Vancouver's Appearance" in Indian Myths of the Northwest (Seattle: Lowman & Hanford Company, 1930), 102-3. Other indigenous peoples of the Americas made analogous attempts to explain the first whites they saw by reference to their religious and mythological knowledge. Gutierrez, When Jesus Came; Simmons, Spirit of the New England Tribes; Sahlins, Historical Metaphors and Mythical Realities; Todorov, Conquest of America.

33. Vancouver, A Voyage of Discovery, 546; Ram Raj Prasad Singh, "Aboriginal Economic Systems of the Olympic Peninsula Indians, Western Washington" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington, 1956), 150.

34. "The Journal of John Work, November and December 1824," ed. T.C. Elliott, Washington Historical Quarterly 3 (1912): 198-228; "Journal of the HBC Company Kept at Fort Langley during the Years 1827-29," manuscript in Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California; copy at University of Washington Library, Microfilm 164, July 6, 7, 9, 1827; Dr. John Scouler, "Journal of a Voyage to N.W. America," Oregon Historical Society Quarterly 6 (1905): 199, 195-6.

35. Vancouver's crew concluded from the presence of European goods in several Puget Sound communities, including two swords worn by a man on Whidbey Island, that the people had trade relations with natives involved in the maritime trade to the northwest. Vancouver, A Voyage of Discovery, 565; L.A. Bennett, "Effect of White Contact on the Lower Skagit Indians," Washington Archaeological

Society Occasional Papers 3 (1972): 10; Collins, Valley of the Spirits, 26; Erna Gunther, "Vancouver and the Indians of Puget Sound," Pacific Northwest Quarterly (1960): 5; Delbert J. McBride, "Viewpoints and Visions in 1792, Columbia (Summer 1990): 26. Twana consultants told Elmendorf that their ancestors had long-standing ties to the Chinook, who were in regular contact with Europeans and Americans from the beginning of the nineteenth century. The Structure of Twana Culture, 289.

36. For evidence that Puget Sound peoples focused on the skin color, unflattened foreheads, and speech of Europeans and Americans see Vancouver, A Voyage of Discovery, 565; Kane, Wanderings of an Artist, 124; Gunther, "Klallam Ethnography," 232, 236 ; Smith, The Puyallup-Nisqually, 29; J.P. Harrington Papers, Roll 10.

37. "Journal...Kept at Fort Langley," July 6, 7, 9, 1827; Scouler, "Journal of a Voyage," 199, 195-6; "Journal of John Work."

38. The same year that Vancouver explored Puget Sound an American ship used its cannons against natives in two locations less than two hundred miles to the west of Puget Sound. "John Boit's Log of the Columbia," Oregon Historical Quarterly 22 (1921): 257-356. In 1853 an old native man on the Olympic Peninsula told in convincing detail how an Astor Fur Company ship destroyed a village on Vancouver Island in 1811. The Narrative of Samuel Hancock, 169-72. Hajda suggests that Indians at the mouth of the Columbia would have credited themselves with admirably sharp dealing when they got metal and other precious objects for foodstuffs such as fish, since they had formerly kept exchanges of food separate from exchanges of valuables. "Regional Social Organization in the Greater Lower Columbia," 270.

39. "Journal of John Work," 208; "Journal...Kept at Fort Langley;" Scouler, "Journal of a Voyage to N.W. America," 195, 196, 197. Regarding Pierre Charles's status, see "Notes Copied from the Hudson's Bay Company Accounts at Fort Nisqually 1833-1850," ms. in Special Collections Library, University of Washington. Tolmie identified Pierre Charles as an Indian from Montreal, in Physician and Fur Trader, 203.

40. In 1826-27 James Douglas produced a census for the region south of the Fraser River around Puget Sound and Hood Canal. Without indicating the source of the names used, he listed sixteen tribes, their estimated populations of men -- possibly warriors -- and a few chiefs. In counterclockwise order of their supposed location around

the waterways, the tribes as Douglas named them are: Tlalams, Toannis, Squams, Nisquallus, Pyallups, Sinawamus, Simahooms, Skewhams (inland), Scatchads, Soquimmy, Smallous (inland), Sumamy, Whyllummy, Ossaaks, Noheums, Nahews, Summames. Russel Barsh, "Census Data for the Snohomish Tribe of Indians," Appendix V, Petition of the Snohomish Tribe of Indians for Federal Acknowledgment, 1980 (copy supplied by the Snohomish Tribe).

41. E.E. Rich, "Trade Habits and Economic Motivation among the Indians of North America," Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science XXVI (1960): 35-53; Sylvia Van Kirk, Many Tender Ties: Women in Fur-Trade Society, 1670-1870 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), 10; Johansen, Dorothy O., and Charles M. Gates, Empire of the Columbia: A History of the Pacific Northwest (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957), 150 (McLoughlin, from Canada, had 18 years' experience in the trade before coming to Vancouver); David K. Chance, "Influences of Hudson's Bay Company on the Native Culture of the Colvile District," Northwest Anthropological Research Notes 7 (1973): 80, 85, 87.

42. Robin Fisher, Contact and Conflict: Indian-European Relations in British Columbia, 1774-1890 (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1977), 24-26; Johansen and Gates, Empire of the Columbia, 145-146; Helen Norton, "Women and Resources of the Northwest Coast: Documentation from the 18th and Early 19th Centuries" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington, 1985), 207; Rich, "Trade Habits and Economic Motivations," 42-44.

43. Fisher, Contact and Conflict, 38-40. For a similar claim regarding the fur trade in general, see Arthur J. Ray, Indians in the Fur Trade: their role as trappers, hunters, and middlemen in the lands southwest of Hudson Bay, 1610-1870 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974), Preface.

44. See Rich, "Trade Habits and Economic Motivation;" Ray, Indians in the Fur Trade.

45. " Journal...Kept at Fort Langley," September 8, 1857. John Scouler wrote in 1825 that his shipmates expected to take more caution among the northern tribes than among the friendly people of the Columbia River area. But we have no reason to expect danger, he added, since our crew is well armed, and a party of thirteen Hawaiian natives "will make us perfectly secure." "Journal of a Voyage to N.W. America," 176-7. Other references to the need to

project an intimidating image appear in McLoughlin's Fort Vancouver Letters, 58; Douglas Census, 1826-27.

46. "Journal of the HBC Kept at Fort Langley," July and August, 1827; September 8, 1827.

47. Physician and Fur Trader, 211, 209. In the fall the Nisqually crew built a line of pickets connecting the corners of their buildings and covering doors and windows to protect against attacks and "in some degree a security against (the) depredations of the Indians living (nearby) who take every opportunity of pilfering...." A month later they put small poles between the pickets to keep Indians from peering inside. "Occurrences at Nisqually House," in Told by the Pioneers, Vol. I, 19-20; 41-42; 50.

48. Tolmie, Physician and Fur Trader, 204, 207-8; "Occurrences at Nisqually House," in Told by the Pioneers, 10, 15; Clarence B. Bagley, ed. "Journal of Occurrences at Nisqually House," Washington Historical Quarterly 6 (1915): 188-89, 191.

49. Physician and Fur Trader, 219, 230-232.

50. "Journal...Kept at Fort Langley," August 20, 1827; October 3, 1827; "Journal of Occurrences at Fort Nisqually," Records of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company, University of Washington Manuscripts, June 13, August 15, August 21, August 22, August 27, August 28, August 29, September 27, and October 4, 1833.

51. Physician and Fur Trader, 215; "Journal of Occurrences," August 6, August 23, December 9, 1833.

52. During Tolmie's first months at Nisqually, the company had only six "effective" men. A seventh, Pierre Charles, was out of commission with a severely injured foot. Physician and Fur Trader, 209. In 1834 the post's staff was up to fifteen, but in subsequent years it was not always that large. "Notes Copied from Hudson's Bay Company Accounts." Regarding the staffing of Fort Langley, see John McLoughlin to Archibald McDonald, June 17, 1829, in Letters of Dr. John McLoughlin Written at Fort Vancouver, 12.

53. "Journal...Kept at Fort Langley," September 2, 1827. Although Hudson's Bay Company aimed to make its posts independent of Indians for subsistence, Fort Langley employees could not wholly sustain themselves. They regularly bought sturgeon and salmon from local fishers. In 1830, when floods and bugs wiped out their crops, they

no doubt relied more heavily than they wished on such purchases; and when men from Fort Langley went south to help establish Fort Nisqually three years later, they again expected local people to supply them with fish and game. See "Journal of Occurrences at Nisqually House," June 16, 1833.

54. "Journal...Kept at Fort Langley," October 3, 1827; June 25, 1828; "Journal of Occurrences at Nisqually House," June 13, June 16, and September 27, 1833.

55. Physician and Fur Trader, 215, 220; "Journal of Occurrences," June 21, July 27, September 27, 1833. The Nisqually journal for September 18, 1838, lists as taken in trade for the month 150 mats, 234 bladders of oil, 120 dried salmon, and hyoquois (shell money). As late as June 1835 Fort Nisqually personnel were on short rations for lack of Indian-supplied game. "Journal of Occurrences," May 29 and June 10, 1835. In the 1840s Nisqually traders took in salmon, venison, shellfish, acorns, and other foodstuffs from Indian customers. Excerpts from Fort Nisqually Indian Blotters, in Helen Norton, "The Economy and Ecology of the Snohomish Tribe of Indians 1792-1865" (unpublished manuscript produced for Snohomish Tribe of Indians, 1990), Appendix 67-81.

56. Tolmie, Physician and Fur Trader, 209, 215; "Journal of Occurrences," June 13 and June 16, 1833; Bagley, "Journal of Occurrences," 192. On July 10, 1828, McDonald recorded that when he refused a chief the honor of bringing all his people into the fort, the man got on "his high horse," declared that he would not be treated so shabbily, and refused to trade. "Journal...Kept at Fort Langley."

57. "Journal of Occurrences," August 5, October 26, 1834; January 1 and February 19, 1835; Bagley, Washington Historical Quarterly 7: 162; Physician and Fur Trader, 239, 241. For a summary of the company's acquiescence in Indian ceremonies of trade that did not conform to British commercial practice, see Ray, Indians in the Fur Trade, 65-67, 137, 139; Chance, "Influences of Hudson's Bay Company on the Native Culture," 91; Rich, "Trade Habits and Economic Motivations among the Indians of North America;" Norton, "Women and Resources of the Northwest Coast."

58. Karl Polanyi says that with the emergence of a market economy Europeans began to conceive of an economic sphere sharply delimited from other institutions of society. "[I]nstead of the economic system being embedded in social relationships, these relationships were now

embedded in the economic system." Polanyi, "Our Obsolete Market Mentality," in Primitive, Archaic, and Modern Economies, ed. George Dalton (Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, Doubeday and Co., Inc., 1968). Other scholars describe money as the symbol and creator of the increasingly abstract nature of human relations. As people in Europe and its colonies became less closely identified with what they produced, and as people engaged in more exchanges that did not require a basis in other social relations, interpersonal dependency decreased and trade transactions themselves lost many of their former individual and group social implications. Nicholas Peterson and Toshi Matsuyama, eds., Cash, Commoditisation and Changing Foragers, (Osaka, Japan: National Museum of Ethnology, Senri Ethnological Studies, 1991), 2-5.

59. Gunther, "Klallam Ethnography," 213; Barbara Lane, "Political and Economic Aspects of Indian-White Culture Contact in Western Washington in the Mid-Nineteenth Century" (report bound by University of Washington, 1973), 10; Smith, The Puyallup-Nisqually, 146; Brian M. Fagan, Clash of Cultures (New York: W.H. Freeman & Company, 1984), 217. Of the Tlingit Sergei Kan says that wealth objects used in a ceremonial system of exchange expressed feelings about the relations of participants. Kan, Symbolic Immortality: The Tlingit Potlatch of the 19th Century (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1989), 209. Things obtained from outsiders had the most value. Ibid., 245. Indians along the Mississippi River made similar use of commerce with Europeans to serve their political and social needs. Daniel H. Usner, Jr., Indians, Settlers, & Slaves in a Frontier Exchange Economy: The Lower Mississippi Valley before 1873 (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1982), 26-27, 211. For a general discussion of some differences in the economic models of Europeans and "non-Westerners," see Gudeman, Economics as Culture. For a discussion specific to Hawaii, see Sahlins, Historical Metaphors, 31, 44.

60. Gunther, "Klallam Ethnography," 213, 261; M. Smith, "The Puyallup-Nisqually," 48; 108, 138, 144-45; Smith, "The Puyallup of Washington," 14; Stern, The Lummi, 71; Suttles, Coast Salish Essays, 20; Underhill, Indians of the Pacific Northwest, 171; T.T. Waterman, "Notes on the Ethnology of the Indians of Puget Sound [1921]," Indian Notes and Monographs: Miscellaneous Series No. 59 (1973), 76.

61. Smith, The Puyallup-Nisqually, 48; Suttles, Coast Salish Essays, 15-25. Tslalakum, a Suquamish "chief" who became a favored trading partner of the King George men, once

agreed to go with Tolmie and five others to Fort Langley but reneged on this agreement when a change of plans meant that no Hudson's Bay Company "chief" would make the trip. Physician and Fur Trader, 219. Although the Fort Nisqually employees did not record what men such as Tslalakum did with their wealth, ethnographies and Indian tradition leave little doubt that they redistributed their property in intravillage and intervillage ceremonies.

62. "Journal of Occurrences," November 15, 1833; September 7, 1834; January 11, January 18, January 29, and February 18, 1835; "Journal...Kept at Fort Langley," October 2, 1827; Tolmie, Physician and Fur Trader, 234.

63. Tolmie, Physician and Fur Trader, 204, 207-8; "Journal of Occurrences," June 22, July 27, August 3, 1833.

64. Fort Langley and Fort Nisqually journal entries generally do not use the term "Indians" for company personnel, such as Pierre Charles, who were Iroquois or from other indigenous tribes to the east. The "Indians" were the local people.

65. Rich, McLoughlin's Fort Vancouver Letters, 260.

66. Ibid. Elmendorf, Structure of Twana Culture, 289; Smith, The Puyallup-Nisqually, 153, 161; Stern, The Lummi Indians, 97, 99; Gunther, "Klallam Ethnography," 266; Suttles, Coast Salish Essays, 210, 220-21.

67. "Journal of Occurrences," August 23, 1833; September 23, 1835; Physician and Fur Trader, 223.

68. "Journal of Occurrences," January 30, April 5, August 9, and August 13, 1835; "Journal...Kept at Fort Langley," mentions raiding parties several times in March, May, and June of 1828 and September 11, 1828. The traders could not prevent the murder of their frequent courier Scanawa shortly after he left Fort Langley. Ibid., May 16, 1828.

69. Physician and Fur Trader, 220 ("Scetlam the Kaatchet chief having made peace with Chiatsazan [a resident of the village nearest to Fort Nisqually] by a present of two guns, was permitted to visit us...."); "Journal of Occurrences," January 18, 1835; September 7, 1834; "Journal...Kept at Fort Langley," October 8, 1827. The latter journal mentions ransoms on August 10 and September 7, 1827.

70. "Journal of Occurrences," September 7, 1834; January 11 and 18, 1835; April 5, 1835; September 6, 1835; October 18, 1835; February 12, 1837. Reports of gambling appear in Physician and Fur Trader, 214; "Journal of Occurrences," January 29, 1834; August 29, 1835; January 26, 1837; February 20, 1838.

71. Collins, "Multilineal Descent," 251-2; Elmendorf, "Coast Salish Status Ranking and Intergroup Ties," 361; Elmendorf, Structure of Twana Culture, 301, 325; Gunther, "Klallam Ethnography," 242; Haeberlin and Gunther, "Indians of Puget Sound," 50-51; Martin Sampson, Indians of Skagit County (Mt. Vernon, Washington: Skagit County Historical Society, 1972), 11; Smith, "The Puyallup of Washington," 20-21; Smith, The Puyallup-Nisqually, 32, 42-43; Stern, The Lummi Indians, 27; Underhill, Indians of the Pacific Northwest, 145.

72. "Journal of Occurrences," February 18, March 11, and October 18, 1835; February 18, 1837; January 5 and 6 and April 22, 1838. On January 2, 1837, Kittson noted that a Klallam man married to a woman of the place had moved his lodge near the fort. On December 30, 1836, the chief trader reported that Babillard, originally from the Snohomish region, had gone with his wives up the Nisqually River intending to live there.

73. "Journal of Occurrences," January 30, April 5, August 9 and 11, and September 23, 1835; January 9, 1836; January 15, 1837; "Journal...Kept at Fort Langley," August 25 and November 15, 1827; May 8, 1828. See also, Kane, Wanderings of an Artist among the Indians, 166.

74. "Journal...Kept at Fort Langley," August 25, August 10, November 15, 1827. In their second year, Nisqually traders built a house just outside the fort where strangers could stay. "Journal of Occurrences," November 25, 1834.

75. Bagley, "Journal of Occurrences," Washington Historical Quarterly 7 (1916): 161; "Journal of Occurrences," August 13, 1835; January 9, 1836; February 15 and 19, 1837; Chance, "Influences of the HBC," 87.

76. McLoughlin's Fort Vancouver Letters, 260.

77. Regarding women whose good will the traders cultivated, see Tolmie, Physician and Fur Trader, 215; "Journal of Occurrences," February 15, 1837.

78. During the first week of trading at Fort Nisqually, McDonald noted, "[T]he total absence of clothing -- hats and feathers for the Chiefs is to them an unaccountable ommission [sic]...." "Journal of Occurrences," June 16, 1833; June 21, June 24, July 5, August 5, 1833.

79. "Journal...Kept at Fort Langley," August 25, September 20, October 1, October 3, October 8, 1827; May 11, 1828. One "friend" served the company as a courier, shuttling between Fort Langley and the Cowlitz River far to the south. Nisqually historian Cecilia Svinth Carpenter identifies this man, whose name McDonald rendered "Scanawa," as "Chief Schunawa" and claims that his family lived at Sequalitchew village on the Nisqually River delta. Fort Nisqually: A Documented History of Indian and British Interaction (Tacoma, Washington: Tahoma Research, 1986), 32.

80. Physician and Fur Trader, 201.

81. "Journal of Occurrences," June 21, 1833.

82. Physician and Fur Trader, 219; "Journal of Occurrences," October 4, 1833; September 23, 1835; March 15, 1836; December 1, 1838.

83. Smith, The Puyallup-Nisqually, 153. Suttles says the Lummi arranged marriages with fur traders in order to create bonds between the two sets of people. "Post Contact Culture Change among the Lummi Indians," British Columbia Historical Quarterly 18 (1954): 47. For a general discussion of exogamy as a means to enter political alliances see Clastres, Society against the State, 52.

84. Physician and Fur Trader, 219, 215.

85. Tolmie later married the daughter of John Work, whose wife was an Indian. "Journal of John Work," editor's preface; "Diary of Colonel and Mrs. I.N. Ebey," ed. Victor J. Farrar, Washington Historical Quarterly 7 (1916): 320-1.

86. "Journal...Kept at Fort Langley," November 13, 1828.

87. Jennifer S.H. Brown, Strangers in Blood: Fur Trade Company Families in Indian Country (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1980); Van Kirk, Many Tender Ties.

88. For example, Letters of Dr. John McLoughlin, 185; "Journal...Kept at Fort Langley," November, 1828; "Journal of Occurrences," July 10, 1834; October 22, 1836; July 22, 1850; August 19, 1851; Tolmie, Physician and Fur Trader, 238.

89. White, The Middle Ground.

90. Physician and Fur Trader, 240.

91. Physician and Fur Trader, 223-24.

92. Ibid., 213, 219, 221; "Journal of Occurrences," December 22, 1833; August 10, 1834; February 1, 1835.

93. "Journal of Occurrences," August 10, 1834; Physician and Fur Trader, 219, 221; "Journal of Occurrences," February 1, 1835. Kittson also interfered with the observance of local menstrual taboos when observance prevented native women from performing tasks he had hired them to do. "Journal of Occurrences," November 25-28, 1835; January 2, 1837.

94. Physician and Fur Trader, 221-22 and 210, 213; "Journal of Occurrences," February 1, 1835.

95. W.S. Phillips, The Chinook Book (Seattle: R.L. Davis Printing Company, 1913); F.N. Blanchet, "Pronouncing Dictionary and Jargon Vocabulary to Which Is Added Numerous Conversations Enabling Any Person to Speak the Chinook Jargon," (Portland, Oregon: S.J. M'Cormick, 1853; reprinted as appendix to Paul Kane, The Columbia Wanderer, ed. Thomas Vaughan, Oregon Historical Society, 1971); Rev. M[yron] Eells, Ten Years of Missionary Work among the Indians at Skokomish, Washington Territory, 1874-1884 (Boston: Congregational Sunday-School and Publishing Society, 1886), 34; Swan, The Northwest Coast, 196.

96. According to Elmendorf, aboriginal Twana educational methods included "good advice," which consisted of highly moralistic, exhortations to be generous, industrious, self-controlled, and polite. The Structure of Twana Culture, 430. Gunther says that giving good advice was one criterion of leadership in Klallam communities. At upper class weddings, in particular, chiefs advised the newlyweds how to live by giving formal speeches to all assembled. "Klallam Ethnography," 261, 244. According to elderly Skagit Valley natives in the twentieth century, chiefs were those men who were able to "talk good" to their people and who advised them not to fight. Collins, Valley of the Spirits, 36-37; June McCormick

Collins, "John Fornsby: The Personal Document of a Coast Salish Indian," in Indians of the Urban Northwest, 293. At meetings regarding important issues of intervillage relations, the chiefs took turns addressing the people. Any important man could give an opinion and expect respectful attention. Haeberlin and Gunther, "Indians of Puget Sound," 58. According to Snyder, the Skagit used the word for a chief or high class person, si'ab, as a synonym for advice. "Skagit Society and Its Existential Basis," 118. Smith says the Puyallup-Nisqually word for advice also translates as "respect." The Puyallup-Nisqually, 167.

97. In his journal for June 13, 1833, Tolmie wrote, "The chiefs were treated with a long harangue from Babyar who is the most noisy, if not the most eloquent speaker I have ever heard & seems to delight in spouting." Physician and Fur Trader, 204. Clastres argues that American Indians who denied their chiefs political power viewed the chiefs' speeches as the opposite of war and a duty that chiefs owed the people. Society against the State, 131. Michael Harkin makes a similar argument for the prestige of Christian evangelists among the Heiltsuk. "Power and Progress: The Evangelic Dialogue among the Heiltsuk," Ethnohistory 48 (1993): 6.

98. Physician and Fur Trader, 242; Blanchet, "Pronouncing Dictionary and Jargon Vocabulary" ("Wawa" defined as to talk, pray, command, and "Sa-ha-le" defined as heaven, sky, above, high).

99. Smith, "The Puyallup of Washington," 15; Amoss, Coast Salish Spirit Dancing, 22. There seems little reason to doubt that inhabitants of the Puget Sound area had heard and become curious about the Europeans' intriguing religious ideas and practices well before they met traders and missionaries who could teach them about Christianity. Homer Garner Barnett, Indian Shakers: A Messianic Cult of the Pacific Northwest (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1957), 301.

100. "Journal of Occurrences," December 22, 1833.

101. Todorov, The Conquest of America, 74; Harkin, "Power and Progress," 3.

102. "Journal of Occurrences," December 22, 1833; August 10, 1834; December 29, 1833; January 26, 1834; May 25, 1834. Francis N. Blanchet and Modeste Demers, Notices and Voyages of the Famed Quebec Mission to the Pacific Northwest (Portland: Oregon Historical Society, 1956), 68.

103. Physician and Fur Trader, 222, 223. The transcriber of Tolmie's journal may be responsible for the S. Blanchet translates "Tamanowas" as ghost, spirit, goblin. "Pronouncing Dictionary," 28. W.S. Phillips's later dictionary, The Chinook Book, 92, explains "Tahamahnawis" as gods, magic, ghost, anything beyond human understanding, the unknown, the supernatural from any angle, anything the Indians does not see a logical sequence of events accounting for.

104. "Journal of Occurrences," February 12, 1837.

105. Ibid., February 6 and 7, 1839.

106. For ethnographic references to the singing of power songs at the outset of encounters with outsiders, see Smith, The Puyallup-Nisqually, 108; Gunther, "Klallam Ethnography," 306; Collins, "John Fornsby;" Myron Eells, "The Potlatches of Puget Sound," American Antiquarian 5 (1883): 135-147. Snyder says that groups arriving at potlatches sang warrior songs and challenged their hosts to mock battles. "Quest for the Sacred in Northern Puget Sound: An Interpretation of the Potlatch," Ethnology 14 (1975): 153. Vancouver noticed that people from Bainbridge Island who approached his ships in canoes

> would not repair immediately on board, but...advanced within about two hundred yards of the ship, and there resting on their paddles a conference was held, followed by a song principally sung by one man, who at stated times was joined in chorus by several others, whilst some in each canoe kept time with the handles of their paddles, by striking them against the gunwale or side of the canoe....This performance took place whilst they were paddling slowly round the ship, and on its being concluded, they came alongside with the greatest confidence, and without fear or suspicion immediately entered into a commercial intercourse with our people.

A Voyage of Discovery, 546.

107. See Smith, The Puyallup-Nisqually, 58, for the assertion that spirit powers usually appeared to young men who were in a trance-like state. It could be significant that when Tslalakum led people from Whidbey Island to the first Catholic mission on the Cowlitz River, he finished the long journey in a state of physical deprivation and exhaustion -- the kind of state that usually induced spirit powers to approach young native men. F.N.

Blanchet, Historical Sketches of the Catholic Church in Oregon During the Past Forty Years (Portland, 1878), 83. Snyder also says that suffering usually preceded encounters with spirit powers. "Skagit Society and Its Existential Basis," 223, 233. Elderly Skagit Valley Indians told June Collins in the 1940s that it was easy to get spirit powers in another country or near another people's village. Valley of the Spirits, 178. Two stories that Erna Gunther collected from Klallams also suggest that native people thought powerful new spirits not only accompanied the newcomers but could also be enlisted as Indians' partners. From Mrs. Robbie Davis, Gunther recorded, "A girl who is bathing for supernatural power...sees a steamboat painted white. She falls down unconscious, her body on the ground and her soul in the boat. The man on the boat tells her that it is full of smallpox, and measles. This gives her great power." In "Klallam Folk Tales," University of Washington Publications in Anthropology 1 (1925): 154, 122. In "Klallam Ethnography" at 291, Gunther told of an informant who acquired the spirit Tsitsqwilus, "coming from the north." "She saw a white ship coming through the air and landing where they used to live. The people in the ship gave her clothing and all kinds of wealth. This spirit made her shrewd in trading."

108. Blanchet, Historical Sketches of the Catholic Church in Oregon, alternate edition on University of Washington Microfilm A-2573, Reel 3, 63. Blanchet and Father Modeste Demers had a similar conversation with "the great Snohomish chief Schalapahen," who claimed to have defeated the Klalams in 1840 "by virtue of his beads and Catholic ladder." Ibid., 50.

109. For references to trifling presents, see "Journal...Kept at Fort Langley," June 27 and July 9, 1827. Regarding trade rituals, see Physician and Fur Trader, 215. For references to dispensations of tobacco, food, and rum see Bagley, Washington Historical Quarterly 7, 162; "Journal of Occurrences," January 1, 1835; December 19, 1836; Physician and Fur Trader, 163, 169, 238. Courier services are mentioned in the Fort Langley journal on February 26, 1830, and in the Fort Nisqually journal for March 15, 1836. Tolmie refers to the trade jargon and the need for interpreters in Physician and Fur Trader at 210 and 238. He notices the chiefs' habit of dressing sumptuously for important meetings at 163.

110. Physician and Fur Trader, 235-6.

111. Smith, The Puyallup-Nisqually, 29; Smith, Indians of the Urban Northwest, 13; "John Fornsby," 302-3; Helen Norton, "The Economy and Ecology of the Snohomish Tribe." People from Snoqualmie River Valley, which does not reach the salt water, did not appear in the Fort Nisqually journal until 1837. A journal entry for December 3, 1836, suggests that the successful exploitation of the fur trade prompted some wealthy men to change their residence patterns. William Kittson remarked that several men from beyond the Nisqually area were residing at the fort. "These we may say are our home guard for the winter."

112. "John Fornsby," 307. Snyder points out that the Skagit language has a rich vocabulary concerning class distinctions. "Skagit Society and Its Existential Basis," 116, 170. Anthropologists do not agree on how clear or how permeable were the lines between upper and lower classes in early nineteenth-century Puget Sound populations. Elmendorf argues that Twana who were poor could nevertheless claim membership in the upper class by virtue of their close relationship to upper class people. Structure of Twana Culture, 325. Undoubtedly, the devastating epidemics and other dislocations that followed from Europeans' appearance along the coast substantially affected class alignments and the ease with which people could move from class to class.

113. See "Journal of Occurrences" for June 13, 1833.

114. It is not possible to say whether all men identified in fur trade journals as chiefs were regarded before their successful trading ventures as men of high status. Probably most were; for few men would have dared to travel to the trading posts, well beyond their home grounds, without the extensive family ties and name recognition that characterized well-to-do leading men. Many so-called chiefs often acted as brokers -- a role they would have had difficulty filling if they did not command the respect of groups of food producers, as leading men did. Collins, "Multi-lineal Descent," 251; Sampson, Indians of Skagit County, 20; Suttles, Coast Salish Essays, 20; Singh, "Aboriginal Economic Systems,' 139, 149, 207. Scholars who conclude that the influx of European and American goods prompted the founding of villages of nouveaux riches include Collins and Snyder. Discussions of the belief in a humble person's ability to elevate his or her status appear in Underhill, Indians of the Pacific Northwest, 206; Betty Uchite'le Randall, "The Cinderella Theme in Northwest Coast Folklore," in Indians of the Urban Northwest, 244-257; Snyder, "Skagit Society," 131.

115. "John Fornsby," 311; Collins, Valley of the Spirits, 33.

116. "Journal of Occurrences," January 21, February 10, and February 18, 1835.

117. Some scholars have argued further that uncontrollable diseases undermined indigenous metaphysics, because Puget Sound peoples then attributed many life-threatening maladies and virtually all ability to cure such maladies to human-controlled supernatural forces. George Guilmet and his co-authors surmise not only that the ineffective shamans suffered disgrace but also that Puget Sound societies became more open to the introduction of new ideas. "The forces of the rumored but not-yet-contacted outsiders," they conclude, "may have appeared powerful and beyond local control." George M. Guilmet, Robert T. Boyd, David L. Whited, and Nile Thompson, "The Legacy of Introduced Disease: The Southern Coast Salish," American Indian Culture and Research Journal 15, (1991): 10. For the Salish theory of disease and curing see Elmendorf, The Structure of Twana Culture, 506-7; Swan, The Northwest Coast, 176; Gunther, "Klallam Ethnography," 300-301. Bad health, because it could result either from the sick person's lack of proper relations with the spirit world or from the secret actions of a shaman, caused tensions within communities. Collins, Valley of the Spirits, 172, 206; Smith, The Puyallup-Nisqually, 86.

118. The first documented epidemic -- smallpox -- swept through Coast Salish populations in the late 1770s, killing thirty to seventy-four percent of the people. Guilmet, "The Legacy of Introduced Disease," 7; 9-10. Carroll Riley estimated seventy to ninety percent of some north sound peoples died in an epidemic around 1825. Indian Claims Commission, Coast Salish and Western Washington Indians: Findings and Opinions (New York: Garland Publishing, 1974), 326. For eyewitness accounts of Indian reaction to later deadly epidemics, see The Narrative of Samuel Hancock, 181-183; Affidavit of Mathew Fleming enclosed with letter to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 7, 1922, National Archives, Pacific Northwest Region, Record Group 75, Records of Western Washington Agency, Box 259.

119. Twana Narratives, 146. See 128, 132-136 for other Twana tales of attacks by Vancouver Island groups on people south of the Strait of Juan de Fuca. Also, Curtis, The North American Indian, 20; Suttles, "Post Contact Culture Change Among the Lummi Indians," 45.

120. One local man repeated for Tolmie a rumor that American traders had threatened to send disease among the Indians if they did not bring beaver. A few years later, according to Kittson, some Indians blamed an epidemic of sore throats on the traders' tobacco. Physician and Fur Trader, 238; "Journal of Occurrences," March 15, 1836. When a smallpox epidemic struck Neah Bay about 1852, some native people there concluded that the only American living among them had brought the calamity. The Narrative of Samuel Hancock, 183.

121. Scouler reported that the Chinooks along the Columbia River were anxious for smallpox vaccination. "Journal of a Voyage to N.W. America," 203-4. On July 29, 1837, Kittson innoculated twenty people from Nisqually, Snohomish, and Suquamish against smallpox. A month later two more groups came in asking for vaccination. "Journal of Occurrences," August 29 and September 1, 1837.

122. "Journal of Occurrences," July 10 and 20, 1834; March 5, March 10, April 6, 1836; February 21, 1837. Just a few days after he arrived at Nisqually, Tolmie "[s]aw the Indians performing incantations to the Great Spirit for the restoration to health of a sick child. Three were seated round a fire in the centre of mat hut chiming a monotonous chant & keeping time by striking on a paddle with small sticks...." Physician and Fur Trader, 198.

123. "Journal of Occurrences," March 4, 1836; May 15, 1837. Regarding consultations of outside shamans, see Gunther, "Klallam Ethnography," 267; Twana Narratives, 206, 208, 210-11, 213, 215.

124. J.P. Harrington Papers, Reel 10, notes of Ruth Greiner interview with John Scalopine. In 1927 Scalopine was an estimated 80 years old. Transcript of Testimony, Duwamish et al. v. United States (United States Court of Claims, 1927), 214.

125. Physician and Fur Trader, 167. On the ritual treatment of first salmon, see Suttles and Lane, "Southern Coast Salish," 496; Erna Gunther. "An Analysis of the First Salmon Ceremony," American Anthroplogist 28 (1926): 605-617, and "A Further Analysis of the First Salmon Ceremony," University of Washington Publications in Anthropology 2 (1928). In the twentieth century, Marian Smith's elderly Indian consultants told her that the Indians called the whites "birds" because they could not identify their country in terms that made sense -- that is, as a country on the salt water, along a river, or on the prairies. Instead, they came and went like the birds. The Puyallup-Nisqually, 31.

126. Physician and Fur Trader, 212, 226, 269. For the etiquette of interaction with unrelated outsiders, see Smith, The Puyallup-Nisqually, 167; Elmendorf, Structure of Twana Culture, 321, 330, 333. According to June Collins, Upper Skagit people regarded physical violence against other persons as low class and demeaning. Ideally, siab or high class people were even tempered. Valley of the Spirits, 103, 125. An early American settler, traveling among people on the Stillaguamish River who had had little or no previous contact with whites, apparently shocked those people by striking one of the outside Indians who was acting as his guide. Narrative of Samuel Hancock, 109. Marian Smith, who points out that even the wealthiest and most influential men in Nisqually villages worked alongside the members of their households, says that the south sound people saw the traders as dirty and lazy. Indians of the Urban Northwest, 9.

127. On January 7, 1839, Fort Nisqually's Chief Trader wrote in the Journal of Occurrences, "Several of the Chiefs paid a visit on the score of religion. I could not draw from them their own views on Nature. They are the most stupid set of beings ever I knew on such a subject."

128. This assertion cannot be documented with hard data, but ethnographers agree that it is sound. Some have even argued that the so-called potlatch -- an intercommunity give-away incumbent on anyone who acquired wealth power -- arose after the fur trade began. Collins, Valley of the Spirits, 10; John W. Adams, "Recent Ethnology of the Northwest Coast," Annual Review of Anthropology 10 (1981): 381. See also, Amoss, Coast Salish Spirit Dancing, 21. Archibald McDonald noted on June 13, 1833, that everyone, no matter what his or her rank, was eager to trade directly, expecting thereby to be "rewarded like the best of his neighbors." "Journal of Occurrences."

129. "Journal...Kept at Fort Langley," July 1828; "Journal of Occurrences," May 5, 1835; Bagley, Washington Historical Quarterly 7, 149.

130. Regarding the Puget Sound peoples' encouragement of economic specialization, see Smith, Indians of the Urban Northwest, 10, 12; Smith, The Puyallup-Nisqually, 140; Collins, "Multilineal Descent," 250; Underhill, Indians of the Pacific Northwest, 158. According the Collins, nineteenth-century Skagit Valley people so valued the production of wealth that they encouraged any individual activities contributing to that production. Valley of the Spirits, 76.

131. Elmendorf, Structure of Twana Culture, 325.

132. "Journal...Kept at Fort Langley," November 14, 1828. When the wife of one of the Ermatinger brothers ran away, he considered it necessary to follow and punish her new Indian lover so that the whites would not be lowered in the Indians' estimation. Letters of Dr. John McLoughlin Written at Fort Vancouver, 185.

133. Once a native man entered the compound and left with an employee's native wife. When her family refused to send her back, McDonald reacted in alarm, sending five armed men to retrieve her. He was determined, he wrote, to have the option of banishing the women's families from the fort. "Journal...Kept at Fort Langley," July, 1839.

134. Jennifer Brown calls fur trade society a "partial or incomplete social sphere." Strangers in Blood, xvi-xvii.

135. Upon arriving at Nisqually, Tolmie wrote, "Welcomed by a motley group of Canadians, Owyhees & Indians...." Physician and Fur Trader, 195.

136. Edward Huggins to "My dear sir," December 29, 1900, Edward Huggins Papers, Washington State Historical Society, Tacoma; Johansen and Gates, Empire of the Columbia, 151.

137. Physician and Fur Trader, 240. Desertions were also a problem for the company, and some deserters could flee to their relatives by marriage and live among the region's native population.

138. In the journals, the name used is "Indians" and sometimes "savages". According to later dictionaries of the Chinook jargon, the word "savage" became "siwash," which was used to designate all persons whom the Europeans regarded as Indians.

139. Tolmie, Physician and Fur Trader, 251.

140. Carpenter, Fort Nisqually, 81, 97; John S. Galbraith, "The Early History of the Puget's Sound Agricultural Company 1838-1843," Oregon Historical Quarterly 55 (1954), 245; "Notes Copied from the Hudson's Bay Company Account Books;" "The Nisqually Journal," ed. Victor J. Farrar, Washington Historical Quarterly 10 (1919): 205. Farrar puts the livestock totals for 1841 at 3000 sheep and 1500 cattle.

141. As early as 1835 the journal of occurrences had entries such as, "Dominique with the women began to gather up the Pease, assisted by Indian women." "Journal of Occurrences," July 27, 1835; August 4, September 12, September 13, September 19, and October 28, 1833; Physician and Fur Trader, 219; 234, 251.

142. Carpenter, Fort Nisqually, 91; Norton, copies of entries in Fort Nisqually Blotters for 1844-49, "The Economy and Ecology of the Snohomish Tribe," Appendix, 67-80.

## CHAPTER 2

## SETTLERS AND INDIANS: LESSONS IN INTERCULTURAL RELATIONS

White men's ships were a familiar sight on the Strait of Juan de Fuca by 1841. When the Vincennes entered the strait in early May that year, native people paddled out to meet it, offering furs. The ship's crew bought fish and venison, paying in gunpowder, fish hooks, tobacco, clothing, or red paint; but they were not fur traders. Their commander remarked as he sailed out of the strait two months later, "[These Indians] seem much disposed to trade and barter and are greatly surprised that so large a ship should want no furs, and it is difficult to make them understand the use of a Man of War."[1]

The man-of-war was in use then as the flagship of an American exploring party. During a tour reminiscent of Vancouver's voyage of discovery, four vessels and men under the command of Charles Wilkes thoroughly inspected Puget Sound and adjacent inlets, rejoicing at the deep and tranquil harbors they saw and recording other observations about the region. Like Vancouver, Wilkes came at the behest of those who governed his country, charged with reporting whether the Pacific Northwest should interest them and why. With the U.S. Exploring Expedition, however, Wilkes's backers were testing a vision for the territory different from that which had attracted outsiders during the half century since Vancouver's visit. American leaders foresaw not profitable trade with the existing inhabitants but demographic and political displacement of those inhabitants.

Although Wilkes himself was more intent on expanding the boundaries of scientific knowledge than the boundaries of the

U.S., he was conscious of representing a nation whose restless people were moving at an astonishing pace from the Atlantic seaboard into far-flung areas of North America. As early as the 1820s some of his countrymen had advocated settlement of the Pacific Northwest, touting it as a farmer's paradise. By 1840 several score Americans had migrated to Oregon's Willamette Valley and were encouraging others to follow. Wilkes's sponsors hoped, among other things, that he would identify potential commercial ports in the region.[2]

Americans eyeing the Northwest for possible colonization would want information about the people already there; so Wilkes took note of the indigenous inhabitants' disposition. By most accounts Wilkes was a suspicious martinet -- not the sort of man likely to see any fellow humans in a rosy light.[3] The expansionist impulses behind his expedition, along with negative preconceptions about Indians, also colored his view of Northwest natives. Where Vancouver and other Britons had seen people eager for potentially profitable trade, Wilkes saw people who made nuisances of themselves by soliciting American favors.

"[F]ew can imagine the degradation of these poor creatures," Wilkes wrote of people in canoes near Port Discovery. "[T]hey pretend to no decency in their clothing if a blanket alone may be entitled to this name...." A look at their village convinced him that they were also "lazy lounging & filthy." This, "combined with their gutteral [sic] language is enough to disgust any one without their fishy smell." Wilkes judged Indians around Nisqually no less harshly. They were addicted to stealing, he complained. They stayed up nights

gambling, then slept all day; and they demanded something to eat as a condition of performing services for whites.[4]

When he needed something that native people could supply, whether work or provisions for his overland trip to the Columbia River, Wilkes resented the power that his need gave them.

> [T]he Indians are beyond measure the most provoking fellows to bargain with that I have ever met with, and as your wants or necessities increase, their prices rise in proportion, they are not slow in perceiving your wants, or the dilemma you may be placed in -- which they view with becoming sang froid....the only way to deal with them is to show an utter indifference of manner to obtaining the articles or closing the bargain, they then readily close for fear a competitor may come in and accept.[5]

Wilkes thought northwest Indians inferior in stature and strength to those east of the Rockies and pronounced the people of northern Oregon "among the ugliest of their race." Compared to the half-naked Port Discovery fishers, however, the people who guided him from Nisqually to the Columbia looked good. They wore faded European clothing, and "their free & easy carriage on horseback with a few ribbons and the cock's feathers stuck in their caps gave them an air of hauteur and self esteem that was not unpleasing."[6]

One native man who observed the Wilkes party said that he in turn found the Americans' air of self-esteem pleasing. Slugamus Koquilton watched expedition members conduct Independence Day ceremonies at Nisqually on July 5, 1841. Fifty years later he described, through an interpreter, what he had witnessed. Early in the morning the soldiers fired their guns about ten times. Then, all in white, they marched out four abreast, stepping as one person. Behind a man with a flag came others playing drums and horns. In an ox-drawn cart they hauled

two cannons to a camping place the Indians had pointed out, also carrying up pans, dishes, tables, and food. Under trees at the top of a bluff they spread their feast. The soldiers and other whites ate first, then the Indians.[7] Koquilton's memory corresponds to Wilkes's account, which also mentions prayers, a reading of the Declaration of Independence, and oratory. Several hundred native people saw the ceremonies. According to Wilkes and one of his crew, the Indians looked on wistfully in silence as the Americans feasted. According to Slugamus Koquilton, the Indians "had a splendid time and went away saying that Wilkes and the Boston men were good."[8]

In the language of pageantry the Americans had spelled out who they were for all local people to read. Whether or not native witnesses were as amazed as the Americans imagined, they surely saw in the pageant a representation of the Bostons' wealth and martial power. However, they could not have deciphered the full message the Americans wished to convey, because it was spoken in English. Dr. John Richmond, a Protestant missionary then living on Puget Sound Agricultural Company land, delivered the message. He reportedly welcomed the visitors as harbingers of a world that would replace the one the Indians knew.

"'The time will come,'" Richmond predicted, "'though you and I may not live to realize it, when these hills and valleys will have become peopled by our free and enterprising countrymen....'" Americans would build cities, farms, and smoking factories, he said, thus participating in the certain expansion of a nation of boundless wealth and power. U.S.

civilization's greatness, Richmond continued, was indissolubly connected with its religion. By bringing savage children of the wilderness the truths of Christianity, "'we encourage them in that future development of character which will fit them to act creditably their destined parts as citizens of the Republic.'"[9]

If Richmond's words had been translated for the listening natives, his forecast of drastic change would not have startled them: word of whites' impacts on indigenous societies to the east must have reached the Northwest many years before. However, to make sense of Richmond's vision, his indigenous audience would have assimilated it to what they knew; and they did not know about mass production, institutionalized religion, national power, or citizenship. Looking back at 1841 from a world that seemed the fulfillment of Richmond's prophecy, Koquilton said, "'Long before that time the Indians did not know about anything of that kind. The country did not belong to any nation...; it was for all the people.'"[10] However, the other Independence Day rituals that Koquilton saw -- the parade, music, artillery salutes, feasting, and competitive games -- could be interpreted by analogy to local intervillage gatherings. As native communities did on special occasions, the Bostons had showed off their capacity to be generous and the confidence they had in their powers. Impressed indigenous people could not then have imagined how the Bostons conceived of those powers.

If listening natives missed the import of Richmond's speech, others in the crowd that day surely did not. For a man who had the Hudson's Bay Company to thank for his personal

security and many supplies (not to mention his dinner of roast ox), Richmond took surprisingly little care to avoid offending company officers and other British subjects before him. They could hardly have applauded an oration that declared obsolescent their mission and the special culture they had helped to create in the Northwest.

Wilkes's crew had seen, without fully comprehending, many features of that jointly created, thriving trade culture. Shortly after he arrived in the area, Wilkes -- hoping to hire a letter carrier -- interviewed a native man who knew the local etiquette of cross-cultural relations.

> [T]he first thing he did, when brought into the cabin, was to show me a cross and repeat his ave, which he did with great readiness and apparent devotion; but he burst into loud laughter as soon as he had finished repeating it. He and I made many efforts to understand each other, but without much success, except so far as the transmission of the letter to Fort Nisqually, and the reward he was to receive on his return.[11]

With Christian signs and a few English words, this man invited Wilkes onto the cultural bridge where local natives and foreigners usually met. In later encounters Wilkes and his companions glimpsed other parts of the structure. They saw trade rituals that included bold demands, pretended indifference, and gratuities. They saw the role of gambling in relations among peoples who crowded around the trading post. They noted evolving dress conventions: native fur peddlers in red British coats and women who donned modest clothing before bartering with the Bostons at Nisqually. And they learned the names that members of different societies used to identify each other. The first question the Indians asked, said Wilkes, was

whether we were King George or Boston ships. Crowded in groups around the brig, the natives in turn identified themselves by names the Americans understood as tribal affiliations.[12]

The laughing, ave-reciting courier's willingness to provide services for pay was also part of the developing culture of relations. Wilkes, his vision hampered by a conviction that Indians were lazy, saw little of this feature. He did remark in his diary that Fort Nisqually's manager "had or was making an experiment with some of [the Indians] to till the land but he found them disinclined to work altho they were more apt than he had given them credit for"; but Wilkes does not appear to have realized that opportunities for compensated labor were by then a familiar basis for native people's relations with whites and their associates.[13]

The gestures that seemed to identify the letter carrier as a Catholic were recent additions to the behavioral repertoire of natives who dealt with foreigners. French priests had opened the first Catholic mission in northern Oregon just two years before Wilkes's tour. They attracted so much attention from inhabitants of the Puget Sound region that their rituals were soon familiar to hundreds of people there. When Vicar General F.N. Blanchet visited Whidbey Island for the first time in 1840, large crowds of men, women, and children from several communities astonished him by crossing themselves and joining in hymns. They had learned the priests' sacred signs and songs from Tslalakum, who went to the Cowlitz mission in 1839, and from "chiefs" Waskalatchy of Snohomish and Sneatlum of Penn's Cove.[14]

Another person who showed local residents how to approach the priests was Chief Trader Kittson's wife. A native of the interior plateau, she served as interpreter when the blackrobes came to Nisqually in 1839 and 1840. According to Blanchet, she also taught women to make garments that covered their bodies. Whether or not they needed Helene Kittson to show them how to sew buckskin dresses, indigenous women learned from her that it was appropriate to clothe themselves from neck to ankle when meeting the priests. Blanchet was gratified that women attended instructional sessions in 1840 "dressed this time in the French fashion."[15]

Immodesty in dress was only one of the habits the priests encouraged native people to renounce. At Whidbey Island in 1840, Blanchet claimed, he required four hundred people attending mass to chant in unison,

> "Yes, we believe in God who created all things. Yes, we believe in Jesus Christ, who came to redeem us. Yes, we believe He has made 7 medicines to make us good. Yes, we believe He has made but one road to go to heaven. Yes, we promise to keep and follow the road of the blackgown, which is the one Jesus Christ has made. Yes, we reject all other roads lately made by men. Yes, we renounce the devil, his thought, words and deeds. Yes, we desire to know, love and serve the great Master of all things."[16]

Standing between the chanting natives and their full redemption, Blanchet said, were not only superstition and idolatry but also polygamy and gambling. Apparently sensing that such customs served economic functions, the missionary concluded that he could convince the Indians to abandon degenerate practices only if he taught them to farm. Therefore, at Cowlitz Prairie in the south and later at Whidbey Island the priests encouraged their acolytes to cultivate crops.[17]

Blanchet and Father Modeste Demers were initially elated at the reception they received and at the enthusiasm that many Indians showed for the rites and talismans of Catholicism. Further contacts with their prospective parishioners soon sobered them. We know not to rely too much on the Indians' first demonstrations, Blanchet wrote later, because they stick to the customs of their ancestors, and progress is slow.[18]

In Blanchet's opinion, the obstacles to more rapid reform included language. The missionaries, he said, often had to use as many as three interpreters at a time, "and often again their words have not penetrated into the understanding of the natives except through the medium of a fourth translator." Sometimes the priests' only verbal tool for penetrating the natives' understanding was the Chinook jargon, which Tolmie had called a miserable means of explaining ideas. For hymns and probably for the biblical history they taught Tslalakum, the priests used the jargon.[19]

Their use of the jargon is one of several indications that the priests who came to teach savages also became pupils. From Hudson's Bay Company personnel and their families and especially from indigenous inhabitants, the missionaries received an education in the customs of the country. For example, Blanchet soon learned that an "odd" custom he observed at Nisqually in 1839 would be an obligatory "ceremony of etiquette" whenever he visited native communities. He conjectured that it was a sign of respect.

> To honor a person of distinction they line up to offer their hand, one after the other, from the first to the last. I too had to undergo a similar ceremony on the part of about fifty persons, all in full

> dress, ornamented with feathers of every color, ears and nose adorned with rich haiqua shells, face speckled with red in diverse ways, eyes encircled in various colors, cheeks painted in all fashions. Even the women observe this custom. They carry their children on their backs, and hurry to seize the hand of the little ones as soon as they have touched that of the chief, in the conviction that they are transmitting to these an assured blessing.[20]

On another occasion, when Demers unintentionally slighted an eminent Klallam man, his native companions coached him to smooth over the insult with presents as well as an apology. Demers declared himself a quick study. "This adventure," he wrote, "made me understand the importance of treating with caution the susceptibilities of the chiefs and to attract their consideration, in order to win to God the tribes that they govern." Blanchet sensed that gifts would attract influential persons' consideration. At missions he sponsored feasts and distributed tobacco, rosaries, and crosses "according to the quality of the persons [receiving them]."[21]

Leading native men in turn made gestures that Blanchet and his associates interpreted as reciprocating the attention the priests had paid to chiefs' "susceptibilities." The chiefs provided escorts and transportation and urged other natives to give respectful attention to the blackrobes' speeches. In 1843 Sneatlum recruited two hundred men to raise a wooden structure for Father Bolduc, who believed the chief had done so because he deemed it improper for a blackrobe to hold ceremonies in a cloth house.[22] It is likely that the leading men in the meantime credited their own shrewd use of protocol with making the prestigious blackrobes want to associate with them, thus enhancing the chiefs' stature.

Association with leading men assured the priests of access to people and resources, but it also pulled them into the risky arena of intercommunity relations. In that arena they received accelerated on-the-job training in local dispute settlement methods. Blanchet arrived at Tslalakum's village in 1840 just hours after a violent encounter between people from Klallam country and some "Skekwamish." When a Klallam man used the priest's ceremonial gathering as the occasion to initiate reconciliation efforts, Blanchet flattered himself that his Christian counsel made possible the conclusion of a peace agreement a few days later. Actually the vicar was one of several notable outsiders who helped the feuding parties agree on an exchange of guns for the lives already taken.[23]

Like the King George men before them, the priests construed some of the native people's actions as innocent formalities and mimicked those actions in hopes of ingratiating themselves and thus furthering their religious mission. Native people made corresponding efforts to address the priests' sensibilities while trying to fit the newcomers into familiar roles. Without fully understanding how their counterparts interpreted their gestures, missionaries and the indigenous people who welcomed them thus contributed additional struts to the bridge between cultures.[24]

Just as they educated the blackrobes, native people coached other newcomers who appeared in the Nisqually district during the 1840s, at the same time tailoring their own conduct to account for the reactions they got. Several of the newcomers were farmers. The Puget Sound Agricultural Company, hoping both

to increase its output and to strengthen Britain's claim to northern Oregon by occupying more territory, settled tenants on lands between the Nisqually and Puyallup Rivers. An effort to transplant families from the Red River failed, but a few retired servants and other lessees did make serious efforts to farm the gravelly plain.[25] One lessee was Joseph Heath, a middle-aged, educated Englishman.

Heath moved into the crude log cabin of a departed Red River immigrant in December, 1844. His leasehold was six miles north of Fort Nisqually, just above an aboriginal village on Steilacoom Creek. Shortly after he stocked up and came to the site with some Indians of unknown origin, other native people set up camp around him. For the next four years Heath's business, his diet, and often his mental health depended on his relations with the people he called "my Indians."[26]

Heath left a diary that depicts vividly both how much he needed the Indians and how disgustingly alien he found them. He alternately praised their hard work and cursed them for idleness or refusing to work. He counted on them to bring him fish and game but worried that this encouraged them to try to "take him in." He welcomed their companionship and hated their invasions of his privacy. He appreciated the protection they provided but disliked it when they involved him in their fights. A typically ambivalent diary entry reads: "(The) house is full of Indians. (I) shall break out soon and lay my stick about them. They cannot keep away. (I) do not wish to offend them, as they are the only labourers I have to depend upon."[27]

Heath portrayed himself teaching his workers and their families how to behave. He reviled and sometimes punished them for laziness, for borrowing his horse without asking, for taking in too many "hangers-on," and for hosting gambling matches with outsiders. Especially he struggled to make their habits conform to his need for labor and his notions about property relations. Early in 1847 he wrote, "Detected two of my people stealing, one (taking) wheat and the other, potatoes. (I) try everything in my power to make them comfortable and pay and feed them liberally and yet cannot prevent them from stealing. But please Goodness, (I) will do it or go without Indian labourers."[28]

Heath knew, however, that his laborers could do without him better than he could do without them. Once his most valuable helper responded to a scolding by threatening to leave with all his people. Heath made peace the next day, although he grumbled to his diary that he would not soon forget Klapat's impudence; and except for efforts to stop what he deemed stealing, Heath appears to have relaxed his campaign to remake his workers in an English image. Unable to provide all their subsistence, he had to acquiesce in a schedule that reflected their priorities more than his. When they perceived an advantage (and no overbalancing disadvantage) in doing the work he directed, Heath's Indians were willing and remarkably productive helpers. When they needed to rest or fish, to plant their own potatoes, to doctor their sick, or to adjust or affirm relations with other native people, they did that instead.

The Indians' inconvenient priorities and frequent tests of Heath's power aggravated his irritability, already heightened by

physical ailments and the strain of dealing on a daily basis with culture and language differences. Not clearly aware that his workers also strained to accommodate his strange expectations, Heath repeatedly lost his temper. But he regretted his outbursts and learned to set things right by taking measures he believed were consistent with local custom.

On December 31, 1846, for example, he shot an Indian dog for harassing his fowl. Shortly afterwards he saw a native man dragging away the lifeless body of Heath's favorite terrier. With loaded gun, Heath went to the man's lodge, commanded him to come out, then began pulling the house down. Seeing a struggle, wrote Heath, the man's father "came out and wished us to make peace by an exchange of presents, which I would not accede to, demanding his gun as the only means of satisfying me. Ambassadors (have been) going between us the whole day (with) nothing settled at night." The next day the young man offered to trade the gun for a shirt and blanket. When Heath disdained the offer and threatened to withdraw his friendship, he received the gun.

Initially Heath drew from this sequence of events a very British lesson: it was a fight "whether I should be their master or their slave....It will be a good lesson to them and show that I will not be trifled with." But a few days later, not wanting "to drive Matters to extremity," he gave the same Indian a blanket, saying that he did so only because the man had constantly resided at Heath's farm. Even if Heath believed, as he claimed in his diary, that he would have flogged the man for further offenses, the native people would have understood this

incident as a proper adjustment of relations according to norms prevailing among them.[29]

Heath had ample opportunity to observe those norms, although he lacked the local people's frame of reference for interpreting them. He referred frequently to conflicts among different groups of natives. Most involved the murders of shamans or threats of violence by people bent on redressing deaths attributed to shamans. Several times vengeful people threatened Heath (at least he believed they did), apparently because they identified him with the people who lived around him. At least twice he armed his Indians in anticipation of an attack, but each time he or his workers averted violence by negotiations and exchanges of property. He described one such resolution in May, 1848:

> The Snoqualmie Indians arrived upon a war expedition, the same who have so long been talking of taking my head to adorn their lodges. (I) went to them as soon as they arrived, without any arms but a stout walking stick, and told them plainly that if they committed any depredations I should fire upon them. (We had) a long peaceable talk. (I) gave them some tobacco, after which they left, only stealing a couple of canoes from the beach.[30]

Heath also figured out, adopted, and thus helped to reinforce or remold other social conventions prevalent in the Puget Sound country. For instance, he inferred that people in nearby villages as well as his workers expected him to host a feast when his larders were full. He found further, to his dismay, that good relations with any local people had to be periodically renewed with reciprocal gifts and favors. "(I) don't want to have presents made me," Heath wrote in his diary one day; "always pay too dearly for them."[31]

As Heath indulged some of his Indian neighbors' expectations, he often rationalized his actions in terms he had learned in England; but because English roles and values had no meaning in the Indians' world, Heath also felt free to experiment. His workers incorporated him in their lives in parallel fashion, both understanding him by analogy to what they knew and recognizing that his foreignness permitted them to depart from accustomed roles. Some of his habits must have disgusted or puzzled them, just as theirs did him.

They who bathed every morning would have been appalled that he did not bathe for five months at a time. The well-mannered among them no doubt sniffed at his temperamental outbursts, his often inhospitable treatment of visitors, and his stingy claim to most of the food they helped to produce.[32] Nonetheless, they had uses for this strange, indecent man -- for his ability to organize food-producing activities, his access to the King George men and to European goods, his willingness to protect them from or intercede with their enemies.[33] It is a measure of Heath's prestige among indigenous people that shortly after he arrived, he declined an invitation from a Skagit (Whidbey Island) group to farm lands in their country. By remaining at Steilacoom he served instead as a resource for people there.[34]

The people who gathered around Heath sometimes acted as they thought he required, just as he bowed to many of their expectations, in order to make their relationship mutually useful. On the whole, they could do so without significantly altering their ideas of what was natural and right. For example,

they probably understood Heath by comparing him to the heads of their households, asking in return for their services and their loyalty many of the same things they asked of those head men.[35] Analogy was not identity, however. Even if their motivations were traditional, Heath's workers had entered a new kind of relationship. By requiring them to change some habits, the new relationship could also change their ideas.[36]

By the time Joseph Heath died at Steilacoom in March, 1849, variations on the themes of his diary were being played out at other cabins nearby. Some cabins sheltered former Hudson's Bay Company employees. Having already received an education in the hybrid culture of the fur trade, most such men probably negotiated more easily than Heath their arrangements with local people. Several had native wives who could supplement their education and mediate their relations with other natives.[37]

By 1846 the occupants of other nearby cabins were Americans. A party of Americans that included Michael T. Simmons came to Nisqually in the fall of 1845. The next spring, as the newcomers were building homes at the south end of the sound, Britain abandoned efforts to preempt American claims in the area; and in June, 1846, the United States formally assumed sovereignty over all lands from the Columbia River north to the forty-ninth parallel. These developments, while they encouraged more Americans to scout the Puget Sound as a prospective home, did not immediately change the factors regulating area residents' lives and relations.[38] The emerging conventions of co-existence seemed as applicable to relations with the Bostons

as with other peoples in the area; so both natives and King George men set about making those conventions known to the newcomers.[39]

Forty years later A.B. Rabbeson recalled that the Hudson's Bay Company took advantage of his and other Americans' need for provisions and help by exacting a promise: the new settlers would not abuse or deal unfairly with Indians and would in all instances "be guided by their customs and usages." Under pressure from Dr. Tolmie, Rabbeson said, the Americans also agreed to pay the Indians at the same rates as the British traders did:

> One day's work -- 1 cotton handkerchief
> One week's work -- 1 hickory shirt
> One month's work -- 1 3-pt. blanket
> Use of canoe to Nisqually and back -- 1 handkerchief
> Each Indian in canoe -- 1 handkerchief
> 1 deer ham -- 1 load powder and ball
> 3 ducks -- 1 load powder and shot
> 1 bbs. cranberries -- 5 yds. white cotton cloth
> 50 Chinook salmon -- 1 hickory shirt
> 1 good horse -- 1 musket [40]

For several years the Americans' only source of merchandise to pay Indians was the trading post at Nisqually; and in order to obtain that merchandise, the new settlers -- their initial efforts at farming frustrated by drought and frost -- had to sell Tolmie their labor or wood shingles.[41]

Whether or not Rabbeson's tale is literally true, it embodies an important truth about the first American settlers on Puget Sound. Because they were few, needy, and isolated, they had to conform to customs of the country. In the wind they may have heard echoes of Richmond's Independence Day oration of 1841; they may have imagined themselves the vanguard of those "free and enterprising countrymen" who would possess and

transform the country. Richmond was no longer there to inspire them, however; and in the 1840s, from the vantage of their crude cabins in a land populated by flat-headed Indians and self-satisfied Britons, Richmond's vision must have seemed a mirage. As they bartered for salmon or toiled at Fort Nisqually, the Americans knew that their well-being and probably their lives depended on their accepting terms offered by the people already there.[42]

To native eyes, the dozen immigrants of 1845 and most Bostons who came later in the 1840s must have looked like additional subordinates of the King George men. To some Americans, on the other hand, it was Indians who seemed to be under the British traders' thumbs. Not only did most Indians prize Hudson's Bay Company goods, especially blankets, but many also submitted to company discipline in order to earn those goods; and not only did they submit to company discipline, but they also appeared to accept without argument the company's occupation of their lands.[43]

Fort Nisqually's need for labor had shifted the focus of many indigenous people's relations with the King George men. The company paid numerous individual Indians for short-term services such as herding sheep, transporting goods and correspondence, slaughtering livestock, and helping in the kitchen. Other native people, working on a daily or monthly basis in what company officers called gangs or mobs, did most of the farm's field labor under the supervision of regular employees. Often the supervisors were Hawaiians or Canadians of mixed Indian and European ancestry, but sometimes they were

local men. By the 1840s Fort Nisqually's regular staff included several Indians from Puget Sound or adjacent communities.[44]

Sheep-shearing annually drew scores of native families from as far as the Snohomish River. Edward Huggins remembered it as a festive time. Besides pay in blankets, clothing, and fabric, Indian hands received a meal a day and "gratuities" of tobacco, ammunition, fish hooks, paint, beads, brass wire, needles, and thread. "They valued the gifts very much," Huggins wrote. "It pleased them to think they were getting something for nothing."[45]

Huggins was wrong to say the company received nothing of value for its so-called gratuities. In the symbolism of the fur trade culture, such bonuses acknowledged the Indians' good will and cooperation. Like Joseph Heath, Fort Nisqually's managers still needed and cultivated that good will. They therefore continued the practice of honoring friendly natives, especially prominent ones, with gifts and favors. Nevertheless, also like Heath, the King George men were determined to prove themselves the masters of their own establishment. Therefore, when they caught individual Indians killing farm animals, taking tools, or menacing company personnel, they often imposed corporal punishment and demanded restitution. In 1846, for instance, Tolmie flogged and imprisoned two men accused of skinning an ox. After a few days, however, he yielded to a head man's request that the culprits be freed, accepting a rifle and pistol in payment either for the favor or for the ox.[46]

Floggings, although rare or unknown in indigenous communities before the 1840s, brought no recorded reprisals.[47]

Neither is there evidence that residents of the Nisqually area protested when the King George men and their tenants plowed, fenced, and grazed cattle and sheep on prairies where villagers had long pastured horses or gathered roots, berries, and acorns. Such apparent docility is consistent with fear of the Britons' powers, but it is also consistent with a perception that the benefits of accommodating the King George men outweighed the disadvantages. People who had most often used the prairies may have concluded that they suffered no net loss, since trade or labor could bring them wealth to make up for foregone natural resources. Perhaps they were content to collect foods at alternate sites or to exchange some of their trade goods with people whose berry and root grounds were yet undisputed.[48]

In any event, neither floggings nor new farms and settlers appeared to disturb Fort Nisqually's native neighbors as much as aggression by other indigenous groups and sickness in their ranks. Raiders descended on south sound communities numerous times during the 1840s. Heath and Tolmie most often identified the aggressors as Snoqualmie and Skykomish tribesmen.[49] These northerners, nursing old grudges and probably new jealousies of the southern villagers' ready access to European wealth goods, mostly tested their powers against those of isolated Indian individuals and bands.[50]

By 1848 many people in the region believed that aggressive natives were increasingly inclined to turn their weapons against the King George men and Bostons. Word came from east of the mountains that Cayuse warriors had killed fourteen and kidnapped forty-seven Americans at the Waiilatpu Protestant mission.

According to one American, settlers on the sound immediately construed the incident as an Indian uprising that was likely to inspire west side tribes; "for the Indians who had heretofore been friendly were sufficiently numerous everywhere to exterminate the whites, who were in a state of constant alarm for their lives."[51]

The Cayuse at Waiilatpu reportedly blamed Americans for either causing or failing to cure deadly new diseases, including measles. When measles appeared west of the mountains in January, 1848, white residents realized that their vulnerable native neighbors might interpret events as the Cayuse had; and indeed, while King George men recovered from the disease, it spread with calamitous effect to indigenous communities.[52] Tolmie was inclined to believe a Snohomish shaman who told him that some Snohomish men and their Klallam allies, thinking the whites had brought measles to exterminate Indians, planned to kill the King Georges. At about the same time Rabbeson and a friend returned from Whidbey Island, claiming to have overheard a Snoqualmie leader urging thousands of people at a feast to drive all whites out of the country. The HBC officers then ordered true fortifications built at the Puget Sound Agricultural Company complex.[53]

The fortifications proved useful not because Snohomish and Klallams declared war against the King Georges but because company personnel could not avoid entanglement in continuing conflicts among native peoples. On July 22, 1848, Tolmie reported,

> I had occasion to put Coy's Servants and Indians under arms, as some Saltwater Indians (Skeywhamish &

> Snoqualimich) who were here selling slaves, relatives of the working Indians, had, being rather numerous, shown an inclination to make fresh captures, and with murderous intent pursued a Nisqually Indian right up to the establishment, where he obtained shelter. On witnessing our demonstration, the strangers soon retired to their encampment, beyond Gunshot range, and their negociations with the working Indians were thereafter peaceable concluded the chief men protesting with what degree of sincerity twere difficult to say that they had intended no harm toward any one connected with the establishment.[54]

Although Tolmie later downplayed the significance of such "hostile demonstrations," he also said that evidence and rumors of some natives' belligerence made the Americans and other settlers more timid, and that timidity in turn increased the natives' confidence in their own powers. "The Indians," he wrote, "keen observers of men as they are, knowing white men better than white men know them..., became in consequence forward and troublesome to these scattered settlers."[55]

Many of the settlers left. If any left for fear of Indians, they did not later admit it on the record. According to Rabbeson, discouraging conditions for farming drove some away. Many more caught gold fever, rather than measles, and headed to California to take the cure.[56] In their absence another large party of Snoqualmie and Skykomish people came to Fort Nisqually, again apparently spoiling for a fight.

This time -- May 1, 1849 -- the northerners claimed they had come to investigate rumors that Lahalet's son was mistreating his Snoqualmie wife. Tolmie suspected they really planned again to "kick up a row with the fort Indians" in order to take captives. He accepted their statement that they did not intend to harm whites, but he probably realized that they would identify the King George men with their place of residence and

thus with Nisqually area people. In any event, he later professed no surprise that the visitors seemed ready to take offense at whatever the whites did. He stressed, however, that the Snoqualmies did not resort to force until an HBC employee -- an Indian -- nervously or carelessly fired his musket. In the melee that followed, two American by-standers were shot, one fatally.[57]

Although chroniclers of this affair have differed about whether the Snoqualmies intended to storm the fort, most have agreed that the shooting of two Americans was an unforeseen incident rather than a calculated affront to Bostons in general.[58] Nonetheless, like self-centered, hypersensitive adolescents, Americans in the region immediately invested the event with heavy symbolism: it was an Indian attack on American settlers. Their reaction is testimony both to how insecure most of them felt and to the fact that they viewed the population around them through a polarizing lens. They tended to see two sets of alien people -- Indians and Americans -- with inherently antagonistic agendas.

According to pioneer mythology, the marauding Indians promptly sent word that the Bostons could have safe passage out of the country if they abandoned their property. This ultimatum was probably a fantasy of the Americans; but the fact that settlers read events as an Indian attempt to drive all Americans from the Puget Sound was real, and it had a material effect on subsequent events.[59] Americans beseeched Tolmie for guns and gathered at hastily erected blockhouses. They also summoned the power that they expected would protect them.

At this time of perceived crisis, Americans north of the Columbia River -- a mere ten families -- looked for power not to a supernatural guardian but to Oregon Territory's recently installed government. They appealed urgently to the new governor, Joseph Lane, for action on their behalf.[60] Lane's response was an attempt to display for all natives of Puget Sound the emblems of American state power. With an army lieutenant and five of the only eight troops in the territory, the governor set out from the Willamette Valley for Puget Sound. When he received word that two artillery companies had landed at Fort Vancouver, he aborted his trip and sent Tolmie a letter. I asked him, Lane later reported,

> to cause the hostile tribes who have committed the outrage to be informed that any repetition of the like conduct will be visited promptly with their complete destruction; that our force, which will be immediately increased, is at this time amply sufficient for an immediate expedition against them; that the moment I am informed that any injury has been committed by them upon our people, they will be visited by sudden and severe chastisement.[61]

Tolmie obligingly assembled "all the natives about the establishment" and translated Lane's letter for them.[62]

There being no further injury, Lane had no cause to make good his threats. However, the shooting at Fort Nisqually motivated U.S. officials to establish a permanent presence on the sound. In August native people finally saw the forces Lane had alluded to. On the land at Steilacoom where Joseph Heath had learned to deflect the hostility of Snoqualmie people with a confident air and small gifts, Americans built an army fort. At about the same time special Indian agent J. Quinn Thornton arrived.[63]

One of Thornton's first acts, consistent with long-standing federal policy, was to seek the surrender of those responsible for the May 1 shooting. In October, from the comparative security of well settled southern Oregon, Lane claimed that he had planned as soon as troops arrived to "make the Indians know that they should give [the murderers] up for punishment...being well satisfied that there is no mode of treatment so appropriate as prompt and severe punishment for wrong-doing."[64] From the vantage point of Steilacoom, agent Thornton was less confident of his government's power to force Indians do its bidding. Therefore, at Tolmie's suggestion and more consonant with the conventions for resolving disputes in that country, Thornton offered to pay eighty blankets if the Snoqualmies produced the killers. His resources were so meager that he had to secure the blankets from the Hudson's Bay Company.[65]

A month later some people did come in from Snoqualmie to settle with the Bostons, as Tolmie said; and "it ended in 6 of the worst being seized and confined....80 blankets were paid out to the different chiefs of the tribe."[66] American officials described the payment as a reward for cooperation, although they may have intended as much to cover the Snoqualmies' loss of the six accused men as to reward those who apprehended them.[67] Whether their interpretation coincided with the Indians' understanding the Americans could not be sure. Tolmie and seasoned settlers knew that an exchange of property was a common local way to assuage bad feelings; yet the exchange of September 1849 was unlike those that usually adjusted relations after a

round of violence between Puget Sound groups.[68] Rather than asking compensation for their dead, the Bostons had offered payment. Perhaps the Snoqualmies construed the payment in part as recompense for relatives they had lost in the firefight of May 1. Probably they allowed the concurrent seizure of six men for a combination of reasons -- awareness that the Hudson's Bay Company and other natives had allied with the Americans against them, fear of the soldiers, desire for the blankets, and jealousies within their own ranks.[69]

Members of the Snoqualmie band then camped nearby to learn what would happen to their people.[70] They witnessed a puzzling, alien ritual. Bostons came from all directions to Steilacoom. For two days several of them listened as others talked about the six hostages and events at Fort Nisqually on May 1; then the listening men declared that four of the prisoners should go free but two should die. That same day the Bostons killed Kassass and Quallawort by hanging them from ropes around their necks. In order to perform the ritual of a trial -- an ordinary event in communities two thousand miles to the east -- Americans had gone to extraordinary trouble and expense. So scarce were American citizens north of the Columbia that legislators had to pass a special act attaching the region to the territory's first judicial district before a trial could be staged. The judge, lawyers, and most jurors then had to come from more than a hundred miles away.[71]

According to the presiding judge, the time and money were well spent.

> The effect produced by this trial was salutary, and I have no doubt will long be remembered by the tribe.

> The whole tribe, I would judge, were present at the execution, and a vast gathering of the Indians from other tribes on the sound; and they were made to understand that our laws would punish them promptly for every murder they committed, and that we would have no satisfaction short of all who acted in the murder of our citizens.[72]

Some other Americans agreed that Judge Bryant had correctly assessed the trial's impact on native people. A few years later Arthur Denny heard about the case from Patkanim, brother of one of the executed men. From this conversation Denny concluded, "He seemed to have a wholesome fear of the law and the power of the government and professed friendship for the whites."[73]

Aside from Denny's remark about Patkanim's reaction, Americans made no known record of Indian commentary on the punishment of the Snoqualmie men. There is sound basis, however, for concluding that Denny and the judge merely projected onto the indigenous people a peculiarly American view of events. According to American ideology, a powerful government, using fair procedures, had punished the killers for their transgression of impersonal general laws.[74] To native people state power, universal laws, and crimes against society were alien, untranslatable concepts. They thought of powers as the varied assets of individuals and evaluated homicides not for their effect on society in the abstract but for the way they reflected and disrupted specific personal relationships.[75]

There are a few clues that indigenous people interpreted the Bostons' acts not as American officials hoped but according to more familiar premises. Tolmie wrote that the vengeful family of one executed man "made away" with an American soldier. When Nisqually head man Lahalet died that winter, his people

said that a Snoqualmie shaman had killed him for helping to arrange the six men's surrender to the Bostons.[76] Even if the American display had persuaded natives that the well-armed Boston warriors and their allies had impressive powers, it apparently had not taught them all the meaning of law as Americans understood it. Moreover, rather than settling in the Americans' favor the question of whose powers were superior, the ritual of retribution had invited further retribution.

If native people understood the executions as Boston vengeance rather than impersonal justice, they were probably not far wrong. As Michel Foucault points out, a public execution does represent a kind of personal revenge -- the sovereign taking revenge on the offender. For American settlers in Oregon, the sovereign was an abstraction -- an imagined body politic; but the jury spoke for that sovereign, and vengeance must have been on the jurors' minds as they decided the alleged killers' fates.[77]

Foucault says further that a public execution is not only a spectacle of unbalanced power but also a ritual intended to re-activate the sovereign's power. Especially where the sovereign cannot exercise constant surveillance, a terrifying display serves to remind people of that power.[78] In 1849, territorial officials believed or hoped that the terror of capital punishment would convey to all indigenous people a sense of the American government's might and teach them that henceforth they could not escape its reach. The Americans were unable to imagine either the Indians' radically different understanding of power or their limited perspective on American

state power. Rather than a righteous sovereign, native people could see only the small tribe of Bostons in their midst.

By trying six native men, officials also highlighted a distinction they drew between Americans as law-bringers and Indians as lawless people. At one level, they merely wanted to draw lines between Indians acceptable and Indians unacceptable to their government. Yet in justifying what they did, Governor Lane and Judge Bryant betrayed a conviction that all the people they called Indians -- in their "untamed" state at least -- belonged in a single category distinct from and incompatible with Americans. At the same time, ironically, the trial was testimony to the two peoples' connectedness -- a reflection of the fact that their fates were already intertwined. Subjecting the Snoqualmies to judgment according to American custom incorporated them symbolically into an American world, even as it attempted to mark them as a separate, subordinate class of people.

The corollary of the conviction that Indians constituted a people distinct from Americans was an assumption that Americans -- specifically, Americans in Oregon -- were also a people. The most important intended function of the 1849 trial and executions may have been to unite a heterogeneous, often contentious collection of settlers around a vision of what they shared as Americans. The trial displayed, for the Britons at Fort Nisqually as well as for settlers accustomed to freedom from federal control, the presence and resolve of the brand new territorial government.[79] It also enlisted assorted ordinary people in a ritual enactment of values and practices they

presumably took pride in. In a sense it was a drama of self-definition that assigned Indians the role of Americans' opposites. If Indians were people of capricious cruelty and disorder, Americans would be people of law and reassuring order, the proceedings seemed to say. If Indians were divided and weak, Americans could be united and strong.

Did actors in the drama convince themselves that what they portrayed was true? The comments of Bryant and Denny are an insubstantial basis for answering this question, but Americans who stayed on in the region did frequently tell each other and prospective settlers that the natives were cowed and cowardly. Some told themselves that they were capable of replicating the feats of forebears who had pacified or exterminated Indians in lands to the east. Whether the symbolic chastisement of the Snoqualmies or the stationing of soldiers at Steilacoom was responsible for Americans' apparent confidence, they kept coming.[80]

Many came with aims that had prompted John Richmond in 1841 to characterize westward migrating Americans as free and enterprising. Although economic advancement was not the sole motivation of early colonists, most of them did expect to find free land and opportunities for profitable enterprise in northern Oregon. John M. Swan arrived in 1849 hoping, he said, to acquire 640 acres for nothing.[81] Congress granted Swan's wish and tempted many more Americans into the area when it passed the Donation Land Act in September, 1850. The act promised patents both to men or families who had already claimed lands in Oregon and to citizens who moved onto such lands before

1854 and cultivated them. Under the law, whose deadline Congress extended by a year, Americans filed 529 claims on land bordering Puget Sound, Hood Canal, and the Straits of Georgia and Juan de Fuca. The tracts they claimed ranged from sixty to 640 acres each.[82]

Whether or not they envisaged a future farming their claims, Americans who ventured into the region during the early 1850s usually imagined a prosperous future. After spending an afternoon with settlers on Whidbey Island, a visitor of 1853 remarked, "They all seem to have the common idea in this country that they can get rich in a few years." Many immigrants were alert especially to possibilities for making money in trade, land speculation, the export of raw materials, and mining. Few were interested in working long, if at all, for someone else. By way of boosting the area as a destination for new immigrants, editors of its first newspaper claimed in 1852 that any diligent settler could make a fortune.[83]

Although some settlers would try to make their fortunes in commerce with local Indians, the native people were not an ingredient in the most commonly described American prescriptions for getting rich. Neither did most Americans prescribe securing the natives' approval of new enterprises. Like Richmond, some immigrants imagined that they could simultaneously exploit the area's resources and persuade Indians to abet their effort by adopting Americans' superior economic pursuits and values.[84] Others hoped to create a society in which Indians as they knew them would be irrelevant. In 1853 the local newspaper predicted:

> Of the Indians now in our midst and around us in every direction, and in large numbers, but a miserable remnant will remain, and they confined within such narrow limits as Government may allot to them in some obscure locality, will ultimately succeed in dragging out to the bitter end their wretched existence.[85]

Throughout the early 1850s, however, Indians were not confined to obscure corners of the Puget Sound region. While colonists still numbered in the hundreds and native inhabitants in the many thousands, Indians were decidedly not irrelevant to the society Americans lived in. Actual relations between settlers and natives bore little resemblance to those dramatized in the trial at Fort Steilacoom. According to Tolmie, even the trial's outcome reflected a balance of power that was not as clearly in Americans' favor as they pretended. Some jurors who lived a safe distance away, he wrote, wanted to hang all six defendants; but those who lived within reach of Snoqualmie raiders opposed such a verdict.[86]

In 1849 and for several succeeding years most immigrants around Puget Sound had as much reason as the jurors to beware of offending Indians. Many lived scattered among the native people. Wanting land with arable prairies, water power potential, sheltered anchorages, or fishing stations, Bostons commonly staked claims at sites that natives prized for similar properties. Some immigrants located close to native villages because they expected to profit from trade with the inhabitants or hoped for protection from raids. Their non-Indian neighbors, by contrast, were scarce and often distant. One pioneer said that Puyallup Indian women served as midwives at his birth in 1852 because the nearest whites were six miles down a trail.[87]

Even settlers who did not choose to live near a native village could find themselves with Indian neighbors -- sometimes in large numbers -- on occasion. Some natives camped near settlers in order to collect food at accustomed grounds; others did so hoping to establish advantageous relations with the newcomers. For example, in 1851 a band of people that Michael Simmons identified as Duwamish wintered in the new town of Olympia, sixty miles south of their home territory. In 1854 George Gibbs told U.S. officials, "Whenever a settler's house is erected a nest of Indian rookeries is pretty sure to follow...."[88]

To many new settlers, their Indian neighbors were repulsive and exasperating. Outside the towns, most natives still went about their daily tasks barely clothed. They walked into cabins without knocking, seemed to expect their reluctant hosts to feed them, spoke incomprehensible and guttural dialects, and often filled the night air with the eerie sounds of pagan ceremonies. David and Catherine Blaine, who lived in Seattle when it was a one-street town "with miserable indian shanties scattered all about and indians meeting you at every step," could find nothing to love in the "coarse, filthy, & debased natives." Although the Blaines were more finicky than many American settlers, they were not alone in this reaction.[89]

Yet most early immigrants knew they needed their native neighbors.[90] They particularly needed foods that only Indians could supply. Hardly an immigrant of the 1850s failed to note the food obtained from Indians. Some mentioned venison and fish received as gifts; others spoke of paying Indians not only for

fish, game, and berries but also for potatoes. During Arthur Denny's second winter on Puget Sound, food supplies ran low because few sailing vessels visited. After his family's pork, flour, and hard bread gave out they ate fish, venison, and potatoes; and when they exhausted those provisions they "had to make a canoe voyage to the Indian settlement on Black river to get a fresh stock of potatoes."[91]

Raising or gathering food for trade was only one of the vital services indigenous people provided. Settlers also relied on natives to transport them and guide their travels. Even the "comparatively unprofitable labor of the inconstant Indian" was much needed, admitted Gibbs in 1854; Indians could be employed "to advantage" as domestics, in saw mills, and on farms. Americans recognized their dependency in the high rates they paid to travel or ship goods by Indian canoe and in the hard bargains Indians drove for their labor. Rebecca Ebey once tried for two weeks before finding some Indians to work her potatoes. No wonder she paid one man the extra blanket he demanded and settled for complaining in her diary that he did not deserve more than the coat, hat, boots and two shirts she had already given him.[92]

Needy and outnumbered, many settlers were relieved to find that the indigenous people of Puget Sound were not as fierce and fearsome as the Indians some had met when crossing the Plains and others knew from family histories, literature, or folklore. These Indians were mild mannered and often hospitable. The most perceptive or vulnerable newcomers understood quickly that they could encourage this hospitality and promote useful relations by

small gifts, favors, and the scrupulous fulfillment of their promises. Like Joseph Heath, they were learning the unwritten code of intercommunity relations in their new home.[93]

Describing one occasion when settlers forced a fellow American to honor a promise to an Indian, Rabbeson said, "We were guided entirely in dealing with the Indians by their own laws & not ours." The code that Rabbeson and others honored was more likely the one that Britons, Hawaiians, Canadians, and native people had developed jointly in the three preceding decades. Sometimes Americans also tried innovative tactics, testing their leverage against the Indians in ways they believed were consonant with native mores. Rabbeson depicted himself as operating according to Indian laws, for example, when he held a local head man's horses hostage in order to force the man to determine and reveal which Indian had robbed Rabbeson's house. The head man may not have considered this an appropriate way of resolving a dispute within his own community, but he apparently understood it as a method of conducting relations across cultural boundaries. Rather than threatening to escalate hostilities, he acquiesced in the impoundment of the horses until he had fingered the thief.[94]

Like French priests and Englishman Joseph Heath, Americans got much of their education in the prevailing conventions of cross-cultural relations from Indians.[95] Among the settlers' earliest and most important lessons was language instruction. Along with gestures that communicated confidence and an intent to reciprocate courtesies, most learned the Chinook trade jargon. So common were settlers' encounters with Indians, and

so useful was the jargon in these encounters that The Columbian newspaper devoted its entire front page to a jargon dictionary in January 1853, then re-ran the feature in response to readers' demands.[96]

As Tolmie had, Americans often implied that Indian preference or practice compelled them to learn Chinook. Gibbs, a self-taught linguist and ethnographer, referred to the jargon as "the Indian language," although he knew that natives used it only with whites or with Indians who spoke other dialects. Since native people commonly opened conversations with settlers in the jargon, Americans had some basis for thinking of it as an indigenous language; but Indians, according to James Swan, looked on the jargon "as a sort of white man's talk." It was not a language that all natives could speak. Probably invented in the course of the early fur trade and designed only for such utilitarian communication, the jargon was a special language, spoken on the bridge between peoples who did not care or need to learn each other's tongues.[97]

Chinook quickly became the medium of communication between settlers and natives around Puget Sound because neither of these groups had the power or the inclination in the 1850s to change the other's habits wholesale as a condition of regular intercourse. Instead, each tacitly agreed to engage in relations despite the great differences between them. Both settlers and indigenous people sought to get along with the aliens in their midst, and even to profit from their presence, while continuing to act in ways they felt were natural and right.

When members of either group wanted to change the practices of people on the other side of the perceived cultural divide, they had to bargain. According to Rabbeson, the first settlers in the Budd Inlet area compelled local villagers to bury their dead and to cease killing slaves upon a master's death. "To satisfy the Indians so they would submit to our demands peacefully," he added, "we also agreed to protect them in all cases where the Lower Sound Indians attempted to raid their country." On Whidbey Island a few years later it was Indians who came to settlers with demands for action. American cattle had destroyed the natives' potato crops. After the Indians threatened to kill the cattle, Rebecca Ebey wrote, the whites concluded it would be better to pay them three hundred dollars "rather than have any difficulty with them now when our settlement is weak...."[98]

In February of 1853, when natives and immigrant farmers struck this deal, the American settlements were still weak. Around Puget Sound and adjacent inland waters approximately two thousand settlers lived among twelve thousand or more indigenous people.[99] On the other hand, two thousand were many more than the ten families of 1849. By 1853 they had spread from the south sound to prairies not only on Whidbey Island but also along the Puyallup, Duwamish, and Skokomish Rivers. At Budd Inlet, Steilacoom, Elliott Bay, Port Townsend, and Bellingham Bay they clustered at townsites or mines. At Port Gamble, Port Ludlow, Seattle, and elsewhere some had built sawmills. And at stations on Whidbey Island and Commencement Bay others had begun commercial fishing enterprises.[100]

Surprisingly, even settlers whose activities impinged on native people's accustomed subsistence sources seldom expected or suffered harm at the latter's hands. The Ebeys said their safety rested on the Indians' knowledge that Americans "could soon have them all killed and driven off" if they murdered a white person. The Blaines and many others thought they were safe because the Indians were preoccupied with enmities among the different tribes.[101] Another explanation for native people's tolerance of immigrants in the early 1850s is the evident confidence many had that they could turn the immigration to their advantage in various ways.

Perhaps extrapolating from their mostly favorable dealings with the King George men, native villagers in many locations seemed willing -- sometimes eager -- to have an American move in. They were interested particularly if the newcomer had goods for trade, proposed to organize activities requiring paid labor, or purported to have the power to heal. As Samuel Hancock traveled to valleys where Americans had not previously gone, his eye cocked for chances to make money, he learned what would make the inhabitants look kindly on his presence. Residents of Snoqualmie country at first seemed displeased at his intrusion but received him civilly, he said, because the Indians he was traveling with billed him as a "mah-kook" [merchant] man looking for a place to open shop. On the Pacific coast he met a head man who offered his daughter, laborers, and other services if Hancock would build a mill there. In order to get transportation from the man, Hancock claimed, he had to feign intent to accept this deal.[102]

What Hancock construed as the chief's selfish exaction of a price for his hospitality was the kind of arrangement that often ingratiated settlers with indigenous people. Many settlers reported, as did John Roger James, that the Indians "were very persistent in declaring the land was theirs. At the same time they liked to have people settling among them and improving the country." So long as Bostons acknowledged native people as the country's rightful occupants and agreed to reciprocate for opportunities they found there, they were usually welcome. According to pioneer folklore, four men who staked claims at Port Townsend in 1852 smoothed the way for their families to join them by holding a "pow-wow" with local people.

> Plummer had assured the natives that the Government would pay them liberally for the land the settlers were to occupy. This promise was stressed during the conference although a definite date of payment could not be set. Pettygrove had brought with him an assortment of "ictas" (small things) such as beads, mirrors, needles, pipes and fish-hooks, and these gifts were distributed among the natives, who received them with great delight.[103]

Once settled in, the Bostons became identified with their adopted country. In the view of native residents, apparently, settlers' activities constituted a local resource and a credit to the local people. Gibbs reported that Indians who had customarily caught migrating salmon at a site where settlers erected a sawmill did not take offense at the mill, in part because its dam improved their fishery.

> [B]ut what afforded the greatest satisfaction to them was its situation upon their property, and the superior importance thereby derived to themselves. They soon began to understand the machinery, and took every visitor through the building to explain its

> working, and boast of it, as if it had been of their own construction.[104]

Accustomed to incorporating outsiders through marriage, some native villagers evidently invoked the kinship paradigm when assimilating the newcomers. Early settlers later spoke of joining the tribes whose lands they occupied; and they were probably not just indulging in the tall tale telling common among pioneers. Reminiscing about her childhood in the late 1850s, Emily Denny said that the Indians claimed brotherhood with white children, telling them, "'You were born in our country and are our people. You eat the same food, grow up here, belong to us.'"[105]

Moreover, indigenous groups did incorporate some immigrants by making them actual relatives. As had the King George men before them, many Boston bachelors married into local families. Some of these so-called squaw men were ignorant or careless of the native view that marriage established reciprocal social and economic obligations as well as sexual privileges. Those who honored local norms, however, might gain access to resources and services as well as companionship. Men who married native women according to American law -- exercising an option available until the territorial legislature outlawed it in 1855 -- could take advantage of the Donation Land Act provision entitling a couple to twice the land of a bachelor.[106]

To many early settlers as well as to many indigenous people, reciprocity thus seemed the best assurance of peaceful co-existence and often afforded desired opportunities. Where persons from the different cultures reached apparent

understanding and felt they had achieved a measure of control over relations with each other, they often took pride in their accomplishment. The pride and relief of having successfully maneuvered in a risky situation and having acquired knowledge of foreign ways also tempered the disgust that many felt toward the alien people with whom they dealt.[107]

Still, reciprocity was not a guarantee of friendship or comfortable relations. Accustomed to assuming that other people might have undiscerned dangerous powers, Puget Sound natives could never entirely relax their suspicions of people to whom they were not closely related by blood. Americans likewise could not be sure they knew even the most accommodating Indians' hearts or inclinations. There remained a tentativeness, an uneasiness in many individual and group relations.[108]

Crises could expose realms where no mutually approved rules yet obtained. Catherine Blaine provided a poignant example, which also shows that intimate relations between Indians and Bostons could simultaneously reduce some cultural differences and remind everyone of the many differences remaining. An aboriginal woman, evidently married according to her people's customs to a white settler, committed suicide. Blaine, characterizing the marriage as a purchase, related subsequent events in a letter to her family.

> [The man] was left in rather a peculiar position, the indians claiming the body to bury among their own people with their own ceremonies and he unwilling to let it go, but uncertain whether the whites would allow her to be buried in their ground. There was some opposition to it, but they consented, then came the trouble of getting the coffin because she was a squaw, but he got the coffin at last. He came up here this morning to see if Mr. B. would be willing to officiate at the funeral, but Mr. B. told him if

> they were not married he could not consent to sanction their past manner of living by burying her like other people. He saw the propriety of Mr. B.'s position and did not urge the matter. So they buried her without any service. Indians carried the coffin covered with a blue indian blanket, the man who had owned her, accompanied by one or two squaw men...and a number of indians followed to the grave, and this afternoon as Mr. B. was passing his house the indians were in it howling and bewailing, as they are accustomed to do. Now what a situation he is in, with his little half breed child, and despised by the whites and hated by the indians who would kill him if they could get a chance in revenge for her death.[109]

Testing was a necessary part of clarifying, affirming, and redefining the relations between members of the different culture groups. Natives, for instance, occasionally tested immigrants' courage or their willingness to continue acknowledging local people's prerogatives, as they had done with the fur traders. Many an American would later tell of incidents like that at Rebecca Ebey's home on February 17, 1853:

> Six large indians came today and crowded in the door so that I could not stand them, and tried to get them out and shut the door but they stood still and sauced me untill I was afraid of them and went and sat down and gave them up, but when they found I would say no more they started off. I never was more vexed, and still affraid to compel them to go not knowing what so many large indians might do where there was no white man near and they knew no person was here but myself and the children.[110]

Many pioneers would likewise claim to have won the Indians' respect or friendship by demonstrating their pluck in actions like the one Ebey took the following day: driving seemingly insolent visitors off by force.[111]

Recurring tests of power and other aspects of the relations between culture groups were troublesome, perilous, and often costly. In 1852, according to James McCurdy, some discontented natives near Port Townsend forbade settlers to

plant crops. This truculence so alarmed the settlers that they called in an American ship, which apparently changed the Indians' attitudes with a few warning shots of its big guns. That same year Indians drove all the settlers at nearby New Dungeness into George Gerrish's store and demanded redress for a drunken sailor's murder of a Klallam man. To appease them took forty blankets -- a recognition of the dead man's status -- and a promise that the sailor would stand trial. When parties to such encounters miscalculated or overreached, fatal violence or other losses could follow.[112]

Wishing for a society where chancy negotiations with Indians were unnecessary, people like the Ebeys and Dennys were anxious to have U.S. officials assume responsibility for arranging matters with native people. They also expected the government to fulfill the settlers' promises that Indians would be compensated for lands occupied by Americans. In 1852 Isaac Ebey told leading Klallams that the new Indian agent would settle with them for their trampled potatoes; so when the agent let Whidbey Island settlers know that he saw payment as their responsibility, Rebecca Ebey deemed it "very wrong in him, for, it is his duty."[113]

The federal government did make feeble efforts before 1854 to take charge of affairs concerning Indians of the Puget Sound area. At the end of 1851 E.A. Starling arrived at Steilacoom to assume duties as U.S. Indian agent for that part of Oregon lying north of the Columbia and west of the Cascade Mountains. No one had filled a comparable post since Thornton's resignation in 1849. Shortly after Starling's arrival, "the Indians came by

tribes..., being impelled thereto seemingly by curiosity and an expectation of receiving presents; and all extremely desirous to learn the intentions of the government in regard to purchasing their lands." Believing this interest in relations with U.S. representatives to be unusual and hoping to perpetuate it, Starling distributed gifts furnished by territorial Superintendent of Indian Affairs Anson Dart.[114]

As a second step toward getting control of intercourse between whites and indigenous peoples, Starling attempted a census of the tribes in his district. Relying on data supplied by Hudson's Bay Company personnel and his native visitors rather than a head count, he named twenty-nine groups "who frequent the waters of the sound," described the location of each, and guessed each one's population. It was out of his power, Starling conceded, to learn their actual numbers.[115]

An accurate census was not the only hoped-for accomplishment that was beyond the new Indian agent's capability. Lacking the requisite power and knowledge, he and his superiors could neither formulate nor enforce clear rules for relations between settlers and Indians around Puget Sound. They were weak in part because they were under-funded and under-staffed. In September, 1852, a citizen complained in the pages of The Columbian that the Superintendent of Indian Affairs had been in office two years without deigning to visit his northwest district; and Dart replied that he wanted to visit but had no means -- not one dollar for presents or travel.[116]

Starling parroted Joseph Lane's dictum that Indians could only be governed by fear of Americans' superior power; but aside

from three dozen soldiers and ships that came and went irregularly, Starling had few signs of Americans' collective power to show. He and other officials believed the Indians had a healthy respect for the soldiers, yet some Americans recognized that the penchant for strutting their military stuff reflected not strength but consciousness of their vulnerability.[117] When Lieutenant August Kautz received orders in 1853 to lead a twelve-man expedition to "'intimidate the Indians'" near Camano Island, he thought the assignment absurd, considering the natives' numbers. His judgment was sound: the venture proved an embarrassment for the soldiers. They arrested a Kikealis "chief" in an effort to force the surrender of a Kikealis murder suspect, but their hostage escaped easily. When they tried to reach the Kikealis camp, they could not negotiate strong tidal currents. Finally, Kautz had no recourse but to talk settlers into raising a bounty for the capture of the alleged murderer.[118]

The government could not effectively order relations between Indians and settlers, too, because Indians and settlers were not unified groups but collections of people with disparate, often conflicting interests and little or no sense of common identity. So diverse and divided were the immigrants, for example, that native people probably would have been surprised if they had taken a uniform approach to relations. Surely most natives knew that Boston squatters clashed frequently with the King George men at Nisqually, that Boston traders competed with the King George men for Indian customers, that rival town builders vied strenuously for new settlers and

trade, and that different classes of Bostons resented and pressured each other. By 1853 what observant natives saw was not, as pioneer folklore later depicted, a tight-knit society of yeoman farmers striving together to bring civilization to the Northwest; they saw what Ezra Meeker called "a motley mess" of people. As Catherine Blaine told friends in the east, "Things work strangely here. Nobody has any confidence in anybody else, and there is but little ground for any."[119]

Settlers' attitudes toward and interests relative to Indians were as inharmonious as the settlers themselves were. David and Catherine Blaine censured whites who associated with Indians and saw little hope for improving their town's moral climate unless such associations ceased, but most of the whites whom the Blaines disdained were profiting from intercourse with the Indians. Substantial numbers made money selling liquor to natives while conscientious government officials, unsure whether they had authority to curtail the traffic, wrung their hands. Once Americans north of the Columbia formed their own territory, their conflicting interests concerning Indians carried over into the political arena.[120]

Some settlers even resisted territorial officials' efforts to order relations with Indians, showing contempt for requests that they submit all difficulties with natives to government officers for resolution. When Rabbeson employed what he called Indian ways to flush out the man who burglarized his house, Starling tried to interfere. Rabbeson and another settler threatened the agent with bodily harm, and Starling backed off. William Bell recalled his Seattle neighbors' disgust when the

agent took charge of an Indian accused of assaulting a white man, escorted the Indian to Olympia, allegedly gave him food and gifts, and sent him home with instructions to behave himself. After that, Bell claimed, townspeople just dispensed their own justice to the Indians.[121]

The indigenous people were even less a manageable bloc than the colonists. Starling counted more than two dozen tribes; and whether or not his census accurately described the way native people grouped themselves, it correctly indicated that they did not see themselves as a single people. Just as skin color did not make of white immigrants a harmonious unit, physiological and cultural similarities did not make of the natives a cohesive group, even in the face of colonization. Violence between villages -- slave raids, looting, and revenge killings -- went on around the settlers throughout the 1850s. In 1853 Klallams killed four Skagits at Penn's Cove, and some Skagits retaliated by attacking Klallams who were camped on the Ebeys' beach. The Klallams told Ebey they were merely avenging shaman murders; The Columbian called it a war of extermination.[122]

Indigenous communities did not have a common orientation toward Americans. Among other differences, they had varying amounts of contact with the newcomers. Miles up some rivers were people who may not have seen a white person as of 1853, while residents of the Nisqually delta had been in constant contact for two decades. In addition, in three decades of trade and settlement, individuals and groups had devised varying ways of dealing with the foreign immigrants. Some relished direct

encounters; others preferred to avoid them. Some seemed to enjoy imitating whites, while others showed no inclination to change their accustomed ways. Some listened to the Catholics, some to Protestants, and some to neither.[123]

Whatever their strategies for dealing with settlers, the Indians also frustrated American officials' desire to regulate relations by moving frequently. They moved singly or in groups of varying composition for varying lengths of time and for a variety of reasons. It was this "disposition to wander" that made it hard to count them, Starling told Dart. Seldom was a whole tribe together. To settlers, however, it sometimes seemed as if whole tribes were together in their back yards; for large groups moved into American towns whenever they wanted to take advantage of opportunities for trade or paid work.[124]

The Indian camps around Olympia, Seattle, and Port Townsend suggest the most important reason that government agents could not hope to control intercultural relations in the early 1850s. Those relations already entailed a myriad of daily individual encounters. Most such encounters reflected and created a web of ties -- bonds of reciprocal benefits and obligations -- that few of the interlinked people wished to undo. American families ate well because native women came through town selling fish, clams, potatoes, and cranberries. The women's families' acquired Boston or King George goods because they made sales not only to Boston families but also to merchant ships bound for California. Immigrant men parlayed modest investments into desired income by selling wares, especially liquor, to Indians. These roving traders usually

gained entree into native communities because they consorted with Indian women. At Fort Steilacoom many soldiers also had native female companions. Children born of such liaisons became new threads in the tangled skein of ties between the different peoples.[125]

Occasions for relations across cultural boundaries increased in number as the number of colonists grew. When the immigrant population doubled in 1853, the circumstances that determined the general tenor of relations changed. Their growing numbers enabled Americans north of the Columbia to organize a separate territorial government that year, and these developments emboldened the immigrants. Especially in the more densely settled areas, newcomers apparently felt freer to act without regard to Indian sensibilities. It became more common for settlers to move into villagers' territories without permission, to express their frustrations with or disgust for natives in insults or violent attacks, and to cheat Indians who provided services and labor.[126]

Indian conduct that had seemed to facilitate good relations with King George men and with early Boston settlers did not always do so with the newest arrivals. The cloth pants, shirts, and dresses that natives donned for meetings with traders and priests struck some Americans as shabby or comical. The sign of the cross did not impress anti-Catholic or skeptical men such as Gibbs.[127] Certificates and English names that some Indians had accepted from traders as presumed recognition of their status now became badges of their ignorance. Traveler Theodore Winthrop took delight in poking fun at Chetzemoka, who

proudly used the name Duke of York and carried several papers signed by Yankee and British officers. Although he "deemed himself indorsed by civilization," Winthrop said, the Duke's certificates were actually "unanimous in opprobrium."[128]

The white men's firewater, once associated with good feelings toward them, was also causing problems in natives' relations with some Bostons. If many Indians had inferred that drinking liquor was a prestigious activity among the foreigners, they had substantial basis for their conclusion. King George men had dispensed rum on ceremonial occasions, such as Christmas and the new year, or to promote or confirm good relations with Indians. Boston soldiers and leaders drank liberally, sometimes in the company of natives. Many of them looked on in tolerant amusement when Indians got drunk.[129] Yet other Bostons now complained that drunk Indians offended and frightened them; they believed that violence against Americans increased where Indians procured liquor easily.[130]

Whether or not liquor consumption triggered them, the number of violent encounters between natives and newcomers did climb in 1853 and 1854. Natives probably killed James McCormick while he explored Lake Union, and Seattle residents subsequently hanged two Indians suspected of the deed. Whites attempting to seize alleged murderers battled Indians at New Dungeness. Another deadly affray occurred near Port Townsend when soldiers and citizens went after Klallams suspected of slaying a ship captain. An Indian killed a Mr. Church. When Church's killer and three other Indian prisoners escaped from Fort Steilacoom, American officials assaulted several native camps along Hood

Canal, where the escaped men were reportedly hiding. Three Indians hired to guide a Mr. Young to a claim showed up in Seattle with Young's property but without him; and when a posse followed the three to their own country, it provoked or met with violence that left one white man and nine Indians dead.[131]

Shortly before the Blaines arrived at Seattle, whites lynched an Indian for killing other Indians and threatening to kill whites. Indians in town appeared indifferent at the time, Catherine Blaine told friends; but when white men later disappeared, some Indians said they had been killed in revenge. This and the subsequent altercation with Young's killers, she continued, had people very much excited. Settlers immediately volunteered to organize an attack on the tribe that harbored Young's murderers, "but upon more mature thought they decided to refer the case to the Governor...." Whether the Indians would act against the settlers before the governor could act against them worried Blaine. "They are very much alarmed," she wrote, "but if they knew their strength they might dispatch every white person on the sound."[132]

When Washington's first territorial governor arrived in Olympia at the end of 1853, Starling assured him that the Indians of his jurisdiction did not know their own strength. Instead, Starling told Isaac Stevens, they look up to whites "as superior beings, and bow with awe to their knowledge & intellect."

> They are becoming more and more convinced every day, that their destiny is fixed; and that they must succumb to the whites; and bow unresistingly before civilization. They, therefore, feel every day, more inclined to look to them for protection; for order,

> as to what they must do, and for punishments for crimes they may commit.[133]

The most commonly cited evidence that Starling correctly perceived Puget Sound natives' low regard for their power in 1854 is a quotation attributed to Seattle, a man whose strategy of cooperating with American officials ensured him a prominent place in later non-Indian histories of the region. In January, 1854, hundreds of indigenous people gathered at Elliott Bay to see the governor for the first time. According to Henry A. Smith, an eyewitness to the ceremonies, Seattle there addressed to Stevens the following, mournfully fatalistic words:[134]

> The son of the white chief says his father sends us greetings of friendship and good-will. This is kind, for we know he has little need of our friendship in return, because his people are many. They are like the grass that covers the vast prairies, while my people are few, and resemble the scattering trees of a wind-swept plain.
>
> The great, and I presume also good, white chief sends us word that he wants to buy our lands but is willing to allow us to reserve enough to live on comfortably. This indeed appears generous, for the red man no longer has rights that he need respect....There was a time when our people covered the whole land as the waves of a wind-ruffled sea cover its shell-paved floor. But that time has long since passed away with the greatness of tribes almost forgotten....
>
> [W]e are two distinct races and must ever remain so. There is little in common between us....Day and night cannot dwell together. The red man has ever fled the approach of the white man....
>
> It matters but little where we pass the remainder of our days. They are not many....A few more moons, a few more winters and not one of all the mighty hosts that once filled this broad land or that now roam in fragmentary bands through these vast solitudes will remain to weep over the tombs of a people once as powerful and as hopeful as your own.[135]

Some contemporaneous conditions make it easy to believe that Seattle expressed these sentiments, thus giving voice to

the indigenous people's general loss of confidence. The most discouraging development was probably the smallpox epidemic of 1853.[136] Rampant sickness and death must have undermined natives' ability to respond to increasingly frequent American affronts. Besides making it impossible for many villagers to deal with anything but their immediate needs, the epidemic may have convinced many of them that powers greater than theirs were at work in the land. According to some sources, many Indians had already concluded that their own spirit powers could not reach the whites.[137] In addition, Americans saw the Indian death rate as proof of the widely accepted maxim that Indians were doomed; and it is likely that they communicated their conviction to some Indians. They may have been projecting when they claimed that the natives had reached the same conclusion, but it is also possible that some disheartened native people were inclined to credit the Bostons' gloomy prophecies.[138]

The eloquent phrases ascribed to Seattle, however, are poor evidence that Puget Sound natives saw themselves in 1854 as a weak race doomed to displacement by whites. In fact, the phrases themselves may be fictitious. At the time Smith published them, three decades after the speech, he purported to have rendered Seattle's words verbatim; but on his deathbed Smith reportedly clarified that he had merely reconstructed part of the oration from notes.[139] There are several reasons to doubt the accuracy of his reconstruction.

As of January 1854 Smith, just twenty-four years old, had been in the region barely over a year. Even if his contact with native people was extensive and intimate, he is unlikely during

that short time to have achieved fluency in the dialect Seattle spoke.[140] English speakers thought the language so difficult that very few tried to learn it. Instead, even when they dealt often with and lived close to Indians, most settlers learned only the Chinook jargon.[141] Furthermore, although Smith was well educated, he did not prove himself a careful recorder of aboriginal beliefs. That his understanding of Indians could be wildly wrong is evident in an 1873 article he wrote, describing practices -- devil worship and human sacrifice -- not reported by any other reputable ethnographer or eyewitness.[142]

Several commentators, noting that the images and cadences of Smith's 1887 text reflect his culture's literary heritage rather than Seattle's, have been willing to grant Smith a poet's license on the assumption that he sought to convey the poetic nature of his source text.[143] He appears to have exceeded the terms of his license. The images he chose were so tritely late-nineteenth-century American and so unlikely to occur to a Puget Sound native in 1854 that Smith's purported translation must have been very free indeed. Why would Seattle, who had lived all his life in a densely forested country, refer metaphorically to vast prairies and windswept plains? How could he have had in mind the long history of North American Indians' flight before oncoming whites? How probable is it that a man who valued his friendships with Americans and spent considerable time in close contact with them would speak of two races with nothing in common?[144]

In fact, it is the heavy-handedness of the vanishing Indian theme -- the very theme that has made Smith's text an

enduring icon of American history -- which should inspire doubt about the speech's authenticity. Smith published his account not in 1854, when the region's native peoples still outnumbered American settlers, but three decades later, after the demographic balance had changed drastically. By 1887 events seemed to have vindicated the belief that all aboriginal peoples were destined to give way before the advance of civilization, and the image of "Poor Lo," the pitiful Indian relic, had its strongest hold yet on Americans' imagination. As he belatedly reduced Seattle's remarks to writing, Henry Smith doubtless felt the influence of this popular myth.[145]

Even if Smith did roughly paraphrase Seattle's address, he did not produce a document proving that Puget Sound Indians had already conceded American hegemony. At most he reproduced the gist of one man's thoughts. That man, old enough to be preoccupied with his own declining vigor and mortality, did have reasons to doubt his powers' effectiveness in new circumstances and to wonder about his community's ability to resist future Boston demands. As the next few years would prove, however, Seattle's decision to propitiate the Bostons was only one response in a range of Indian reactions to the colonization of their territories.[146]

Descendants of Seattle's peers have told ethnographers that verbal deference and self-abasement were also conventional conduct for well-bred native men of the time, particularly when dealing with people to whom they were not related. Because they knew that strangers might have dangerous supernatural allies, men in Seattle's situation usually expressed respect but

simultaneously suggested non-verbally that they also had powers deserving of respect. They often did this by describing themselves as poor and unworthy while bearing themselves proudly. According to anthropologist Sally Snyder, this etiquette was particularly appropriate for men of high status who had suffered a run of bad luck. Their rhetoric did not concede a permanent loss of power but served to preserve status until their luck turned.[147]

If Smith described accurately Seattle's behavior in 1854, it was consistent with this remembered code of conduct. Smith said the chief delivered his lament loudly, forcefully, and with his characteristic dignity. While he talked he even put his hand on Stevens's head. His speech should not be construed, therefore, as an admission that all Puget Sound natives were powerless vis a vis the Bostons. Even less does it prove that those natives saw themselves as a single, benighted race.

For the first American settlers around Puget Sound, the idea of American political power sufficient to overawe and displace the Indians was a mere hope, but it was an exceedingly important one. Even though the settlers realized daily how much leverage the Indians had against them, most envisioned a different future. They expected to derive individual power from the power of their nation state -- a collectively imagined power that was unlike anything the Indians could then conceive of. This vision and the political culture that inspired it gave Americans strength of a kind that native people did not gain from individual partnerships with powerful spirits. The native peoples' lack of an analogous vision did not handicap them

significantly before the 1850s, but it was to prove a greater handicap as Americans were able to activate their political institutions.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 2

1. Charles Wilkes, Diary of Wilkes in the Northwest, ed. Edmond S. Meany (Washington Historical Quarterly; reprint, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1926), 93.

2. William H. Goetzmann, New Lands, New Men: America and the Second Great Age of Discovery (New York: Viking, 1986), 144-45, 168-9, 270; Earl Pomeroy, The Pacific Slope: A History of California, Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Utah, and Nevada (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1965), 25-28; Fred Wilbur Powell, ed., Hall J. Kelley on Oregon (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1932; reprint, New York: DaCapo Press, 1972), vii-xi. The American population in Oregon at the time Wilkes visited was approximately 150. Johansen and Gates, Empire of the Columbia, 235.

3. Goetzmann, New Lands, New Men, 272.

4. Wilkes, Diary, 13, 27, 87. A member of Wilkes's crew also described with disdain the Port Discovery residents' wretched huts and shameless nudity. He shared Wilkes's impression of the people around Nisqually as vicious and exceedingly lazy; but he reported that the Indians' reputation as thieves appeared groundless. George M. Colvocoresses, Four Years in a Government Exploring Expedition (New York: Cornish, Lamport & Co., 1852), 230, 241, 235.

5. Diary of Wilkes in the Northwest, 21.

6. Ibid.

7. "Commemorative Celebration at Sequalitchew Lake" (Pierce County Pioneer Association pamphlet, 1906), 13.

8. Charles Wilkes, Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition, During the Years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842 (London: Ingram, Cooke, and Co., 1852), vol. 2, 412; Colvocoresses, Four Years in a Government Exploring Expedition, 236; "Commemorative Celebration," 14.

9. A supposedly verbatim reproduction of Richmond's speech appears in Ezra Meeker, Pioneer Reminiscences of Puget Sound/The Tragedy of Leschi (Seattle: Hanford & Lowman Stationery and Printing Company, 1905), 533-534. Meeker, who was not present for the talk, does not indicate his source. The speech also appears in the pamphlet, "Commemorative Celebration at Sequalitchew Lake," which

probably borrowed from Meeker. The oration's alleged content is consistent with Richmond's later statement regarding his mission at Nisqually: "'My part of the work was to represent American citizenship and American enterprise....'" Quoted from Daily News, April 1884, in Meeker, Pioneer Reminiscences, 513.

10. "Commemorative Celebration," 33.

11. Wilkes, Narrative, vol. 2, 178.

12. Wilkes, Narrative, vol. 2, 480; Diary of Wilkes, 12-13; 19, 21, 87; Colvocoresses, Four Years, 233. It seems improbable that indigenous people in 1841 would not have known on sight whether Wilkes's party was American or British. Their question may itself have been part of the accepted ritual of greeting by then.

13. Diary of Wilkes, 87.

14. Blanchet, Historical Sketches of the Catholic Church, paper copy, 83; microfilm copy, 40-41.

15. F.N. Blanchet, Modeste Demers, et al., Notices and Voyages of the Famed Quebec Mission to the Pacific Northwest, trans. Carl Landerholm (Portland: Oregon Historical Society, 1956), 58-59; Blanchet, Historical Sketches, microfilm, 40.

16. Blanchet, Historical Sketches, microfilm, 42. Blanchet does not indicate here how language differences affected this call-and-response ritual. Did an interpreter render his words in the local dialect(s) for the people to repeat? Or did Blanchet or an interpreter speak in Chinook jargon? If the latter, did someone translate the jargon for the many people who did know it? Or were Blanchet's listeners merely repeating French sounds that had no meaning for them?

17. Blanchet, Historical Sketches, paper, 104, and microfilm, 42; Blanchet, Notices and Voyages, 51.

18. Blanchet, Historical Sketches, paper, 100-104.

19. Blanchet, Historical Sketches, paper, 83; microfilm, 40-41; Tolmie, Physician and Fur Trader, 221-22.

20. Blanchet, Notices and Voyages, 44; Historical Sketches, microfilm 41, 42. In the early 1850s, along the remote reaches of the Stillaguamish River, several hundred native people also subjected American adventurer Samuel

Hancock to the same ceremony. The Narrative of Samuel Hancock, 109.

21. Blanchet, Notices and Voyages, 103, 46, 66, 99; Historical Sketches, microfilm, 41. Blanchet was also careful to travel in the company of men he considered chiefs. "Such a noble escort," he explained, "was well fitted to arouse in the natives a high idea of the distinguished character of the great chief of the French, or papa le Plete, as they call him." Notices and Voyages, 102.

22. Blanchet, Notices and Voyages, 60, 99, 197; Historical Sketches, 97.

23. Blanchet, Historical Sketches, microfilm, 40-42.

24. Regarding the kind of process described here Richard White says:

> The middle ground grew according to the need of people to find a means, other than force, to gain the cooperation or consent of foreigners. To succeed, those who operated on the middle ground had, of necessity, to attempt to understand the world and the reasoning of others and to assimilate enough of that reasoning to put it to their own purposes. Particularly in diplomatic councils, the middle ground was a realm of constant invention, which was just as constantly presented as convention. Under the new conventions, new purposes arose, and so the cycle continued.

The Middle Ground, 52. As James Merrell puts it, old habits, called into play in new situations, take on new definitions. The Indians' New World, 38.

25. Galbraith, "Early History of the Puget's Sound Agricultural Company," 234-35.

26. Joseph Heath, Memoirs of Nisqually, ed. Lucille McDonald (Fairfield, Washington: Ye Galleon Press, 1979), Introduction; Cecilia Svinth Carpenter, Fort Nisqually, 128-130.

27. Heath, Memoirs, 25. Parenthetical material supplied by Lucille McDonald, editor of the published diary. See also, Ibid., 14, 15, 18, 21, 28, 34, 36, 64.

28. Ibid., 88.

29. Ibid., 80-84.

30. Ibid., 140. See also 23, 28, 40, 52, 55, 88.

31. Heath also learned that women who worked for him wanted to be paid in buttons, thimbles, needles, and thread as well as food. He saw that people who traveled to Nisqually from distant communities were as often interested in trading with him as with men at the fort. Ibid., 19, 17, 28, 41, 85, 90, 109, 153.

32. Ibid., 45. Regarding the Coast Salish custom of daily bathing, see Samuel Hancock, "Thirteen Years Residence on the Northwest Coast," (1860), University of Washington Manuscripts, Vertical File No. 70.

33. Dening offers a similar analysis of the contributions to culture change made by lone Europeans -- he calls them beachcombers -- who took up residence in the Marquesas during the early nineteenth century. Islands and Beaches, 129.

34. Heath, Memoirs, 18. Heath's stated reason for declining the invitation was his belief that a priest and several settlers had left the Skagit country after Indians stole all their crops. Artist Paul Kane had been told during his tour of Puget Sound in 1847 that the Catholics had given up their mission in the same area "owing to the turbulent disposition of the Indians, who, though friendly to the Hudson's Bay Company as traders, look with great suspicion upon others who attempt to settle there, fearing that the whites would attempt to dispossess them of their lands." Wanderings of an Artist, 157-8.

35. For the role of leading men in household-based economy of aboriginal Puget Sound peoples, see Boxberger, To Fish in Common, 11-12, 17; Collins, Valley of the Spirits, 111; Elmendorf, Structure of Twana Culture, 312; Suttles, Coast Salish Essays, 20-21, 57; Smith, "The Puyallup of Washington," 11, 13; Smith, The Puyallup-Nisqually, 35, 49, 54; Snyder, "Skagit Society," 72-76; Stern, The Lummi Indians, 32.

36. As White points out,

> Those operating in the middle ground acted for interests derived from their own culture, but they had to convince people of another culture that some mutual action was fair and legitimate. In attempting such persuasion people quite naturally sought out congruences, either perceived or actual, between the two

> cultures....Any congruence, no matter how tenuous, can be put to work and can take on a life of its own if it is accepted by both sides.

The Middle Ground, 52-53. See also Sahlins, Historical Metaphors and Mythical Realities, 35.

37. The men's wives' relatives probably brought them salmon, game, berries, mats, and information about the country; transported them in canoes; and labored in their homes and fields. They in turn probably provided their in-laws with farm food, Hudson's Bay Company goods, pledges of protection, and a friendship in which the Indians could take pride. In 1857 James Swan said that retired Hudson's Bay Company men with Indian wives were generally surrounded by the wives' families and thus in a position to set examples for the natives. The Northwest Coast, 372. The first part of Swan's claim is borne out by evidence from the 1850s that former HBC men in the Nisqually and Puyallup Valleys and their native in-laws provided each other with food, shelter, and information. Transcript of trials of military commissions December 17, 1855, and April 14 and 15, 1856, National Archives, Record Group 393, Records of U.S. Army Continental Commands, 1821-1920, Fort Steilacoom, Washington, Box 2. See also, Meeker, Pioneer Reminiscences, 118. Data regarding marriages of four men married to Indian women -- Charles Ross, John Edgar, Charles Wren, Adam Beinston -- appear in Carpenter, Fort Nisqually, 133; Norton, "The Economy and Ecology of the Snohomish Tribe," Appendix, 72, 74; William Petit Trowbridge, "Journal of a Voyage on Puget Sound in 1853," Pacific Northwest Quarterly 33 (1942): 406; Jerry Eckrom, Remembered Drums (Walla Walla, Washington: Pioneer Press Books, 1989), 53; Tacoma Daily Ledger, July 13, 1886, 4; Applications for enrollment and allotment of Washington Indians, 1911-1919, NA Microfilm-1343, Roll 2.

38. "Notes Copied from the Hudson's Bay Company Account Books," (notes for November 11, 1845, regarding arrival of Michael T. Simmons and party from Fort Vancouver with letter from John McLoughlin); Johansen and Gates, Empire of the Columbia, 266-67; Washington Centennial Association, "1845-1945: A Washington Centennial Commemorative Booklet" (1945), 3. See "Journal of Occurrences," March 12, 27, 29, and 31, 1847, for entries about Americans arriving "to have a good look at the Country." At Fort Nisqually, William Kittson apparently did not learn of the treaty ceding jurisdiction to the United States until April 6, 1847, when he noted artist Paul Kane's visit and wrote, "Boundary line 49o after all." "Journal of Occurrences."

39. Edward Huggins, who joined the Fort Nisqually staff in 1850, later told of a meeting with an American settler who had set a trap for pigs and instead wounded two Indian youths. Huggins was disgusted that the man wanted to pay just half of what Tolmie negotiated and gave up this notion only when persuaded that full compensation was necessary to avoid blood vengeance. "Reminiscences of Puget Sound," ed. Gary Fuller Reese (in Tacoma, Washington, Public Library, 1984), 314-15.

40. "1845-1945," 8-9.

41. A.B. Rabbison, "Growth of Towns," Bancroft collection, University of Washington microfilm 155 (Note Bancroft's alternate spelling of Rabbeson's name. I use the spelling that appears in the record of Washington Territory v. Leschi, Pierce County Case #140, Washington Territorial Court Records, Washington State Archives.); "Edward Sylvester's Narrative," Ibid., microfilm 20; "Journal of Occurrences," April 12 and 13, 1847; Mary Perry Frost, in A Small World of Our Own, ed. Robert A. Bennett (Walla Walla, Washington: Pioneer Press, 1985), 205.

42. See, for example, "Narrative of James Longmire, A Pioneer of 1853," in Told By the Pioneers, vol. I, 134; Edward Huggins, "A Trip to 'Alki' Point Near Duwamsh Bay," manuscript in Special Collections Library, University of Washington, July 4, 1901, 1; John M. Swan, "The Colonisations around Puget Sd," Bancroft collection, University of Washington microfilm 223 (mentioning the need to settle a dispute with Indians by paying them "or run the chances individually of being served in the same way"); "Edward Sylvester's Narrative," Ibid., Microfilm 20. Regarding Richmond's short-lived missionary venture, see Meeker, Pioneer Reminiscences, 506; Richmond to Editor, Seattle Weekly Chronicle, September 11, 1883, in Clarence Bagley Papers, University of Washington Manuscripts, Box 22, vol. 4A. Rabbeson's veracity came into question when he testified against Leschi in 1856. See Meeker, 453, and Washington Territory v. Leschi, in trial record and in 1 W.T. (1857), 13.

43. George Gibbs, Indian Tribes of Washington Territory (House Exec. Doc. 91, 33d Cong., 2d sess., 1854; reprint, Fairfield, Washington: Ye Galleon Press, 1967), 27.

44. "Journal of Occurrences," March 12, April 2, 1849, July 1850; Fort Nisqually Blotters for 1844-1855 in Norton, "The Economy and Ecology of the Snohomish Tribe," Appendix. Recognizable Indian names in the servant book for 1846 include Slugomas (Koquilton), Steilacoom,

Sclousin or Bill, Squally, Gohome, and Lughkynum. "Notes Copied from Account Books."

45. Huggins, "Reminiscences of Puget Sound," 309-314.

46. "Journal of Occurrences," March 16, 20, and 21, 1846; August 12 and 28, 1846; March 4, 5, 6, and 9, 1847; March 24 and 27, 1849; "Notes Copied from Hudson's Bay Company Accounts," February 7, 1845. In the latter manuscript, the notes for November 23, 1847, read, "1 green blanket to Tamatlutaiah - expected to die, and as a mark of respect customary on the death of friendly Indians of note."

47. In the Upper Skagit River valley during the late 1840s or early 1850s, a cult arose whose leader appointed officials with authority to punish rule breakers by public floggings. Aside from this, there is no reliable evidence that indigenous inhabitants of the Puget Sound area used corporal punishment to discipline errant adults, either before or after non-Indians arrived. Collins, Valley of the Spirits, 340; Suttles, Coast Salish Essays, 189-90; Snyder, "Skagit Society and Its Existential Basis," 399. Indeed, ethnographers have generally noted the lack in the Puget Sound area of community mechanisms for enforcing obedience to general rules. Northwest Intertribal Court System, "Traditional and Informal Dispute Resolution Processes in Tribes of the Puget Sound and Olympic Peninsula Region" (February, 1991), 32-33. The Upper Skagit prophet probably came from east of the Cascade Mountains; and ethnographers for that area are divided about whether tribes there whipped wrongdoers before Europeans set the example. Chance, "Influences of the Hudson's Bay Company," 97. For western Washington, there is some evidence that villagers occasionally lashed unruly children during the nineteenth century, although there is no way to determine whether this was a new or a long-standing practice. Thelma Adamson, "Folk-Tales of the Coast Salish," American Folk-Lore Society XXVII (1934): 354; Arthur Ballard, "Mythology of Southern Puget Sound," University of Washington Publications in Anthropology 3 (1929): 29; Elmendorf, Structure of Twana Culture, 430.

48. Tolmie, Physician and Fur Trader, 198 (visit to Indian lodge where people ate "the young flower stalks of a specie of plantain abundant on the meadow"); "Journal of Occurrences," August 9, 1834 ("These Natives have pitched near us for the purpose of gathering acorns and berries."); September 9, 1838; Carpenter, Fort Nisqually, 8; Smith, The Puyallup-Nisqually, 7-14 (village sites), 247-252 (foods and gathering techniques). Collins argues

that opportunities to work for settlers were welcome because they helped eliminate or decrease the occasions on which Puget Sound peoples were strapped for food. "Growth of Class Distinctions and Political Authority," 332, 336. Huggins says that people who came from Snohomish to shear sheep at Fort Nisqually in the 1850s brought with them supplies of dried salmon, clams, roe, and berries but also occasionally sent members of their party off to hunt or fish. "Reminiscences of Puget Sound," 314.

49. One night the people camped around Joseph Heath woke him with news that they expected an attack by warriors who had recently killed ten men and carried off women and children at a neighboring village. This harassment of Heath and his workers prompted Tolmie to send three men to his place in March, 1846. Memoirs of Nisqually, 55; "Journal of Occurrences," February 6, 1846; Ibid., March 10, 1847 (Party of war canoes attacked, killed, robbed canoe of Puyallups, "the Indians here in great alarm that they will be attacked tonight.").

50. Smith, "The Puyallup of Washington," 25. For one account of grudges between native villagers near Fort Nisqually and people of the Snoqualmie area, see Carpenter, Fort Nisqually, 143. Collins attributes the general increase in warfare during the early years of non-Indians' presence to a breakdown of social controls -- particularly the influence of elders on young men -- that had formerly minimized violence between communities. "Growth of Class Distinctions," 367. On the other hand, Kenneth Tollefson implicitly ascribes the Snoqualmies' aggressiveness to what he believes was a structured, centralized leadership. His claim contradicts Colin Twedell's description of Snoqualmie organization. Tollefson, "The Snoqualmie: A Puget Sound Chiefdom," Ethnology 26 (1987), 121-136; Twedell, "A Componential Analysis of the Criteria Defining an Indian 'Tribe' in Western Washington," in Western Washington Indian Socio-Ecomonics: Papers in Honor of Angelo Anastasio, eds. Herbert C. Taylor, Jr., and Garland F. Grabert (Bellingham: Western Washington University, 1984), 78.

51. Narrative of Samuel Hancock, 58.

52. Johansen and Gates, Empire of the Columbia, 283-285.

53. William Fraser Tolmie, "History of Puget Sound and the Northwest Coast" (manuscript preserved at the Bancroft Library, 1878), University of Washington microfilm 190, 31, 32; Tolmie to Rodk Finlayson, January 8, 1848, and Tolmie to Board of Management, April 13, 1848, in

"Journal of Occurrences." The story of Rabbeson's and Thomas Glasgow's adventure on Whidbey Island may be apocryphal. At the very least it probably exaggerates and projects onto the natives the settlers' fears. The story appears in the Washington Standard of March 21, 1868, 2, and has been repeated with variations in several sources, including Hubert Howe Bancroft, History of Oregon (San Francisco: The History Company, 1888), 11; George Albert Kellogg, "A History of Whidbey's Island" (series in Island County Farm Bureau News, 1933-34; scrapbook in Special Collections Library, University of Washington), 11; "The Nisqually Journal," Washington Historical Quarterly 10 (1919): 217, note 49; Edmond S. Meany, "Chief Patkanim," Washington Historical Quarterly 15 (1924): 190-1 (attributing it to Elwood Evans via Bancroft). Although Glasgow lived at the time with a native woman, he seems unlikely to have understood completely the discussions he claims to have overheard between Snoqualmie head man Patkanim and a Nisqually region chief. His claim that he narrowly escaped with his life is a motif that appears in so many retrospective stories of pioneer life as to assume the quality of myth.

54. Tolmie to Peter Skeen Ogden, July 24, 1848, "Journal of Occurrences."

55. Tolmie, "History of Puget Sound and the Northwest Coast," 32.

56. Bancroft, History of Oregon, 47; "1845-1945," 8-9; Rabbison, "Growth of Towns," Bancroft collections.

57. "Journal of Occurrences," May 1, 1849.

58. Herbert Hunt and Floyd C. Kaylor, Washington West of the Cascades (Seattle: The S.J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1917), 106, claim the Snoqualmies attacked Fort Nisqually in an attempt to chase all whites from the country. Concluding that the Snoqualmie-Skykomish contention was with Nisqually area Indians or with Hudson's Bay Company rather than with Americans are Emily Denny, Blazing the Way (Seattle: Rainier Printing Co., 1909), 398; Bancroft, History of Oregon, 67; Rabbison, "Growth of Towns." Tolmie's journal entry for that day describes the Snoqualmie and Skeywhamish as armed and warlike. Their chief, however, accepted an invitation into the fort for a pipe of peace. When Gohome fired his gun "in jest," four or five of "the worst" Snoqualmies rushed the gate, and one shoved Gohome aside. Tolmie chastised the rude man, pushed him out, and ordered the gate closed. As HBC employee Charles Wren attempted to slip inside the fort, he got into a scuffle with northerners hanging around the

gate. Tolmie then saw the man he had expelled take aim at him, so he fired his gun. Tolmie thought his might have been the first shot, but friendly Indians told him later that the first shot came from another Snoqualmie man angry at Wren. The Americans, Wallace and Lewis, were caught in the crossfire because they disregarded a call to come in. "[T]hey perhaps thought themselves secure from harm...," speculated Tolmie, "as they were Americans, and did not belong to the Fort...." Tolmie's 1878 history makes the Snoqualmie and Skykomish actions seem even more innocent. "History of Puget Sound," 33-34.

59. Hunt and Kaylor, Washington West of the Cascades, 106. The source of this tale appears to be Rabbeson, who was in California at the time. "Growth of Towns." The Fort Nisqually journal reports no further violence during the days following the melee. Indeed, it records that on May 14 one notable Snoqualmie man dissociated himself from the troublemakers and pledged his friendship, that on May 18 the headmen gathered peacefully to hear Oregon Territory Governor Lane's letter of remonstrance, and that Patkanim himself apologized on June 8. Nevertheless, American Michael Simmons asked the British traders for ammunition, causing Tolmie to note drily, "Mr. S. appears to have been giving credence to the Indian rumors of invasion on the part of the Snoqualmies." "Journal of Occurrences," May 14, 1849.

60. They were, Lane told officials in Washington, D.C., "much alarmed for the safety of their families, hourly expecting to be attacked by these Indians, who had threatened to destroy the settlements." Report of Joseph Lane, October 13 and 22, 1849, in Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Senate Exec. Doc. 1, Paper E, p. 156, Serial 587.

61. Report of Joseph Lane, 156.

62. "Journal of Occurrences," May 18, 1849.

63. "Journal of Occurrences," August 7, 1849.

64. Report of Joseph Lane, 163. In the early years of the republic, treaties with Indians regularly included promises on the tribes' part to give up to American authorities any Indians who committed serious crimes against citizens of the U.S. By 1796 federal laws regulating intercourse with autonomous Indian nations incorporated similar provisions. Francis Paul Prucha says:

> If an Indian committed a crime against a white -- and murder was the offense foremost in mind -- the criminal was demanded from the tribe for punishment by the United States. If the accused Indian was not delivered up, a military expeidition was sent to apprehend him, or hostages were seized and held until the criminal appeared. The culprit was guarded by the federal troops and turned over by them to a civil court in a nearby territory or state for trial.

The Great Father (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984), 104. As White notes, this practice of demanding the surrender of alleged Indian murderers for trial according to non-Indian procedures goes back even farther. The Middle Ground, 76-77.

65. Lane made sure his superiors knew he disapproved Thornton's decision to offer a reward. He argued that it could induce the Indians to commit murder for profit and to underrate Americans' ability and will to chastise them by force or make war upon them. Report of Joseph Lane, 163. See Tolmie's "History of Puget Sound," 35, for the allegation that Thornton took the trader's advice in offering the reward. "Journal of Occurrences," August 21 and 22, September 3, 1849. Thornton also made presents of Hudson's Bay Company blankets and fabric to people who came from Skagit, Snohomish, Suquamish, Budd Inlet, Nisqually, Klallam, and Skykomish to see him. "Journal of Occurrences," August 21 and 22, 1849.

66. "Journal of Occurrences," September 5, 1849.

67. Martin Zanger recounts a similar story from Illinois in 1820. American authorities there demanded, tried, and executed Indians accused of killing two soldiers; but afterward the Americans bowed to native custom and distributed gifts to the alleged killers' tribespeople. "Conflicting Concepts of Justice: A Winnebago Murder Trial on the Illinois Frontier," Journal of the Illinois Historical Society 73 (1980): 263-276.

68. Descriptions of blood money payments appear in E.A. Starling to Commissioner, December 10, 1853, Records of the Washington Superintendency, University of Washington Microfilm A-171, Roll 9, Reel 17 [hereafter WTSIA]; The Columbian, October 8, 1853, p. 2, c. 2; Underhill, Indians of the Pacific Northwest, 177; Snyder, "Skagit Society and Its Existential Basis," 397; Elmendorf, Structure of Twana Culture, 476-77; Haeberlin and

Gunther, "Indians of Puget Sound," 59; Stern, The Lummi Indians, 99-100.

69. In September Tolmie gave blankets to the relatives of two Indians killed in the May 1 affair. Hudson's Bay Company assumption of this responsibility may indicate that the two men slain were employees at the fort. "Journal of Occurrences," September 6, 1849.

70. "Journal of Occurrences," September 1, 5, and 13, 1849.

71. Report of Joseph Lane, 166.

72. Ibid., 166. Other than a brief note in the "Journal of Occurrences" on October 2, 1849, and Tolmie's comments in his "History of Puget Sound," this report is the only record concerning the trial of the six Snoqualmies. There is no transcript or record of the jurors' names, no mention of Tolmie's or Indians' testifying, no indication whether and how the proceedings were translated for Indians present. Almost six months later, five Cayuse men charged in the Waiilatpu killings went on trial in the territorial capital. The second trial was better documented, largely by the press, and that documentation suggests how the Steilacoom trial may have proceeded. For an imaginative narrative of that case that draws carefully on historical sources, see Ronald B. Lansing, Juggernaut: The Whitman Massacre Trial, 1850 (Ninth Judicial Circuit Historical Society, 1993).

73. Arthur Armstrong Denny, Pioneer Days on Puget Sound (1888; Fairfield, Washington: Ye Galleon Press, 1979), 68; Ezra Meeker, Pioneer Reminiscences, 547.

74. According to legal historian Lawrence Friedman, Anglo-American jurisprudence socialized the punishment of murderers on the theory that violence is a danger to everyone, partly because private retribution tended to escalate the blood letting. "The Development of American Criminal Law," in Law and Order in American History, ed. Joseph M. Hawes (Port Washington, New York: Kennikat Press, 1979), 14.

75. For ethnographers' discussions of how Coast Salish peoples viewed the morality and social consequences of homicides, see W.W. Elmendorf, "Skokomish Sorcery, Ethics, and Society," in Systems of North American Witchcraft and Sorcery, ed. Deward E. Walker, Jr. (Moscow: University of Idaho Press, 1970), 147-182; Smith, The Puyallup-Nisqually, 62; Suttles and Lane, "Southern Coast Salish," 495; Snyder, "Skagit Society and

Its Existential Basis," 98; Stern, The Lummi Indians, 99-100; Collins, "John Fornsby," 321. In his analysis of the unwritten laws that governed Cherokees before they had a coercive state, John Phillip Reid says that "savage law" seeks to secure peace, while "civilized law" seeks to establish justice. A Law of Blood: The Primitive Law of the Cherokee Nation (New York: New York University Press, 1970), 74.

76. Tolmie, "History of Puget Sound," 36.

77. Michel Foucault, Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), 48-50; Lansing, Juggernaut, 28. Benedict Anderson characterizes the modern nation state as an imagined community -- a conception of collective existence and sovereignty that people have despite the fact that they will never all know each other. Anderson, Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism (London and New York: Verson, 1983).

78. Foucault, Discipline and Punish, 57.

79. Regarding the heterogeneity and disunity of settlers in Oregon in 1849, see Pomeroy, The Pacific Slope, 34-35; Johansen and Gates, Empire of the Columbia, 270-71, 301. Both sources also note that territorial officials were outsiders, assigned to govern people whose political focus was mostly local. Pomeroy, 64, 70; Johansen and Gates, 293-94.

80. E.A. Starling to Anson Dart, September 1, 1852, in Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1852), 172 (hereafter ARCIA); William Petit Trowbridge, "Journal of a Voyage on Puget Sound in 1853," Pacific Northwest Quarterly 33 (1942): 395 ("A good whipping makes one of them very obedient, instead of inspiring revenge. They seem to be...rather timid and unaccustomed to war."); "Diary of Colonel and Mrs. I.N. Ebey," ed. Victor J. Farrar, Washington Historical Quarterly 8 (1917): 139-40 ("The Indians know better than to murder a white person. They know we could soon have them all killed an driven off. Therefore they live in obedience and fear toward the Whites."); Ezra Meeker, Pioneer Reminiscences, 57. A visitor of 1853 saw Fort Nisqually, where shots from the palisade drove back "Indian leaguers of yore," as a symbol of a by-gone era in which American settlers slaughtered savage foes elsewhere in North America. Theodore Winthrop, The Canoe and the Saddle, or Klalam and Klickatat, ed. John H. Williams (Tacoma, 1913), 43.

81. John M. Swan, "The Colonisations around Puget Sd," Bancroft collection, 1878, University of Washington Microfilm 223. An unrelated Swan -- James Gilchrist -- came in 1852 as what Norman H. Clark calls a "moral refugee," turning his back on secure and rewarding economic circumstances in the commercial world of New England to shape his life in unorthodox fashion out West. The Northwest Coast, v.

82. Miles, Charles, and O.B. Sperlin, editors, Building a State, 1889-1939 (Tacoma: Washington State Historical Society, 1940), 404; Johansen and Gates, Empire of the Columbia, 290-91.

83. Trowbridge, "Journal of a Voyage on Puget Sound," 397; The Columbian (Olympia), November 6, 1852, 2, and January 15, 1853; Rabbison, "Growth of Towns;" "Capt. Henry Roder's Narrative," Bancroft collection; Meeker, Pioneer Reminiscences, 43, 54 ("We had not come this far to be laborers for hire.").

84. An early promoter of settlement in Oregon, Hall J. Kelley, wrote that Americans could profit from the Indians' taste for English merchandise, advocated teaching them American habits of industry and morality, and envisioned pioneer communities where Indians would also have plots of land to cultivate and send their children to schools. Powell, Fred Wilbur, ed., Hall J. Kelley on Oregon (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1932, reprint, New York: Da Capo Press, 1972), 63-64, 85.

85. Columbian, May 21, 1853, 2.

86. Tolmie, "History of Puget Sound," 36.

87. Interview of Mr. Sales, Pierce County, in Told by the Pioneers, vol. I, 151; "From Narrative of James Longmire, a Pioneer of 1853," Ibid., 135; "Early Reminiscences of a Nisqually Pioneer, The McAllister Family, Thurston County," Ibid., 166; Trowbridge, "Journal of a Voyage on Puget Sound," 396-397 (only one white family on Penn's Cove, where Trowbridge saw at least two villages), 402 (Cobb's fishing station near large Indian encampment); Kautz, Frances, ed., "Extracts from the Diary of Gen. A.V. Kautz," Washington Historian 2 (1900): 14 (settler at mouth of Lummi River living among Indians in 1853); Meeker, Pioneer Reminiscences, 129. Regarding the settlers' selection of lands previously cultivated by Indians, see E.A. Starling to Isaac I. Stevens, December 4, 1853, WTSIA, Letters Received, University of Washington Microfilm A-171, roll 9, reel 17. For

ethnographic references to the criteria for aboriginal residence and camp sites, see Collins, Valley of the Spirits, 55, 81; Elmendorf, Structure of Twana Culture, 258-59; Suttles, Coast Salish Essays, 23; Gunther, "Klallam Ethnography," 195, 199; Smith, "The Puyallup of Washington," 5; Smith, Urban Indians, 3.

88. "1845-1945," 21, 38; Gibbs, "Indian Tribes of Washington Territory," 37; Emily Denny, Blazing the Way, 312; "Diary of Colonel and Mrs. Ebey," 134 ("Some of the Klalm indians have returned to their old camping ground here in the lower part of our garden again...."). Arthur Denny believed that Indians congregated around his party of colonists at Alki in 1851 even though the site had not previously been an aboriginal camping ground. Pioneer Days on Puget Sound, 36. When Ezra Meeker visited the new American settlement at Port Townsend in 1853, he was surprised to find that most of the shacks there belonged not to Americans but to natives. Meeker, Pioneer Reminiscences, 72.

89. Catherine Blaine to her family, August 4, 1854, and May 31, 1854, and David E. Blaine to Mother, August 5, 1854, Blaine Family Papers, University of Washington manuscripts; "Diary of Colonel and Mrs. Ebey," 132; Interview with Mrs. Geo. Biereis, Told by the Pioneers, vol. II, 33; "Early Reminiscences of a Nisqually Pioneer," Ibid., vol. I, 169; Trowbridge, "Journal of a Voyage on Puget Sound," 393, 394, 396, 403; excerpt from diary of customs house at Olympia, November 19, 1851, in "1845-1945, A Washington Centennial Commemorative Booklet," 38; Samuel Hancock, "Thirteen Years Residence on the Northwest Coast;" H.A.G. to I.F.A., in The Columbian, September 11, 1852, 3.

90. Robert C. Hill, "The Murder of Colonel Ebey," in Told by the Pioneers, vol. II, 115; Arthur Denny, Pioneer Days, 36; Emily Denny, Blazing the Way, 74.

91. Denny, Pioneer Days, 51; "Diary of Gen. A.V. Kautz," 117; Emily Denny, Blazing the Way, 70; Meeker, Pioneer Reminiscences, 129; Told by the Pioneers, vol. I, 168; Gibbs, "Indian Tribes of Washington Territory," 36; Winthrop, Canoe and Saddle, 70; J.W. McCarthy, in A Small World of Our Own, 195.

92. "Diary of Colonel and Mrs. Ebey," Washington Historical Quarterly 7 (1916): 311, and 8 (1917): 57, 129; Arthur Denny, Pioneer Days, 65 (It cost $6 -- more than steamer fare -- to go by canoe from Seattle to Olympia.); "Diary of Gen. A.V. Kautz, 12; Winthrop, Canoe and Saddle, 11; Abby J. Hanford, "Seattle and its Indian War," Bancroft

collection, University of Washington microfilm; "Capt. Henry Roder's Narrative," Ibid.; "Journal of Occurrences," January 1, 1850; Narrative of Samuel Hancock, 158.

93. Meeker, Pioneer Reminiscences, 47-48, 216; Narrative of Samuel Hancock, 95, 112, 131; Swan, The Northwest Coast, 152; "1845-1945," 8-9; Rabbison, "Growth of Towns." For a general summary of westward migrants' expectations regarding Indians and the sources of those expectations, see Glenda Riley, Women and Indians on the Frontier, 1825-1915 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1984).

94. Rabbison, "Growth of Towns." See also, Told by the Pioneers, vol. I, 173-4.

95. George Gibbs, perhaps in an ironic tone, implied that he was an apt student of local etiquette when he expressed pride in a letter he had just written to a helpful chief. "It is excessively Indian," Gibbs told George McClellan, " and commences 'Good Friend & My Son....'" George Gibbs to Captain George McClellan, March 23, 1854, University of Washington Microfilm A-142.

96. The Columbian, January 8, 1853, 2; Ibid., January 15, 1853, 1 and 2; Ibid., February 26, 1853, 2; Ibid., March 5, 1853, 1; Martha H. Ellis, in A Small World of Our Own, 170.

97. George Gibbs, "Record of the Proceedings of the Commission to Hold Treaties with the Indian Tribes in Washington Territory and the Blackfoot Country, December 7, 1854-March 3, 1855," WTSIA, Roll 26; Meeker, Pioneer Reminiscences, 47; Trowbridge, "Journal of a Voyage on Puget Sound," 403; Swan, The Northwest Coast, 317; David Blaine to Mother, August 4, 1854, Blaine Family Papers; Narrative of Samuel Hancock, 113, 124; Denny, Pioneer Days on Puget Sound, 49. See also, "Autobiography of Edwin Chalcraft," Manuscript 039, Washington State Library; DeL. Floyd Jones to Major E.D. Townsend, September 1, 1853, in Indian Affairs on the Pacific, 1857, House Exec. Doc. 76, 44th Cong., 3d sess., Serial 906; Urban Hicks in A Small World of Our Own, 150; Mary Perry Frost, Ibid., 206.

98. Rabbison, "Growth of Towns;" "Diary of Colonel and Mrs. Ebey," 135.

99. A census of 1853 showed the following numbers of non-native people in the counties surrounding inland waters south of the international boundary: King - 154,

Jefferson - 153, Island - 182, Thurston - 996, Pierce - 513. The Columbian, October 29, 1853, 2, and November 16, 1853, 2. In 1854, after a smallpox epidemic, Isaac Stevens estimated the Indian population of all Washington Territory at 10,000. Charles M. Gates, ed., Messages of the Governors of the Territory of Washington to the Legislative Assembly, 1854-1889 (Seattle: University of Washington Publications in the Social Sciences, 1940), 6-7. See also, Hicks, in A Small World of Our Own, 150.

100. Sperlin, Building a State, 461, 462; Bennett, "Effect of White Contact on the Lower Skagit Indians," 12; John Swan, "The colonizations around Puget Sd," Bancroft collection; Harry W. Deegan, History of Mason County, Washington (n.p., [1957]), 23; Arthur Denny, Pioneer Days, 45, 47, 85; Emily Denny, Blazing the Way, 46; "1845-1945," 38; Boxberger, To Fish in Common, 24-5; Clarence Bagley, "Chief Seattle and Angeline," Washington Historical Quarterly 22 (October 1931): 245; Meeker, Pioneer Reminiscences, 504; L.L. Langness, "A Case of Post-Contact Reform among the Clallam" (M.A. thesis, University of Washington, 1959), 20; Washington Pioneer (formerly The Columbian), August 27, September 10, and November 26, 1853; Trowbridge, "Journal of a Voyage on Puget Sound," 402, 404; "Diary of Gen. A.V. Kautz," 13.

101. "Diary of Colonel and Mrs. Ebey," 139-140; Catherine Blaine to Family, March 7, 1854, Blaine Family Papers. See also, Meeker, Pioneer Reminiscences, 57; E.A. Starling to Anson Dart, ARCIA (1852), 172 (The Indians are cowardly and averse to difficulties "where their opponents are anything like equal in strength. They are seldom pugnacious."); Trowbridge, "Journal of a Voyage on Puget Sound," 395; Gibbs, "Indian Tribes of Washington Territory," 37.

102. Narrative of Samuel Hancock, 59, 119, 121, 130; "Autobiography of John Roger James," Told by the Pioneers, vol. II, 83; Swan, The Northwest Coast, 166; Bagley, "Chief Seattle and Angeline," 244-45; Cornelius H. Hanford, Seattle and Environs (Chicago and Seattle: Pioneer Historical Publishing Co., 1924), vol. I, 144; Arthur Denny, Pioneer Days, 37; Johnathan J. Bishop, "Why the 'Duke of York' was Friendly to the Whites," Told by the Pioneers, unpublished manuscripts (Jefferson County), Washington State Library.

103. James G. McCurdy, By Juan de Fuca's Strait, Pionnering along the Northwestern Edge of the Continent (Portland: Metropolitan Press, 1937), 26; Swan, The Northwest Coast,

166; John Roger James, Told by the Pioneers, vol. II, 83; "Capt. Henry Roder's Narrative," Bancroft collection.

104. Gibbs, "Indians of Washington Territory," 37; also in ARCIA (1854-55), 452-3.

105. Denny, Blazing the Way, 114; Told by the Pioneers, vol. I, 166, 172; A Small World of Our Own, 9.

106. Kellogg, "A History of Whidbey's Island," 11; "Diary of Gen. A.V. Kautz," 14; Meeker, Pioneer Reminiscences, 118; "Journal of Occurrences," August 19, 1851; Building a State, 405. Of course, a "squaw man's" wife and in-laws might also gain entree into a new, wealthy circle by arranging marriage to a Boston. James Swan told of a Chehalis woman, widowed when her settler husband died, who said she removed their daughter from the care of a white family because she was ashamed of her inability to pay them for the care they provided. When Swan convinced her that her daughter would inherit a share of the father's property only if she lived among the whites, the mother agreed to send her back. Northwest Coast, 366-67. In 1855 the legislature of Washington Territory outlawed marriages between white citizens and Indians. Greg Russell Hubbard, "The Indian under the White Man's Law in Washington Territory, 1853-1889" (M.A. Thesis, University of Washington, 1972), 48.

107. Hicks, in A Small World of Our Own, 150-51.

108. See, for example, Winthrop, Canoe and Saddle, 75-6: With whites Owhigh's son was taciturn -- either sulky or suspicious; but with other Indians he was communicative and jolly.

109. Letter of Catherine Blaine, November 14, 1854, Blaine Family Papers.

110. "Diary of Colonel and Mrs. Ebey," 132. All misspellings appear in original text.

111. Ibid.; Told by the Pioneers, vol. I, 170, and vol. II, 86; Emily Denny, Blazing the Way, 46; Kellogg, "A History of Whidbey's Island," 27; Winthrop, Canoe and Saddle, 22, 48; Narrative of Samuel Hancock, 110, 112-13.

112. By Juan de Fuca's Strait, 38; "Capt. Henry Roder's Narrative." In the Dictionary of Puget Salish, Hess defines gwihalikw as "asking for whatever can be gotten equal to murdered man's station in life." The Port Townsend settlers also treated local head man Chetzamoka to a trip to San Francisco, telling him that all the

Bostons there were brothers of those at Port Townsend and would come to the latters' aid if necessary. Ibid.; Bishop, "Why the 'Duke of York' Was Friendly to the Whites." See also, Arthur Denny, Pioneer Days, 67; The Columbian, October 8, 1853, 2; Catherine Blaine, March 7, 1854, Blaine Family Papers.

113. "Diary of Colonel and Mrs. Ebey," Washington Historical Quarterly 8 (1917): 44-45, 130; Denny, Pioneer Days, 68.

114. ARCIA (1852), 168.

115. Ibid., 169-170.

116. H.A.G. to I.F.A., The Columbian, September 11, 1852, 3; Anson Dart to H.A.G.. The Columbian, October 9, 1852, 3. Two years later Gibbs lamented that financial straits kept the Indian superintendency from paying local agents significantly better than a common laborer. "Indian Tribes of Washington Territory," 31. See also, Starling to Stevens, December 10, 1853, WTSIA, Roll 9, Reel 17; George W. Manypenny to Isaac Stevens, May 9, 1853, in ARCIA (1853), 213-217.

117. Anthony Giddens says that power is typically greatest and most durable when it runs silently through the repetition of institutionalized practices. The Nation-State and Violence (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 9.

118. Starling to I.I. Stevens, December 4, 1853, WTSIA, Roll 9, Reel 17; Jones, Indian Affairs of the Pacific-Puget Sound, Serial 906, 5; "Diary of Gen. A.V. Kautz," Washington Historical Quarterly 1, 118; Ibid., WHQ 2, 14-15; George Gibbs to George McClellan, March 23, 1854, University of Washington Microfilm A-142. See also, Gates, Messages of the Governors of the Territory, 11; ARCIA (1854-55), 451.

119. Meeker, Pioneer Reminiscences, 119; Catherine Blaine to Friends, May 3, 1854, Blaine Family Papers. Allusions to squatters and competing merchants who harried the HBC appear in "The Nisqually Journal," Washington Historical Quarterly 11 (1920): 62, 141; WHQ 14 (1923): 229, WHQ 15 (1924): 139, 292; Meeker, Pioneer Reminiscences, 87. Regarding rivalries between town founders, see H.L Yesler, "Settlement of Washington Territory," Bancroft collection, University of Washington microfilm; Meeker, Pioneer Reminiscences, 65; Swan, "The Colonisations around Puget Sd.," Bancroft collection.

120. David E. Blaine to Father, June [illegible], 1854, and D.E. Blaine to Mother, August 4, 1854; George Gibbs to George McClellan, May 1, 1854; Meeker, Pioneer Reminiscences, 91, 119, 121; Gibbs, "Indian Tribes of Washington Territory," 32; ARCIA (1852), 173; Starling to Stevens, December 5, 1853, WTSIA; Michael T. Simmons to Isaac I. Stevens, July 1, 1854, WTSIA, Roll 9, Reel 17; The Columbian, August 27, 1853, 2; Capt. J.G. Parker, "Puget Sound," Bancroft collection, University of Washington microfilm 37.

121. Rabbison, "Growth of Towns;" William A. Bell, "Settlement of Seattle," Bancroft collection, University of Washington microfilm 21. To officials, many of the people in their jurisdiction must have resembled the oystermen at Willapa whom James Swan caricatured when he said that they had no desire to elect legislators and county officers in 1853. "[W]hat did we want of laws?," he quipped, "[W]e were a law unto ourselves." Swan, The Northwest Coast, 277.

122. "Diary of Colonel and Mrs. Ebey," WHQ 8 (1917), 139; The Columbian, April 9, 1853, 2; Winthrop, Canoe and Saddle, 43; Narrative of Samuel Hancock, 96-102; Gibbs, "Tribes of Western Washington and Northwestern Oregon," 188-189; ARCIA (1852), 172, and (1854-55), 452; Trowbridge, "Journal of a Voyage on Puget Sound," 398; Emily Denny, Blazing the Way, 312. In his study of Indians and settlers in the Lower Mississippi Valley, Daniel Usner says that the inclination to view Indians as a single group has obscured not only their cultural diversity "but also the many different paths taken by Indians in their relations with colonists." They mixed with colonial society, he adds, in varied ways that made domination by governing authorities difficult. Indians, Settlers, and Slaves in a Frontier Exchange Economy, 45, 56.

123. These conclusions follow from material discussed and cited above and sources such as the following: Narrative of Samuel Hancock, 98, 108; Gibbs, "Indian Tribes of Washington Territory," 36; McCurdy, By Juan de Fuca's Strait, 38; ARCIA (1852), 172, (1854-55), 451; Collins, "John Fornsby," 311; Huggins, "Reminiscences of Puget Sound," 314.

124. ARCIA (1852), 169; "1845-1945," 21, 38; Diary of Wilkes in the Northwest, 88; "Diary of Colonel and Mrs. Ebey," WHQ 8: 57, 125, 134; Gibbs, "Indian Tribes of Washington Territory," 27, 29, 36-37; "Journal of Occurrences," September 23, 1850, and January 15, 1851; The Columbian, April 30, 1853, 2; G.A. Barnes, "Oregon and California in

1849," Bancroft collection, University of Washington microfilm 36; Catherine Blaine, March 7, 1854.

125. Hancock, "Thirteen Years Residence," 200; Capt. J.G. Parker, "Puget Sound," Bancroft collection; H.L. Yesler, "Settlement of Washington Territory, Ibid.;" Huggins, "Reminiscences of Puget Sound," 262; Told by the Pioneers, vol. III, 24.

126. Starling to Stevens, December 4, 1853, WTSIA; Jones, Indian affairs on the Pacific, Serial 906, 9; Gibbs, "Indians of Washington Territory," 29; Swan, The Northwest Coast, 381; Told by the Pioneers, vol. I, 172; Kellogg, "A History of Whidbey's Island," 28; "Capt. Henry Roder's Narrative;" The Columbian, September 11, 1852; Ibid., April 30, 1853, 2; Ibid., October 8, 1853, 2.

127. Winthrop, Canoe and Saddle, 14, 15; Hancock, "Thirteen Years Residence," 196; Gibbs, "Indian Tribes of Washington Territory," 28. McCurdy says that Klallam head man Chetzamoka (Duke of York) prized an outfit that American women made him and wore it proudly on all important occasions. By Juan de Fuca Strait, 38. See also, ARCIA (1852), 172.

128. Winthrop, The Canoe and the Saddle, 19; Emily Denny, Blazing the Way, 374; Gibbs, "Indian Tribes of Washington Territory," 36. Winthrop recounts the reaction of a native man from east of the mountains to his treatment by Americans who "had prejudices against redskins." "[H]e became depressed and slinking in manner under the influence of their ostracism. No sooner had we disappeared from the range of Boston eyes than Loolowcan resumed his leadership and his control." The Canoe and the Saddle, 99. Paul Kane said, "It is not an uncommon thing for a chief, when he wishes to pay you a very high compliment, to give and call you by his own name, and adopt some other for himself." Wanderings of an Artist, 138. Michael Taussig notes as a general phenomenon nineteenth-century European travelers' amusement when the people they regarded as primitive displayed their ignorance of civilization by mimicking civilized ways imperfectly. Mimesis and Alterity (New York and London: Routledge, 1993), 76, 79.

129. Edward Huggins to Ezra Meeker, April 15, 1903, Ezra Meeker Papers, Washington State Historical Society, Box 5, Folder 17; Gibbs to McClellan, March 23 and May 1, 1854, University of Washington microfilm; Huggins, "Reminiscences of Puget Sound," 262; "A Documentary History of Fort Steilacoom," ed. Gary Fuller Reese

(Tacoma Public Library, 1984), 29; Meeker, Pioneer Reminiscences, 45; "Journal of Occurrences," January 1, 1834; Ibid., November 18, 1849; Ibid., June 27, 1851; Ibid., September 11, 1851; Ibid., June 25, 1852; Tolmie, Physician and Fur Trader, 235-36; Trowbridge, "Journal of a Voyage on Puget Sound," 393-394. Winthrop, who found the Duke of York and his wives drunk after a "chance festival," concluded that "[e]tiquette demanded inebriety" at the event. The Canoe and the Saddle, 8-9, 5.

130. Gibbs, "Indians of Washington Territory," 36-37; Huggins, "Reminiscences of Puget Sound," 262; "Journal of Occurrences," May 1, 1852; "Capt. Henry Roder's Narrative;" Told by the Pioneers, vol. II, 86. Early-settler-turned-Indian-agent Michael Simmons said that Indians who abandoned themselves to rum were "rather disposed to be saucy, twitting the whites with having stolen their lands without any intention of ever paying for it." Simmons to Stevens, July 1, 1854, WTSIA, Roll 9.

131. A surveyor named Hunt also died by violence in Swinomish country, and several Americans reportedly died at Indian hands in the Bellingham Bay area. Emily Denny, Blazing the Way, 102; Arthur Denny, Pioneer Days, 67; The Columbian, October 8, 1853, 2; Pioneer and Democrat, March 11, 1854, 2; March 25, 1854, 2; December 9, 1854, 2; Isaac I. Stevens to Major Chas. H. Larnard, February 9, 1854, WTSIA, Roll 1; Gibbs, Indian Tribes of Washington Territory, 37; Gibbs to McClellan, May 1, 1854; Starling to Stevens, December 4 and December 16, 1853, WTSIA.

132. Catherine Blaine to Friends, March 7, 1854, Blaine Family Papers.

133. Starling to Stevens, December 10, 1853, WTSIA, Roll 9.

134. Apparently, no record of the speech exists except the report of Dr. H.A. Smith, cited below. On January 28, 1854, the Washington Pioneer of Olympia, p. 2, c. 5, reported only that Governor Stevens had just returned from a trip down the sound to ascertain the populations and conditions of the various tribes.

135. Seattle Sunday Star, October 29, 1887, p. 3.

136. Regarding the virulent smallpox epidemic of 1853, see E.A. Starling to I.I. Stevens, December, 10, 1853, WTSIA, Letters Received, University of Washington Microfilm A-171, Roll 9, Reel 17.

137. Swan, The Northwest Coast, 148, 174, 192-3; Smith, "The Puyallup-Nisqually," 84.

138. Gibbs said, "Those [Indians] among whom establishments have been made for any length of time, finding themselves crowded out of their houses, and fast dwindling away, ask often when [the promise of compensation for their lands] will be fulfilled, for they have but a little time left to employ it, and they leave no children behind." Indian Tribes of Washington Territory, 29. See also comments of a settler of the 1860s on the fatalism that smallpox deaths had instilled in Indians. Caroline C. Leighton, Life at Puget Sound with Sketches of Travel in Washington Territory, British Columbia, Oregon, and California, 1865-1881 (Boston: Lee and Shepard; New York: Charles T. Dillingham, 1884), 156.

139. John A. Rich, Seattle's Unanswered Challenge (1947; reprint, Fairfield, Washington: Ye Galleon Press, 1970), 45, reports that he got this information from a lawyer for Vivian Carkeek, who told on his deathbed about hearing Smith's deathbed statement.

140. Rudolf Kaiser, a German linguist, cites an anthologist who credits Smith with mastering the local language in less than two years. "Chief Seattle's Speech(es): American Origins and European Reception," in Recovering the Word: Essays on Native American Literature, eds. Brian Swann and Arnold Krupat (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1987), pp. 497-536, citing W.C. Vandenwerth, Indian Oratory (University of Oklahoma Press, 1971). There is also a third-hand report that other pioneer witnesses considered Smith's rendering of the speech accurate. Howard Hanson, "Chief Seattle's Great Oration" (speech delivered to Washington State Historical Society, 1939; in University of Washington Special Collections Library), 14, citing Roberta F. Watt, The Story of Seattle (Seattle, 1932), 177. But I am skeptical of these claims. Kaiser also weighs Vandenwerth's statement that Seattle delivered the speech through an interpreter against William Arrowsmith's claim to the contrary and concludes that we cannot determine whether Smith took notes directly from Lushootseed, Seattle's language. Most likely, whether he did or not, some of the speech was translated by another Indian into the Chinook jargon and from jargon into English for Stevens. Smith would have heard and been influenced by these translations.

141. For the scarcity of non-Indians who could speak with natives in anything other than the jargon, see Myron Eells, Ten Years of Missionary Work among the Indians at

Skokomish, Washington Territory, 1874-1884 (Boston: Congregational Sunday-School and Publishing Society, 1886), 33-34; Letter of D.E. Blaine to Mother, August 4, 1854, Blaine Family Papers; George Gibbs, Dictionary of the Chinook Jargon (New York: Cramoisy Press, 1863; reprint; New York: AMS Press, 1970), vii. One settler contrasted the difficulty of learning the natives' language with the fact that he could converse effectively in Chinook jargon after about a year. "John Roger James," Told By the Pioneers, Vol. II, 83. Some claims that particular pioneers mastered the Indian language may mean only that they spoke the jargon well. To verify claims of fluency in the indigenous tongues seems a hopeless task. For example, contradictory allegations abound concerning B.F. Shaw's language skills. Shaw, who interpreted for Governor Stevens at the Treaties of Medicine Creek and Point Elliott, once recalled that after nearly ten years in the territory he understood the Indians' language "as well as any." Seattle Post-Intelligencer, January 31, 1904, p. 25. Others have described him, without citing support, as fluent in several native dialects. Kent D. Richards, "Federal Indian Policy, Isaac I. Stevens, and the Western Washington Treaties" (unpublished manuscript, 1993), 70. But a Lummi man present at Point Elliott said, "I knew B.F. Shaw; he could not talk the native languages and could only speak the Chinook." Affidavit of Sknoughton, United States v. Alaska Packers' Association, United States Circuit Court for the District of Washington, Northern Division, 1897, in Daniel L. Boxberger, "The Ethnohistory of Western Washington Indians in the Nineteenth Century, with Reference to Shellfish Use and Control," (unpublished manuscript, 1993), Appendix IV.

142. "Our Aborigines," Seattle Weekly Intelligencer, August 30, 1873, p. 1, c. 4-6. Emily Denny says that Smith became well acquainted with the Indians and their customs, but she is clearly referring to Smith at a later time in his life. Blazing the Way, 353.

143. John A. Rich, cited above, calls Smith an accomplished writer and poet. For commentators who assume that Smith roughly rendered Seattle's message, even if he did so in Shakespeare-influenced phrases, see Kaiser, above, and the comments of David Buerge and Vi Hilbert in Timothy Egan, "Chief's 1854 Speech Given New Meaning (and Text)," The New York Times, April 21, 1991, p. 1, c. 1-2 and ff.

144. In the article that included the famous speech, H.A. Smith himself said that Seattle was always flattered by marked attention from white men "and never so much as when seated at their tables...."

145. For general discussion of Americans' persistent belief in Indians' inevitable extinction, see Brian Dippie, The Vanishing American (Middletown, Connecticut: Westleyan University Press, 1982).

146. After Seattle died in 1866, the non-Indians who placed a marker at his grave estimated his birthdate as 1786, apparently on the strength of his statement that he remembered seeing Vancouver when he was a boy. Bagley, "Chief Seattle and Angeline," 244.

147. Snyder, "Skagit Society and its Existential Basis" 167; Sally Snyder, "Quest for the Sacred in Northern Puget Sound: An Interpretation of the Potlatch," Ethnology 14 (1975): 154-5; Stern, The Lummi Indians, 73.

## CHAPTER 3

## TREATIES AND WAR: DRAWING LINES THAT COULD NOT HOLD

As settlers appeared in swelling numbers at additional sites around Puget Sound, indigenous people's contacts with them became more widespread, frequent, and varied. The more common the contacts, the more people felt a need to redefine how relations would be conducted. In the mid-1850s representatives of the U.S. government, feeling their way toward a new national policy, attempted to redefine relations through treaties. The treaties, however, did not immediately bring about orderly relations. Instead they provoked a brief Indian uprising. Even by suppressing the uprising Americans did not dictate Indians' place in Puget Sound society as they claimed or hoped. Through the 1860s relations reflected local circumstances and individual predilections more than American policy.

Because the association of Indians and non-Indians threatened to eliminate some of the differences between them, increasing association heightened everyone's sense of what made the peoples different. For this reason in tandem with others, both settlers and indigenous people devoted considerable energy during the turbulent 1850s to affirming and displaying qualities they valued in their respective societies. Americans often acted out their notions of what made them Americans rather than Indians. Evidence that native peoples engaged in corresponding displays is scarcer but sufficient to be convincing.

Unhappy with their political and economic dependence on settler communities south of the Columbia, Americans in northern Oregon agitated for status as a separate U.S. territory as early as 1851. When their efforts had the desired result in 1853, the

new territory's only newspaper declared, "[W]e have become 'a people' within ourselves."[1] The Columbian's owners, who had founded the paper as a tool for organizing Washington Territory, then rededicated themselves to influencing the character of local society by promoting civic pride and immigration. To convince readers that the little colony was rapidly making the transition from a savage to a civilized state, they pointed to schools and public school exercises, new courts, church services, proliferating sawmills, formal social galas, and the newspaper itself. They reported proudly, too, that citizens in several locations organized lavish celebrations of Independence Day.[2]

The Columbian did not mention Indians at Independence Day ceremonies, but not because Indians were not present. Local readers knew that native people were routinely present at such events. In April of 1853 someone posted a notice calling on good citizens of Olympia to devise ways to remove the many Indians living in their midst. Ezra Meeker, who arrived on the Puget Sound the same year, said of Indians during the early 1850s, "They joined in our fourth of July celebrations..., in our religious meetings in numerous instances and to all intent seemed to be moulded as like one community of good will and neighborly kindness."[3]

Americans did not always have in mind the effect of their public displays and new institutions on the people they called savages; they were usually intent on convincing themselves and prospective immigrants that they were creating a civilized society in Washington. They knew, however, that the Indians around them were not oblivious to the rituals of self-assertion

that Americans staged; and if asked, most settlers would have agreed that making Indians aware of American schools, churches, national political unity, and written laws and communications was a way to impress upon them the difference between civilization and savagery.

Furthermore, Americans did engage in some self-display specifically for Indians' benefit, trying to show native people what made Americans Americans and, by implication, what made Indians Indians. These efforts included sending individual Indians to California so that they could see how numerous, rich, and aggressive Americans were. Tales of chiefs who visited San Francisco and then convinced their people not to resist the Americans became part of pioneer mythology. Some may be pure myth, but a few native men did see California in the boom years; and it is plausible that the stories they told upon their return aided the Bostons' efforts to project an image of themselves as wealthy and powerful.[4]

In the mid-1850s Americans relied increasingly on their institutions of government to give native people the desired impression of them. New territorial officials made more concerted efforts than federal agents previously had to gain control of relations and to show Indians where they would belong in the American-dominated world to come. Americans seemed particularly to think of their courts as ideal instruments for teaching the native people about American civilization and its implications for Indians.[5]

Governor Stevens's first official act was to establish judicial districts and appoint judges to precinct courts.

Shortly after that, E.A. Starling advised Stevens that the Indians, already inclined to look to the whites for protection, could easily be made to obey a code of laws if it were simplified for their comprehension.[6] Probably because Starling's was a minority opinion, no simplified code issued from either the territorial legislature or Congress; but Americans insisted with growing frequency that Indians at least obey American laws when dealing with Americans.

In government officials' view, Indians were not the only people in the territory who had to be taught that U.S. legal institutions would henceforth regulate intercultural relations; British traders were also in need of humbling instruction. In 1854 Stevens sought to weaken the Hudson's Bay Company by severing its long-standing ties to native people. He directed HBC to cease commercial intercourse with Indians. When the Olympia Pioneer and Democrat reported this order, which Stevens had little hope of enforcing, the paper added:

> The Indians too, should be made to understand that it is the government of the United States, and not the Chief Factors of the...HBC, to whom they are to look for protection when their rights are violated, or whom they have to fear when evil councils prevail, and they are induced to pass the barriers a wise and munificent government has instituted to guard the respective rights of the white man and Indian.[7]

If the territorial government were to manage relations among the region's contentious cultural groups, it also needed to re-educate many Americans. Especially those who had immigrated before 1853 had learned to deal with Indians in ways that now seemed ill-suited to American ambitions. The governor and his deputies urged settlers to channel their contests for power and economic advantage into official political forums. Shortly after

Stevens made Michael Simmons the Indian agent for the Puget Sound district, Simmons began this resocialization with a letter to his fellow citizens, published in The Pioneer and Democrat. Petty disturbances were a chronic problem, he wrote, because settlers broke the law against providing Indians with liquor, punished Indians for supposed wrongs without sufficient evidence, and hired Indians without first making enforceable contracts. To produce "an amicable state of feelings between the red and white occupants of this Territory...," Simmons pledged to restrain Indians "within suitable limits and to exact from them an obedience to law in their intercourse with the whites" while also protecting their rights under law. He warned that he could carry out these arduous and delicate duties only if settlers cooperated by bringing their grievances to him or to the courts.[8]

Official acts ostensibly designed to teach Indians that Americans governed by law were thus intended as much, if not more, to teach non-Indians the same thing. The need to order relations with Indians became the focus of much of the new government's attention because Indians were ubiquitous, and their disposition was crucial to the colonists' well-being; but Indians also provided the impetus for discourse among non-Indians about what would be the defining characteristics of settler society.

The formation of a separate territorial government did not achieve a clean break with the world where situation-specific power calculations rather than law dictated immigrants' treatment of native people. In part this was true because settlers who had lived in the region before 1853 now filled many court and lower government positions.[9] Not only were they and other settlers

used to operating independently of legal institutions, but also the government they staffed was poor and weak.

Settlers who thought they had the upper hand in particular situations therefore resorted occasionally to beating, lynching, and robbing Indians even after 1853. Where they could use the courts or get office holders to remove or intimidate troublesome natives, they did so, often boasting of the flattering light that their respect for law shed on the American character; but the line between lynching and punishment according to American law was often hard to discern.[10] On the other hand, where settlers knew they were vulnerable to Indian vengeance or economic leverage, they continued to employ unofficial, middle ground conventions for calming stormy relations. One settler said later, "Before the war when an Indian would steal anything it was our custom to tie him up & lynch him;" but after hanging Masatche Jim, "we had him to pay for, to the Indians....We had to do it, or run the chances individually of being served in the same way."[11]

The new courts did assume significant responsibility for defining and adjusting relations between Americans and Indians. Their dockets during the 1850s were crowded with cases involving Americans' dealings with native people.[12] For example, after each of four notorious killings of white men, settlers hauled individual Indians into court to answer murder charges. Native people claimed in at least two of the cases that the killings were responses to specific grievances against Bostons, but the Americans would not consider settling the reciprocal grievances according to native precepts, by exchanging property. Instead,

they tried the accused men and sentenced them to death by hanging.[13]

To bring Indians before American adjudicators, however, Americans often had to use extra-legal tactics. One attempt to arrest some Klallams for killing a white man developed into a brief military campaign. Eventually the governor requisitioned troops, recommending that they move against the entire Dungeness Klallam band.

> As a preliminary measure all the chiefs of the Clallam tribe should be seized and retained as hostages for the delivery of the others....Should the tribe prove hostile or offer any resistance, a summary course should be pursued, and their towns and especially stockades be destroyed.[14]

The troops not only seized four wanted men but also shot three other natives, two mortally, and whipped and cut the hair of three more.[15]

While some Bostons were waging a miniature war to convince Klallams that they must surrender wrong-doers to American officials, Stevens was leading an expedition intended to teach Snohomish villagers the same lesson. He was answering the call from settlers who feared trouble after their posse bungled the attempt to seize Indians suspected of killing Mr. Young. Stevens's expedition did not convey any better than the Klallam campaign a sense of the law-ordered society that Americans purported to bring to the region, but it did show some native people that the Boston tyee [chief] intended to impose new procedures for resolving serious difficulties between Bostons and siwashes.

With Simmons, George Gibbs, and a detachment from Fort Steilacoom, Stevens went to the town of Seattle. There he called

together some Indians -- "Patkanam & part of the Snoqualmies, and Seattle with those of the Dwamish usually at the town, and George Seattle his son...in effect chief of the Suquamish...." When he went on to Snohomish country with four boatloads of soldiers and volunteers, he took Seattle and Patkanim along. He sent them and some whites to scout nearby camps for men who had killed Young or fought the posse, but no one scared up more than a few women and some people from Skagit. The governor threatened to consider all these native people guilty unless they surrendered the murderers. When this had no effect, he settled for destroying camps and canoes identified as Snohomish.

Delegating small groups to continue the search, Stevens went on to Skagit territory. There he informed villagers "that they must have chiefs who should be responsible if any thing was wrong. They should choose a head chief & he would appoint 15 good men to support him. They must obey the chief & the others stand by him." Because the assembled natives would not choose men for these roles, Stevens appointed a head chief -- Goliah -- and six sub-chiefs for Skagit area people. Eight days after the expedition began, Stevens had to end it with no greater accomplishment than this. Even the prisoners his men had taken escaped during the last night out.[16]

In addition to showing natives in the Snohomish and Skagit areas that he was prepared to force the surrender of alleged murderers, the governor had notified them of his intent to deal with the various indigenous communities according to notions about their structure that did not necessarily correspond to theirs. If Stevens hoped at the same time to teach Indians the

difference between American law and the conventions that had previously governed intercommunity relations, his tactics were not well calculated to accomplish his purpose.

Territorial officials' preoccupation with Indian relations and the high proportion of early court cases involving Indians reveal how intertwined settler and native worlds were. Yet the government and courts served Americans as symbols of their resolve to replace an Indian world with an American one, and many in the new government saw a need to begin sorting out the intertwined peoples. For example, when the first territorial legislature drew a line between people considered competent to testify in court and those deemed incompetent, it included in the latter category all Indians and "persons having more than one-half Indian blood." It permitted Indians to testify only against other Indians.[17]

During the same legislative session, the existence of persons with both white and Indian parentage -- then called half-breeds -- stirred an extended debate about whom to include in the territorial electorate. Legislators weighed proposals to bar all half-breeds from the polls, to bar only those unable to satisfy county commissioners that they led a civilized life, and to bar those -- civilized or not -- who could not read and write English. Eventually the lawmakers approved, reconsidered, and narrowly reaffirmed a provision enfranchising "civilized" half-breeds, whether or not they were literate.[18]

The half-breed vote debate shows how the intermixing of peoples stimulated American settlers to define themselves. The Canadian or British parentage of many half-breeds and their

presumed presumed political orientation and susceptibility to manipulation were probably as much on the minds of debating legislators as their Indian ancestry.[19] Yet delegates argued for or against the half-breed vote largely on the basis of the cultural and moral statement they would make by extending full citizenship to people who were so close to savagery. In deciding whether to count the children of pioneers and Indians as members of their society or as Indians, lawmakers thought they were saying something significant about the character of the society they were building. Delegate Chenoweth, author of the bill to enfranchise only half-breeds who conformed to the habits of civilized life, said,

> Our legislation should be humanizing and civilizing in its effects. We should encourage this class of men in their efforts in adopting our habits, instead of placing a mark upon them....In a short time they will be all that is left to remind us that there once was numerous and thickly swarming tribes of savages all over this country....[20]

Arthur Denny, Chenoweth asserted, opposed the half-breed vote in the belief that it would cause people in the States to regard Washington Territory socoiety as degraded. Chenoweth countered that extending the franchise would prove the settlers' adherence to liberal ideals. Delegate Moseley argued in favor of permitting half-breeds to vote, so long as they conformed to white Americans' ideas of worthiness, because he wanted to live in a land of freedom, where every man stood on a level with every other. Other lawmakers may have thought this a reason to approve the bill, but the assembly's vote the next year to void whites' future marriages to persons with half or more "Indian blood" suggests that the ideology of freedom and equality determined few

citizens' stance on the half-breed question. Like Chenoweth, the most influential citizens wanted a society that forgave the earliest pioneers their decision to cross the line between Indians and whites but a society that would re-draw and maintain the line thereafter.[21]

There is no record that the Bostons' debates about half-breed voting and intermarriage became topics of discussion around fires in aboriginal lodges. Nor can I find evidence that indigenous people made equivalent efforts in the same period to clarify the boundaries between their societies and the growing Boston population. Nonetheless, activities that had the effect of defining and exhibiting what native peoples valued about themselves were going on in indigenous communities. Both war or raiding and intercommunity ceremonials, particularly ritual distributions of wealth, were on the increase; and both were important means for groups as well as individuals to achieve and affirm qualities that gave them stature and defined them in relation to others in the region.[22]

Moreover, the proliferation of competitive and ceremonial relations among indigenous communities was an outgrowth of relations between natives and settlers. According to anthropologist June Collins, for instance, Skagit villagers entered into new ceremonial relationships with natives of south Vancouver Island because the Hudson's Bay Company's located a trading post in the latters' country. A few scholars doubt that Puget Sound peoples even staged what Americans called potlatches until the influx of European wealth provided them with the means, and new contacts with northern peoples provided them with the

model, for large-scale give-aways. In any case, it is likely that the activities of King George men and Bostons, by bringing people from distant communities into more frequent communication, did increase their inclination and opportunities to test and to affirm their respective powers and sources of pride.[23]

Intercommunity ceremonials were an accepted way to demonstrate local pride and powers. When Frank Allen told about memorable gatherings that his ancestors attended or hosted during the 1840s and 1850s, he said that residents of one village were showing people from other places how they did things. When he described villagers performing their dances and songs, displaying their masks, setting out meals that included local delicacies, demonstrating their supernaturally bestowed powers in feats of magic, or distributing impressive amounts of property, Allen made clear that everyone present would recognize such acts as proof of a people's greatness.[24]

Although no American reported witnessing a potlatch during the early 1850s, settlers knew that such gatherings took place and that native people valued the status they gained by hosting them. Starling claimed in 1852 that the Indians of his district would give away their last possession if it would make an impression on others. He cited "a chief of the Ska-git tribe who...gave away over two hundred blankets; and another of the Sklal-lum tribe is about preparing a fete, at which there is to be a general collection of Indians, to whom he is to give a quantity of articles; all to enhance his importance."[25]

There is no reason to believe that natives held potlatches or other ceremonies during this period primarily to impress the

Bostons, yet the largesse and resulting influence of "chiefs" like those Starling mentioned did make an impression on Americans as well as Indians.[26] Some settlers even interpreted potlatches as deliberate demonstrations, for the settlers' benefit, of Indians' collective power. Understandably, when Governor Stevens sought to identify individuals who could represent the Indian communities in their dealings with him, he thought of men who had hosted high-profile intervillage ceremonies -- men such as Seattle, Patkanim, Chowitshoot, and Chetzemoka.[27]

Even before Skagit villagers declined to designate a chief in 1854, Stevens knew that chiefs of the kind he wished to deal with would have to be created through American efforts. When the governor took office, Starling told him that in the native communities "[a]ny one who has riches (in their sense of the word blankets & slaves) and is the head of a family considers himself a chief." Even those who were nominally the chiefs of whole tribes, Starling added, had little authority beyond a circle of relatives. They rarely, if ever, punished followers for crimes. They had no organization, no system of government. To this advice Gibbs added that American officials would be able to unite the area's scattered, independent Indian bands only by deliberately and consistently supporting a few head chiefs in the exercise of authority over other Indians.[28]

Uniting the scattered, loosely organized bands under single heads, according to Gibbs and Stevens, was a key to regulating American relations with Indians. Widely dispersed and often on the move, native people seemed beyond government control.[29] Since one of Stevens's most important goals was to make

Washington safe for further colonization -- that is, to minimize the chances of dangerous confrontations between settlers and Indians who resented the settlers' presence or activities -- he was keenly interested in ways to gain control over Indians.

To Stevens and his advisors, the most sensible approach was one just then gaining favor in the Office of Indian Affairs. Since Americans' swift colonization of the trans-Mississippi West had invalidated the long-standing policy of removing Indians from the path of settlement to a single Indian territory, some federal officers had activated another, previously disfavored model for Indian relations. They proposed assigning Indians by tribes to much smaller reserved areas within newly acquired territories. On such reservations, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs argued in 1850, Indians could learn under government tutelage how to live within a civilized nation and particularly how to support themselves by farming.[30]

The need for an alternative to the removal policy was especially acute in Washington, Oregon, and California by the early 1850s. Congress had disregarded legal precedent and risked conflict by effectively encouraging settlement of those territories before it made arrangements for the native occupants. Moreover, the many settlers there who depended on Indians for labor and trade had as much reason as the Indians to oppose removal. Even though treaties applying the reservation model to Oregon and California failed to win congressional approval just before Stevens became Washington's Superintendent of Indian Affairs, he and the commissioner concluded that similar

agreements were the only workable means to settle matters with Indians in Washington.[31]

Soon after he arrived in Olympia Stevens reminded Commissioner George Manypenny of the urgent need for treaties to buy the Indians' lands, concentrate Indians in government-supervised enclaves, and thus remove impediments to speedy settlement. With Stevens's help Manypenny obtained authorization and funding for treaties along the lines suggested. Sending the governor copies of recently concluded treaties with the Omahas, Otoes, and Missouris, Manypenny instructed him to save money and appease Congress by settling Indians on the fewest possible reservations.[32] In December, 1854, Stevens began carrying out this plan with the utmost dispatch.

In aboriginal villages around Puget Sound, the news that the Boston tyee was inviting all siwash to an important convocation must have stirred mixed feelings of pleasure, excitement, and apprehension. Such a special event in the winter would provide a welcome diversion and perhaps relief from tensions that grew among housemates during the slow, dark days under one roof.[33] Stevens's invitation offered the additional hope of relieving anxieties arising from the recent smallpox epidemic and from the Bostons' increasingly frequent disregard of villagers' rights and status. On the other hand, the prospect of encountering large numbers of strangers at the gathering was cause for some anxiety.[34]

All who journeyed to treaty conferences west of the Cascade Mountains knew the American chief planned to pay for lands the Bostons wanted to use. Settlers had assured them that this

occasion would come.[35] Although they had no history of paying for land or its use, native villagers could have understood the long-promised restitution by analogy to payments they made when smoothing over insults and compensating each other for injuries. Having welcomed other opportunities to acquire Boston money and goods for their own social ends, many native people probably rejoiced at the news that the Bostons were now prepared to give more money and goods.[36]

People who answered Stevens's invitation would have had no illusion that they were going to a potlatch or ceremony exactly like those at their own or neighboring villages. Just as the Klallams and Twanas of Frank and Henry Allen's tales knew that they would see strange practices when they went to ceremonies in distant communities, people arriving at the treaty grounds would have expected the Bostons to show their own peculiar way of doing things. They would also have been acutely aware that the treaty was an unprecedented occasion. In trying to understand what the extraordinary event meant, however, they could not have done other than compare it to known precedents and assimilate it to familiar concepts and values.

If the Bostons were generous hosts who promoted peaceful relations among their guests, they would confirm -- according to native villagers' code of meanings -- that they were big men with whom it was wise to maintain good relations. If Stevens or his speakers greeted notable guests by name and called on them to accept gifts, the recipients would understand that the American chief acknowledged their prestige and the value of having their respect. By attending Stevens's potlatch, native people would

therefore have expected or hoped to enhance their own standing both with the Bostons and with each other.[37]

Intervillage ceremonials were not the only precedents for gatherings like the one Stevens sponsored; King George men and blackrobes had also presided over large, indiscriminate assemblies of native people. A person who had been in such assemblies would have expected at this one, as well, to see features of the hybrid culture that facilitated relations between Europeans or Americans and indigenous peoples: ceremonious greetings, speeches, and feasting designed to promote good feelings; verbal communication through interpreters using the Chinook jargon; white men's rituals such as the reading and signing of papers.

Americans under Stevens's direction hosted three treaty convocations for peoples around Puget Sound and the Hood Canal -- one for residents of south sound villages at the end of December, 1854, a second for north sound groups late in January of 1855, and a few days later a third for bands along the canal and Juan de Fuca Strait. As American officials had done elsewhere for decades, Stevens's advisors recognized that solemn rituals were appropriate to the occasion.[38] In many respects, therefore, the treaty councils met native participants' expectations. Runners conveyed invitations, much as they did for potlatches, by delivering to each village a bundle of sticks representing the number of persons in the band.[39] When they arrived at the appointed places, people from different communities greeted each other with elaborate formalities that reflected both aboriginal traditions and the influence of priests and traders. At Point

Elliott the Snoqualmie received Goliah's Skagit band with "great form," according to Gibbs. "Each party drew up on the beach in single file & marched past the other, saluting with the sign of the cross & taking off their hats...." While camping near each other for several days, Indians also danced for each other, gambled, and held athletic contests.[40]

At Stevens's prompting, leading men among the Bostons and eminent siwash gave inspiring and respectful speeches, which interpreters converted to the jargon so that other interpreters could in turn convert them to English or to one of the indigenous languages. The governor explained what the Americans proposed to give for the land. After the Indians talked about the proposal among themselves, and only after serious bargaining in some cases, all notable native men, Stevens, and other whites marked the Bostons' paper. The governor then distributed gifts through the chiefs and fed the assembled people. Most of the leading native men declared that the proceedings left them with good feelings toward the Bostons.[41]

Promoting good feelings was one of the Americans' aims. They did want to smooth over troubles that had lately attended so many of their fellow citizens' encounters with Indians, and they knew that to do so they had to meet the Indians on the established cultural bridge between societies. They saw the treaty, however, as a way to assume control of traffic on that bridge and eventually to rebuild the bridge using American materials. Consistent not only with local practice but also with long-standing U.S. practice, Stevens therefore observed the protocols of formal relations that Indians seemed to expect; but

he also stated forcefully that matters could not be arranged between his people and Indians except as he proposed.

Specifically, the governor insisted that the scattered people promise to confine their homes to designated reserves and let U.S. officials assume responsibility for guiding their relations with outsiders. This demand reflected the immediate American desire to free up as much land as possible for settlement, but it also expressed a general wish to define and reinforce social boundaries around Indians and to establish American-controlled ways of maintaining those boundaries.[42]

According to the view then prevailing in Washington, D.C., control would be possible and affordable only if Indians were clustered at the fewest possible locations. To satisfy Congress and his superiors, Stevens planned to establish a mere handful of reservations and to include in the treaties a clause allowing the government to settle all Indians on a single reservation some time in the future. Several of his advisors, wanting both to assure the Indians access to their accustomed foods and to preserve settlers' access to Indian workers, advocated more numerous reserves close to the different bands' usual haunts.

None of the American treaty negotiators intended to cut off relations between white and red people; they simply wanted to limit and regulate them. The reservations were to be U.S.-supervised homes but not prisons. To people assembled for the first treaty, Stevens described his plan:

> The Great Father has many white children who come here, some to build mills, some to make farms, and some to fish, and the Gr. Father wishes you to have homes, pastures for your horses & fishing places. He wishes you to learn to farm, and your children to go to a good school, and he now wants me to make a

> bargain with you in which you will sell your lands and in return be provided with all these things. You will have certain lands set apart for your homes and receive yearly payments of Blankets, axes, &c.[43]

Simmons made the Americans' thinking even clearer at the third treaty. A Skokomish man suggested that the Bostons take only half the lands and asked, "Why not let us live together with you?" If the Indians kept half the lands, Simmons replied, the Americans would insist on strict segregation of the peoples; but if the reserves were small, the Americans would let Indians go where they wished to fish and to work for whites.[44]

In other words, while the treaties embodied an American desire to establish well defined lines between Indians and citizens, they also constituted a scheme to incorporate the Indians into the American legal, political, and economic system in a subordinate position. An event that native people probably understood primarily as a reciprocal affirmation of group identities, status, and interconnections the Americans thus conceived in a light much less flattering to the Indian participants. They imagined they were confirming the Indians' subjection to American authority.

To explain the new relationship they foresaw and to make it palatable to the Indians, American speakers at the treaties used the rhetoric of kinship. They referred to the President as the Great Father. The governor, a surrogate for the President, also depicted himself as a father, calling his assistants elder brothers and the Indians children. When he addressed the multitude at Point Elliott as his children, Stevens explained:

> You are not my children because you are the fruit of my loins but because you are children for whom I have the same feeling as if you were the fruit of my

> loins....What will a man do for his own children? He will see that they are well cared for, that they have clothes to protect them against the cold and rain, that they have food to guard them against hunger....I want you as my children to be fed and clothed, and made comfortable and happy.[45]

Such rhetoric was standard fare in American dealings with Indians elsewhere on the continent -- a feature of a culture of relations dating from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[46] Yet even though kinship was as central to the way natives of Puget Sound conceived of human relations as it was among seventeenth-century Iroquois, the rhetoric seems to have been Stevens's idea, not his listeners'.[47]

To get their audiences thinking of themselves as the Great Father's children, Stevens and his colleagues spoke of problems and weaknesses the Indians suffered and of the Great Father's pity for them. American speakers either insinuated or said bluntly that the Indians were unable to control the power in liquor, unable to cure the white man's diseases, unable to keep bad whites from beating them and taking their lands, and therefore unprepared to deal with the consequences of further immigration. At Point Elliott "elder brother" Simmons, after reciting some of these tribulations, suggested that hope lay in the Indians' children becoming like American children. As a father teaches his children how to live, Simmons and Stevens implied, the Americans would teach the Indians.[48]

Native speakers did not seem eager to call themselves Stevens's children. Minutes of the three Puget Sound treaty conferences show Seattle alone adopting this nomenclature with apparent enthusiasm. At Point No Point, Chelantehtet and two other men would not declare themselves ready to look on Stevens

as their father until the governor convinced them that he offered an advantageous bargain.[49] Like Chelantehtet, other native speakers seemed less intent on encouraging Stevens to take the role of father-provider than on getting him to acknowledge the value of their resources and their good will. When their turn came to talk, the men whom the Americans had recognized as chiefs dwelled primarily on what would make relations with the Bostons good again: the promised payments, recognition of their continuing rights to the resources that sustained them, and the services of good American doctors.[50]

In general, Indian speakers used the self-effacing rhetoric expected of well-bred men; but rather than depicting themselves as impoverished by the American incursion, some men at Point No Point told Stevens that they knew how to profit from the Americans' presence. Chits-a-mah-han [Chetzemoka, the Duke of York] said, "Before the Whites came we were always poor. Since then we have earned money and got blankets and clothing." Nah-whil-luk [Dah-whil-luk] from Skokomish also made a point of showing himself equal to the challenges and opportunities presented by American immigration. He wanted Stevens to believe that he comprehended how the Bostons thought about land and was prepared to deal with them on their own terms. "I do not want to sell my land," he declared, "because it is valuable. The Whites pay a great deal for a small piece and they get money by selling the sticks. Formerly the Indians slept but the Whites came among them and woke them up and we now know that the lands are worth much."[51]

Several men at Point No Point acknowledged a debt to the Bostons, primarily for preventing former enemies from molesting them; but they were more interested in whether the governor had similar power to keep whites from abusing them than in whether he would supply their material needs. Once Stevens pledged that selling most of their lands would not cut them off from worksites, fishing grounds, and other sources of money and food, the people at Point No Point knew they would be able to provide for themselves and were ready to sign.

Viewed alongside his actions and other words at the treaty councils, Stevens's offer to care for Indians as a father cared for his children may have seemed to indigenous people more an expression of good will than a guarantee of material support. The gifts that the Boston tyees distributed there were not impressively generous, and American spokesmen warned that further payments were contingent on the Great Father's approval.[52]

Even if native people considered the Bostons' potlatch insultingly stingy, however, most would not have complained or left in a huff. They thought it rude to comment unfavorably on a host's actions and outright dangerous to criticize people who were not blood relatives.[53] On this occasion, besides, they knew that some accommodation had to be made. Americans by their rapid increase, their willingness to use deadly force, and their political organization had shown themselves the most formidable people in the region. Because the Bostons' ways of doing things were so different from theirs, most native people probably saw no alternative to accepting with grace the promise of payments and better treatment in the future. If they also construed those

promises as flattering recognition of the native communities' importance, they were not just indulging in self-delusion. Both their own customs and events at the treaty conferences gave them a basis for such a construction.[54]

Later some men who signed the treaties would explain that they acted in part on a perception that resisting the Boston demands was folly. Tyee Dick, for example, told Ezra Meeker that he signed the treaty at Medicine Creek because he saw no use in fighting people whose soldiers had big guns and the power to summon reinforcements.[55] Even if other native villagers explained the treaties as Tyee Dick did rather than as an honor, events at the three conferences clearly established and symbolized at least a temporary bond of friendliness between peoples. According to native mores, such a bond would require periodic renewal.[56]

Americans characterized the relation established as one between whites on one hand and Indians on the other. The enormous treaty gatherings with their focus on concluding a bi-lateral agreement promoted this view among the assembled villagers, reinforcing the Bostons' statements that native people together constituted a single category of people distinct from so-called whites. Natives not only heard Stevens and Simmons refer to them all as siwash but also heard the designated chiefs respond in kind.[57]

At the same time the treaties confirmed that Puget Sound peoples were many and diverse. Although Stevens appointed or recognized only a few head chiefs for aggregations he called tribes, the documents he prepared named as treaty parties dozens

of additional autonomous groups. Even more men than there were village groups -- enough men to represent many households -- signed the papers. The treaty papers named additional bands for which no one signed and identified some signers by band affiliations that were different from any listed in the treaties' preambles.[58] After proposing to put all people around the sound on only two or three reserves, Stevens gave in to demands for no fewer than eight reservations because the villagers balked at moving their homes to unfamiliar places near unfamiliar people.[59] All these facts indicate that group loyalties of the peoples encompassed in the treaties were far more numerous than the Americans wanted to admit.

Furthermore, even though official records show all Indians at the treaty conferences accepting the American offer, Indian statements during and after the councils reveal that their views on the treaties were not uniform. Some Twana and Klallam speakers focused on preserving access to their foods; others emphasized their desire for payments that represented what the land was worth to whites. The four principal chiefs at the Point Elliott treaty talked most about their desire to have Dr. David Maynard's services. Although treaty minutes do not corroborate them, some people who attended the council at Medicine Creek later said that at least one chief (Leschi) refused to sign Stevens's paper.[60] In sum, the communities that Americans lumped together as Indians contained people who had varying conceptions of themselves in relation to the Bostons.

Even in the relatively homogenous population gathered at Medicine Creek, communities differed in economic and social

orientation; and these differences influenced their feelings about the Bostons' plans and actions. In particular, the interests of some people who lived inland diverged significantly from the interests of those who spent most of their time near the salt water. In the up-river groups were people who counted their wealth more in horses than in canoes. While their downstream neighbors usually found trading partners and in-laws in other Salish-speaking communities around the shores of the sound, many residents of inland villages had close relations with Sahaptin-speaking people east of the mountains.[61] Because of their orientation, some up-river people were unhappy with or nervous about the treaty signed December 26, 1854, and ratified March 3, 1855.

Especially worrisome was the Americans' plan to locate all south sound Indians on three small reserves near the salt water. This plan would take the people of inland communities away from prairies where they grazed horses and cattle and planted some crops. The treaty pledged them to locate their winter homes at sites that were not only uninviting but also farther from their eastern kin. Because they communicated regularly with those Sahaptin kinsmen, whom the Bostons called Klickatats or Yakimas, up-river villagers knew that many people across the mountains were acutely unhappy about the terms of treaties that Stevens had pressed on them at Walla Walla in June of 1855. The Yakimas' unhappiness increased over the summer, as gold strikes to the northeast of them prompted prospectors to stream through lands that the Bostons had not yet paid for. Many up-river people in the Medicine Creek area felt their fears and suspicions about

American intentions grow along with the fears and suspicions of their Sahaptin relatives.[62]

Fear and suspicion also mounted in other Puget Sound homes during the summer of 1855. Indians who had hoped the treaties would mean prosperity and an end to harassment were disappointed. Congress ratified only the Medicine Creek treaty that year, and even ratification did not bring prompt payment for land or effective government protection from malicious settlers. A rumor flew through camps and villages that the Bostons' real plan was to take all Indians on steamers to a distant land of perpetual darkness.[63]

The treaties and the subsequent lack of government action likewise raised and then dashed many settlers' hopes. Those who expected the treaties to relieve them promptly of the Indians in their midst must have grown restless as the months wore on without apparent change. Like many others, David Blaine happily relayed news of the treaties, repeating reports that the Indians were entirely satisfied. "Could the indians and alcohol be removed this would be in most respects one of the most delightful regions of the country in the world," he told his parents. In the same letter he added, however, "Since the treaty we are blessed with the presence, dwellings, noise, filth, vileness, & all manner of obscenity of more indians than ever before."[64] By late summer many people could feel tension in the air. Leschi, a Nisqually area sub-chief who was vociferously unhappy with the sites designated as reservations, told W.F. Tolmie he was constantly on edge because other Indians reported that officials in Olympia found him obnoxious and planned to jail him. Emily

Denny's family knew a medicine man named Dr. Choush who returned from a government potlatch complaining bitterly of being cheated. The white people were few, Choush said ominously, and their doors were thin. The Indians could easily kill them all.[65]

Perhaps some settlers, aware that their conduct contributed to the tension, projected onto Indians the feelings such conduct was likely to provoke. At any rate, as soon as people west of the Cascades got word that Yakimas had killed a government agent, many voiced an expectation they had probably had for several months: a general Indian war was coming. The Pioneer and Democrat confirmed rumors of the agent's murder on October 12, reporting at the same time that settlers were alarmed at large groups of Indians ("half-breed Clickatat and Sound Indians") camping along the White River, southeast of Seattle. A week later the editors were advocating war against the Yakimas that would blot them from existence as a tribe.[66]

At the request of short-handed regular army officers, Acting Governor Charles Mason organized a volunteer militia. (Stevens was in Blackfeet country, continuing his treaty-making tour.) Mason also tried to bring Leschi and his brother Quiemuth into Olympia under a sort of house arrest, because he had intelligence that they were likely to ally with or emulate eastern warriors and influence other local Indians to do the same. The two chiefs, either mistrusting Mason's claim that he wanted to protect them or having already decided to join their Yakima relatives in war, left their farms in haste and vanished from American view. Militia members searched the mountain foothills for them and for other possibly hostile Indians.[67]

Not long after volunteers took the field, some Indians killed two of them and besieged the slain men's company. About the same time other Indians raided American claims along the White River, killing several men, women, and children. Many Americans leaped immediately to the conclusion that Indians on both sides of the mountains had entered an extensive conspiracy against whites. The captain of the Navy sloop Decatur, which was anchored in front of Seattle, gave credit to rumors that Quiemuth's tribe had united with the Klickatats in a campaign to exterminate all Americans in the territory. Chiefs Seattle and Patkanim still asserted their friendship for whites, the captain noted; but "[e]very tribe is more or less connected, that is, every tribe has relations and friends in the adjoining ones, and the bad Indians are trying to corrupt the good ones."[68]

Some settlers had little inclination to distinguish good from bad Indians. When the Pioneer and Democrat identified Indians who had attacked the Puget Sound Rangers on October 30 as "our own dear Nesqually neighbors," it also commented, "Beyond a doubt, all the Indians of all tribes on the Sound and Straits are confederates." Such remarks either reflected or exacerbated a tendency among settlers that Arthur Denny later recalled: "Those who, a short time before, insisted that the Indians were all friendly, would now declare most vehemently that all were hostile, and must all be treated as enemies."[69]

During the following five months the militia and regular troops fought Indians sporadically in a limited area of the Puget Sound region. Most clashes were short and involved few casualties. Except for a day-long battle at the town of Seattle

in late January, fighters on both sides lay low through much of the harsh winter. In March territorial forces again engaged Indians in battle west of the mountains and claimed a decisive victory, but there was no Indian surrender. Instead, while the governor and most settlers assumed that a state of war continued, the people they regarded as enemies left for lands east of the Cascades or came in small groups to American forts and to government camps for non-combatant Indians. By April 1856 many soldiers recognized that no Indians on the sound were actively hostile, but it was August before Stevens acknowledged that the so-called war had ended in the Puget Sound area.[70]

At most a few hundred native people from west side communities had taken up arms or materially aided those who did. Combatants came mainly from villages on the upper Nisqually, Puyallup, White, and Green Rivers and had family loyalties to Yakimas who had decided on war. Meanwhile the several thousand other indigenous people around Puget Sound either aided American troops or sat out the conflict. Many followed Simmons's instructions to move to temporary reservations well away from the theater of war.[71] Nevertheless, for western Washington settlers, the brief and apparently vain armed resistance of some Indian neighbors immediately took on a significance out of proportion to its scope or length. Many considered it "a war of destiny -- bound to take place whenever the causes reached their culminating points."[72]

Virtually all settlers seized on the little war as a symbol of their destiny and the destiny of indigenous peoples in the Northwest; but because they did not agree on how those destinies

should play out, they could not agree on the meaning of the symbol. The significance of the war became and long remained a subject of bitter debate. Around that debate settlers focused not only their contradictory feelings about Indians but also their antagonisms toward each other.

Even before hostilities began, partisans of rival political factions argued heatedly about who was responsible for the conditions that made war likely. Isaac Stevens's critics damned him for strong-arming Indians into unworkable treaty agreements. Many of the governor's supporters, calling the treaties the best hope for Indians, blamed the war on certain dishonorable Indians and on Hudson's Bay Company men who allegedly aroused those Indians' discontents with rumors and lies. The principal rivals in this debate called in unison for the subjugation of the warring Indians, but they never did agree whether the Indian resistance represented unforgivable treachery, an understandable response to American abuses, or the inevitable last stand of people who realized that their way of life was doomed.[73]

Because this adversarial context shaped all contemporary inquiries into the motives of native people who fought, the results of those inquiries are unreliable. The most credible evidence of the west side rebels' motives is that supplied by non-Indians whom the rebels considered neutral and approached as potential intermediaries. Leschi, who assumed leadership of some combatants, confided in Tolmie at the Puget Sound Agricultural Company. He and other warriors also explained their actions to former HBC servants --several of them half-breeds -- who farmed the upper Nisqually and Puyallup Valleys. The fighters' litany

of grievances included disgust with the reservations designated in the Medicine Creek treaty, dread that the Great Father would send them to the land of darkness, Boston thefts of Indian lands and fishing grounds, and Mason's plan to arrest Leschi and Quiemuth.[74]

Many contemporary and later commentators -- Indians as well as non-Indians -- interpreted the Indians' decision to wage war as a wholesale repudiation of the changes wrought by white immigrants; but there is little in the rebels' recorded thoughts or in their lives to support this interpretation.[75] When Leschi made peace overtures, he asked his emissary to remind Tolmie that he had always been friendly to the whites; and indeed, he and other men identified as leaders of the hostiles -- Nelson, Quiemuth, Koquilton, for instance -- had had close and apparently amicable relations with non-Indians for years. Several had white in-laws or ancestors. All were well known and welcome at Fort Nisqually and in American settlements. All had enhanced their status among Indians and non-Indians by emulating European-American means of acquiring wealth.[76]

Men such as Quiemuth and Leschi may have felt increasingly threatened by settlers and American officials precisely because their interests overlapped with those of many whites. Unlike villagers on the salt water, they wanted farming and grazing land as much as many settlers did. They resented the demand that they leave their pastures and cultivated fields. Men as familiar as they were with whites may also have sensed that Americans' increasing stress on the differences between Indian and white ways could be a rationale for pushing Indians aside. Stevens

affected surprise that the western war leaders were men whom whites had especially trusted, but his observation points out an important phenomenon: tensions are often greatest close to the boundaries between ethnic groups.

Americans tended to talk of the war in terms of polarities, portraying it as a contest between whites and Indians, civilization and savagery, good and bad. To do so, they had to reinterpret and reorder a world that was not so clearly compartmentalized. Attributing to Indian war leaders a rage against all things American was part of this sorting process. So was the common tendency to assert that native people who did not take up arms secretly sympathized with the hostiles and wished to exterminate or banish all whites. So was the drive to flush out enemies among non-Indians.[77]

The diversity of the territory's non-native inhabitants plus the intertwining of native and immigrant societies meant that whites did not all see themselves as naturally allied with other whites against Indians. Particularly in the many families who had both native and immigrant members, loyalties along kinship lines could pull individuals in two directions. Soldiers with Indian wives knew which way they had to go, and some other white men with native wives yielded to pressure to aid the American soldiers. Still, American authorities were unnerved by the way that "squaw men" and half-breeds obscured the supposed lines between two races in conflict. In an effort to force such people to choose sides, Stevens had several of them brought before a military tribunal on treason charges. He defended this action and his related declaration of martial law by saying, "There is

no such thing in my humble judgment as neutrality in an Indian war, and whoever can remain on his claim unmolested, is an ally of the enemy, and must be dealt with as such." Stevens's actions amounted to an admission that white solidarity -- a phenomenon he elsewhere claimed was real -- was a fiction. It likewise implied that even the warring Indians differentiated friends from foe among the whites.[78]

Some Americans almost seemed to welcome the war, perhaps in part because it relieved the tension associated with maintaining more complex and equivocal relations with Indians. Certainly war puts relations with an Other on a simple, clear footing: it seems to be the starkest possible indication of differences between peoples. And in the Puget Sound region in 1855, despite all the ways their societies intertwined, native peoples and Americans did remain very different from each other in many respects.

The differences between peoples extended to their understandings of war itself. The reasons they gave for going to war, the significance they attributed to war exploits, and the methods they used to wage war differed greatly. The indigenous peoples had historically used deadly force against outsiders to avenge personal injuries or to seize slaves or property. Commonly, they attacked isolated individuals or small groups. Unlike Americans, Puget Sound villagers did not wage war in sustained campaigns. When they raided villages they might kill women as well as men and destroy houses and property, but the European concept of war as an institutionalized tool of political domination was foreign to them. Instead, each hostile encounter between native people involved the spontaneous use and display of

individuals' supernatural powers. Such powers also made it possible to intimidate a foe, avenge insults, or acquire another's wealth by means other than deadly force, including supernatural agency and gambling.[79]

During the winter of 1855-56, Indian conduct consistent with these views baffled or amused Americans. Settlers failed to understand why Indians would suddenly slaughter families on the White River yet leave unmolested other whites who stayed on their claims. A naval officer thought it funny that during the day-long siege of Seattle one well-known native man, smeared with paint and yelling, zig-zagged across the line of fire with arms and legs extended, sprang into the air, and disappeared behind a house, "highly satisfied with his display of prodigious valor."[80]

To express differences by war is nonetheless to engage in relations -- relations of an especially intimate sort, at least for those who try to take each other's lives. Therefore, even to fight each other Indians and Americans had to move toward common ground. In the heat of battle they still communicated in the jargon.[81] They also adapted their strategies and tactics to what they knew of each other's. Except for the White River raid, much of the martial activity conformed to American expectations that opposing parties of designated warriors would meet in battle at strategic locations. On the other hand, American army officers copied some Indian strategies. Some volunteers also mimicked native custom, as they understood it, by taking revenge on individual Indians at random or on the relatives of Indians they viewed as murderers.[82] In using natives as auxiliaries, too, Americans muddled the supposed distinctions between Indians and

whites. Natives lent assistance but only on their own terms. They suspended war activity when they wished and otherwise resisted integration into the American military hierarchy.[83]

For these reasons and others, war did not clarify relations with Indians to the extent that settlers desired or pretended. They believed, with considerable reason by their logic, that the hostile Indians gave up fighting in recognition of Americans' superior power. If the rebels had hoped to drive settlers from the Puget Sound, they had undeniably failed. Yet, by the standards of indigenous peoples, they had in many ways demonstrated their powers convincingly. They had terrified settlers, avenged some of their own injuries, and forced Americans to recognize that they were proud people whose powers had to be reckoned with. Most of them had also proven themselves invulnerable to Boston bullets.

It appeared further that the warriors had compelled Stevens to admit his responsibility for poisoning relations and to appease Indians who refused to continue relations on his terms. The governor consented to renegotiate the galling treaty of Medicine Creek. He met with a congregation of formerly hostile native people at Fox Island in August of 1856 and asked them to say how they wanted the treaty carried out. Acknowledging that dissatisfaction with the reservations specified in the treaty had spurred most of them to fight, he promised them larger reservations with ground enough for horses. He also pledged to add a reserve for people on the White and Green Rivers.[84]

Stevens and Simmons saw the Fox Island conference as another opportunity to tell Indians how Americans conceived of proper

relations between them and Bostons. Sidney Ford, supervisor of the relocation camp on the island, introduced the governor and his Indian agent by saying, "They have come to act the part of white men towards the poor Indian." Ford closed the meeting with the lesson that he and his colleagues wanted all Indians to draw from the war. We know why you fought, he said.

> [Y]ou were told that the whites were weak & that by one united effort you could rid the country of the Bostons. You now see that you have failed. You now see that where one white man is killed ten more come to occupy his place. I say not this with feelings of enmity. The whites pity your ignorance & for that reason are the Tyees of the Bostons here to-day....[85]

According to conference minutes, the Indians then gave three hearty cheers for the advice they had received; but the minutes are less than convincing evidence that the cheering people were endorsing the simplistic model of relations Ford sketched out. Native men who addressed Stevens and Simmons at Fox Island did not talk of war and defeat, and they did not explicitly acknowledge themselves to be weak and ignorant dependents of the Bostons. Instead, each carefully identified his home ground and expressed pleasure that Stevens was now willing to ensure his people a suitable reservation. Like Indian Sam, who declared himself proud that the governor had come to visit them again, most speakers construed the chance to participate in the meeting as an honor. In native terms the conference ritual was a mutually respectful renewal of good relations and a reciprocal acknowledgement of the assembled peoples' distinctive spheres and powers.[86]

Lectures in council were not the only means Americans had to show Indians what they thought the war meant. By staging trials

of men who participated in the hostilities on the wrong side, Americans also dramatized the hierarchy of power that the war had supposedly confirmed. In several forums beginning early in 1856, hundreds of native men faced charges of murder and other criminal offenses. The most conspicuous prosecution with the greatest symbolic freight was Leschi's, but the Americans tried numerous other Indians in both civil and military tribunals. Some, like Leschi, they convicted and punished; many others they acquitted.[87]

If there had indeed been a war between alien peoples, it made no sense in either Indian or American terms to charge the Indian fighters with violating U.S. law. Americans who opposed Leschi's prosecution -- many of them probably feeling that it cheapened their own military feats to characterize their enemy as a common criminal -- pointed this out. Nevertheless, Stevens, judges, and military commissioners strained to interpret the hostilities as an Indian transgression of universally accepted rules. Despite the fact that settlers had treated them with great kindness, Stevens argued in a published letter, Leschi and other "monsters" turned on friends and neighbors without warning and thus committed foul murder.[88]

As instruments for assessing the truth of the charges against the defendants, the trials left much to be desired. American judges and juries were not neutral arbitrators: most were men who had shortly before been avowed enemies of the defendants. Many settlers recognized that Stevens's controversial handling of the treaty cessions and war was implicitly on trial as well; and since they did not all side with

Stevens, some of the trials seemed mere excuses for contests between partisans of opposing American political factions.[89]

By making examples of the bad Indians, Stevens aimed to teach all natives what it would mean to be a good Indian in an American-controlled world. Because the trials were meant to symbolize Americans' powers over all Indians, it did not matter greatly whether most defendants were convicted or not. Simply by holding trials Americans could show they had meaningful authority over Indians.[90] Many Americans further convinced themselves that they deserved to wield that power, since they had apparently extended to their Indian neighbors the same procedural guarantees of fairness as citizens enjoyed. No criminal ever had a fairer trial than Leschi, the prosecuting attorney claimed. As proof he cited the fact that Leschi had two zealous lawyers, one correct and upright and one who took all the advantages "that could have been practiced by the most artful Pettifogger."[91] The judge who sentenced Leschi to hang told him,

> Whatever may be said of the probability or possibility of your innocence one thing is quite certain you have had the benefit of all the forms of law that the most favored of our own raice [sic] have in trials for murder....Unlike those of our own race with whoes [sic] murder you are charged the law is not vindictive punishments are instituted for the protection of society.[92]

As always, formalities such as trials and conferences were not the only acts from which Indians could infer Bostons' views of the war. Claims that Americans wanted justice rather than revenge were hard to interpret when many Bostons openly took revenge on individual Indians and suffered no consequent disgrace in their own communities. For instance, to Stevens's "mortification," Quiemuth no sooner committed himself to American

custody than someone murdered him in the governor's office. Law officers arrested the brother-in-law of a man whom Quiemuth's brother Leschi had allegedly killed early in the war, but no whites would testify against him.[93]

Clues to indigenous people's interpretations of the war and post-war trials are scarce. They consist mostly of ethnographers' summaries of concepts and values that Indians of Leschi's generation passed down to their children and grandchildren. In native communities homicides were not crimes against a broadly conceived populace; they were injuries to and by individuals and their families, who had responsibility for rectifying the social consequences.[94] Native people around Puget Sound probably viewed both the war venture of the horse Indians and the punishments visited on them in this light. Members of Leschi's, Quiemuth's, and Nelson's bands had particular grievances, and they had particular family loyalties to honor. If they wanted to restore peaceful relations with Bostons, the terms were for them and their erstwhile foes to work out. If people in villages beyond the southern foothill country took an interest in efforts to work out the terms, it was more likely because they had social ties to the warriors or relished the prestigious mediator's role than because they thought in terms of Indian solidarity.[95]

Americans labored to substitute for this personalized way of thinking a conception of society as divided into two racial groups. However, lecturing defendants like Leschi about differences between their race and their judges' race had limited utility, especially when Indians saw men at their trials who had

been in battle against them. Even the fact that head men from many bands petitioned the Boston tyees to spare Leschi's life does not mean they saw in Leschi a symbol of all Indians, now subordinated to American will. According to Sidney Ford, for instance, Indians at Fox Island argued against executing Leschi on the ground that his brother Quiemuth's murder made things even between the former enemies.[96]

These speculations about native perspectives on the war are less fanciful than retrospective assertions (heard from Indians as well as non-Indians) that Leschi died as a martyr to all Puget Sound Indians' struggle for a doomed way of life. They are more consonant with the lesson that Nisqually fighter Wahoolit [wakhwelut or Yelm Jim] drew from Leschi's death some years later. Retold by his grand-nephew Frank Allen, to whom he related it, Wahoolit's story is the only published record of what Leschi's peers told each other about his fate.

> Now Leschi was in jail at Steilacoom for a long time. About four or five months they had him there. And now the time is up. And it wasn't the generals now, the generals took the Olympia people's word. But a mob came along and fixed up a place to hang Leschi. So Leschi's power came one day and said, 'They're going to kill you. White people are going to kill you now.' So Leschi said to the watchman, 'I want all my people to come and see me, before you people are going to kill me.' And they let lukw and waxwelut come to see him....
>
> And Leschi said, 'As soon as they hang me, loosen the rope from my neck, and put me on my horse, and take me home quick! I'm not going to die. My power is going to help me.'
>
> They fixed up a place for him and took him out. They hoisted him, and when he was hanged the poor Indians took him down, but they were excited and forgot to loosen that rope from around his neck.
>
> They put him on his horse to take him away, and they ran his horse to his house, it must have been thirty or forty miles. And when they got there they saw that rope and took it off. Now when they took that rope off, Leschi came to and he breathed, gasping

> for breath. And then Leschi sang his tamanamis, and everybody helped him sing. His power was going to help him.
>
> Now three or four doctors went outside and talked together, and they said, 'We'll kill Leschi with our power.' Those bad doctors agreed to kill Leschi. 'If Leschi lives, he'll fight the white men again, and all the Nisqually will be killed. We'll all die. So it's best that we kill Leschi now.' So those three doctors agreed to kill him. They said, 'Now we'll look for Leschi's big power, and we'll kill Leschi's power.' So they say, Leschi lived for quite a while, but he missed his big power now, his power that those doctors killed, and so he died, no more power. It wasn't that hanging killed him, it was those bad doctors killed him.[97]

Wahoolit's tale would have confounded Isaac Stevens, who wanted Indians to believe that Americans, not Indians, had killed Indians' power to thwart American goals. To be sure, the story obliquely concedes that whites' military powers were superior to Indians', and it is consistent with Indians concluding that they could not reach whites with their individual, supernatural powers.[98] On the other hand, for Wahoolit and many of his contemporaries, what apparently counted most was not their inability as Indians to match Americans' military and political power but their ability as individuals to use their powers effectively in pursuit of personal social and economic interests. Neither the treaties nor the war robbed all Indians of such individual powers.

Although many Americans asserted that the war had put them in control of relations between whites and Indians, the conditions for routine relations did not change noticeably until much later. Events during and immediately following the war did weaken many indigenous communities, but they took a toll on settler society as well. National conditions also thwarted settlers' plans to build a stronger American community. For many

years after the war, therefore, neither the treaties nor the apparent American victory seemed to have put Indians in what American officials hoped would be their place. In such circumstances, Indians who had found ways to use their personal powers to advantage in dealings with Bostons often were able to do so still or again.

At war's end many native people were poor, hungry, and sick. Families who fled to the hills forfeited homes, horses, access to some subsistence resources, and opportunities to work for and trade with whites. After hostilities ceased, well founded fears of Boston vengeance kept them close to Fort Steilacoom or on the reservations, where they were dependent on government aid.[99] Most people who moved instead to wartime reserves and many who stayed in their villages suffered as well. Warned not to travel, they had trouble getting food.[100] Simmons promised provisions to those who relocated but could not supply rations in adequate amounts. Crowded together and weakened by poor nutrition, many in the relocation camps sickened and died.[101] Even after Indians returned to their usual rounds their fortunes did not promptly turn around. In 1857-58 salmon runs failed, and drought killed potato crops. Disease and death followed Indians to their villages and to Olympia, where many went seeking the help that Simmons had pledged.[102]

The war also cast a long shadow on American society. Many settlers left their homes for blockhouses and did not return for months or years, if ever. Some simply left the territory. During a visit in August of 1857, Ross Browne saw deserted houses, desolate fields, and wagonloads of people headed south

for fear of further hostilities. When the agricultural sector of Puget Sound's colonial society slid into a decade-long depression, some people blamed the war and its after-effects. Settlers' feelings of insecurity helped to keep their social life nearly as depressed as farming was.[103] Stevens's prediction that the Great Father's white children would soon overrun Indians' lands proved erroneous. Except when a Canadian gold rush briefly swelled the population around Bellingham Bay, immigration came to a virtual standstill.[104]

Members of the small, economically strapped American colony often felt far from powerful. In fear of northern Indians who came across the international border to raid, they begged the federal government for military protection. Behind their exaggerated claims of helplessness lay hopes of attracting the money and markets that an increased military presence would bring. Nevertheless, some local Indians, to whom settlers also appealed for help with defense, sensed weakness. According to an agent on Whidbey Island, Indians there were saying that Bostons did not stop the plunder because they had "no strong hearts."[105]

Unable to count on American protection, natives around Puget Sound organized their own responses to threats from the north. This was the apparent reason for a gathering near Bellingham Bay in 1857. Michael Simmons told Stevens:

> I am informed by Mr. Fitzhugh...that there had been a large pot-lach, given by the Lummies on the western side of the bay, at a place called Thom Whixen, and that there had been the large[st?] attendance, ever known in that part of the world. The Frasier river, Victoria, Sanich, Nanaimo, Cowegian, Scatchetts, Snohomish, Stilagamish, Clalams, Samish & other tribes were represented on this occasion. The pot-lach was gotten up for the purpose of having an understanding

> among themselves, in regard to the Northern Indians....[106]

When the potlatch participants said afterward that they had made peace with the northern tribes, settlers fretted that local natives would join the northerners in raids rather than allying with whites.

Officials who expected to orchestrate relations with Indians as sketched out in the treaties were powerless to do so. Only the Medicine Creek treaty won prompt approval in Congress. Unable to carry out pledges he had made to people in the other treaty areas, Simmons grew nervous. At the end of 1857 he asked the new Superintendent of Indian Affairs to imagine how odd the government's conduct appeared to native people. Indians who had waged war had a ratified treaty and were getting annuities, while those who sided with Americans had been paid only in promises. Ten thousand Indians lived close to the sparse, widely scattered, defenseless white population, Simmons said, but relations with them rested "on a very precarious basis" because they regarded the government as ignoring them.[107] After another year's delay Simmons tried another argument:

> This is Indian country and it is not. Towns now stand upon ground where the Indian title is not extinct....The real state of the case is...that I am agent for the whole Puget Sound district, have thousands of Indians to look after and be in some measure responsible for, yet I actually only have an agent's power on three small reservations and over one thousand Indians.[108]

Chronic shortages of revenue and personnel added to Simmons's woes. To the end of his tenure as Indian agent in 1861 he complained repeatedly about lack of money.[109]

With neither money nor authority to set aside reservations, Simmons could do little more than make periodic appearances in Indian communities.[110] He reassured the anxious villagers with words and token gratuities that the Bostons meant to keep their word, but the Indians were uneasy. Some of them harassed settlers and surveyors who appeared on lands not yet paid for. Some, inclined to think the white tyees had lied, threatened to renege on the treaty agreements altogether. All were aware, as were American officials, that Indians had no obligation to Boston leaders until they received their pay.[111]

People who had ceded lands at Point Elliott and Point No Point did not receive their first payment until 1861, two years after Congress finally ratified the treaties. Even then government agents were not equipped to make a good impression. They had agreed to fixed payments each year for twenty years, but they soon realized that the number of people with claims to share in the payments was double or triple what Stevens had estimated. Per person the treaty annuities amounted at most to a few dollars a year, and administrators often did not have even that amount to distribute. Usually the Indian Office handed out not cash but goods worth less than it owed. One sub-agent warned his superiors that to give Indians cultus [worthless] blankets was to be humiliated before them.[112]

The Civil War further tarnished local officials' image by keeping them poor. In 1862 the newest Superintendent of Indian Affairs pointed out that he had been carrying on for five months without a dollar of government funds. Even after Appomattox, appropriations for Indian oversight in the Puget Sound area did

not increase. When Samuel Ross took over the superintendency in 1870 he found Indians who were much dissatisfied because they had received no annuity goods and no attention to their complaints for several years.[113]

Years went by before officials marked the boundaries of the lands where Indians were supposed to put their permanent homes. In 1859 Simmons asked the Pioneer and Democrat to publish descriptions of the proposed reservations in hope of warning squatters away, but formal dedication of most of the tracts he described did not come for a decade or longer.[114] In addition, whether or not agents marked out reserved areas, they had no power to make the intended residents move or stay there. To convince Indians that the reservation system was the best plan for ordering relations, officials had to make reservations as alluring as still undisturbed home grounds or bustling towns.[115] This they could not do. In 1863 the Superintendent of Indian Affairs admitted that his office had nowhere made the preparations contemplated by the treaties to attract people to the reserves. In some cases, he added, if they had settled on the reservations they would have died of starvation.[116]

On the reserve at Tulalip, where Stevens had promised to establish agricultural and industrial training facilities for all Indians of the region, the only draw for years was a tiny school run by Catholic missionary E.C. Chirouse. Chirouse's operation was so penurious that it could not house and feed its two or three dozen residents adequately. Each year some students died and others left with their families to fish and gather food. In 1865 Chirouse's pupils complained that they worked hard for no

reward while friends who did not attend school made money among the whites.[117]

Local agent Edward Fitzhugh felt that he secured a salutary influence over natives near Bellingham Bay by going to their camps with small presents and offering to intercede when whites refused to pay them what they had earned. Even so, he persuaded few to move to the reservation.[118] Stationing a physician, blacksmith, and carpenter at the bleak Squaxin Island reservation did not bring Indians in there; so the superintendent moved those attractions to the Puyallup reservation, which also offered good fishing grounds and bottom land for cultivation.[119] The only way agents could draw Indians to other reserves was to pay them to clear land, build houses, grow food, or transport supplies. Like Chirouse, however, reservation supervisors often offered little more than the prospect of uncompensated labor.

As long as officials did not assume the role of provider, most Indians saw no reason to defer to them. Ross Browne lamented that the agent for the Nisqually Reservation had no control over his people. "In these respects...," he added, "the Nisquallys resemble all the rest of the Sound Indians; they cannot be made to understand why government should take their country away from them and then compel them to work for a living."[120]

Since most people supposedly encompassed by the three Puget Sound treaties did not move to reservations during the 1850s or 60s, government agencies did not even know who or where many of them were. Again and again men assigned to oversee Indians admitted that they could not count or name their charges because

they could not get them in the same place at the same time. R.C. Fay told Simmons in 1860 that he could give only a general report on Indians for whom he was responsible because

> they are scattered over a large extent of country, and although I am travelling nearly all the time, they too are travelling continualy [sic] changing their camps, as the seasons differ affording them fish of different kinds peculiar to each season, causing an interval of two or three months sometimes that I do not see portions of some of the tribes.[121]

To the dismay of officials who hoped to influence Indians by giving them advice and farming implements, some did not even come in for annuity distributions. Those who did come stayed only as long as they wished. "If their supervisors insist upon anything that they do not fancy doing," Simmons observed, "they can leave the reservation, and have any quantity of excuses ready for having done so on their return." Whether they gave it as an excuse or not, many left the reservations for American settlements, where they had opportunities to work, trade, buy whiskey, and sell sexual services to white men.[122]

Virtually all but the feeblest of Puget Sound's native people thus continued to provide for themselves. They fished, hunted, and gathered berries and roots as their ancestors had done; but they also sold what they caught or gathered, hired out as domestic servants, ferried passengers and cargo, and worked at mines, mills, and farms. As before the treaties, then, their activities involved frequent and varied transactions with settlers. Conditions in the decades following the war even increased and diversified the contacts between Indians and settlers.[123]

According to contemporary and retrospective descriptions of western Washington during the 1850s and 60s, settlers could not avoid rubbing elbows with Indians. They met them in the saloons of teeming gold rush towns on Bellingham Bay, on the docks of boisterous Port Townsend, on the muddy streets of Olympia, in hay fields and isolated homesteaders' shacks, and at July Fourth picnics. In many settings the Indians, still more numerous than settlers, had equal influence on the social environment.[124] At Port Townsend in 1859 public spaces were as often devoted to Indian activities as non-Indian. At the end of a week when natives had monopolized the town's beach for a secret society initiation, James Swan wrote in his diary, "Yesterday there was quite a variety of performances, first the Indians, then a fight between two rowdies, then a sermon by Father Rossi."[125]

Settlers rubbed more than elbows with Indians. Especially in the absence of white females, contact with Indians made many an American male's heart grow fonder of native women. Neither the legislature's 1855 invalidation of marriages between people of the different races nor a few prosecutions for illegal cohabitation seemed to reduce the number of "squaw men." What John Fornsby recalled about settlement along the Skagit River in the 1860s could be said about other places around Puget Sound: "The first White men to come in the river all got Indian women...."[126]

Although pioneers would later reminisce about a society where Indians and non-Indians co-existed with little injurious friction, many sources of friction remained. Indians frequently suffered humiliation and worse in encounters with settlers. In

1861 an incident at Whatcom so excited the natives that they appealed to the Superintendent of Indian Affairs through a literate settler, who wrote:

> A few days ago, to wit, on the 5th Ins a chief of the Lummis visited Sehome with a load of potatoes, and a man, being drunk, wished to take his women from him and on the Indian asking him to not do so he made a violent attack on him with a loaded pistol and tried to shoot him, the Indian took hold of his hand and held on to it, when three other men came up and beat and abused the Indian shamefully.[127]

Indians were not always the ones complaining of harassment. The governor and Superintendent received more than one appeal such as the following from a Whidbey Island settler:

> [W]e are in the midst of a great number of Indians who are dayly stealing & robing braking open houses & destroying houses & other property, there are a great number of strange Indians on the Island at this time from the River who are very saucy and make a great many threats, and as there is but few white men on the island we are wholy in their power and if there is not something done we will have trouble with them.[128]

Because the territorial government was weak, appealing to officials for help was not always the recourse of choice when relations between Indians and settlers soured. Threats, violent intimidation, mediation, and compensatory payments remained as important to adjusting relations as they had been since 1853.[129] When Indians assaulted settlers, the Bostons were seldom appeased by anything other than swift trial and punishment. On the other hand, for all their claims that they had brought law to a lawless wilderness, Americans' justice system was still no use to Indians who suffered at Bostons' hands. Although Indian Office personnel did sometimes ask the courts to enforce the law when whites killed or sold liquor to Indians, they had to admit that most judges and juries had no interest in applying the law even-

handedly. As one agent said in 1864. "There is very little hope of a conviction, especially when venerable, grey-headed men...will arise in their place in the jury box...and say that it would require far more evidence to convict a white man for killing an Indian, than though it was a white man that had been killed."[130]

In the post-war decade, then, natives and immigrants met and mixed on terms that were constantly in process of definition. With less power than they wanted to dictate the context and terms of relations, Americans tried at least to communicate what they expected from Indians. From government officials and missionaries, for example, Indians heard blunt sermons about how they should behave if they wanted relations to be good. An agent in charge of the Nisqually reservation inveighed against several practices he considered repulsive or sinful.

> I have had a long talk with this tribe, in council assembled, at which time I endeavored to point out to them the evils arising from the practice of drinking whiskey, of indulging in polygamy, the art of necromancy in the healing of their sick, of flattening the heads of their children, &c., all of which practices they promised to abandon as soon as they possibly could, remarking at the same time that it would take some considerable time to effect such a radical change...as it was disposing of an old heart or mind and adopting a new one.[131]

Advice of this kind, particularly from priests, seemed to some American observers to have a salutary effect on the behavior of Indians who heard it.

When the same Indians soon returned to their old practices, officials usually laid the blame on the contrary examples set by wicked whites.[132] And if Indians were to judge what would promote good relations by the way Bostons acted, they did indeed

have models besides those the agents and priests urged on them. In fact, government officials and missionaries themselves did not always provide examples of the conduct they advocated. Most agents counseled against drinking liquor, yet some were drunks; most condemned illicit sexual relations, yet several cohabited with native women.[133] Judges and officials who exhorted Indians to obey the law sometimes broke the law themselves. Father Chirouse promised them a better life as Christians, but life at his Christian school was a hardship.[134]

Besides government agents and priests, native people had soldiers, miners, millworkers, and other settlers as examples of conduct apparently acceptable to Bostons. By numerous accounts, such men commonly encouraged Indians to drink with them and to make money by selling women's sexual services. To many a missionary and righteous official it seemed that for every American who exhorted Indians to avoid liquor there were several who promoted drinking, "think[ing] it no harm to sell an Indian anything he can pay for...."[135]

Hearing ambiguous and divergent messages from Bostons, native people came to varying conclusions about how to conduct themselves. Indians who had gathered around the mission at Tulalip grew understandably bewildered. As they tried to live in a way that Chirouse said would win the favors of the whites' powerful supernatural helper, other people told them something different about how to advance their interests and achieve a desirable status in a changing world. In 1859 they poured out their confused hearts to Michael Simmons in a petition that reads in part:

> Some whites are anger against us because we do not want give to them our girls as we did heretofore, or because we do not sell a large portion of our fish oil...for their Whisky. Those whites say that we are very foolish to believe what Mister Simmons says and what the priest says that Mister Simmons is a liar and the priest a monster from kikoola fire. They tell us to that very soon we shall be compeld to desert our religion to follow some other better priest who will give us plenty goods and who shall also show to us the real truth and lead us to heaven without any trouble of prayers nor privations....Those bad indians our brothers do all they can to carry us towards their own way of rebellion and brutality....It is reported by those troublesome [indians] that you will tie and hang the innocent and good chiefs because they do pray God....Every day some of our good boys become blind by thousand histories against you and against the priest our father, and they give over the prayer for the bottle, the knife and the Slahalam (game), and we are very hurry to inform you that we fear to see the number of the bad indians become very soon larger and follow the exemple of those bad Nooxak who never did keep company with us....[136]

Indians had different responses to immigrants not just because they were confused about the contradictory advice they got but also because settlers' activities offered them a growing variety of ways to achieve what most ardently desired -- high status in the eyes of other high status people. Native people throughout the region continued to gear their activities toward securing status as their ancestors had. An extensive record of give-aways, marriage exchanges, and showy initiation rituals during this period attests to the vitality of old notions about status and wealth.[137] On the other hand, native people now acquired much of their status-enhancing wealth in ways that Bostons had introduced.

For example, a Klallam man told Caroline Leighton excitedly in 1865 that Indians planned a great potlatch at the coal mines, where they would give away tin pans, guns, blankets, canoes, and money. Chirouse saw that opportunities to earn white man's money

perpetuated rather than discouraged aboriginal customs. He complained in 1862 that Klallams earning money at various sawmills often gambled it away.

> Whenever they do spend their money for useful articles of any kind they are generally kept for purposes of display till a sufficient quantity has been accumulated, when the whole is given away at once at a grand feast made for the occasion, and the Indian who was worth hundreds in the morning thus beggars himself before night; the person who can give the greatest amount being considered the greatest man.[138]

Thanks to American policy, the Bostons' presence now affected individual Indians' prestige in other new ways. Not only could anyone acquire wealth by dealing with Bostons, but also the Bostons could confer certain kinds of status-enhancing recognition on Indians irrespective of their status among their countrymen. The men that Stevens and subsequent American leaders designated as chiefs, for instance, included some who had relatively low standing in their home communities. Goliah, appointed chief during Stevens's 1854 expedition against the Snohomish, was reputedly one such man. Contemporary records support native oral tradition that Goliah was not high class; yet Goliah's fellow Skagit villagers knew that he was "head chief for the White people," as John Fornsby said, because he could talk well.[139]

As some Bostons praised and rewarded Indians for what other Bostons condemned, some native people also came to prize what others condemned. When Goliah died in 1857, he asked the local agent to assure Stevens that he had done as the governor wanted for as long as he had had the chief's paper even though his people said, as a result, "that he had a Boston heart." Two years later Chirouse reported the complaint of some "good" Lummi

Indians that their head chief Shawissot [Chowitshoot] was always drunk and causing disturbances. They petitioned to have David Crockett for their chief instead.[140]

Because native head men were important mediators between culture groups, Boston tyees could not yet easily shun men of Chowitshoot's eminence. They needed chiefs "for the White people" who could also command some respect from their own people.[141] Therefore the men whom American officials acknowledged as leaders did not fit a single mold or even have consistent attitudes toward Bostons; and what constituted desirable conduct for a leader, particularly in dealings with Bostons, also became a matter for debate in the native communities.[142]

The Duke of York [Chetzemoka] accepted the role of intermediary several times. In 1860 he presided at events that show the continuing uncertainties about rules governing relations between Indians and Bostons. A Chimakum shaman who had been arrested for possessing whiskey broke out of jail, still wearing leg irons. The head man of his band returned the irons the next day, indicating his people's anxiety to pay the Bostons for their loss. The Bostons, however, still wanted the escaped doctor. Two days later Duke of York told James Swan that the man was in a Klallam lodge, "face painted black and threatened to kill any white man who should attempt to arrest him." When the man tried to make good his threat, the town watchman shot him dead.

Chimakum villagers then threatened to kill the Duke for causing the doctor to be shot, and the Duke enlisted Swan's help in pacifying them. At the funeral, while the Duke offered to

fight anyone who charged him with the shaman's death, Swan explained that the man had been shot for resisting an officer who was doing his duty under Boston law. This seemed to satisfy the Chimakums, who then confessed that they were not sorry the doctor was dead, since they suspected him of several murders. The whites also made it easier for the Chimakums to accept their loss by giving their head man a blanket and cap that the shaman had left at a local hotel.[143]

For at least a decade following this incident, Indians and Bostons continued to arrange many matters between them with only haphazard government help. They continued to cooperate and clash, to need and mistrust each other. Rather than achieving a clear separation and hierarchical ordering of native and immigrant societies, the treaties and limited war of the 1850s had only confirmed that the two were entwined in complex ways. Although Americans had claimed victory over Indians and called it proof of their superior power, they had neither destroyed the bridge that joined their society to indigenous societies nor fully commandeered the bridge.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 3

1. Johansen and Gates, Empire of the Columbia, 302; [Olympia] Columbian, May 7, 1853. On April 30, 1853, p. 2, the Columbian reported that a one-hundred-gun salute accompanied the proclamation of the new territory.

2. Columbian, July 23, 1853, 2; Ibid., October 17, 1853, 1; Ibid., December 3, 1853, 1; Ibid., December 17, 1853, 2. At Olympia, the most populous town, July 4 festivities in 1853 began with heavy cannonading, then progressed to songs, prayers, a reading of the Declaration of Independence, and a feast. Columbian, July 9, 1853, 2.

3. Ezra Meeker, "Address delivered at Olympia March 2d 1903 upon the occasion of celebrating Creation day of Washington Territory fifty years before," Bagley Papers, Box 22, vol. 9; Columbian, April 30, 1853, 2; "Captain John E. Burns," in A Small World of Our Own, 82.

4. James G. Swan, "Scenes in Washington Territory" (from San Francisco Bulletin, May 19, 1859), in Special Collections Library, University of Washington); Winthrop, The Canoe and the Saddle, 19; Trowbridge, "Journal of a Voyage on Puget Sound in 1853," 396; Transcript, State v. Alexis (Superior Court of Whatcom County, Washington, 1915), 36; Bishop, "Why the 'Duke of York' Was Friendly to Whites;" Edmond Meany, "Chief Patkanim," Washington Historical Quarterly 15 (1924): 192-3; Castile, The Indians of Puget Sound, 355; Langness, "A Case of Post-Contact Reform among the Clallam," 20.

5. For general discussions of this phenomenon, see Sidney J. Harring, Crow Dog's Case: American Indian Sovereignty, Tribal Law, and United States Law in the Nineteenth Century (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993); Robert A. Williams, Jr., The American Indian in Western Legal Thought: The Discourses of Conquest (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990).

6. Washington Pioneer, December 3, 1853, 1; Starling to Stevens, December 10, 1853, WTSIA, Roll 9, Reel 17.

7. Pioneer and Democrat, July 8, 1854, 2. Stevens issued this directive pursuant to instructions from Washington, D.C., where the Secretary of State took the position that Britain had forfeited the company's right to trade with Indians when it signed the boundary agreement of 1846. Kent D. Richards, Isaac I. Stevens, Young Man in a Hurry (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1979), 163,

166. (The Columbian was renamed Washington Pioneer as of December 3, 1853, and then Pioneer and Democrat as of February 4, 1854.)

8. Pioneer and Democrat, April 8, 1854, 1. Starling told Stevens that if whites could be made "to govern their passions" and use the proper authorities, there would be little Indian aggression against whites. Letter of December 4, 1853, WTSIA, Roll 9, Reel 17. Arthur Denny feared that his dreams of profitable commerce in the territory would not be realized unless unruly settlers as well as Indians were made to conform to law. The mob law that had so often prevailed, Denny said, was the most dangerous way of punishing crime and settling grievances among civilized men, "and where savages are concerned it is no better." Pioneer Days on Puget Sound, 68.

9. Stevens appointed Michael Simmons, who had lived in the area for eight years, Indian agent for the Puget Sound. To local judgeships he also named many men -- Sidney Ford, Arthur Denny, David Maynard, Henry Yesler, Edward Sylvester, and others -- who were among the first settlers in the area. Pioneer and Democrat, April 8, 1854, 1; Washington Pioneer, December 3, 1853, 1. Many men elected to the first territorial legislature were likewise veterans of the years when government was non-existent.

10. Emily Denny, recounting the time that sheriff Carson Boren persuaded a mob not to lynch an Indian who was awaiting trial, says, "The majesty of the law was recognized and the crowd dispersed." Blazing the Way, 103-104.

11. William A. Bell, "Settlement of Seattle," Bancroft collection, UW microfilm 21; Gibbs to McClellan, May 1, 1854, UW Microfilm A-142 (reporting that "some blackguards" in Seattle hung two Indians and lamenting that Simmons's efforts to stop such practices could have little effect); letters of Catherine Blaine, March 7, 1854, and October 30, 1854; Arthur Denny, Pioneer Days on Puget Sound, 67-68; Emily Denny, Blazing the Way, 102-104; Swan, The Northwest Coast, 381. Starling wrote Stevens on December 4, 1853 that settlers often cheated Indians out of what they were owed. "It very frequently happens, too, that the Indians are whipped by whites," he said, avoiding prosecution by doing it only in the presence of Indians, knowing their testimony is not admissable against a white. WTSIA, Roll 9, Reel 17.

12. The First Judicial Circuit initially embraced the Klallam country, Whidbey Island, and all lands east of Whidbey from the Stillaguamish River drainage north to the international boundary. Of the first thirty-three cases on its docket, in 1854 and 1855, twenty-one were cases in which the defendants were either Indians or persons accused of selling liquor to Indians. Territory District Court Case Files, Jefferson County Clerk, 1854-1889, Washington State Archives.

13. In Jefferson County cases numbers 2, 3, 4, and 5 (October 1854), Sawinum, Tootoosh, Jack, and Watsersmi [Watsissimi] faced trial for the murder of Albert Pettingall, which took place early in 1853. Territory v. Slaham, Jefferson County case number 9, involved the killing of the surveyor named Church in April, 1854. In Territory v. Tom Taylor, Jefferson County case number 11, the defendant was found guilty of the murder of Young that roused residents of Seattle to action in early 1854. Territory District Court Files; Letter of G.B. Moore, Columbian, October 8, 1853, 2; Journal of George Gibbs, March 9-22, 1854, Records of Boundary Claims, Commissions, and Arbitrations, 1853-1901, Records relating to Northwest Boundary Survey, NA, RG 76.

14. Isaac Stevens to Major Chas. H. Larnard, February 9, 1854, WTSIA, Roll 1.

15. Columbian, October 8, 1853, 2, and March 18, 1854, 2; Gibbs to McClellan, March 23, 1854. In October, 1854, three men were convicted of the slaying that set off this chain of events. Witnesses against them included a Dungeness head man. Later that month two of the convicted men, along with two Indians convicted of slaying two other whites, escaped from Fort Steilacoom. The soldiers who went after them in a steamer and revenue cutter set fire to a village and raked it with gunfire, reportedly killing five inhabitants. They chased people from camps along the Hood Canal "into their own country" and proposed to arrest Klallam head man Duke of York as a hostage. After two weeks of this terror they had captured all the escapees. Pioneer and Democrat, December 9, 1854, 2.

16. Gibbs, Journal in Records of Boundary Claims; Gibbs to McClellan, March 23, 1854.

17. Laws of Washington, First Session (1854), Act to Regulate the Practice and Proceedings in Civil Actions, and Act to Regulate the Practice and Pleadings in Prosecutions for Crimes; Greg Russell Hubbard, "The Indian under the White

Man's Law in Washington Territory, 1853-1889," (M.A. thesis, University of Washington, 1972), 41, 44.

18. Pioneer and Democrat, March 18, 1854, 2; Ibid., March 25, 1854, 1; Ibid., April 22, 1854, 1-3; Hubbard, "The Indian under the White Man's Law," 45-47.

19. Comments of Mr. Biles, Pioneer and Democrat, March 25, 1854, 1; comments of Mr. Chenoweth, Pioneer and Democrat, April 22, 1854, 1; Catherine Blaine to Friends, May 3, 1854, declaring the decision to give half-breeds the vote "shameful." "It will be no difficult matter," Blaine wrote, "to get any number of indians to pass as half breeds at election, and in this way any man can get as many votes as he may desire." Blaine Family Papers.

20. Pioneer and Democrat, March 25, 1854, 1.

21. Pioneer and Democrat, April 22, 1854, 3; Ibid., March 25, 1854, 1; Laws of Washington, 2d session (1855); Hubbard, "The Indian under the White Man's Law," 48. For historians' discussions of white Americans' attitudes during this time toward people of mixed white and Indian ancestry, see Brian W. Dippie, The Vanishing Indian: White Attitudes and U.S. Indian Policy (Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1982), 260-61; Robert E. Bieder, Science Encounters the Indian, 1820-1880: The Early Years of American Ethnology (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1986), 166-67, 230-31; Sylvia Van Kirk, Many Tender Ties: Women in Fur Trade Society, 1670-1870 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), 201-242.

22. For the assertion that armed conflict and potlatching occurred more frequently by the 1850s, see Collins, "Growth of Class Distinctions and Political Authority," 335-337; Bruce G. Miller, "Centrality and Measures of Regional Structure in Aboriginal Western Washington," Ethnology 28 (1989): 271; S. Snyder, "Quest for the Sacred in Northern Puget Sound," 155; Twedell, "A Componential Analysis of the Criteria Defining an Indian 'Tribe,'" 68-69. Other support includes archaeological evidence that people at Suquamish built or enlarged their huge potlatch house some time between 1845 and 1855. Warren A. Snyder, "Southern Puget Sound Salish: Texts, Place Names and Dictionary," Sacramento Anthropological Society Paper 9 (1968): 134; ARCIA (1854-55), 452; Columbian, April 9, 1853, 2. Both John Fornsby and Frank and Henry Allen heard from their elders about increased warfare. The Allens also knew tales of their parents' generation that featured communities forging new links to each other through marriage and potlatching. Smith,

"John Fornsby," 299-301; Elmendorf, Twana Narratives, 128, 130-141, 143-153, 39-41, 60-63, 92-99.

23. Daniel Boxberger and Bruce Miller say that the potlatch may have been a post-contact phenomenon. "Creating Chiefdoms: The Puget Sound Case" (unpublished ms., 1993). In his review of literature concerning native peoples of the entire Northwest coast, John W. Adams says that scholars cannot agree whether the potlatch is a phenomenon that post-dates European-American appearance in the area or a custom that intensified as a result of contact. "Recent Ethnology of the Northwest Coast," Annual Review of Anthropology 10 (1981): 381. Collins says that potlatches grew more lavish in the nineteenth century. Valley of the Spirits, 10.

24. Twana Narratives, 39-41, 88-91, 94-99, 108-110, 64-87. The Allens' accounts are consistent with Waterman's finding that people came to potlatches in and as groups, each group singing its own songs upon arriving. "Notes on the Ethnology of the Indians of Puget Sound," 78-79. At Lummi potlatches, according to one source, the host always gave a detailed account of his ancestry and his relations to people of other tribes. Stern, The Lummi Indians, 55. Adams refers to the potlatch as a form of international politics that brings together different groups to validate each other's status. "Recent Ethnology," 373. According to Gunther, the title given to speakers at Klallam potlatches means "holding up the people." "Klallam Ethnography," 307. Smith says the prestige of a potlatch host reflected on all related to or affiliated with him. "The Puyallup of Washington," 19. According to Sally Snyder, potlatches had the effect of reinforcing kin loyalty and kin or tribal identity. "Quest for the Sacred," 152. See also, Wayne Suttles, Coast Salish Essays, 21.

25. E.A. Starling to Anson Dart, September 1, 1852, ARCIA (1852), 172. See also, Kane, Wanderings of an Artist, 152-54; "Diary of Colonel and Mrs. Ebey," 57; George A. Blankenship, Lights and Shades of Pioneer Life on Puget Sound (Olympia, 1923), 82; J.A. Costello, The Siwash, their Life, Legends, and Tales (Seattle: The Calvert Company, 1895; reprint, Everett, Washington: The Printers, 1974), 105; Curtis, The Salishan Tribes of the Coast, 69; Albert Reagan, "Chief Cha-me-tsot's Potlatch Hall" in "Traditions of West Coast Indians" (1911), Washington State Library, Manuscript 219.

26. James Swan, who was more interested in understanding the natives' viewpoint than many American settlers, believed that the Indians he knew recognized a fundamental

difference between themselves and whites. They were no more interested than we would be, he said, in giving up their language, religion, or style of living for those of white foreigners. Northwest Coast, 368.

27. Gibbs, "Journal," in Records of Boundary Claims. See sources cited in previous note and notes of interview with Polan, Edmond S. Meany Papers, University of Washington Manuscripts, Accession No. 106-70-12, Box 86, Folder 86-2. Ethnographers agree that high status individuals initiated and organized intervillage activities and through those activities raised or reaffirmed their status. Elmendorf, "Coast Salish Status Ranking and Intergroup Ties," 362, 364; Smith, The Puyallup-Nisqually, 108; Elmendorf, Structure of Twana Culture, 313-314. (A village's richest man, able to display his wealth in intervillage feasts, was usually regarded as the chief.)

28. Starling to Stevens, December 10, 1853, WTSIA; Gibbs, Indian Tribes of Washington Territory, 29-30. In 1923 Charles Jules, born about 1845 to a high class Skykomish man and later regarded as a chief of the Snohomish or Tulalip Indians, said in sworn testimony, "The Indians do not call each other Chief, but when the one is a little better off, a little higher, then they look up to them. They looked up to my father." In the matter of the Claims of Indian Tribes and Individual Indians against the Government Arising out of the Treaty of Point Elliott, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 96, Folder 60.

29. According to Stevens's somewhat circular reasoning, the key to controlling the Indians was first to combine them into large bands or tribes. By influencing the chiefs selected to oversee them, American authorities could control members of these larger groups. ARCIA (1854-55), 456. Summarizing papers produced in a seminar on the anthropology of war, R. Brian Ferguson and Neil L. Whitehead point out that all expanding states have had difficulty dealing with "peoples without authoritative leaders and with constantly changing group identity and membership. All expanding states seek to identify and elevate friendly leaders." They try to identify or create clear political boundaries. It is the states' needs that create tribes. "The Violent Edge of Empire," in War in the Tribal Zone: Expanding States and Indigenous Warfare, eds. R. Brian Ferguson and Neil L. Whitehead (Santa Fe, New Mexico: School of American Research Press, 1992), 13-14.

30. Robert A. Trennert, Jr., Alternative to Extinction: Federal Indian Policy and the Beginnings of the Reservation System, 1846-51 (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1975), 3, 29, 56; Prucha, The Great Father, 403, 326-27.

31. Trennert, Alternative to Extinction, 39, 53; Albert L. Hurtado, Indian Survival on the California Frontier (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1988), 125-26, 135, 141; John M. Findlay, "An Elusive Institution: The Birth of Indian Reservations in Gold Rush California," in State and Reservation, ed. George P. Castile (Tucson: University of Arizona, 1992), 13-35; Richards, Isaac I. Stevens, 170, 190-92, 194-95; Johansen and Gates, Empire of the Columbia, 307-309. James J. Rawls asserts that it was California's first Superintendent of Indian Affairs who proposed the essential features of the reservation system in 1852. Rawls, Indians of California: the Changing Image (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1984), 148.

32. Stevens to Manypenny, December 26, 1853, Senate Exec. Doc. No. 34, 33rd Cong., 1st sess., Serial 698, 6-7; Stevens to Manypenny, December 29, 1853, Ibid., 13-14; Manypenny to Robert McClelland, February 6, 1854, Ibid., 1-2; Record of the Proceedings of the Commission to Hold Treaties with the Indian Tribes in Washington Territory and the Blackfoot Country, WTSIA, Roll 26; 10 United States Statutes 330; Prucha, The Great Father, 402-03.

33. Pamela Amoss, Coast Salish Spirit Dancing, 149; Smith, "The Puyallup of Washington," 5; Smith, The Puyallup-Nisqually, 35.

34. On July 1, 1854, Simmons advised Isaac Stevens that the tribes on the sound were peaceably disposed when sober, but when they had abandoned themselves to rum they were "rather disposed to be saucy, twitting the whites with having stolen their lands without any intention of ever paying for it." Simmons to Stevens, WTSIA, Roll 9, Reel 17. For ethnographic comments on the pleasure-anxiety tension associated with intervillage gatherings, see Smith, The Puyallup-Nisqually, 108; Snyder, "Quest for the Sacred," 151, 153; Collins, Valley of the Spirits, 136; Twana Narratives, 92-99.

35. McCurdy, By Juan de Fuca's Strait, 26; Swan, The Northwest Coast, 166; A. Denny, Pioneer Days, 68; ARCIA (1852), 169; Gibbs, Indian Tribes of Washington Territory, 29.

36. On aboriginal concepts of land ownership and use, see Smith, The Puyallup-Nisqually, 142, and Elmendorf, Structure of Twana Culture, 267-270, 332. Smith identifies several categories of gifts in Puyallup-Nisqually communities, including gifts whose purpose was to clear away any suspicion or ill will arising from intentional or unintentional slights or insults. "The Puyallup of Washington," 14. People of the north Puget Sound had a single word -- oabilik -- which meant to pay someone who has been injured. Collins, "John Fornsby," 301, 305.

37. In Smith's words, each group attending an intervillage gathering was bent on affirming its position in the eyes of the host. The Puyallup-Nisqually, 108.

38. Raymond J. DeMallie, "Touching the Pen: Plains Indian Treaty Councils in Ethnohistorical Perspective," in Ethnicity on the Great Plains, ed. Frederick C. Luebke (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1980), 38-41. DeMallie argues that the ritual aspects of treaty councils are as important to reconstructing the parties' understandings of them as are transcribed speeches delivered there. Stevens not only arranged for feasting but also donned formal clothes in apparent deferenc to Indian expectations. Richards, Isaac I. Stevens, 199.

39. For the customary use of sticks to convey invitations to potlatches, see Collins, "John Fornsby," 308. Reference to the numbers of people invited to the treaty conferences and to sticks returned for those who could not be reached or could not attend appears in the entry for January 21, 1855, in Record of the Proceedings of the Commission to Hold Treaties with the Indian Tribes in Wahington Territory and the Blackfoot Country, WTSIA, Roll 26.

40. Record of Proceedings, Ibid., for January 12, 1855. The Pioneer and Democrat, February 3, 1855, 2, reported that canoes filled with natives approaching the treaty grounds were manned "with an order and precision, that would have been creditable to a military evolution;" natives advanced in regular platoons with perfect dress and order. Swan, who traveled with Indians from Willapa Bay to a treaty conference on the Chehalis River in February, 1855, said that as they approached the appointed ground his companions stopped to wash their faces, comb their hair, paint their faces, and put on their best clothes. Northwest Coast, 334. See also, Richards, Isaac I. Stevens, 203.

41. Record of Proceedings, December 25-26, 1854; January 22 and January 25-26, 1855; Swan, Northwest Coast, 341-345. In 1915 a Lummi man present at the Point Elliott Treaty conference recalled that the Indians told the governor he should speak first because he was the one who invited people to a gathering. Testimony of Henry Kwina, State v. Alexis, Superior Court of Whatcom County (1915), 13.

42. In the same weeks that Stevens negotiated the treaties at Point Elliott (north sound) and Point No Point (Hood Canal and the strait), the territorial legislature voided marriages between Indians and non-Indians. Message of Acting Governor Charles H. Mason, December 7, 1855, Messages of the Governors of the Territory of Washington, 16.

43. Record of Proceedings, December 7, 10, and 26, 1854.

44. Ibid., January 25, 1855. See also, Stevens to Manypenny, December 30, 1854, Documents Relating to the Negotiation of Indian Treaties, Ratified Treaty No. 281, University of Washington Microfilm A-8207, Reel 5. (Reserves were situated so as not to interfere with claims or the progress of settlement but to enable the Indians to catch salmon, gather roots and berries, pasture animals on unclaimed land, "and participate, as heretofore, in the labor of the Sound.") The treaties included provisions establishing penalties for tribes who violated their pledge to be friendly toward American citizens, excluding liquor from the reservations, and prohibiting the Indians from trading outside the United States.

45. Record of Proceedings, January 22, 1855.

46. Prucha, The Great Father, xxvii; White, The Middle Ground, 84-85; DeMallie, "Touching the Pen," 42, 50-51.

47. Ethnographies noting that Puget Sound peoples conceived of most social relations in terms of kinship include: Amoss, Coast Salish Spirit Dancing, 8; Smith, The Puyallup-Nisqually, 32; Elmendorf, Structure of Twana Culture, 312. The Lushootseed language of central and north Puget Sound has a greater vocabulary of kinship relations than English. Vi Hilbert and Crisca Bierwert, Ways of the Lushootseed People: Ceremonies and Traditions of North Puget Sound Indians (Seattle: United Indians of All Tribes Foundation, 1980), 37. Collins says that aboriginal Skagit area people lived their entire lives in a circle of kin and had virtually no contact with people to whom they were not related. Valley of the Spirits, 3; June McCormick Collins, "An Interpretation of Skagit

Intragroup Conflict During Acculturation," American Anthropologist 52 (1950): 348.

48. In addition to previously cited passages from the treaty record, the Americans' patronizing tack is apparent in lengthier passages from the transcript of negotiations with Chehalis, Cowlitz, Quinault, and other peoples February 27, 1855. Record of Proceedings.

49. According to Elmendorf, Twanas used the terms for parents only when there was an actual parental relationship, but they considered it "nice" and "careful" to address elders they respected by the terms for uncles, aunts, or grandparents. Structure of Twana Culture, 390. Erna Gunther found that Klallams customarily addressed people and referred to people by names rather than kinship terms. "Klallam Ethnography," 259.

50. The minutes of the various proceedings vary considerably in the amount of allegedly verbatim dialogue they contain. For the first conference at Medicine Creek, secretary James Doty recorded no statements of native men. He indicated merely, "The Indians had some discussion...." Witnesses later recalled differently what Indians at that conference said and did. The Point Elliott treaty minutes include short speeches by four men named as head chiefs -- Seattle, Patkanim, Chowitshoot, and Goliah. Those speeches emphasize their good feelings toward the Bostons and their desire for Dr. Maynard's services. It is at Point No Point, among the Klallam, Chemakum, Twana, and Skokomish people, that Gibbs recorded some lively debate about the proposed terms of the treaty.

51. Discussing treaty negotiations on the Great Plains, DeMallie points out that Indians often tried to combat whites on their own rhetorical and ideological ground. One strategy was to set up an equivalence between Indians and whites as a basis for asking the Americans to treat the Indians as they would other whites. DeMallie, "Touching the Pen," 40, 51.

52. In 1927 two men present at a treaty recalled receiving a jew's harp apiece, and a woman said she received a small amount of calico. Transcript, Duwamish et al. v. United States, United States Court of Claims (1927), University of Washington Microfilm A-7374, 596, 612, 641. For the claim that Puyallup tribal members later recalled being unhappy with the quality and quantity of presents, see Meeker, Pioneer Reminiscences, 236; Elizabeth Shackleford, "A History of the Puyallup Indian Reservation, Tacoma" (thesis, College of Puget Sound,

1918), 10, in Special Collections Library, University of Washington. According to Collins, Skagit River villagers thought a potlatch host had a duty to provide more food than guests could eat. Valley of the Spirits, 139. Other ethnographers agree that the quality of a host's gifts was evaluated by their quantity, although the standard of generosity varied considerably from area to area. Snyder, "Quest for the Sacred in Northern Puget Sound;" Snyder, "Skagit Society and Its Existential Basis," 81-83; Elmendorf, Structure of Twana Culture, 343.

53. Snyder, "Skagit Society and Its Existential Basis," 167, 468. See also, Collins, Valley of the Spirits, 120 (taking insults without retaliation earned a person high praise); Elmendorf, Structure of Twana Culture, 333 (Twana stress on importance of modesty and courtesy at ceremonial occasions); Smith, "The Puyallup of Washington," 20 (success of intervillage gatherings depended on everyone's ridding his or her mind of ill will).

54. Benjamin Shaw, who served as Stevens's interpreter, later claimed that Leschi, a well-to-do man from the upper Nisqually, was clearly flattered to be recognized at the treaty as a tyee. Meeker, Pioneer Reminiscences, 151. Swan, present at treaty negotiations with people from the Pacific coast and southwest Washington in February, 1855, thought it clear that the Indians felt proud to have the governor talk with them. Northwest Coast, 345.

55. Meeker, Pioneer Reminiscences, 244. In Indians of Skagit County, 31, Skagit-Swinomish historian Martin Sampson claims that most Indians signed the treaties with misgivings but a recognition of the inevitable. A man called Tyee Dick -- perhaps the same man -- later did fight the Bostons.

56. Adams, "Recent Ethnology," 373; Smith, "The Puyallup of Washington," 20.

57. Two men who were present at Point Elliott claimed much later that the Indians had conferred before meeting Stevens and agreed on a single Indian negotiating strategy. Testimony of Henry Kwina and Tom Squiqui, State v. Alexis, 13, 42.

58. The first treaty, negotiated at Medicine Creek, names eight bands as parties, yet it bears the names and alleged marks of sixty-two men. 10 United States Statutes 1132. Eighty-two men signed the second treaty, which supposedly involved twenty-two named bands. 12

United States Statutes 927. Fifty-six men marked the Point No Point Treaty, by its terms applicable to the Skokomish, Twana, and Chemakum tribes and eleven Klallam villages. 12 United States Statutes 933. See also, Indian Claims Commission, Coast Salish and Western Washington Indians, 32, 34, 92, 112. Even though the preambles of the three treaties name thirty-five bands (not counting the separately named Klallam villages), the census that Stevens presumably used as a basis for convening the treaties lists forty-six groups in the vicinity of Puget Sound and Hood Canal. ARCIA (1854-55), 457-58.

59. A treaty conference in February, 1855, for peoples on the west coast and south of Puget Sound ended without agreement when most of those attending refused to locate their homes on reserves outside their winter village territories. Records of Proceedings.

60. Testimony of Wapato John, Duwamish et al. v. U.S., 662; Meeker, Pioneer Reminiscences, 236, 241, 242. See also, Cecilia Svinth Carpenter, "Leschi, Last Chief of the Nisquallies" Pacific Northwest Forum I (1976; reprint, 1986), 22. By one account Seattle expressed concern that the Great Chief above would be displeased if the Indians took money (rather than goods and services) for country which He intended all to use. Typescript of Proceedings, Ratified Treaty No. 283, with D'Wamish, etc., Documents Relating to the Negotiation of Indian Treaties, UW Microfilm A-8207, Reel 5. In 1923 men who were present or whose parents were present at the Point Elliott Treaty testified that some Indians there got mad and went home when they learned what Governor Stevens wanted. Depositions of Jack Wheeler, 6, and Bill Kanim, 9, In the Matter of the Claims of Indian Tribes and Individual Indians against the Government Arising Out of the Treaty of Point Elliott, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 96, Folder 60, p. 6

61. Except for in-married Sahaptin-speaking people in the foothill village, the people covered by the treaty at Medicine Creek all spoke the same language; whereas the Point Elliott and Point No Point treaties each covered people from more than one language group. For discussions of the distinction between so-called salt water and stick Indians of the south sound region, see M.T. Simmons to J.W. Nesmith, June 30, 1858, in ARCIA (1858), 576-77; Smith, "The Puyallup-Nisqually," 29, 31; Smith, "The Coast Salish of Puget Sound," 198-99.

62. William Fraser Tolmie to His Excellency Fayette McMullin, January 12, 1858, in Bagley Papers, Box 22; George Gibbs to James G. Swan, January 7, 1857, in Northwest Coast, Appendix, 426-29; Richard White, "The Treaty of Medicine Creek: Indian-White Relations on Upper Puget Sound, 1830-1880" (M.A. thesis, University of Washington, 1972), 41, 65; Thomas W. Prosch, "The Indian Wars in Washington Territory," Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society 16 (1915): 6; Smith, The Puyallup-Nisqually, 31-32.

63. In early 1855 Simmons investigated a complaint that Indians had broken into the house of a Seattle town resident. After fining the confessed thieves for taking a small amount of hard bread and sugar, Simmons warned the assembled Duwamish people that they must be more careful because many whites were prejudiced against them. Many instances of this kind occurred, Simmons commented in his report on the investigation. Many were concocted by whites and spread by rumor to create feelings of hostility against Indians. Many had slight foundation. Simmons to Stevens, March 26, 1855, WTSIA, Roll 9, Reel 17. See also, Granville O. Haller, "The Indian War of 1855-56, in Washington and Oregon," in Bagley Papers, Box 22, vol. 7. Sources for the "land of darkness" story include Tolmie to McMullin, Bagley Papers; Tolmie, "History of Puget Sound and the Northwest Coast," 38; J. Ross Browne, Indian War in Oregon and Washington Territories, House Exec. Doc. 38, 35th Cong., 1st sess., 11; Roy N. Lokken, "Frontier Defense in Washington Territory, 1853-1861" (M.A. thesis, University of Washington, 1951) 40; W.B. Gosnell, "Indian War in Washington Territory," Washington Historical Quarterly 17 (1926): 294.

64. David Blaine to Parents, January 24, 1855, Blaine Family Papers; Pioneer and Democrat, December 30, 1854, 2 (saying Indians entirely satisfied with provisions of the treaty); Ibid., February 3, 1855, 2; Ibid., May 5, 1855 (report of first treaty's ratification, prediction that rest will be ratified in next Congress); White, "The Treaty of Medicine Creek," 59, 93.

65. Tolmie to McMullin, Bagley Papers; Emily Denny, Blazing the Way, 67; Tolmie, "History of Puget Sound and the Northwest Coast," 40; "Early Reminiscences of a Nisqually Pioneer, The McAllister Family, Thurston County," in Told by the Pioneers, vol. I, 176-180; Puget Sound Courier, August 24, 1855 (predicting that Stevens's way of arranging treaties will lead to war); Pioneer and Democrat, September 28, 1855 (rumors of trans-mountain Indian agreement to attack traveling whites); Haller, "The Indian War of 1855-56;" "James Longmire," in A Small

World of Our Own, 185; "J.W. McCarthy," Ibid., 196; Lokken, "Frontier Defense in Washington Territory," 40.

66. Pioneer and Democrat, October 12, 1855, 2, and October 19, 1855, 2; United States Navy, Log of the Decatur, October 25 and 31, 1855, University of Washington Microfilm 58.

67. The volunteers had orders to disarm Indians in suspicious groups, disperse any who resisted, and kill or capture any who resorted to violence. Jerry A. Eckrom, Remembered Drums (Walla Walla, Washington: Pioneer Press Books, 1989), 20-21; Lokken, "Frontier Defense," 43-47; White, "The Treaty of Medicine Creek," 72; Tolmie to McMullin, Bagley Papers; Pioneer and Democrat, November 9, 1855, 2; "Mrs. James Hartman," in A Small World of Our Own, 14; "Urban E. Hicks," Ibid., 149, 151-52; "James Longmire," Ibid., 186-88; "J.W. McCarthy," Ibid., 197.

68. Log of the Decatur, October 31 and November 3, 1855.

69. Denny, Pioneer Days on Puget Sound, 74. See also, Message of Acting Governor Mason, December 7, 1855, Messages of the Governors of the Territory of Washington, 16-17; Pioneer and Democrat, November 9, 1855, 2-3. Meeker later claimed that news of the so-called White River massacre changed a peaceful, integrated community of Indians and non-Indians as suddenly as an electric shock. Indians who had been friends became enemies "or if not enemies of their old neighbors, the enemies of their race...." Pioneer Reminiscences, 12-13.

70. Pioneer and Democrat, December 14, 1855, 2; Ibid., February 1, 1856, 2; Ibid., February 15, 1856, 2; Ibid., March 7, 1856, 2; Ibid., June 27, 1856, 2; Ibid., September 12, 1856, 2; Messages of the Governors of the Territory of Washington, January 21, 1856, and December 3, 1856, 23-39; Indian Council, August 4, 1856, in Bagley Papers, Box 22, vol. 3; Indian Affairs on the Pacific, House Exec. Doc. No. 76, 34th Cong., 3d sess., Serial 906, 220 and ff.; Erasmus D. Keyes, "Fighting Indians in Washington Territory," in Fifty Years' Observation of Men and Events (New York: Scribner, 1884; reprint, Fairfield, Washington: Ye Galleon Press, 1988), 7-16; Eckrom, Remembered Drums, 49-53, 63-64, 73-79, 107, 122, 124-25, 133-34, 139, 141-47, 150; Lokken, "Frontier Defense," 50, 53, 88, 102, 132, 158-60, 168; Prosch, "The Indian Wars in Washington Territory;" White, "The Treaty of Medicine Creek," 92; Hubert Howe Bancroft, History of Washington, Idaho, and Montana (San Francisco: The History Company, 1890), 123, 164.

71. W.B. Gosnell, "Indian War in Washington Territory," 297; Messages of Governors of the Territory of Washington, 23. 31; Eckrom, Remembered Drums, 44, 95; Lokken, "Frontier Defense," 53, 78; White, "The Treaty of Medicine Creek," 66; Twana Narratives, 153; Meeker Family Papers, Notebook II, 13, University of Washington Manuscripts Vertical File No. 362A-C.

72. Browne, Indian War in Oregon and Washington Territories, 2.

73. Messages of Gov. Stevens, January 21 and December 3, 1856; Browne, Indian War in Oregon and Washington Territory, 2, 4-13; Pioneer and Democrat, August 31, 1855, 2; Ibid., October 26, 1855, 2; Ibid., December 7, 1855, 2 (editorial); Ibid., March 28, 1856, 2 and 3; Ibid., April 11, 1856, 2 (editorial); Ibid., August 8, 1856, 3 (claiming Mormons aided warring Indians to the east); Ibid., September 5, 1856, 2; Ibid., September 12, 1856, 1; Ibid., February 27, 1857, 1; Gosnell, "Indian War in Washington Territory," 294-296; Haller, "The Indian War of 1855-56;" Log of the Decatur, November 3, 1855; Richards, Isaac I. Stevens, 241.

74. Report of George Gibbs and H.A. Goldsborough, June 6, 1856, in Message from the President of the United States, Senate Exec. Doc. 41, 34th Cong., 3d sess., Serial 881, 26; Tolmie to McMullin, Bagley Papers; Tolmie, "History of Puget Sound and the Northwest Coast;" Proceedings of Military Commission, April 14-15, 1856, NA, RG 393, Records of U.S. Army Continental Commands, 1821-1920, Fort Steilacoom, pp. 21, 24, 26; "The Widow's Story" [interview with Leschi's widow], in Papers of Ezra Meeker, Washington State Historical Society, (copy of typescript provided by Jerry A. Eckrom); Notes of interview with Henry Martin (cousin of Leschi), Edmond S. Meany Papers, University of Washington Manuscripts, Folder 86-2.

75. Among the numerous accounts of the war that depict it as a conscious contest of fundamentally incompatible cultures are Stevens in Messages of the Governors of the Territory of Washington, 25; Pioneer and Democrat, March 28, 1856, 2; Haller, "The Indian War of 1855-56;" Browne, Indian War in Oregon and Washington Territories, 9-12; Bancroft, History of Washington, Idaho and Montana 1845-1889, 276; Eckrom, Remembered Drums, 110, 161, 162; Hunt and Kaylor, Washington West of the Cascades, 144, 163; Meeker, Pioneer Reminiscences/The Tragedy of Leschi, 205, 446; Prosch, "The Indian Wars in Washington Territory," 6; "Captain John E. Burns," in A Small World of Our Own, 86. A novelist who attributes the same assumptions to

the Indian warriors is Della Gould Emmons, Leschi of the Nisquallies (Minneapolis, 1965), 16, 77, 165, 213.

76. "The Widow's Story;" Report of Gibbs and Goldsborough, Senate Exec. Doc. 41, Serial 881, 24; Tolmie, "History of Puget Sound and the Northwest Coast," 41; Tolmie to McMullin, Bagley Papers; Proceedings of Military Commission of April, 1856, pp. 7, 13-14, 28; Pioneer and Democrat, November 9, 1855, 2 (describing Leschi as wealthy man possessing and cultivating good farm land); Ibid., February 27, 1857, 1 (reporting that Nelson spoke English and had won trust of white settlers, like other leaders of rebellion); ARCIA (1856), 185; Abby J. Hanford, "Seattle and its Indian War," Bancroft collction; Meeker, Pioneer Reminiscences, 209-210 (Yelm Jim remembering Leschi as a very rich man well liked by the best Indians, King George men, and Bostons); Eckrom, Remembered Drums, 9, 21, 24, 74; White, "The Treaty of Medicine Creek," 36, 41-42; Richards, Isaac I. Stevens, 259.

77. Elaine Scarry, characterizing war as a contest, observes that once war begins many entities crystalize into two, and the distinction between friend and enemy becomes an absolute polarity. Scarry, Body in Pain (New York and London: Oxford University Press, 1985), 88.

78. Messages of the Governors of the Territory of Washington, 32; Report of Gibbs and Goldsborough, Serial 881, including Doc. A, pp. 48-50; Gosnell, "Indian War in Washington Territory," 295; Browne, Indian War in Oregon and Washington Territories, 10-11; "Journal of Occurrences at Nisqually House," May 21, 1856; "W.W. Plumb," A Small World of Our Own, 94; Eckrom, Remembered Drums, 143-44; Lokken, "Frontier Defense," 93, 123-28. The resistance of people like Henry Yesler to the wartime relocation of Indians who worked for them also indicates how difficult it was to draw lines. D.S. Maynard to M.T. Simmons, September 19, 1856, WTSIA, Roll 10, Reel 20. Kent Richards also points out that volunteer militia members bickered among themselves and often did not cooperate with the army. Isaac I. Stevens, 261, 263.

79. Elmendorf, Twana Narratives, 126-164; Lane and Suttles, "Southern Coast Salish," Handbook, 495; Elmendorf, Structure of Twana Culture, 465-70; Smith, The Puyallup-Nisqually, 154, 161; Smith, "The Puyallup of Washington," 26; Collins, Valley of the Spirits, 115; H.L. Yesler, "Settlement of Washington Territory," Bancroft Collection (relating the view of some Northern Indians that Bostons' reaction to the White River killings was foolish and insufficiently vengeful). For comparative historical

studies of war at the edges of European expansion, see Ferguson and Whitehead, War in the Tribal Zone, especially the essay by Whitehead, "Tribes Make States and States Make Tribes: Warfare and the Creation of Colonial Tribes and States in Northeastern South America," 142-143. On page 19 Ferguson also observes that the primary military advantage of any state at war with tribal peoples is its ability authoritatively to direct and sustain massive force against a target.

80. Thomas Stowell Phelps, "The Indian Attack on Seattle January 26, 1856," (originally "Reminiscences of Seattle, Washington Territory," in The United Service Magazine 5; reprint, Seattle: Farwest Lithograph & Printing Co., 1932), 41. Other pioneers liked to tell a story of Indians who were filled with dread of the supernatural when they observed American shells exploding twice -- that is, exploding a while after landing. The Indians thought, according to the tale, that "the Evil Spirits they had invocked [sic] had turned against them and was helping the whites." Abby Hanford, "Seattle and its Indian War," Bancroft collection. Hanford also said that Nelson, a reputed leader of Indians who killed the White River settlers, stopped his confederates from killing some children when he heard their wounded mother utter a prayer for them, because he feared the spirits she had invoked. See also, Keyes, Fighting Indians in Washington Territory, 10, 13; Bell, "Settlement of Seattle," Bancroft collection.

81. Letter of J.W. Wiley to Pioneer and Democrat, November 9, 1855, 2; Keyes, Fighting Indians in Washington Territory, 13; Hanford, "Seattle and Its Indian War."

82. Keyes, Fighting Indians, 9. Although Stevens claimed that American citizens had not retaliated by indiscriminately killing Indians, evidence of both arbitrary and targeted revenge murders of non-combatants is abundant. ARCIA (1856), 186; Pioneer and Democrat, February 27, 1857, 1; Letter of David Blaine, June 20, 1856; Bell, "Settlement of Seattle;" Phelps, "The Indian Attack on Seattle," 52, 54; "Journal of Occurrences at Nisqually House," May 23, 1856; "James Longmire," A Small World of Our Own, 190-192.

83. Phelps, "The Indian Attack on Seattle," 50, 52; Pioneer and Democrat, February 8, 1856, 2; Ibid., February 15, 1856, 2; James Tilton to Capt. E. Lander, February 12, 1856, Adjustant General Correspondence, Outgoing, Washington State Archives RG 82/1-1; Nathan D. Hill to Stevens, February 2 and 21 and March 31, 1856, WTSIA, Roll 10, Reel 21; D.S. Maynard to Stevens, February 19,

1856, Ibid.; E.S. Fowler to Stevens, March 7, 1856, Ibid., Roll 10, Reel 22; Richards, Isaac I. Stevens, 265.

84. Indian Council, August 4, 1856, in Bagley Papers.

85. Ibid.

86. Ibid. The next month, however, Ford told Stevens that he had talked with Indians who had been at war and concluded that they were fully satisfied "as to the superiority of the white race...." Ford to Stevens, September 30, 1856, WTSIA, Roll 10, Reel 21.

87. Records of U.S. Army Continental Commands, 1821-1920, Fort Steilacoom, NA RG 393; ARCIA (1856); ARCIA, (1857), 339; Proceedings of a Military Commission Convened at Seattle, May, 1856, Washington State Archives (copy provided by Jerry A. Eckrom); Samuel McCaw to I.I. Stevens, April 12, 1856, WTSIA, Roll 10, Reel 21; Pioneer and Democrat, September 12, 1856, 2; Ibid., February 27, 1857, 1; Ibid., April 1, 1859, 3; Territory v. Wahoolit alias Nisqually or Yelm Jim, Thurston County Clerk's Records, Case 262, Washington Territorial Court Records; Territory v. Leschi, Pierce County Clerk's Records, Case No. 140, Ibid.; H.L. Yesler, "Settlement of Washington Territory."

88. Pioneer and Democrat, February 27, 1857, 1; Jones, Indian Affairs on the Pacific; Richards, Isaac I. Stevens, 310. Phelps claimed that a military commission in Seattle acquitted twenty-one Indian defendants because "the evidence proved them only guilty of legitimate warfare," but a partial transcript of the trial in question shows that evidence regarding at least some defendants was consistent with the defense that they were coerced to accompany the hostile Indians. "The Indian Attack on Seattle," 52; Proceedings of a Military Commission, May, 1856, Washington State Archives.

89. The judges of a military commission that tried nine Indians men at Fort Steilacoom in April, 1856, were Captain E.D. Keyes, Captain P.N. Guthrie, Army surgeon George Suckley, Second Lieutenant A.V. Kautz, and Second Lieutenant J. Nugen, all of the regular army. A commission that convened in Seattle in May to try a number of Indians was made up of territorial volunteers headed by Captain Franklin Mathias. Given the fact that most able-bodied American men served some time in the volunteers, the jurors for Leschi's two trials were likely to have been in arms a year or two earlier. See also, M.T. Simmons to I.I. Stevens, December 31, 1856, WTSIA, Roll 9, Reel 17: "[T]he predjudice [sic] in the

minds of the people generally was but too evident....I was aware that this predjudice could not escape being carried into the jury box...." Ezra Meeker later said, "It had come to this, that if Leschi was right then Stevens was wrong; that if Leschi was proven guilty then Stevens would be vindicated...." Pioneer Reminiscences, 416. From 1853 to 1861, according to one judge, all territorial judges were appointed by the Democrats, Isaac Stevens's party. J.J. McGilvra, "Reminiscences of the Early Days of the Washington Bar," ms. in Special Collections Library, University of Washington. Those disputing and defending Stevens's handling of the war and the post-war prosecutions did not split entirely along political lines; several prominent members of Stevens's party lined up against him. Richards, Isaac I. Stevens, 280.

90. The judge in Yelm Jim's trial instructed the jury as follows: "It has ever been the policy of our government to treat the Indian Tribes within its jurisdiction as dependent, not independent -- treating them more as wards of the government than in any other light; and where the government has felt itself called upon to chasten any of the tribes or parts of tribes who may have been guilty of outrages upon her citizens, it has always been done so as to harmonize with this relation...."
Territory v. Wahoolit, Thurston County Case No. 262.

91. Butler P. Anderson [to Isaac I. Stevens?], May 4, 1858, Washington Historical Quarterly 1 (1907): 59; Leschi v. Washington Territory, Washington Territorial Reports 1 (1857): 13. See also, M.T. Simmons to I.I. Stevens, December 31, 1856, WTSIA, Roll 9, Reel 17.

92. Territory v. Leschi, Pierce County Case No. 140.

93. "The Narrative of James Longire," Told by the Pioneers, vol. I., 143; Simmons to Stevens, December 31, 1856, and April 4, 187, WTSIA, Roll 9, Reel 17; Letter of Theodore O. Williams, March 13, 1904, in Washington Historical Quarterly 2 (1934): 300; Richards, Isaac I. Stevens, 309.

94. Starling to Stevens, December 10, 1853, WTSIA, Roll 9, Reel 17; Gibbs, Tribes of Western Washington and Northwestern Oregon," 189; Elmendorf, "Skokomish Sorcery, Ethics, and Society," 161-162; Smith, The Puyallup-Nisqually, 161.

95. Frank Allen's great uncle, Yelm Jim, told him that when Leschi asked a Skokomish man to join the war the man said, "'No. If white people come here to bother us, I'll fight. But there are few white people here and we are

friends.'" Twana Narratives, 153. Marian Smith argues that Puyallup and Nisqually warriors targeted particular Americans in revenge for particular grievances. "The Puyallup-Nisqually," 154; "The Puyallup of Washington," 26. See Foreword for a discussion of the way that customary exogamous marriage created and maintained trans-tribal networks of kin in the Puget Sound. John Phillip Reid contrasts the law enforced through a coercive state apparatus with the "private law" -- predictable social sanctions -- that governed Cherokee Indian conduct before a Cherokee state developed. Even assuming that Reid is correct to characterize the Cherokee customs as law, it is inappropriate to see Puget Sound Indian customs as law-governed in the same sense. For people in Puget Sound the concept of standard sanctions imposed by an impersonal state was difficult to assimilate. Reid, A Law of Blood: The Primitive Law of the Cherokee Nation (New York: New York University Press, 1970), 70.

96. Ford to Stevens, December 31, 1856, WTSIA, Roll 10, Reel 21; Meeker, Pioneer Reminiscences, 451. On April 14, 1857, special agent George Paige informed Stevens that Chief Seattle had reported an attempt by Yakima Indians to recruit chiefs on the sound for a violent uprising in the event of Leschi's execution. WTSIA, Roll 20, Reel 20. Special agent R.C. Fay, on Whidbey Island, wrote Simmons on December 31, 1857 that leading men of different tribes were very much opposed to the planned hanging of Leschi, saying he was a good man. Fay had heard no threats; he just knew the majority would rather that Leschi live. WTSIA, Roll 10, Reel 22. Indians gathered at Squaxin Island for payment of treaty annuities in 1857 said they wanted to intercede with the governor on Leschi's behalf. Simmons to J.W. Nesmith, December 31, 1857, WTSIA, Roll 9, Reel 17.

97. Elmendorf, Twana Narratives, 153-161.

98. Wahoolit's belief that the important conflicts for Indians were those with other Indians -- a belief that probably reflected conditions on the reservations later in the century -- also shows an inward deflection of anger common among oppressed groups.

99. James Tilton to Isaac Stevens, September 8, 1856, Washington Territorial Volunteers Papers, Indian War Correspondence, Washington State Archives, RG 1/A-3, Box 4, Folder 16; M.T. Simmons to J.W. Nesmith, December 31, 1857, WTSIA, Roll 9, Reel 17; Journal of S.S. Ford, Jr., May 30, 1856, WTSIA, Roll 10, Reel 21; Ford to Simmons, September 30, 1856, Ibid.; Gosnell, "Indian War in

Washington Territory," 293; "The Widow's Story," Meeker Papers; Stevens to Manypenny, December 30, 1854, Documents Relating to Negotiation of Indian Treaties; Proceedings of Military Commission at Fort Steilacoom, December 17, 1855, Records of U.S. Army Continental Command; Proceedings of Military Commission, April 14-15, 1856, Ibid.

100. Stevens had described the Klallams as prosperous before the treaties, but a special agent found them in poor shape in 1856. They had been restricted to one locality for months, unable to pursue their usual avocations, unable to purchase ammunition, and therefore unable to hunt and sell game to whites. Consequently, said E.S. Fowler, they were very anxious to have the promised payment for their lands. Fowler to Simmons, September 23, 1856, WTSIA, Roll 100, Reel 22.

101. Stevens to Capt. R.C. Fay, December 29, 1856, NA PNW Rg 75, Microfilm 2011, Reel 1; Samuel McCaw to Stevens, April 12, 1856, WTSIA, Roll 10, Reel 21; S.S. Ford to Stevens, May 3, 1856, Ibid.; Ford to Stevens, May 16, 1856, Ibid.; Ford's journal, June 15, 1856, Ibid.; Ford's journal, September 30, 1856; Letters of Nathan D. Hill to Stevens, 1856, Ibid.; D.S. Maynard to Stevens, February 9, 1856, WTSIA, Roll 10, Reel 20; Letters of H. Haley to Stevens, spring 1856, Ibid.; G.A. Paige to Simmons, September 26, 1856, Ibid.; R.C. Fay to Stevens, March 9, 1856, Letters from Employees, WTSIA, Roll 10, Reel 22; Fay to Simmons, September 1856, Ibid.; W.B. Gosnell to Stevens, April 2, 1856, Ibid.; Gosnell, "Indian War in Washington Territory," 292; Pioneer and Democrat, November 6, 1857, 1.

102. Simmons to Nesmith, November 27, 1857, WTSIA, Roll 9, Reel 17; ARCIA (1858), 587; E.C. Fitzhugh to Simmons, March 5, 1858, NA PNW RG 75, M-1011; Charles Edwin Garretson, " A History of the Washington Superintendency of Indian Affairs, 1855-1865" (M.A. thesis, University of Washington, 1962), 79.

103. Browne, Indian Affairs in the Territories of Oregon and Washington, 2-3; Mary Brown to Sister Almida, September 29, 1861, Brown Family Papers, Washington State Library Manuscript 071; Charles Prosch, Reminiscences of Washington Territory, 13; Jas. H. Goudy to M.T. Simmons, January 6, 1861, NA PNW RG 75, M-2011; Washington Standard, January 19, 1861, 2; Ibid., July 9, 1864, 1; Ezra Meeker, "Uncle Ezra's Short Stories for Children" (Tacoma, Washington, n.d.), pamphlet in University of Washington Library.

104. Prosch, Reminiscences of Washington Territory, 42; Bell, "Settlement of Seattle;" McGilvra, "Reminiscences of the Early Days of the Washington Bar," 1; John R. Watt, "Introduction to Economic and Labor History of Western Washington" (M.A. thesis, University of Washington, 1942), 52, 55, 62.

105. R.C. Fay to Stevens, April 31, 1857, WTSIA, Roll 10, Reel 22; E.S. Fowler to Stevens, March 29, 1856, Ibid.; Simmons to Stevens, April 4 and May 1, 1857, WTSIA, Roll 9, Reel 17; E.C. Fitzhugh to Stevens, February 8, 1856, WTSIA, Roll 10, Reel 20; G.A. Paige to Stevens, May 13, 1857, Ibid.; S.S. Ford to Stevens, November 22, 1856, WTSIA, Roll 10, Reel 21; Pioneer and Democrat, November 6, 1857, 1; Diary of James Swan, May 20, 1859, James G. Swan Papers, University of Washington Manuscripts, Box 5; Kellogg, "A History of Whidbey's Island," 42; Elmendorf, Twana Narratives, 132-136.

106. Simmons to Stevens, May 1, 1857, WTSIA. Six months earlier S.S. Ford claimed that Snoqualmie chief Patkanim was circulating the rumor that the whites had made an agreement with northern Indians to come down and exterminate all the sound tribes. Ford to Stevens, December 31, 1856, WTSIA, Roll 10, Reel 21.

107. Simmons to Nesmith, December 31, 1857, WTSIA, Roll 9, Reel 17; ARCIA (1857), 317.

108. ARCIA (1858), 586. See also, Simmons to C.H. Mott, Commissioner, October 10, 1858, NA PNW RG 75, M-2011.

109. Simmons to J.W. Nesmith, August 14, 1858, WTSIA, Roll 9, Reel 18; Simmons to Edward R. Geary, August 18 and 20, 1859, Ibid.; Ford to Stevens, December 1, 1856, WTSIA, Roll 20, Reel 21; N.D. Hill to Stevens, March 17, 1857, Ibid.; G.A. Paige to Simmons, August 8, 1858, WTSIA, Roll 10, Reel 20.

110. Unable to project a convincingly commanding image within their jurisdiction, some territorial officials thought their meager funds would be better spent showing natives that American government elsewhere was not so weak. In 1857 the governor recommended that one or two chiefs from each tribe be invited to the nation's capital. Such a visit, he argued, "would accomplish more towards giving them a proper idea of the power and force of our government, than any other policy which could be adopted with the same amount of money. "Message of Fayette McMullin, December 12, 1857, Messages of the Governors of the Territory, 51; Stevens to Hon. Chas. E. Mix, Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs, February 17, 1858,

Pacific Northwest Quarterly 31 (1940): 430. I can find no evidence that the trips materialized.

111. Simmons to Stevens, December 29, 1856, WTSIA, Roll 10, Reel 20; N.D. Hill to Stevens, December 31, 1856, WTSIA, Roll 10, Reel 21; R.C. Fay to Stevens, January 1, 1857, WTSIA, Reel 22; ARCIA (1857), 334; ARCIA (1858), 223; message of Acting Governor Mason, December 8, 1858, Messages of the Governors of the Territory, 58; report of William M. Morrow, farmer at Skokomish, June 30, 1861, WTSIA, Letters Received, Roll 9, Reel 19: E.C. Fitzhugh to Simmons, January 12, 1856, NA PNW RG 75, M-2011.

112. Simmons to Newmith, September 16 and December 22, 1858, WTSIA, Roll 9, Reel 18; Simmons to Geary, September 1, 1860, Ibid.; Agent to Nesmith, September 30, 1857, NA PNW RG 75, M-2011; Geary to Simmons, August 31, 1860, Ibid.; Annual Report, Tulalip Reservation, September 30, 1862, Ibid.; ARCIA (1859), 391; ARCIA (1860), 198-99; ARCIA (1861/62), 386, 389, 410; ARCIA (1864), 80; ARCIA (1870), 17.

113. ARCIA (1861-62), 384; Washington Standard, July 27, 1861, 1; Ibid., February 14, 1863; Ibid., September 17, 1864, 3; Ibid., October 19, 1868, 3; [Olympia] Territorial Republican, October 19, 1868, 3; ARCIA (1870), 17; Simmons to Geary, January 1, 1861, WTSIA, Roll 9, Reel 19; Gosnell to William Miller, July 26, 1861, Ibid.; Annual report of W.B. Gosnell, August 18, 1861, Ibid.

114. Simmons to Geary, December 13, 1859, WTSIA, Roll 9, Reel 18; ARCIA (1860), 199; Ibid. (1862), 462; Ibid. (1863), 4; Ibid. (1864/64), 60.

115. "An Indian will very readily live anywhere, if there is any inducement for doing so," one agent said. ARCIA (1864/65), 457.

116. ARCIA (1862/63), 439; ARCIA (1861/62), 390; Simmons to Geary, January 1, 1861, WTSIA, Roll 9, Reel 19; Annual report of E.C. Chirouse, September 30, 1862, Ibid.; Howe to Hale, January 18, 1863, Ibid.

117. ARCIA (1861/62), 405-06; ARCIA (1864/65), 75; Chirouse to Howe, February 25, 1865, NA PNW RG 75, M-2011, Reel 1. The government school on Squaxin Island closed seven months after it opened in 1862 because the number of scholars dwindled to two. ARCIA (1862/63), 469.

118. Annual report, September 1, 1856, WTSIA, Roll 10, Reel 20.

119. H. Haley to Stevens, May 2, 1856, WTSIA, Roll 10, Reel 20; Browne, Indian Affairs in the Territories of Oregon and Washington, 4; ARCIA (1861/62), 387; ARCIA (1864/65), 74; Annual report of W.B. Gosnell, WTSIA, Roll 9, Reel 19. Although American officials had wooed Indians at the treaties with a promise to provide doctors, they failed for several years to make good on this pledge. ARCIA (1858), 579; Simmons to Nesmith, October 15, 1857, WTSIA, Roll 9, Reel 17; Ibid., August 15, 1858. At several reserves agents tried to lure Indians by erecting houses for them. Administrators cited them as emblems of the civilized life they could offer Indians, but most such houses went unoccupied.

120. Browne, Indian Affairs in the Territories of Oregon and Washington, 6.

121. R.C. Fay to Stevens, April 25, 1856, WTSIA, Roll 10, Reel 22; Fay to Simmons, June 30, 1860, NA PNW RG 75, M-2011; N.D. Hill to Stevens, April 20, May 20, and June 24, 1856, WTSIA, Roll 10, Reel 21; E.C. Fitzhugh to Stevens, February 7, 1858, WTSIA, Roll 10, Reel 20; H. Haley to Stevens, April 7, 22, and 27, 1856, Ibid.; D.S. Maynard to Simmons, September 19, 1856, Ibid.; G.A. Paige to Simmons, September 26, 1856, Ibid.; Paige to Stevens, December 24, 1856, and May 13, 1857, Ibid.; ARCIA (1858), 576.

122. ARCIA (1858), 580; ARCIA (1857), 329-30; ARCIA (1859), 402; R.C. Fay to Stevens, March 17, 1856, WTSIA, Roll 10, Reel 22; Fay to Stevens, January 1, 1857, Ibid.; A.J. Simmons to Stevens, February 19, 1856, Ibid.; Fay to Simmons, June 30, 1860, NA PNW RG 75, M-2011; C.C. Finkboner to S.D. Howe, January 18, 1863, and May 2, 1864, Ibid.; Finkboner to G.D. Hill, March 30, 1870, Ibid.; Simmons to Stevens, December 29, 1856, WTSIA, Roll 9, Reel 17; Simmons to Nesmith, December 31, 1857, Ibid.; Capt. G.E. Pickett to Simmons, June 19, 1860, Ibid., Reel 18; E.C. Fitzhugh to Stevens, December 12, 1856, WTSIA, Roll 10, Reel 20; Report of William Morrow, June 30, 1861, WTSIA, Reel 19; T. Hubbard to Stephens [sic], May 26, 1856, WTSIA, Roll 10, Reel 21; N.D. Hill to Stevens, March 17, 1857, Ibid.

123. Browne, Indian Affairs in the Territories of Oregon and Washington, 4; Paige to Stevens, November 30, 1856, WTSIA, Roll 10, Reel 20; E.C. Fitzhugh to Nesmith, ARCIA (1857), 326; Gosnell to Geary, ARCIA (1859), 402; Pioneer and Democrat, November 6, 1857, 1; C.C. Finkbonner to Geo. D. Hill, September 28, 1869, NA M-2011, Reel 2; Diary of John Campbell, UW Manuscripts; Meeker Family Papers, Notebooks I-III, University of Washington

Manuscripts Vertical File No. 362A-C; Accounts of Mill Hands, A.J. Miller Company (1860-62), University of Washington Manuscripts, Vertical File No. 94; "Interview with Louisa Sinclair," Told by the Pioneers, vol. 2, 179, 181; Collins, "John Forsnby," 295, 307; Thomas Somerville, "The Mediterranean of the Pacific," Harper's New Monthly Magazine XLI (1870): 487; Diary of James Swan, June 26, 1859 and July 12, 1860.

124. Simmons to Nesmith, July 27, 1858, WTSIA, Roll 9, Reel 18; Simmons to Geary, July 1, 1859, NA PNW RG75, M-2011, Reel 1; Fitzhugh to Simmons, June 13, 1858, Ibid.; Wm Hammond to S.D. Howe, May 3, 1864, Ibid.; ARCIA (1857), 335; ARCIA (1858), 582, 587; Swan, "Scenes in Washington Territory," No. 2 (May 10, 1859); Leighton, Life at Puget Sound, 19-23; Mrs. George Lotzgesell, "Pioneer Days at Old Dungeness," Washington Historical Quarterly 24 (1933): 265; Prosch, Reminiscences of Washington Territory, 10, 26, 43; Allen Weir, "Roughing It on Puget Sound in the Early Sixties," Washington Historian 3 (1900): 120; "Family History of Maude Burr Basse" in Told by the Pioneers, vol. 2, 53; Charles H. Ross, Pierce County, Ibid., 58; Loren Bingham Hastings, "Son of the First White Woman to Settle at Port Townsend," Ibid., 125; "Captain James Henry Swift and Family, Whidby Island Pioneers," Ibid., 129; "Early Days in Mason County," Ibid., 221; Kellogg, "A History of Whidbey's Island," 50, 59; H.A. Swift, "Notes on Whidby Island History" (typescript of article from Island County Times, December, 13, 1913), Special Collections Library, University of Washington.

125. Diary of James G. Swan, May 2, 1859; also February 20, 1859, and March 4, 1860. To make the point that Indians as often felt at home in Puget Sound towns as settlers, Charles Prosch told what happened when he arrived for a visit at Seattle. Settlers who knew him hailed him. But an Indian also greeted him with, "'Cla-ha-yu, tillicum!' equivalent to 'How are you, friend?'" According to Prosch, this man from whom he had often bought venison and fish in his home town of Steilacoom "had no notion of being a stranger when all others were acquainted...." Reminiscences in Washington Territory, 43.

126. "John Fornsby," 306-307, 320; Hubbard, "The Indian under the White Man's Law," 48, 49; Washington Territory District Court Case Files, Jefferson County Cases No. 1036, 1037, Thurston County Cases No. 34, 157, 158; House Journal, Washington Territorial Legislature, 1866, University of Washington Manuscripts Accession No. 4284, Box 2, Folders 2-10 and 2-11; "From an Interview with Louisa Sinclair," Told by the Pioneers, vol. 2, 179;

"Early Days in Mason County," Ibid., 221; Prosch, Reminiscences of Washington Territory, 27-29; Diary of James Swan, December 29, 1862, and October 10, 1868; Affidavit of John Montgomery, 1864, NA PNW RG 75, M-2011, Reel 1; Diary of John Campbell, January 7 and October 26, 1869; Robert Emmett Hawley, Skqee Mus, or Pioneer Days on the Nooksack (Bellingham: 1945), 31. In 1862 Snohomish County came into existence with a settler population of 45 white men and no white women. Hunt and Kaylor, Washington West of the Cascades, 388.

127. John A. Tennant to B.F. Kendall, November 15, 1861, Bion F. Kendall Papers, University of Washington Manuscripts. See also, Clarence B. Bagley, "Chief Seattle and Angeline," Washington Historical Quarterly 22 (1931): 260; Diary of James Swan, February 9, 1860, and December 25, 1860; Journal of S.S. Ford, May 31, 1856, WTSIA, Roll 10, Reel 21; ARCIA (1862/63), 469; Finkboner to Friend Howe, December 9, 1863, and August 1, 1865, NA M-2011, Reel 1.

128. G. Allen to Governor, May 20, 1856, Washington Territorial Volunteers Papers, Box 2, Folder 9; Petition from Island County, May 20, 1856, Ibid.; Fitzhugh to Simmons, June 13, 1858, NA M-2011, Reel 1; W. Hammond to Howe, May 2, 1864, Ibid; Finkboner to Mr. Alvey, October 6, 1867, Ibid., Reel 2.

129. Thos. J. Hanna to Simmons, September 18 and 21, 1857, NA PNW RG 75, M-2011, Reel 1; R.C. Fay to Stevens, November 15, 1856, WTSIA, Roll 10, Reel 22 (manager of spar company who flogged an Indian pays Indians $15.00); N.D. Hill to Stevens, June 18, 1856, WTSIA, Roll 10, Reel 21 (Indian superintendent pays Patkanim's band 120 blankets for three men killed by settlers in Seattle); ARCIA (1863/64), 62 (agent arranges for prosecution of white murderer when Indians threaten to fight). Settlers sometimes called in troops to intimidate Indians who seemed otherwise beyond the reach of American law enforcement. At other times they organized posses and lynching parties. Thos. J. Hanna to Simmons, September 18 and 21, 1857, NA PNW RG 75, M-2011, Reel 1; John W. Tennant to Simmons, August 8, 1859, Ibid.; Hammond to Howe, May 2, 1864, Ibid.; Washington Standard, July 16, 1864, 1; ARCIA (1860), 188; Simmons to Nesmith, September 10, 1859, WTSIA, Roll 9, Reel 18; McGilvra, "Reminiscences of the Early Days," 3, 15; C. Prosch, Reminiscences of Washington Territory, 69; McCurdy, By Juan de Fuca's Strait, 124; Kellogg, "A History of Whidbey's Island," 50; Weir, "Roughing It on Puget Sound," 121.

130. Simmons to Stevens, December 31, 1856, and April 4, 1857, WTSIA, Roll 9, Reel 17; Simmons to Nesmith, December 31, 1857, Ibid.; Commander of U.S. Naval Force in Puget Sound to Stevens, July 7, 1856, Washington Territorial Volunteers Papers, Box 4, Folder 9; Journal of S.S. Ford, May 30 and June 10, 1856, WTSIA, Roll 20, Reel 21; G.A. Paige to Simmons, August 8, 1858, WTSIA, Roll 10, Reel 20; Gosnell to Stevens December 1, 1856, WTSIA, Roll 10, Reel 22; ARCIA (1860), 189; ARCIA (1863/64), 62, 69-70; Howe to Waterman, August 1, 1865, NA M-2011, Reel 1; Meeker Family Papers, Notebook III.

131. ARCIA (1863/64), 61.

132. E.C. Fitzhugh to Simmons, December 7, 1857, NA M-2011, Reel 1; Annual report of E.C. Fitzhugh, September 1, 1856, WTSIA, Roll 10, Reel 20; W.H. Waterman to D.N. Cooley, September 7, 1865, ARCIA (1865), 67 (describing the Indians as "a weak race, easily seduced..." and recommending that agents be married men so "that there may be less temptation on the part of the employes themselves to depart from the strict rules of propriety in their own intercourse with the natives"); James Swan, "Scenes in Washington Territory," No. 8.

133. By circular in 1860 Superintendent Miller directed reservation agents to cultivate and encourage "correct ideas of morality among the various tribes" among other means by ceasing their participation in prostitution and concubinage between Indians and whites. The practice, he said, was "degrading and demoralizing to both classes..., calculated to destroy that respect which is due from the Indians to their official protectors..., utterly subversive of good order, and opposed to correct principles for their government...." Circular, August 30, 1860, NA M-2011, Reel 1.

134. Chirouse to Henry Hale, April 1869, NA M-2011, Reel 2 (accusing Hale of being every day under the influence of drink, breaking his promises, employing drunkards who keep concubines); Territorial Republican, June 28, 1869, 2; C. Prosch, Reminiscences of Washington Territory, 85 (D.S. Maynard distinguished for his prodigality and fondness for whiskey); Diary of James Swan, October 12, 1868 (mentioning a fight between a judge and another citizens); McGilvra, "Reminiscences of the Early Days," 1 (recalling that Judge E.C. Fitzhugh killed a man in a quarrel and was tried while still performing judge's duties), 17 (mentioning a sheriff and deputy of Island county who were charged with killing an Indian at Coupeville but continued performing their duties).

135. Report of M.T. Simmons, December 14, 1860, WTSIA, Roll 9, Reel 17; E.C. Fitzhugh to Stevens, September 8, 1856, WTSIA, Roll 10, Reel 20; Report of E.C. Chirouse, September 30, 1862, ARCIA (1861/62), 407-08; ARCIA (1863/64), 61, 70; C.C. Finkboner to S.D. Howe, January 10, 1863, NA M-2011, Reel 1. Swan once noted about a white family living at Dungeness, "They don't seem to have a very high appreciation of the Dungeness [settlers]. Mr. D. said that squaws and whiskey were legal tender among them." Diary of James Swan, March 15, 1861. Immigrants who endorsed middle class American standards of morality expressed horror at the example that the rougher class of settlers set for Indians. Yet such critics occasionally confessed that they could not be sure who was influencing whom. To Charles Prosch it seemed that many of the region's earliest immigrants were people "who were content to live like Indians." Prosch, Reminiscences of Washington Territory, 27; David Blaine to Father, June, 1854; David Blaine to Mother, August 4, 1854; Catherine Blaine to unknown correspondent, ca. December 1853; ARCIA (1863/64), 70.

136. Petition forwarded by C. Chirouse to Mister Simmons, August 16, 1859, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Tulalip Agency Papers, Washington State University Manuscripts, Cage 256, Folder 6.

137. Ford to Stevens, December 31, 1856, WTSIA, Roll 10, Reel 21; James Swan, "Scenes in Washington Territory" No. 4 (May 24, 1859); Diary of James Swan for following dates: April 26, 1859; May 21, 1859; May 23, 1859; April 20, 1860; May 19, 1860; August 24, 1860; February 15, 1861; September 3, 1868; Fitzhugh to Simmons, September 27, 1857, NA M-2011, Reel 1; Simmons to Nesmith, September 30, 1857, Ibid.; R.C. Fay to Simmons, June 5, 1860, Ibid.; Chirouse to McKenney, May 3, 1871, Ibid., Reel 2; Roll of Indians enclosed with letter of R.C. Fay, May 20, 1856 (enumerating slaves and multiple wives of leading men), WTSIA, Roll 10, Reel 22; ARCIA (1861/62), 404-05, 409; Leighton, Life at Puget Sound, 24-5, 35, 113-14; Meany Papers, Folder 86-2 (Chowitshoot's potlatches); Collins, "John Fornsby," 316.

138. ARCIA (1861/62), 409; Leighton, Life at Puget Sound, 24-25; Simmons to Geary, June 22, 1860 (estimate of number of blankets needed to pay Indians' annuity), WTSIA, Roll 9, Reel 18.

139. Collins, "John Fornsby," 296. At 307 Fornsby explains the relation of wealth to high class status and names another chief who was not really high class. Also, R.C. Fay to Stevens, February 3, 1856, WTSIA Roll 10, Reel 22

(Goliah feels ashamed at having no clothing but a blanket when Patkanim, another chief, is so well draped.); Roll of Indians, May 20, 1856, Ibid. (Goliah has only one wife and no slaves.)

140. R.C. Fay to Stevens, March 4, 1857, WTSIA, Roll 10, Reel 22; Chirouse to Simmons, November 8, 1859, NA M-2011, Reel 1. See also Leighton, Life at Puget Sound, 23, who says Yeoman, "the Tyee of the flat-heads at Port Angeles, came to see us to-day. He pointed to himself, and said, 'Me all the same white man;' explaining that he did not paint his face, nor drink whiskey."

141. Simmons to Nesmith, August 29, 1858, and September 10, 1859, WTSIA, Roll 9, Reel 18; Simmons to Geary, December 14, 1860, Ibid.; Diary of James Swan, January 30 and February 3-6, 1860.

142. R.C. Fay to Simmons, June 5, 1860, NA M-2011, Reel 1; Finkboner to Howe, November 6, 1864, Ibid. (Indians clamoring for dismissal of David Crockett for conduct unbecoming a Christian and a chief); Finkboner to G.D. Hill, November 8, 1869, Ibid., Reel 2 (agent decides not to dismiss a sub-chief when he and his people pledge renewed efforts to avoid drink, cooperate with arrests); Chirouse to McKenney, May 3, 1871, Ibid. (Chirouse chastises head men James Seattle and Big John for reverting to old ways but forgives them); ARCIA (1861/62), 404-05 (Indians at Port Madison take it on themselves to seize and destroy a whiskey boat); R.C. Fay to Stevens, April 13, 1857, WTSIA, Roll 10, Reel 22; Swift, "Notes on Whidby Island History," December 13, 1913 (George Snakelum claimed to be biggest tyee but was not considered friendly with whites, while Squy-quy was a tyee who was the whites' friend).

143. Diary of James Swan, January 31-February 6, 1860.

# CHAPTER 4

## RESERVATIONS ABOUT RESERVATIONS

The national unification and economic expansion that followed the Civil War drastically altered the context of relations between Indians and non-Indians around Puget Sound. Railroads finally reached the area, and immigrants rode in on the tracks by the thousands, abruptly and decisively tipping the balance of economic and social power in colonists' favor. Nationwide, developments of this kind provided the impetus for redirecting federal Indian policy. As implemented in western Washington, the revised policy was the most energetic effort yet to establish clear lines of demarcation around Indians and then to remake people inside the lines according to a non-Indian image.

The attempt to resocialize Indians was not entirely futile. In combination with demographic and economic changes, policy reforms of the 1870s and '80s put unprecedented pressure on descendants of Puget Sound's aborigines to accept non-Indians' terms for relations. Many yielded in some degree to those pressures. Specifically, more people went to reservations, where government agents made their conformity to new rules a condition of land use, protection from harassment, and other services.

Overall, however, relations hardly proceeded according to policy makers' plans. Many native people still eschewed reservation life, and many more devised ways to take advantage of opportunities afforded by the reservation system without conforming wholly to administrators' expectations. Rather than isolating Indians and standardizing their relations with non-Indians, events of this period encouraged people of indigenous

ancestry to experiment with diverse strategies for surviving in a white-dominated world. Furthermore, rather than forcing all Indians to acknowledge that they were powerless, the developments prompted many to reconceptualize their powers in ways that were not only consistent with their ancestral traditions but also confidence-inspiring.

By 1869 many whites in western Washington thought the train of national progress was just over the mountainous horizon, headed their way. Secretary of State W.H. Seward claimed to hear it coming when he toured Puget Sound by ship in July that year. His advice to residents of Port Townsend -- red and white -- who gathered at the dock in his honor was to welcome all comers. Whether they were Bostons, Irishmen, whites, blacks, or Chinamen, he said, all would help to cut down the forests and make the area prosperous.[1]

In a report to Harper's New Monthly Magazine, a passenger on Seward's vessel endorsed the Secretary's forecast for the region. As of 1869, Thomas Somerville wrote, Indians in their "rancherees" still wallowed in filth and lust; lumber mill workers walked sawdust streets and lived in crude cabins "with their squaws hanging around." Yet signs abounded that the mill towns would soon become premier ship-building sites and the whole region a center of commerce. The town of Seattle, expecting to benefit from recent coal discoveries and the coming railroad, had doubled its population of 500 in nine months. Speculators had bought lands for miles around and were selling them up and down the west coast. Men drifted in from all parts, working at the mills while looking for better opportunities. Meanwhile the Indians, reportedly decreasing by ten percent a year, were

"letting their time-cherished customs drop as things of death." It was thought-provoking, Somerville concluded, to see the dying race side by side with the growing one, strangely intermingled.[2]

Even if Puget Sound residents did not consciously heed Seward's advice, they also did not turn away many comers. The immigrant population grew at a robust rate in the twenty years after Seward's tour. West of the Cascades the number of non-Indians swelled from less than 5,000 in 1860 to 25,000 by 1880, with most of that increase coming in the 1870s. During the 1880s the number nearly quadrupled again to approximately 100,000. People from Boston, Ireland, China, and other distant lands were indeed arriving to cut down Puget Sound forests and cash in on an economic boom.[3]

Immigration to Washington -- all but halted in 1855 -- regained momentum because the Civil War ended and entrepreneurs activated plans to link the Northwest and Midwest by railway. Although direct rail connections between the central states and Puget Sound took two more decades to complete, new laborers came in the 1870s to build track from Oregon to the sound, and new entrepreneurs came hoping to profit from the projected transcontinental line. After the mid-1880s rail transportation, together with innovations in timber industry machinery, also nurtured the population explosion by making it possible to conduct large-scale logging operations away from the salt water.[4]

To most contemporary observers, as to Somerville, the growth of the immigrant population seemed paired with the decrease of the indigenous population. Many an old settler and aborigine said that the number of Indians in the 1870s or '80s was no more than half what it had been in the 1850s. All non-Indians knew

the refrain of this lament: there would soon be no Indians left.[5] Government figures appeared to validate these impressions. In January, 1854, Isaac Stevens had reported 7,559 Indians in the vicinity of Puget Sound, and within three years his deputies had revised the tallies for some tribes upward by a factor of two or three; but the 1870 census for the same tribes totaled only 6,133. In 1877 the agent for Indians in the Point Elliott Treaty area estimated that their number had dwindled from seven or eight thousand to three thousand in twenty years.[6]

Because Americans were predisposed by history and ideology to see the continent's indigenous peoples as a dying race, it is wise to be skeptical both of settlers' impressions and of government claims about the magnitude and speed of Indian population decline. Early censuses are poor support for the claims. Unable to identify or locate all the people they were supposed to count, Indian Office personnel did not attempt a family-by-family enumeration of any Indians until 1880. On the other hand, perceptions of Indian decline did have considerable basis in fact. Credible witnesses reported periodic epidemics that took high tolls in Indian settlements, particularly among children. Perhaps the best indication of demographic crisis is in reservation censuses of the 1880s, which show the number of children at barely half the number of families.[7]

Indigenous people were still roughly half the inhabitants of the Puget Sound basin as late as 1860, but by 1890 immigrants outnumbered them perhaps twenty to one. The overwhelming majority of newcomers congregated in towns, especially on the east side of the sound. Between 1870 and 1890, while Port

Townsend's population grew from 593 to 4,558, Seattle's mushroomed from 1,107 to 42,837, and Tacoma -- founded in 1868 -- became a city of 36,006. Improved transportation plus the appetites of people in booming western cities also encouraged more and larger farms on the scarce bottomlands around the sound. In addition, by clearing several rivers of log jams, immigrants opened new inland areas to homesteaders and town builders as well as to loggers.[8]

As Bostons and other strangers flooded in, then, they not only diluted the color of the human streams flowing through urban streets but also re-sculpted the regional economic landscape. They built more and larger sawmills, cleared land many miles up Puget Sound's tributary rivers, experimented with oyster culture and fish packing plants, strung up hops in the Puyallup and White River Valleys, opened new mines, and loaded lumber and produce on an increasing number of ships bound for California, South America, New England, and the Orient.[9]

The stream of immigrants touched previously secluded indigenous communities, sometimes sweeping the residents off their foundations and scattering them or depositing them in clumps at new locations. Confident that they had the power of numbers and the sanction of American law to counter any resistance, settlers expropriated more and more lands where Indians grew food or lived in winter. Jerry Meeker, born into a native family of the Puyallup Valley in 1862, was about twelve when white people destroyed the cedar plank lodges at Minter Creek and erected their own houses on the spot. They left a place at Glen Cove fishery, said Meeker, where the Indians could

rebuild. At other creeks and coves around the sound many more native people returned from seasonal rounds to find charred ground or white homes where Indian lodges had been. Sometimes, like the Minter Creek villagers, they withdrew to familiar sites that Bostons did not yet want; sometimes they moved to Indian reservations; but sometimes they stayed around the new settlements. John Fornsby said of the first loggers to appear near his natal village on Camano Island, "They rolled the logs right close to their homes. Sigwigwilts tribe gave them a chance; they gave them room to work there."[10]

Native people did not all run for higher ground as the immigrant stream swirled around them, because even as the flood swept away some resources it delivered others to many Indians' doorsteps. Settlers could provide new opportunities for barter and paid work, for example. Fornsby was about ten when logging camps sprang up in his country, and soon thereafter he began working in them. Meanwhile his father sold the newcomers animal skins and fish. White people used bear and beaver hides at the sawmills, Fornsby explained, "to sew up the belts." When settlers opened canneries in the 1870s, they gave Indians processing jobs as well as new markets for their catch.[11]

In 1872 the Superintendent of Indian Affairs reported that many Indians were logging, working at mills and mines and farms, "getting the highest wages paid to whites, and all seem to have an abundance of the necessaries of life." Among the Indians happy with the opportunities that immigrant communities offered was Jim Lightner. In 1873 he dictated a letter from Olympia to a friend at the Tulalip Reservation, asking the friend to box up

Lightner's tools and property until he could come for them. "I have got a $100 job of grubbing stumps that will take me about one month to finish," Lightner explained. "I have bargained for a lot in Swantown for $80, and am going to improve it and live on it like a white man. Susan gets plenty of washing to do and we are getting along very well."[12]

Hop culture, which began with a few experimental plantings in 1865 and covered several thousand acres by 1890, provided hundreds of indigenous people with short-term paid work at a convenient time in their accustomed schedule. For the brief fall harvests growers needed many hands, and they recruited Indian pickers through agents on the reservations and elsewhere. A spokesman for hop ranchers of the Puyallup Valley expected 1,500 Indians to answer the call for pickers in 1876. So heavily did growers depend on Indian workers, according to the Washington Standard, that the willingness of some Chinese to work for ninety cents per day could not boost the growers' bargaining power: the Indians still demanded and received $2.50.[13]

As the pace of colonization picked up and newcomers encountered Indians in an increasing variety of situations, the question of how to manage relations with Indians regained urgency. To many recent immigrants relations seemed too unstructured. In 1869 Thomas Chambers, veteran of nearly two decades in the territory, received a letter from E.C. Johnson of Steilacoom:

> I am at aloss how to protect myself and my home from the intrusition of Drunking Indians. I am a Stranger not to your laws But to the minds of the Inhabitants of this place. It seems strange such disapation should be allowd to exist amoungst so small a Community and it is dettermental to its prosperity if

> there is a law to stop it by all means enforce it....Ladys who visits Mrs. Roes has to seek a protector or weight untill the Indians Leave the Street -- terable to think off A move must be made.[14]

Many advocates of growth agreed on the need to keep the "intrusitions" of Indians from driving away recruits such as Johnson. In 1870 editors of the Territorial Republican, declaring that roaming Indians annoyed whites and thus impeded settlement, blasted what they believed was government policy. It made no sense, they said, to reserve to Indians the best land, grant them annuities and educational benefits, and still permit them to wander at will with little fear of punishment when they broke the law. The next year a long-time resident opined that new conditions made it imperative to bring Indians under more exact control by requiring them to live on the reservations and giving their agents the power of judges.[15]

The sentiment for strict segregation and government supervision of Indians was by no means universal among whites, as was evident from a tug-of-war over one off-reservation band. Late in 1869 thirty-one whites petitioned the Superintendent of Indian Affairs to remove about seventy Indians living along the Black and Cedar Rivers, charging among other things that they supported their horses and fowl by filching farmers' produce. The petitioners also passionately deplored the effect that associating and cohabiting with "licentious" Indians had on some settlers' morals.[16] However, when the superintendent went to the Indians' principal village, intending to take them to a reservation, the settler who claimed to own the land they occupied joined them in insisting on their right to stay. Not long after, the superintendent received a letter from eminent

pioneer Franklin Mathias, enclosing the "remonstrance" of more than one hundred people who "declared their preference for the Indians to remain as they are now situated." Three years later some of Seattle's founders, including several men who signed Mathias's letter, urged the superintendent to stop trying to force Indians around that town onto reservations.[17]

The attitude of citizens like Mathias prompted superintendent S.J. McKenney to complain in 1871 that Indians were reverting to uncivilized practices because settlers gave officials little help with efforts to control them. "In fact," he told the commissioner, "many of the people of this Territory contend that no superintendent or agent has any right to interfere with the customs or tribal habits of the Indians."[18]

The Territorial Republican observed that settlers' opinions about efforts to segregate Indians were inseparable from their opinions about the direction the territory should take economically. Some people profited from trade with Indians, the paper said, and a few rich people could buy improved lands where Indians were not a problem. According to the editors it was poorer settlers, otherwise eager to clear new lands, who shrank from having to contend with roving, unsupervised Indians; and the same poor settlers could not even earn the capital they needed for clearing because Indian laborers "rubbed" them out.[19]

Agreeably for Puget Sound residents who sided with the Territorial Republican, the people then formulating national Indian policy had aims that dovetailed with theirs. President Grant, hoping to end bloody conflicts on the Great Plains, had determined to punish Indians who did not withdraw to

reservations. At the same time, he pledged to make reservations more palatable to Indians (and non-Indian critics) by improving their administration. Bending the President's ear were religiously motivated philanthropists. By the 1870s such religious reformers had infused national Indian policy with evangelical fervor and helped to redefine and emphasize the role of reservations in that policy. Under their influence Grant declared reservations the foundation of a campaign to prepare Indians for citizenship. On reservations, Grant's advisors asserted, Indians could not only be kept from debilitating contact with frontier settlements but also be taught agriculture, Christianity, and the other benefits of civilization.[20]

The reformers and their allies seized on a common metaphor for Indian relations, reinterpreted it, and touted it as the paradigm for non-Indians' relations with Indians. In the 1830s the Supreme Court had likened encircled eastern tribes to wards and the government, their protector, to a guardian. In the 1870s, with white Americans' domination of the entire continent assured, reformers and federal officials invoked the guardian-ward analogy as justification for more intrusive efforts to resocialize Indians living in tribal communities.[21] The government, they argued, should take a parent's role, teaching Indians how to live as individuals within American society. A Puget Sound settler articulated this view in an 1871 letter to the Daily Pacific Tribune. If Indians could be made to stay on the reservations, he argued, they could be taught by a system of rewards and punishments to be diligent, honest, and persevering individuals. Government's role was to be a just and wise

guardian, rewarding its most compliant wards with certificates of citizenship.[22]

Hoping both to stamp out corruption in the Indian Office and to defeat a War Department bid for control of Indian affairs, the Protestant reformers argued that the government could achieve Indian policy's humanitarian ends only if it provided Indians with models of civilized virtue in the persons of agents on the reservations. In 1869 a delegation of Quakers persuaded Grant that he could ensure the competence and morality of reservation personnel by assigning each Indian agency to a church, which would staff and run it. In western Washington Roman Catholics consequently assumed responsibility for north sound reservations administered from Tulalip, and Protestants received appointments to south sound agencies at Skokomish and Puyallup. Although the policy of allocating reservations to churches lost favor before 1880, the drive to raise the caliber of Indian Office personnel did not.[23] An outgrowth of the drive was the appointment in the Puget Sound area of several agents whose professional dedication, crusading zeal, and longevity in office enabled them to exert unprecedented influence on indigenous people's relations with settlers.[24]

It was the mid-1880s before diverse collaborating reformers formulated and won congressional approval of a comprehensive program to transform tribe members into American citizens, but most reformers emphasized even in the 1870s that fatherly exhortations and good examples would not suffice to civilize Indians. They wanted to restructure Indians' relations to economic resources, to each other, and to American authorities.

In 1877 Indian Affairs Commissioner E.A. Hayt outlined the kind of restructuring that reform-minded agents in western Washington had already endorsed. Laying the foundations for Indians' transformation, in Hayt's view, required not only concentrating them on reservations and providing access there to Christian preceptors but also compelling Indians to attend school, preserving order through a code of laws enforced by Indian police under white officers, allotting common lands to individuals, and organizing a reservation economy that did not pamper residents. At the regional as well as the national level, this was the model for managing Indian affairs in the 1870s and 80s: Indians in exclusive enclaves, humbly learning from exemplary mentors to be disciplined, sedentary, self-supporting individuals.[25]

To oversee the effort to administer Indian affairs in accordance with Christian ideals, Congress in 1869 created an unpaid Board of Indian Commissioners composed of Protestant reformers.[26] In 1871 the board sent its first chairman to investigate conditions on Puget Sound. Felix Brunot's schedule included meetings with Indians at the Tulalip and Skokomish Reservations. There both Brunot and native speakers expressed a desire to set relations between Indians and whites right. All declared, too, that good relations depended on the fulfillment rather than the renunciation of previously laid plans to locate the Indians on reservations, but their understandings of those plans differed in significant, if subtle, ways.[27]

Gathered at each reservation were large numbers of Indians from the immediate environs. The crowds did not include everyone

who had ceded land in the treaties of Point Elliott and Point No Point, yet it was those treaties Brunot wanted to discuss. He told the Tulalip assembly he had not come to make a new treaty -- there would be no more treaties -- but to warn them that the years of treaty payments were half gone.[28] I wanted, Brunot said, "to see whether you will be able to take care of yourselves when the time of the treaty is up; to see, if you have not done right in the past, whether you want to do so now...." Brunot suggested that his listeners had not been doing right. How else could they explain that Indians were far fewer than they had been when the treaty was made? "If you want your race not to die out," he concluded, "you must live like good white men."[29]

While conceding that white men set conflicting examples for Indians, Brunot asserted that the assembled people knew which example they had to follow. Rather than spending their money for whiskey they were to spend it making the reservation a home. "[T]he reservation belongs to all of you," Brunot elaborated; but "[i]f this reservation belonged to me..."

> I would go somewhere and work a week or two, and get a little money and buy something to eat with it. Then I would take my blanket, ax, and shovel, and I would go to the Beaver Meadow Swamp and begin digging a ditch. As long as my provision lasted I would dig at it. Then I would go and earn more, and I would keep on digging til the marsh was drained, and when it was drained I would cut the hay, and soon be as rich as the President.[30]

Although Brunot told the Indians he wanted to hear their reactions to his remarks, he also said he had little time to listen and required them to choose a few spokesmen. The designated speakers, not hiding their opinion that Brunot's impatience was bad manners, talked as long as he deigned to

listen.[31] Rather than confessing dereliction on their part, all boldly laid blame for the unsatisfactory state of relations at whites' feet. Several recited grievances against Bostons who came after Stevens, especially the very government men who were supposed to give them good advice. Agents denied Indians tools, brought whiskey onto the reservation, enriched themselves by using reservation lands or selling reservation timber, and distributed useless goods worth far less than the money due under the treaty. In response to Brunot's claim that the Indians were not doing right unless they settled on the reservation, Hallum at Tulalip said:

> Father Chirouse talks to the Indians who are not Catholics; they don't know what to do, and it scares them away; some of the Indians think they must not do what they have been accustomed to do in their Indian ways, so they go away. There are only a few Indian homes here, they are scattered everywhere. If you will do what is right all the Indians will settle on this reservation.[32]

To indicate what it would mean for agents to do right, Hallum and speakers at Skokomish restated their understanding of the treaty promises, in effect inviting Brunot to renew them. Big Frank, noting that he alone of the people present had been at Point No Point, recalled:[33]

> Governor Stevens said all the Indians would grow up and the President would make them good. He told them the Indians would become as white men; that all their children would learn to read and write. I was glad to hear it. Governor Stevens told them, "I will go out and have the land surveyed, and it will be yours and your children's forever." I thought that very good. He said a doctor and carpenter and farmer would come. The chiefs thought that was good, they thought the President was doing a kindness....[34]

Expressing pleasure that the President had sent Brunot, Big Frank and others evidently wanted to construe the meeting as a

confirmation of relations established by treaty. At the same time, they could not suppress doubts. "All the Agents talk differently," Frank fretted. "Every agent who comes here, I don't know them...."[35] Brunot's remarks probably did not reassure Frank, because the commissioner himself talked differently from previous representatives of the President. Frank said he had understood Stevens to promise money and advice in order that the Indians could become as good as white men; but Brunot's remarks suggested that the Indians' being good was a prerequisite of respectful attention from American leaders.

Complicating Brunot's and Frank's effort to communicate was the likelihood that they used the word "good" in different ways and had differing notions of how a person demonstrated goodness. In Brunot's view a good Indian was one who adopted the work ethic of a yeoman farmer and the moral ideals of a pious American Protestant. Brunot urged Indians to show by their conduct, without preconditions, an intent to be good in this sense. For the flat-headed people listening to Brunot, however, a man was good if he was well-to-do and honored. Vital signs of a person's goodness -- that is, of his religious sincerity and worth -- were the property and recognition others gave him. To this way of thinking, the things Stevens had offered Indians would confirm that they were good. Without the promised favors, the Indians' could not manifest their goodness.[36]

Big Frank said, "Perhaps the President thinks all the Indians are good, as they were to be under the treaty, but they are not. They are Indians still." While Brunot probably understood this as an admission that the Indians had not done as

they had promised by advancing in civilized virtues, Frank may have meant it as a comment on the government's failure to give Indians the means to emulate whites. For Brunot the Indians' shame was in waiting for the government to do more for them. For Frank and his contemporaries the shame was in not having received the goods and advice that would confirm their status and their special relationship with high-ranking Bostons.[37]

At many points in their discussions with Brunot, Tulalip and Skokomish men indicated that they knew the Bostons disdained them as Indians. Because native people construed gifts and good advice as recognition of the recipients' status, American officials could have eased the Indians' apprehensions with generous payments and uncoercive instruction in American techniques of generating wealth.[38] To Brunot, however, gratuities and government training were marks of Indian inferiority. They were aspects of a paternalism that was necessary <u>because</u> Indians were inferior to Americans. Convinced as were virtually all his peers that white American Protestant culture represented the pinnacle of human development, Brunot wanted to see Indians remade in whites' image before they were honored.[39]

Both Brunot and his interlocutors talked about the treaties of 1855 as if they were scripts for each other's behavior and in effect charged each other with failing to play the roles scripted, perhaps without realizing that they construed the text differently. Brunot, however, had not come solely or even primarily to scold the Indians. His other mission was to push agents of the Office of Indian Affairs into playing their role, as he interpreted it, with integrity. Although he claimed it had

been bad policy to make treaties, he had co-authored a recommendation that the government address Indians' discontent by fulfilling key treaty provisions: securing lands for homes and farms, providing schools and agricultural instruction, and staffing reservations with competent, honest men. In Brunot's view such measures would do right by Indians and therefore justify keeping them on reservations.[40]

Ironically, in telling Indians at Tulalip and Skokomish that they could win Boston approval only by settling on and developing the reservations, Brunot was probably preaching to the converted. Whether because the reservations included lands where they had always lived or for other reasons, most people at the meetings of 1871 apparently had decided, at least tentatively, to locate their homes on or near the reserved areas and to engage in regular dealings with agents of the government. As they told Brunot, however, there were many other Indians who had not yet reached or stuck to the same decision.

If agent Edwin Eells accurately described conditions on the Skokomish Reservation when he arrived in 1871, it is a wonder that anyone chose to live there. Half the hundred acres once cleared for crops were overgrown. The two hundred residents were hungry and discouraged, they said, because soldiers lately in control had usurped their improved lands. The reservation school was so badly managed that only five pupils, nearly destitute of clothing, remained. Elsewhere around Puget Sound new administrators echoed Eells: the government had done little toward making the reservations the schools for citizenship they were supposed to be.[41]

Eells and a few like-minded colleagues made earnest efforts to turn things around, yet the reservation system as implemented in western Washington during Eells's two decades of service deviated substantially from reformers' model. Rather than agents and teachers in a position to oversee all Indians, the reality was a scattered handful of men who were often demoralized, ineffective, or worse. Alfred Marion and his employees at Tulalip, for example, went at least seven months without pay in 1879. It was the 1880s before officials in Washington, D.C., backed up aspirations for reform by centralizing appointments, imposing civil service rules, and instituting effective supervision of field personnel.[42] Even then improvements in the Puget Sound district were halting, and staffing remained inadequate to the OIA's announced mission. Reorganizations -- a frequent occurrence -- shunted Eells among three positions in three locations during the same year. In one position he had responsibility for ten reservations. The smaller reservations at Port Madison, Squaxin Island, Nisqually, and Muckleshoot had no resident government employees at all during this period. There was never money for more than a few small schools, and those had trouble finding and keeping staff.[43]

More importantly, the civilization program in the Puget Sound region departed from the national model because conditions there differed in key ways from the conditions that motivated Grant's decision to quarantine Indians on reservations. The President sought to stem Indians' violent resistance to American encroachment; but in western Washington native people showed no inclination to take up arms, except perhaps when some

discontented men at Tulalip referred ominously to then-warring Nez Perces and Modocs.[44] Furthermore, American treaty negotiators had assured Puget Sound Indians that they would be allowed to work or gather foods off reservation; and they remembered and unhesitatingly acted on this assurance.

Despite the distinctive circumstances in western Washington, Indian agents there tried to move local practice in the direction indicated by national policy. Superintendent R.H. Milroy notified Chirouse in 1873 that the agent-priest should confine his Indians to the reservation, permitting those with outside employment or other legitimate errands to leave only with passes. Eells went a step farther: he tried to force Indians onto reserves. At Port Townsend in 1871 he had town officials demolish Indian houses. As he escorted the dispossessed people up the Hood Canal toward the Skokomish Reservation, Eells passed and noted other communities that should be uprooted. "At Seabeck," he reported, "I found some drunken Indians whom I punished severely and ordered them to move to the Reservation immediately on pain of being burnt out."[45]

Many people defied or evaded such measures, often with the help of whites who employed them. Eells himself admitted that Indians always had a legitimate reason to be off the reservations, since they could always fish. For these reasons officials mostly abandoned coercive methods of bringing Indians in groups to the reservations. In 1874 Milroy advised Chirouse that the Commissioner had decided against using force to relocate villagers from the upper Nooksack River to the reservation at Bellingham Bay. Even Milroy's pass system was honored as much in

the breach as in the observance.[46] In lieu of sticks, agents needed carrots to coax people onto reservations.

The original and most obvious carrot that officials were supposed to hold out -- a lure basic to reformers' plan for civilizing Indians -- was secure land. Reservations were by definition land that settlers could not invade or expropriate. In western Washington, however, political realities and contradictory objectives complicated efforts to convince Indians that they would find safe homesites on the reservations.

The treaties of the 1850s pledged to set aside lands for Indian homes but described the lands only in general terms. As of 1872 officials still had not surveyed or marked the boundaries of most reserved areas. Milroy therefore embarked on a campaign for surveys and Executive Orders defining all reservations under his jurisdiction. He also used the surveys to activate another component of the resocialization program: while running exterior boundaries, he subdivided reservation lands into lots for individuals.[47] In reform theory, this allotment of common lands would break down Indians' attachment to their tribal groups and instill in them the pride of individual ownership that was the hallmark and driving force of American civilization. Giving an Indian separate real property and a fixed home, Milroy said in an early report, would teach him that he could surround himself with the comforts of civilization "by increasing and gratifying his wants, which constitute the grand difference between the savage and the civilized man."[48]

To many people already on reservations, allotments seemed desirable after agents explained that all persons covered by a

treaty, whether or not they lived or worked on reservation, would share proceeds from the lands that remained undivided. Chirouse also told Indians logging at Tulalip that they must pay stumpage fees because they were on unallotted land belonging to all Indians of the Point Elliott Treaty area. The loggers, asking why the Bostons did not also tax people who took berries or game in the woods, declared themselves willing to share with anyone who worked but not with people who only gambled and drank. The answer to their concerns, Chirouse said, was allotment.[49]

Subdividing the land fostered other resentments, because some people had to give up fields they had cleared to persons who had done nothing. Nevertheless, by warning that the treaties allowed the President to reduce or eliminate the common reserves and by pairing allotment with badly needed boundary surveys, Milroy, Eells, and others excited in many Indians a strong desire for individual lots. Chiefs of the Medicine Creek treaty bands, for example, petitioned to have their lands surveyed and divided.

> They said that they and their people desired to build houses, make farms and improvements, and live like white men, but that no one knew where his land was, or had a paper showing that he owned any land at all; that neighboring white men frequently told them that the Government would soon take their reservations and sell them, which caused much uneasiness, and hence they had no heart to work and make permanent improvements.[50]

The anxiety these and other Indians expressed was well founded. Even as Americans called for confining Indians to reservations, they were lobbying nationally and locally for reductions in the number and size of reservations.[51] As it turned out, they lobbied in vain regarding the Puget Sound reserves; but Indians there had heard more than once about

proposals to consolidate the reservations and understandably believed recurring rumors that they were about to be dispossessed, especially when national officials procrastinated for years in issuing patents to their assigned lots. Eells reported one year that some nervous and disappointed Indians had left their houses and fields on the reservation and taken homesteads on the public domain, where they would not have to contend with the vicissitudes of reservation life. In such ways did uncertainties about the reserved lands' status frustrate reformers' designs well into the 1880s.[52]

Like allotments, government services attracted some people to reservations but repelled others. Big Frank had recalled as a kindness Stevens's promise to send farmers, doctors, carpenters, and teachers among the Indians; and reformers of Brunot's persuasion believed that such personnel would not only demonstrate the government's good faith but also entice Indians to gather near agencies. However, at least some of the people who were supposed to attract and instruct Indians alienated many instead. Speakers at the Tulalip meeting with Brunot accused the master farmer there of brutality. Henry Allen, while conceding that missionary Myron Eells "was sincere enough, a good, serious man," said that no one at Skokomish liked him. "I used to have to read the Bible with that awful man," Allen added, "used to have to go to his church....After I got through with all that I never went to church again.... The durn white man spoiled my belief." Although Edwin Eells survived politically motivated charges of dishonesty, investigator called him a "thoroughly

selfish and a vindictive partisan." Some other Indian Office employees were hardly models of integrity.[53]

As before, the most effective way to attract Indians was to make the reservations places where they could earn money. In some cases this involved encouraging or organizing lucrative activity; in others it meant simply paying people to do what agents thought would make the reservations habitable -- clearing forests, building houses, caring for crops.[54] "Since I took charge," Chirouse reported in 1872, "a great number of Indians are continually arriving to Tulalip from every part of this agency and finding the means of making a good living in cutting logs for sawmills they seem very happy to stay there...and fix their home on their own land." Chirouse took credit for organizing twelve logging camps at Tulalip, three at Port Madison, one at Swinomish, and one at Lummi. At each camp about eleven Indians worked under a white foreman. The agent's role, Chirouse said, was to see that the Indians secured a just price for their logs.

As reservation employment opportunities fluctuated, however, so did reservation populations. When an order from the commissioner's office halted logging in 1873, Chirouse deluged his superiors with panicky protests. Because the Indians were unable to support their families as they had expected, he said, they were preparing to leave again.[55]

Even though Puget Sound reservations could not attract and support as many Indians as administrators hoped in this period, they did harbor increasing numbers of people for at least part of the year. A census of 1885 found 527 Indians at the Puyallup

Reservation, 162 at Skokomish, 167 at Nisqually, 112 at Squaxin Island, 467 at Tulalip, 234 at Lummi, 222 at Swinomish, and 142 at Port Madison.[56] On these people, who had presumably weighed the pros and cons of living under government supervision and decided for varied reasons to give it a try, American officials focused their most concerted attempts to remake Indians in whites' image. Although agents tried also to influence the conduct of people in other Indian communities, they had most frequent contact with and clearest jurisdiction over Indians on the reservations. The latter therefore felt the Bostons' greatest efforts to teach Indians what it meant to be good.

Before the 1870s were out, Eells and other agents were proclaiming their efforts successful. They reported that virtually all Indians on the reservations supported themselves without government aid, most by cultivating some land and engaging in other "civilized" pursuits. Approximately 300 of an estimated 1,700 eligible children attended reservation schools some part of the year. Officials also took heart at the number of reservation residents who were thrifty, industrious, law-abiding, and apparently content with government actions on their behalf.[57]

Some of the government's intended beneficiaries saluted the reform efforts, too. In 1878, during discussion of a proposal to put the Indian Office in the War Department, Skokomish head chief Dick Lewis said,

> Many years ago, our minds were in the dark....We knew very little when [our present agent] came, but we have learned and improved very fast since he came here. We now have good houses, chairs, bedsteads, tables, stoves, dishes, etc. and do not eat on the floor as we used to do....He has come and taught us about God, and

> this is another reason we want him to stay with us. We do not wish to flatter him, but he really is a good man..., and we ask that there will be no change.[58]

At the same council Chehalis Jack said that Eells was the first agent to show them the right way, treating the Indians as Stevens had promised at the treaty.[59] The next year even Hallum, so disgruntled when Brunot came in 1871, seemed to accept the government's program. Through agent John O'Keane he sent the President a letter expressing his desire to be friends with white people. "You make good laws for us Indians and I will accept that law," Hallum said.[60]

Administrators' favorite exhibits of their influence for good were children who attended reservation schools. As early as the 1860s Chirouse sought support for his mission by taking his schoolboys into the towns, where they marched military-style through the streets and performed for crowds of settlers. In the 1870s Chirouse regularly invited potential sponsors to witness ceremonies at the school. The recital on Assumption Day in 1871 impressed one observer with the students' "astonishing facility for embryo savages." To Chirouse the children's appearance was an index of their newfound virtue. In 1872 he exulted, "[A]t present they look more like good and industrious Yankees...than Indians....Now they all dress like whitemen and it's charming to see how gentle and clean they are...."[61]

Many Indian youth and even many adults did appear eager to follow their agents' advice, but the civilization campaign could not transform all Indians into good, industrious Yankees. Indeed, rather than molding Indians to fit a single cultural model, reservation programs of the 1870s and '80s had the effect

of diversifying the conduct and circumstances of people identified as Indians. In the face of officials' attempts to reform them, such people had a variety of options. Government measures did not so much stamp out indigenous customs as promote alternate practices in some populations and settings.

The resocialization program's disparate effects and some reasons for them are evident from an account of government efforts to eradicate behavior deemed uncivilized. Agents around Puget Sound gave considerable attention during the 1870s and '80s to this aspect of their duties, with mixed results. Even though they employed measures that Edwin Eells called "quasi-martial law," they had limited ability on their own to make Indians conform to a new code of conduct. Just to keep order among the Indians, agents had to rely on Indians. Although they rationalized this power sharing as a way to teach citizenship, agents permitted and oversaw practices that American children did not learn about in civics classes.

Reservation supervisors ordered the people around them to give up certain practices or face harsh penalties. Taboos included polygamous marriage and cohabitation according to aboriginal custom, aboriginal healing rituals, potlatches, gambling, and liquor consumption. When new agent John O'Keane found many old men and women living together at Tulalip without benefit of legal marriage, for instance, he threatened to make them separate. John Fornsby remembered that the Tulalip agent stopped people there from distributing property at ceremonies when John was a teen. "The agent said, 'You mustn't give people

things, Don't you do it.'...They had a few potlatches among themselves after that, but not a big time."[62]

To enforce their standards of civilized conduct, agents used any means in their power, with little or no regard for due process of law. In one instance, lacking on-site employees at Port Madison, Milroy authorized local trader William DeShaw to oversee Indians there; and when those Indians behaved in what DeShaw considered "an outrageous manner," defying his orders to desist in "extremely vulgar language," Milroy told Chirouse to bring them in irons to Tulalip for hard labor. Pursuant to administrative fiats, agents personally detained, judged, and disciplined individuals not only for conjuring, potlatching, and "outrageous" behavior but also for acts that were serious crimes outside the reservations -- thefts, assaults, even homicides.[63]

In 1877 Eells made the case of Billy Clams a test of his power to control Indians on the Skokomish Reservation. Clams had been disorderly, Eells told the Commissioner, abusing his wife and drinking. When Clams fled to avoid incarceration, Eells procured his surrender by imprisoning some "allies" as hostages. Several months of "severe punishment" seemed to correct Clams's behavior until he eloped with a new woman and left the reservation in an allegedly stolen canoe. Eells then prevailed on military authorities to arrest the fugitive near Port Madison and jail him in Port Townsend. On efforts to reform this one unruly man, Eells wrote, depended the whole system of administering Indian affairs. "The point to be made by his punishment...is not simply for adultery and theft, but disobedience to orders in during [sic] the authority of the Agent

and the bad effect of such a crime going unpunished, in its influence on the other Indians here."[64]

A few cases like the Clams affair taught people who wanted to live on a staffed reservation that it was wise to hide or renounce conduct the agents condemned; but those who still wished to hold potlatches, spirit dances, or healing ceremonies realized they could do so away from the reservation with little fear of punishment. The tactic that enabled Eells to jail Billy Clams the second time -- calling soldiers to seize him off reservation -- had no clear basis in federal law; and through much of this period local officials and Indian Office personnel were unsure of their jurisdiction over Indians outside reservation boundaries. Eventually court decisions and executive directives clarified that the agents' jurisdiction was limited indeed. Moreover, whether or not they had the sanction of law to punish Indians outside reservations, agents did not have the resources to pursue people like Clams as a regular matter.[65] Tulalip Reservation residents may have obeyed the agents' orders against holding potlatches there, as Fornsby said; but many of them attended the same potlatches as Fornsby in off-reservation locations.[66]

Even on reservations, agents did not have the means to detect and suppress all forbidden practices, and most did not try. Some even chose not to enforce a total ban on ceremonial gatherings, probably because they realized that they would only drive people away. The off-reservation escape valve was part of a complex of reasons that people under Indian Office supervision were not powerless to resist their overseers' pressure for change

or even to win concessions from those overseers.[67] As Foucault points out, power is not a commodity that one person has and another does not; people simultaneously undergo and exercise power. In practice, to exercise power over Indians, agents needed Indians' help.[68]

Indeed, agents expected Indians to take responsibility for maintaining order on the reservations. They regularly designated, or approved the Indians' designation, of chiefs who made and enforced some rules for reservation residents. By the end of the 1870s, agents also appointed Indian police. Reformers described these measures as training for citizenship -- opportunities to practice making as well as living by rules. For example, Edwin Eells, even though he had played the potentate in the Clams case, argued that an agent's improvisational governance did not teach Indians what it meant to be citizens in a society where the rule of law was the ideal.[69]

The offices of chief and reservation policeman, however, were doubtful tools for teaching Indians the principles of American law. They did not much resemble legal institutions outside the reservations. There was no separation of judicial, executive, and legislative powers. Police, for example, often doubled as prosecutors and judges. After Jerry Meeker accepted appointment as captain of police on the Puyallup Reservation, he persuaded Eells to boost the officers' pay (and the incentive to abuse their power) by assigning them the fines levied for liquor violations.[70] Always, too, agents claimed power to overrule or by-pass Indian office holders. In 1884 Tulalip agent Patrick Buckley instructed Lummi chief Henry Kwina, "Hereafter you will

put a stop to all tomonous and potlatches, and if you and the Policemen cannot do it you are ordered to notify this Office immediately and I will take such steps as will bring to them immediate and severe punishment."[71]

Despite the un-American anomalies of the Indian-staffed reservation governments, administrators attributed to them a civilizing influence. Alfred Marion thought the Tulalip officers' pride in their status motivated them to meet white standards of personal conduct, including grooming. Eells explained the salutary effect of Indian governance in the following way:

> The Chiefs being generally recognized as leaders spend more time and take more pains to make themselves informed, and there is thus a regular way of reaching all with ease and a good degree of certainty. By a little dextrous management I find it comparatively easy to have these positions filled with indians whose influence is the most effective in directing them in civilized pursuits.[72]

There were elements of both truth and self-delusion in Eells's claim that he could dextrously manage the chiefs. In some circumstances appointees were unmistakably eager to please their white patrons. Some must have been men whose offices lent them greater prestige than they would otherwise have enjoyed. Other people, however, accepted appointments with the understanding that such was their due as men with well established prestige and influence. Giving these "old chiefs" commissions merely fed their arrogance, Chirouse complained, making them think they could defy the agents and stick to their wild habits and superstitions. Clearly, some designated chiefs were men with substantial constituencies whose goodwill the agents needed if they were to have any hope of influencing other

people on the reservations. For reasons such as these, chiefs could in turn influence agents, and reservation residents could influence the selection and the actions of their chiefs and police officers.[73]

Agents acknowledged Indians' leverage by observing some time-honored local conventions when conducting official affairs. Edwin Chalcraft followed a disciplinary action at the Chehalis Reservation with a "feast," calling it a "potlatch" to signify good will. Also, federal officers did not interfere when chiefs handled what Eells called trivial matters according to "Indian customs of law." The chiefs resolved many conflicts, sometimes with an agent's blessing, by negotiating compensatory payments rather than by trial and punishment. In 1879, for instance, Indians told Milroy that Diaskadem and his "tillicums" from Tulalip had murdered a man named Moses in retaliation for a murder on the Puyallup Reservation. Chiefs from several reservations met, then asked Milroy for an opportunity to review the matter. They requested further that if they found Diaskadem guilty "the Indians be permitted to settle the matter in their old way to stop further killing." Milroy agreed, saying, "In view of the fact that it is very difficult to get grand juries to indict an Indian for the murder of an Indian, I think it best to let them so settle the matter...."[74] Repressive as Milroy and other agents often were, then, they did not alone determine how Indians organized themselves or conducted their affairs in the 1870s and '80s. By insisting on dealing with so-called chiefs since the 1850s, American officials had already promoted new bases for individual status, leadership, and group

identification in native communities; and the belated implementation of the reservation system both reinforced this process and gave the position of chief new, more detailed meaning.[75] However, rather than preempting native people's efforts to define their relation to American authority and to each other, events of the 1870s stimulated experimentation and factional debates.

Administrators' records afford but few glimpses of the debates. A man -- apparently an Indian -- warned the Tulalip agent that granting Snohomish Joe's wish to be chief at the Muckleshoot Reservation would cause trouble with supporters of Peter. Joe's friends, the correspondent said, were the kind who turned away their wives, while Peter's supporters included three long-time chiefs. In 1874 Chirouse told the Commissioner:

> The Port Madison Indians are not doing as well as might be desired which is chiefly to be attributed to their head man or chief who latterly has fallen back to his old Superstitious practices and is doing all in his power by work and example to retard progress and civilization among his people. There are some very well disposed Indians residing on this reservation who are most anxious to have another and better man appointed to act as the chief and thus be relieved of the evil influences of their present leader.[76]

As Chirouse knew, rivalries for chiefs' positions and criticisms of chiefs' behavior could reflect differences of opinion about a broader issue: what was the most desirable way to live and to relate to Bostons. By the 1880s such differences of opinion were increasingly visible and sharp because the variety of ways Indians lived was increasing. While American officials pretended that their reservation-based political guardianship defined all Indians' place in Puget Sound society, the

descendants of indigenous people were trying a wider range of strategies to define a place for themselves in a changing world.

Even choosing to live on a reservation did not mean choosing one strategy over all other possibilities. Because circumstances at the various reservations differed, residents' economic and cultural options differed. The amount and quality of reservation land, the availability of government services, the proximity of towns and wage work opportunities, the activities of nearby non-Indians, and the religious affiliation of white overseers all had a bearing on Indians' choices. Thus, while many residents at the large Puyallup Reservation developed farms rivaling those of their white neighbors in size and output, people on isolated Squaxin Island reportedly survived by fishing, harvesting clams and oysters, and working occasionally for nearby whites. Lacking fertile land but having access to government aid and jobs, people at Tulalip combined or sampled an assortment of subsistence opportunities and gainful activities, working occasionally at the agency as well as fishing, logging, making mats for sale, and hiring out to whites.[77]

Data concerning the many Indians who did not settle on reservations suggest that opportunities for self-support were more important than government programs in determining how Indians lived. Indeed, such data undermined reservation administrators' attempts to take credit for inducing many Indians to emulate good whites. As a federal inspector remarked in 1881, at least as many Indians lived off the reservations as on, and the former appeared nearly as civilized as the latter. Inspector J. Pollock doubted that the agencies benefitted the Indians at

all, except in providing education and moral influence; and many Indians resisted those two benefits. The agencies' vaunted agricultural work Pollock deemed hardly worth mentioning. Puget Sound would never be agricultural country, he said, and besides, "Indians off reservations are doing as much in that line as those under the fostering care of the Government." Eells likewise admitted that many Klallams who lived off the reservation were peaceable, orderly, industrious, and more than half civilized, requiring little or no care and attention from the government.[78]

By living off reservation, people of indigenous descent chose among social and economic strategies even more varied than those that were possible on reservations. Along the Hood Canal and Strait of Juan de Fuca, for example, natives made diverse adjustments so they could stay away from the Skokomish Reservation. Myron Eells, identifying these assorted populations as Klallam, described their several arrangements as of 1887: squatter settlements across from the Port Gamble, Port Ludlow, and Port Discovery sawmills, where the Indian men worked; people at Port Townsend who lived by eating and selling fish; a few old Indians at Sequim who survived by canoeing, fishing, and clam digging; families at Elwha who had taken homesteads; and a village at Jamestown whose inhabitants had bought their own land and lived by farming, working for whites, canoeing, and fishing.[79]

In several other locales around the sound, groups of people clung to lands their ancestors had occupied for generations, many asserting a right not only to stay but also to exclude settlers. In the Skagit River watershed, for instance,

were descendants of aborigines who based their refusal to move and their intimidation of surveyors on a claim that they had not signed the treaty.[80]

Although many such people took up logging or other paid work for whites, government officials often referred to them as less civilized than Indians under agents' wings. Chirouse charged in 1873 that young men on the Nooksack River, "well dressed but still very wild," were trying to incite their tribe to expel white settlers so that Indians could congregate there in communal lodges and carry on tamanous, potlatches, and gambling. Yet in many cases the strategies of off-reservation Indians confounded officials' efforts to categorize them. The Jamestown Klallams consciously conformed to Boston notions of respectability -- enforcing a strict ban on alcohol, building a church, and establishing a school -- after settlers threatened to remove them by force in the mid-1870s. Even the supposedly uncivilized Nooksacks succeeded in their bid to stay in familiar territory, where they perpetuated some practices that agents deemed savage, by meeting one of the most important criteria of civilized status: they became property owners pursuant to Boston law.[81]

The off-reservation Indian population in this period included not only cohesive communities -- the Skagit, Nooksack, and Klallam bands were among many named in agents' reports -- but also individuals and families who moved to or through predominantly non-Indian settlements or lived with settlers. The government farmer at the Lummi Reservation lamented in 1874 that Indians from many tribes were wintering in the town of Whatcom, where they had access to intoxicating drink, customers for their

sexual services, and opportunities to discuss their grievances against whites at numerous potlatches. Louisa Sinclair mentioned another option that some native women seized: her mother ran away from Skagit parents to avoid an arranged marriage and eventually married the white man who hired her to work in his tavern and trading post.[82]

Some indigenous people felt so confident of their ability to maneuver as individuals in Boston-dominated society that they declared their intention to become American citizens. In 1875 thirteen men, most of whom gave only Christian names and all of whom signed with a mark, sent the Commissioner of Indian Affairs a request that he call off his agent's attempts to move them.

> Your petitioners respectfully represent that they are Indians of Washington Territory that they are not now connected with any tribe of Indians, but that they are performing the duties of civilized men -- some of us are owners of land, some are laborers upon lands of others -- that they are peaceable quiet and industrious, that they receive nothing from the government of the United States, nor do they claim anything by treaty or otherwise and desire to become citizens of the United States....[83]

The proportion of people entitled to locate homes on the reservations who did not do so remained high through the 1880s. In 1887 an investigator for the Indian Rights Association estimated that no more than three-fifths of the Indians who belonged on south sound reservations actually lived there. The rest were scattered, he said, living where they pleased.[84]

This differentiation between Indians who lived on and those who lived off reservations is misleading, however; for persons identified as Indians did not sort themselves permanently into mutually exclusive groups on this basis. As government officials noted again and again, most people who had homes on a reservation

still left for long periods. They went to fishing and berrying grounds, but they went as well to towns, sawmills, logging camps, hop fields, and other locations where they found paid work. During such migrations they could meet and mingle not only with Bostons and with people from other reservations but also with Indians who had homes off the reservations. Often the people they met were or became relatives. The extent of intercourse between off-reservation and on-reservation residents can be deduced from censuses and genealogies, which show that many Indians born during these years had one parent from a reservation community and one from outside the reservations.[85]

The narratives of Jerry Meeker and John Fornsby also reveal native people who did not fit neatly into classifications based on residence. Meeker was born in 1862 on the white settler's farm where his father had worked since childhood. Throughout his youth Meeker's family spent summers on the farm, which he referred to as his residence. Yet late in that period Meeker's father was also spending a few months a year on the Puyallup Reservation, because he had his own farm there. Fornsby lived at times during his childhood with relatives off the reservation and at other times on two different reservations. For Meeker, Fornsby, and other Indians, reservations were evidently just some of many places they could choose to live; and choosing to live or work on reservations was not necessarily a permanent commitment to an exclusive option.[86]

In sum, the political changes of the 1870s and '80s, while inducing many people who were regarded as Indians to establish residences on reservations, not only failed to fit all such

people into a standard cultural and administrative mold; they also did little to reduce the extent to which Indian and non-Indian societies overlapped. Settlers and Indians reminiscing about this period invariably included references to the ways their lives intersected with members of the other race. Their stories featured bi-racial families, Indian and white children playing together, Indians shopping and hawking their wares in town, Indians working for whites on farms and in logging camps, Indians participating in July Fourth celebrations, and whites watching or assisting in native ceremonies.[87]

In many retrospective accounts, Indians and non-Indians interacted without taking stereotyped roles. Thomas Prosch wrote that Independence Day celebrations at Tacoma in 1874 and '75 were "under the exclusive control of the reservation officers and Indians, though witnessed and enjoyed by the townspeople without cost or hindrance." The whites in Meeker's and Fornsby's narratives were not just government personnel. Meeker knew whites first as employers and friends and later as teachers and fellow workers at the Puyallup agency. Fornsby, isolated from Bostons before age ten, acquired a shaman's spirit power through a traditional quest; yet he worked for white loggers, attended a Catholic mission school, had a white in-law, and married a woman whose previous husband was white. He also spoke without apparent surprise of seeing a white man sing ghost power at spirit dances, being called to doctor the wife of a white man, and hearing about a white man who acted according to his Indian wife's notions of responsibility when he avenged the killing of her cousin.[88]

Reminiscences can paint a distorted picture of the past, but in this case they match the image that emerges from contemporary records. Farmer John Campbell of Mason County noted matter-of-factly in his diary of the 1870s and '80s the many times he hired Indians for short-term labor, sold livestock and equipment to Indians, and played host to his white neighbors' "squaws." In 1881 government investigators reported 282 whites and 221 Indians living and working amicably together on the Skagit River above the town of Mt. Vernon. At "Ball's camp," which consisted of a store and five houses, the residents were twenty-two white and sixteen Indian loggers.[89]

In court records, too, Indians appear occasionally as workers and neighbors in a society where there are few barriers to interaction. Several men, including Yen Tey (presumably Chinese) and Indians Jimmie and Charlie, sued W.B. Moore in 1879, claiming wages earned in Moore's logging operation. Three years later Mary Hazeltine, a white woman, testified in a murder prosecution that the Indian victim and defendant and several other Indians had lived ten or fifteen yards from her house near Seattle for at least two years. On the day of the murder Mrs. Hazeltine had sent her young daughter to town with one of the Indian women to see the July Fourth festivities.[90]

Another index of the frequent interaction between Indians and others is the Chinook jargon's popularity. Some students of the jargon believe its use peaked in the 1870s and '80s. Their conclusion jibes with pioneer memoirs of the period, which rarely fail to mention the jargon as an indispensable medium of communication. Missionaries and government officials conducted

most dealings with Indians in Chinook. In 1883 a government inspector recommended doing away with the Tulalip agency's staff interpreter, not because the Indians had learned English but because the agent, employees, and Indians could all speak the jargon. Territorial courts could not do without interpreters when Indians were parties or witnesses, but the interpreters translated from and into the jargon rather than Indian languages.[91]

The persistence of the Chinook jargon is a reminder that association is not equivalent to integration or amalgamation, that interaction does not necessarily erase differences. The jargon, which people of different groups learned instead of learning each other's preferred tongue, existed because its speakers assumed that all differences between peoples did not have to be understood or eliminated in order for the peoples to communicate about matters of mutual interest. If either group had made wholesale change a condition of relations before this time, the jargon would not have been in such widespread use.

In fact, pioneers made a point of noting the close relations of Indians and whites during the 1870s and '80s not because it was a time when most people overlooked ethnic differences but because frequent contact made them aware of differences. In Puget Sound's population they consciously distinguished at least two kinds of people: Indians and non-Indians. The continuing, proliferating contacts of the peoples confirmed and intensified many settlers' belief that differences between them were still great. Myron Eells expressed this sense vividly in an 1887 article entitled "The Indians of Puget Sound."

> I should say of the greater part of those under forty-five years of age, that if they had white skins, talked the English language, -- and if a part of them had abandoned their belief in their medicine men, -- as some have not done, -- if they travelled in boats instead of canoes, if their women wore hats or bonnets on their heads, and if they were neater, they would be called civilized, at least as much so as the lower class of whites.[92]

Because the still "uncivilized" Indians of Puget Sound persisted in entering various unscripted relations with non-Indians, the officials who had taken on the role of those Indians' guardian had to ad lib. Few in their audience paid attention when they played guards rather than guardians, so they reinterpreted their role. Positioning themselves between their wards and outsiders, they played to both by styling themselves as interpreters and intermediaries.

Federal officials briefly considered relinquishing their claimed guardianship altogether when twenty years of payments under the Medicine Creek treaty came to an end in 1876. Believing that "the Indians could demand nothing further of the Government," the Commissioner terminated all services in the south Puget Sound area except three small schools. However, by the time Point No Point and Point Elliott treaty payments lapsed five years later, officials had realized that an end to annuities did not mean the end of their responsibility for property allocated to Indians pursuant to those treaties. Nor did it mean the end of their responsibility for persons with legal claim to that property. According to national policy and law, "half-civilized" Indians who had land that was subject to treaty-specified restrictions still needed a federal guardian.[93]

Unable to keep Indians inside clear geographical boundaries, agents in western Washington devoted their energy more and more to keeping activity along the cultural frontiers peaceful and orderly. As Chirouse noted after touring reservations under his supervision in 1872, there were many difficulties to be arranged between settlers and Indians. When Chirouse and other agents stepped into the role of trouble-shooter, they took their cue largely from the clashing parties. To many of those parties the role was a familiar and useful one.[94]

Both Indians and non-Indians appealed frequently to agents for help resolving difficulties between them. When Indians at the north end of Hood Canal entrusted their money to a citizen who promised to buy land for them but converted it to his own use instead, the Indians turned to Edwin Eells, and he advocated their case to local officials. When Indians owed settlers money, the settlers might likewise ask agents to intervene.[95] Understaffing also prompted officials to try a variety of devices for preventing trouble from developing. Agents sometimes sent reservation police with the people who left in groups to work or fish, or they supplied the people with documents explaining that they were within their rights to be at large. In 1883 Tulalip agent Buckley gave an Indian man a paper, addressed "to Whome [sic] this may concern," that read: "Indian Sam has made complaint at this office that some parties have been tearing down his salmon house and packing away the lumber. It is to be remembered that although Sam is an Indian, yet he has certain rights and those rights must and will be protected."[96]

Agents did not monitor and mediate contacts between Indians and non-Indians only. Much of the correspondence in agency files from this era concerns potentially trouble-causing relations between Indians. When a score of people from Tulalip came to Olympia for help collecting back logging wages, Milroy wrote to the Indian couple who had employed the loggers. The couple responded in a letter written for them by Chirouse, and Milroy answered that a continuing refusal to pay would amount to robbery. "These Indians may be drunkards, liars, polygamists and thieves as you say," Milroy wrote, "but still they have rights that every good man should respect." Eells even received a letter from a young Skokomish man who sought permission to approach the father of a girl on another reservation with a marriage proposal.[97]

For the Puget Sound region, the institutionalization of agents' roles as border patrolmen and mediators was one of the most significant short-tern results of the national reservation policy implemented during the 1870s and '80s. The government was able to put many of its employees in a position to adjust and even to structure many Indians' interactions with other people. Increasingly, too, non-Indian citizens looked to agents to explain and control Indians, despite the Indians' refusal to conform to neat administrative categories.[98]

Although government mediators could help to resolve conflicts, they could not insulate native people from the contempt that so many Bostons had for Indians. In fact, many shared that contempt. Even Indians who sought whites' approval by meeting American standards of respectability usually found

that the praise they earned was qualified. For instance, when Alfred Marion forwarded a letter from the Lummi Reservation day school teacher to the Commissioner, he urged indulgence of the letter's odd style, saying that the writer was "only an Indian."[99]

Children in reservation schools learned with their ABCs that most white authorities shared Marion's condescension. Marion himself overheard one scholar at the mission school respond to a white child's insult with, "'I may be an Indian, but I have a soul to be saved as well as you.'" Although Marion related the incident as proof that Indian children were capable of learning Christian precepts, it is better evidence that that pupil had learned to see himself as a member of a group ranking low in the Christian social hierarchy. Other signs of Indian sensitivity to white attitudes appear here and there in government reports. Eells, for instance, said that Twana and Klallam people tolerated whites' presence at their potlatches only so long as the whites did not laugh.[100]

It is no wonder that anger at and suspicion of white Americans appeared on the increase among aboriginal people. Chirouse, conceding that Indians had not always received justice at whites' hands, said ruefully, "It is very difficult to make them believe that the whites are their friends." This rare understatement came from a man who maintained that an Indian could not be trusted, no matter how civilized he appeared to be, unless he had fully accepted Christian doctrine. "Soon or late," Chirouse wrote, "he will show that he is always a savage deceiver, treacherous, supperstititous [sic]], immoral,

barbarous, and no more civilized than those Indians who never have seen a white face he will surpass them only by more shrewdness in all kinds of rascality."[101]

To live among people with Chirouse's attitude without losing self-respect was a challenge. The ways that indigenous people of earlier generations had earned respect were not forgotten, but they were no longer reliable avenues to high status in the eyes of virtually everyone an Indian had relations with. Giving away quantities of wealth, winning gambling games, or wielding a shaman's power still won the admiration of some other Indians; but the same practices lowered a person in the eyes of most Bostons and even confused, alarmed, or failed to impress a growing number of Indians.

According to Myron Eells, Twana families gave three potlatches in the fifteen years preceding 1883 and in eight years attended the potlatches of four other tribes eight times. Twelve hundred people came to a Skokomish potlatch that Eells saw in 1876.[102] Still, such demonstrations of individual and community powers could not reliably unite an indigenous community, as they had done in the past. The old rituals could not resolve the tension that many Indians -- particularly younger ones -- felt when they compared the achievements of Indians and whites.

Some Indians accordingly renounced or did not learn aboriginal means of achieving status. At Port Madison, according to William DeShaw, the Indians had split into factions: ranged against "the Tomanamoos part of the Indians" were people who planned to try agriculture, as DeShaw urged.[103] Myron Eells,

said that the glory of the potlatches was fading, explaining further:

> Many of the younger people, who have been in contact with the whites for the past twenty-five years, have become ashamed to go through many of the practices, which were formerly the most savage and the most interesting; they have invented nothing new to take their places, so that the last one which I attended was called very dry by the chief.[104]

Whether ashamed of the old beliefs or not, more and more young Indians did not seek or did not find the supernatural help their ancestors had deemed essential to achievement and community esteem.[105] John Fornsby recalled of his friend Paul Jesus: "He was tough. He used to travel around. I thought he was going to be tough, but he played cards all the time and gambled when the Whites came. He never saw anything [guardian spirit]." Jerry Meeker dashed his parents' hopes that he would acquire a spirit power. The fact that he nevertheless enjoyed prosperity and the esteem of whites as well as many Indians is the kind of development that must have confused many native people trying to chart their course in life during this era.[106]

The life of a man called John Slocum suggests that he experienced similar confusion. Like many others of his day, Slocum was an Indian cast loose from the economic and social moorings that had stabilized his ancestors' lives. He found himself adrift on a new cultural sea that was both alluring and dangerous. Yet in 1882 Slocum seemed to acquire power to navigate safely. His power came in an encounter with a supernatural being, but he neither undertook a vision quest nor encountered a spirit known to his ancestors. Instead he met the holy spirit of the Christians.

Slocum's vision inspired a movement, now called the Indian Shaker Church, that offered many Indians a satisfying way to address the central contradictions of their relations with white Americans and with each other. Although the movement did not attract all persons in the region who considered themselves Indians, it was a significant and well documented effort to refashion Indian identity in a way that allayed white criticisms without accepting wholesale whites' demeaning conceptions of Indians.

The Shaker church emerged during a period when Indians elsewhere in North America were also flocking to new messianic faiths. While all such movements sought to revitalize indigenous societies by reconciling traditional beliefs with modern conditions, they varied in content from region to region. Most advocated a return to aboriginal customs and predicted the annihilation of whites; but others preached accommodation with whites.[107] The Shakers, who belong in the latter category, gave revitalization a Northwest flavor by building on local notions about personal power and intercommunity relations. At least initially, the Shakers sought relations with non-Indians that would affirm both commonalities and differences between the two peoples. They did so in the apparent belief that they, as Indians, could still acquire the power to deal effectively and safely with dangerous and attractive outsiders, both supernatural and human.

John Slocum was one of the many Indians who declined to move to a reservation. A Sahewamish speaker from the southern extreme of Puget Sound, he was entitled to live on Squaxin Island or at

another Medicine Creek treaty reservation. Alternatively, he could have settled with relatives on the Skokomish Reservation, as did a score of people Myron Eells called Squaxins. Instead, Slocum resided where he was raised and logged a nearby preemption claim. His relatives later described him as the boss of a sizeable Indian logging operation and the son or grandson of well-to-do people, suggesting that he could have claimed high class status in aboriginal society. By the time Slocum was in his forties, however, his penchant for firewater and gambling had reportedly rendered him unhealthy and insecure. Anthropologist Homer Barnett also infers from relatives' accounts that Slocum was caught in cross-currents of suspicion and hatred within his family -- circumstances that made him worry about his vulnerability to lethal sorcery.[108]

Whether from sorcery or other causes, Slocum died in 1882, his family said. While mourners sat with his corpse, however, he revived and told of his journey to a beautiful country. There the Big Father had excoriated him for his vices, taught him to pray, and instructed him to build a church. At a church subsequently erected with the help of family and friends from several locations, Slocum preached that Indians must renounce alcohol, tobacco, gambling, swearing, tamanous, and all property not acquired by their own labor. Unable to practice what he preached, however, he soon resumed carousing, fell ill, and appeared again on the verge of death.

It was Slocum's second revival, under the ministrations of his wife Mary, that became the basis for a new religious sect. A spirit took possession of Mary -- the power of God, she said --

and directed her to pray, dance, sing, make the sign of the cross, and brush the evil from John's body. Thus receiving the holy power also, John recovered. Largely thanks to Mary and Mud Bay Louis [Yowaluck], word spread that other Indians could get clean and acquire healing power. They gathered by the hundreds, for days at a time, to conduct ceremonies that made liberal use of bells, crosses, candles, dancing, and prayer. As in traditional spirit dances, Shaker worship also featured the group helping individuals with spontaneous displays of the spirit's power, including songs the spirit bestowed.[109]

The Slocums discovered God's way to heal Indians at a time when both physical and psychological distress afflicted many people they knew. A series of epidemics had ravaged Indian communities in 1881. Tension and strife, some of it reflecting religious dilemmas, plagued the communities too. At the nearby Skokomish Reservation, for a decade, Myron and Edwin Eells had waged holy war not only against people who manifested faith in aboriginal "superstitions" but also against people who had accepted and refused to abandon elements of Catholicism. According to George Pierre Castile, who draws on Myron Eells's diaries, the Eells brothers took on Billy Clams in the 1870s because they identified him as leader of a Catholic faction. Such persecution, Castile reasons, probably drove Clams and other men -- Big Frank, Chehalis Jack, and Big John among them -- to seek a syncretic resolution of competing claims for their spiritual allegiance.[110]

In the messages of John and Mary Slocum many native people apparently saw promise of relief from their dilemmas. Clams, Big

John, and at least half the residents of the Skokomish Reservation were swept up in the wave of spiritual excitement flowing outward from the Slocums' camp at Mud Bay. They were among the hundreds who gathered there in August of 1883, when the Shakers predicted that miracles would occur.[111]

Whites who heard of these events were initially unsure whether they represented "'good providence,'" as Myron Eells said, or danger. According to Edwin Eells, another minister in Olympia invited the inspired Indians to hold services in his church, hoping that such kindness would induce them to give up "peculiarities" of their faith for more orthodox Christian practice. Whether in response to this invitation or for other reasons -- no two versions of the story offer the same details or explanation -- the Indians came into town in parade. At their head on a horse rode Big John, his arms outstretched and his head tilted in imitation of the crucified Jesus, whose name he had taken. Behind John walked his wife, whom he addressed either as Eve or as Virgin Mary, her hand extended toward heaven. In Eells's account, the Indians conducted ceremonies and departed as they had come, "leaving behind them such an odor from their smoked fish and clams and their not overclean bodies that the minister who had invited them failed to get the sympathy from his people that he had desired." Erna Gunther says Big John's outrageous impersonation precipitated his arrest; but Barnett claims that John landed in jail because of his subsequent refusal to remain on the reservation, where he was the butt of government officers' ridicule.[112]

These varying accounts at least agree that Shakers did not get much sympathy from whites during their movement's first years, despite their success in persuading many Indians to observe moral strictures advocated by missionaries and federal officials. Edwin Eells disliked the similarity of Shaker and Catholic rituals and suspected that Shaker healing was a reversion to aboriginal doctoring. He and his subordinates therefore suppressed open expression of the new faith during the 1880s. At the Chehalis Reservation, Chalcraft called a general meeting and asked the Indian judges to determine whether Shakerism was tamanous. One witness swore that Slocum was as much God's man as the missionaries were, citing as proof Slocum's new-found ability to be good. Chalcraft nonetheless banned Shaker meetings and forbade Indians from going to Mud Bay without a pass. These measures did not discourage all Shaker worship, however: a few years later Chalcraft had ten men arrested for Shaker doctoring.[113]

From two Shakers Chalcraft took statements that reveal important impulses behind the movement. In the view of John Smith, who brought the new faith from Mud Bay to Chehalis, being a Shaker did not mean he was no longer a Presbyterian. The Bible told whites what to do to be saved, Smith explained; but because "Indians were different" and could not read, God had given Slocum additional instructions for them to follow. Pike Ben described his attraction to the Shakers in a way Chalcraft found typical. Before his conversion, Ben said, he "didn't know anything good." He worked for whites during the week, cleared his own land on Sundays, ran horses, chewed tobacco, and gambled. Losing money

made him feel bad, having to pay Indian doctors irked him, and his work made him feel dirty. He joined the Shakers because he wanted to be clean inside and out.[114]

The story of the Indian Shaker church's birth contains many themes that run through the larger story of Indians' relations with Americans during the same years: native people saw both opportunity and reason to despair as the growing settler population altered their world; they found that practices acceptable to early settlers and practices formerly associated with high status in their own communities did not always bring rewards and could even undermine their health and economic well-being; government agents made vigorous efforts to channel Indians into particular locations, activities, and religious denominations; tensions rose in native communities as members felt these pressures and considered the competing models for behavior that whites urged on them; and the circumstances of Indians on reservations increasingly diverged from the circumstances of their off-reservation kin.

These conditions presented Indians with dilemmas that admitted no simple solutions, and the Shakers' response to them was complex. Numerous whites at the time and some scholars subsequently saw Shakerism as a ploy --some called it clever, some thought it transparent -- to preserve aboriginal religious practices by disguising them as Christianity. Some critics thought the Shakers had merely assumed shamans' functions. They could point to the sect's focus on curing with supernaturally conferred power and to the fact that power came, as it did for shamans, in individual encounters with the supernatural.[115]

However, the Shakers' paired rejection of shamans and endorsement of faith healing was more than an attempt to resolve the contradiction between aboriginal beliefs and American repression; it amounted to a rethinking of Indians' relations to the supernatural and to each other.

The Shakers' animosity toward shamans was genuine and arose as much because shamans were failing to meet many Indians' needs as because whites denounced sorcery. Along with Americans' disdain for native doctors, devastating epidemics probably turned some Indians against shamans; but more importantly, Indians saw many shamans abusing their power. The number of men claiming shamans' powers and using them maliciously seemed to increase as people from previously separate villages, including rival shamans, came together on reservations or in off-reservation camps. Mutual suspicions often festered in these conditions, especially as disease and economic dislocation took their toll. At the same time, sanctions that had caused shamans to hesitate before using their powers maliciously carried decreasing weight. By making it possible for individuals to sustain themselves outside a household group, for example, the colonial economy rendered social pressure and ostracism less effective in controlling anti-social behavior. By prohibiting and sometimes punishing the killing of shamans and by undermining the influence of many native mediators, American authorities also weakened traditional sanctions against malevolent magic.[116]

In this light, the Shakers' proposal to do away with shamans appears as part of a struggle among Indians for a new consensus on the norms of social interaction and the best means to enforce

those norms. To many Indians, the discovery that individuals in an Indian religious fellowship could rid themselves of bad spirits and obtain the power to be good directly from God must have seemed an inviting resolution of this stuggle.

Shaker doctrine eased other tensions summarized above. For example, Shakers did not disdain economic activities introduced by non-Indians; yet in a world where the old correspondences of religious sincerity, economic activity, and wealth did not obtain, they no longer looked to wealth as the principal proof of a person's good relations with the supernatural. Instead, they offered every Indian the possibility of obtaining the prestigious power to cure that had formerly come to very few.

The Shakers' large assemblies also served a need to link the diverse and changing social units where Indians could be found. At church ceremonies people could meet and affirm their affiliation with a community that transcended differences between reservation and off-reservation groups. At the same time, consistent with an ingrained respect for and delight in individual differences, the Shakers encouraged spontaneity and local variations in expressions of faith.

The Shakers' conception of the individual in relation to the supernatural and to society was much like that of their ancestors -- particularly their conception of power as individual effectiveness, achieved and manifested with supernatural and community support. By invoking this idea in a new context, however, they redefined their relations with each other and with the non-Indians who had created that new context.[117]

Shakers believed they had identified both a vital congruence of native and white beliefs and an essential distinction between Indians and whites. Therefore, while echoing whites' criticism of practices that purportedly distinguished Indians from whites, they neither attempted to erase the characteristics that marked them as Indians nor internalized a negative conception of themselves as Indians. Instead, they fashioned a new basis for asserting and taking pride in their ascribed identity.[118] Viewed together, the Shakers' rejection of practices offensive to whites, Big John's urge to display his new power to whites, and John Smith's assertion that Indians could be both Christians and essentially different from whites suggest that Shakers combined a strong desire to impress or please non-Indians with a countervailing desire to affirm Indians' unique nature and special powers. In this sense they sought to conduct relations with outsiders on a basis much like that which had worked for their ancestors.

During most of the first decade after John Slocum's resurrection, the Shakers' relations with non-Indians threatened to relegate them to a status quite different than they hoped for. Miracles at Mud Bay and Big John's revelation did not spur leading whites to acknowledge their powers. Instead, Big John's arrest and the initial repression of Shaker worship reinforced the boundary that Shakers perceived between Indians and whites without revealing a way to conduct satisfying relations across that boundary. Nevertheless the Shakers had tried, with considerable success, to retake the initiative in the process of marking the boundary between peoples and defining the character

of the society on their side of the boundary.[119] In this they were not alone. Because other descendants of indigenous peoples had done the same during the 1870s and '80s, there were by the end of those decades many ways of being Indian besides the one the government had tried to institutionalize.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 4

1. Somerville, "The Mediterranean of the Pacific," 485.

2. Ibid., 483-493. James Swan, who joined Seward's tour group, recorded in his diary for July 21-23 of 1869 that all participants were well pleased with the trip.

3. Carl Herbert Mapes, "A Map Interpretation of Population Growth and Distribution in the Puget Sound Region" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington, 1943), 11, 16, 26; Watt, "Introduction to Economic and Labor History of Western Washington," 123; Marian Smith, "The Puyallup of Washington," 31; Johansen and Gates, Empire of the Columbia, 343. Chinese immigration, which picked up noticeably during the 1870s, virtually ceased for a few years during the 1880s after local vigilante groups purported to enforce the Chinese Exclusion Act by terror and deportation. By 1890, however, the number or Chinese in King County was double what it had been in 1880. Watt, "Introduction to Economic and Labor History," 158.

4. Mapes, "A Map Interpretation of Population Growth," 39; Johansen and Gates, Empire of the Columbia, 368-82, 383-84, 389-92; Robert E. Ficken, The Forested Land: A History of Lumbering in Western Washington (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1987), 55, 68-69; Gordon B. Dodds, The American Northwest: A History of Oregon and Washington (Arlington Heights, Illinois: The Forum Press, Inc., 1986), 137-38. The financial crisis of 1873 slowed both railroad construction and immigration for a few years. William Sidney Schiach, ed., An Illustrated History of Skagit and Snohomish Counties (Interstate Publishing Company, 1906), 112.

5. H.A. Smith, "Our Aborigines," 1; R.H. Milroy to F.A. Walker, October 1, 1871, ARCIA (1872), 332; Myron Eells, "The Twana Indians of the Skokomish Reservation in Washington Territory," U.S. Geological Survey Bulletin 3 (1877): 60; M. Eells, "The Indians of Puget Sound," 271; Leighton, Life at Puget Sound, 156 (saying that so many tribes have been swept away by smallpox that most have lost interest in building substantial houses, feeling they have little time to live).

6. ARCIA (1870), 17; ARCIA (1877), 198; Report of Inspector Pollock, April 16, 1881, NA PNW M-1070, Roll 31.

7. Dippie, The Vanishing American; Diary of James Swan, December 2, 1859 (sickness among the Elwha Klallam resulting in many deaths); J. Pollock to Secretary of the Interior, March 28, 1881, Reports of Inspection, NA PNW Microfilm M-1070, Roll 31 (fewer children than women and many families with no children); ARCIA (1883), 149 (large mortality on Puyallup and Tulalip Reservations); W.H. Talbott to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 15, 1889, NA PNW RG 75, Tulalip Agency, Box 25 (smallpox epidemic; families burying three to eight children); ARCIA (1889), 289; Census of the Tulalip Agency, 1885, NA PNW M-595, Roll 582 (168 families on Tulalip Reservation but only 76 people of school age; 90 families on Lummi Reservation but 60 school-age children; 84 families on Swinomish Reservation but 41 school-age children; 52 families on Port Madison Reservation but 27 school-age children). See also, George Guilmet et al., "The Legacy of Introduced Disease," 20.

8. Watt, "Introduction to Economic and Labor History," 126, 117, 121; Johansen and Gates, Empire of the Pacific, 395-96, 384; Ethel Van Fleet Harris, "Early Historical Incidents of Skagit County" (1926), manuscript in Special Collections Library, University of Washington, 5, 26; Natalie Andrea Roberts, "A History of the Swinomish Tribal Community" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington, 1975), 158; Collins, Valley of the Spirits, 39.

9. Bancroft, History of Washington, Idaho, and Montana, 338-39, 344-49; Johansen and Gates, Empire of the Pacific, 384-86, 390-92, 394-99; Watt, "Introduction to Labor and Economic History," 125; Diary of James Swan, December 2, 1877.

10. Collins, "John Fornsby," 306; Meeker Family Papers, Notebook III, I, 8; ARCIA (1861/62), 411 (whites using Indian potato prairies); J. Goudy to M.T. Simmons, May 27, 1860, NA M-2011, Reel 1 (Duwamish killing farmer's hogs for destroying their potatoes); Patrick Buckley to To Whome this may concern, November 19, 1883, NA PNW RG 75, Tulalip Agency, Box 123; Myron Eells, "Justice to the Indian" (July 14, 1883), excerpt from unidentified periodical, Special Collections Library, University of Washington, 44; E.C. Chirouse to R.H. Milroy, August 30, 1872 in ARCIA (1872), 348-49; Hawley, Skqee Mus, 35 (white farmers locating in place "which had been the gardens of the Indians for many generations"); Washington Standard, January 4, 1873, 3 (Whatcom County whites jumping Indians' fenced claims); Diary of James Swan, February 28, 1877 (sheriff and posse carrying out judge's order to burn native dance house); Patricia Slettvet

Noel, Muckleshoot Indian History (Auburn, Washington School District No. 408, 1980), 11 (Eva Jerry recalling that whites set Indian houses afire to make Indians move out of Green River area); Statement of William Hicks, Skagit Roll, Applications for Enrollment and Allotment of Washington Indians, NA PNW Microfilm M-1343, Roll 4; testimony of Mary Jerry Dominick, Duwamish et al. v. United States, U.S. Court of Claims, University of Washington Microfilm A-7348, 170.

11. Collins, "John Fornsby," 307, 295; ARCIA (1872), 346; Lotzgesell, "Pioneer Days at Old Dungeness," 269; Buckley to H. Price, September, 1883, and January 5, 1884, NA PNW RG 75, Tulalip Agency Box 24; "Interview with Louisa Sinclair," Told by the Pioneers, vol. 2, 179, 182; Washington Standard, June 12, 1875, 2 (Indians selling wild strawberries); Ibid., September 29, 1877, 4 (Indian caught 7,000 salmon at Mukilteo in a week, sold them for $359); Hunt and Kaylor, Washington West of the Cascades, vol. 1, 291 (heavy demand for labor and high wages at canneries), 394; Roberts, "A History of the Swinomish Tribal Community," 240-42; Boxberger, To Fish in Common, 36; White, "The Treaty at Medicine Creek," 172.

12. ARCIA (1872), 346; Jim Lightner by friend to Charley Artemus, May 29, 1873, NA PNW RG 75, Tulalip Agency Boxes 2-4 (on Microfilm 2011); Aurelia Balch Celestine, Lummi Elders Speak (Lynden, Washington: Lynden Tribune, 1982), 37. See also, Finkboner to Hill, June 28, 1870, NA M-2011 (Indians working at mines and for farmers, coming home on Sundays to attend church); ARCIA (1861/62), 407 (Klallams moving near white settlements to make money); Indian Jimmie, Yen Tey, Indian Charlie, et al. v. W.B. Moore, Civil Case No. 1991, King County Clerk's Records, Territory District Court Files, (suit for wages earned cutting 120,000 feet of logs at Snohomish County camp); Hawley, Skqee Mus, 26 (most longshoring at Seattle docks being done by Indians in 1872).

13. "The hop-raisers have to employ them at their own price, in order to get their crops in, and the Indians can afford to laugh at the situation which brings them into competition with heathen Chinese labor." Washington Standard, September 11, 1875, 2; Ibid., September 9, 1876, 2; Thompson and Meade, General Merchandise and Puget Sound Hops, to Father Chirusch [sic], August 28, 1875, NA M-2011; Report of Inspector Ward, March 8, 1884, NA M-1070, Roll 53; Lane, "Anthropological Report on the Identity, Treaty Status, and Fisheries of the Puyallup Tribe of Indians" in "Political and Economic Aspects of Indian-White Culture Contact," 10; Johansen and Gates, Empire of the Columbia, 384; Watt, "Introduction to Labor

and Economic History," 33-35; Meeker, Pioneer Reminiscences, 222, 224; Alfred N. Marion to E.A. Hayt, November 7, 1878, NA PNW RG 75, Tulalip Agency Box 24; John O'Keane to Hayt, September 1, 1879, Ibid.; ARCIA (1877), 199; Records of Hop Growers' Association of Snoqualmie, 1885-89, University of Washington Manuscripts, Vertical File 1387. In 1885 it was apparently harder for Indians to laugh off competition from Chinese pickers; for several Indians joined white men in a lethal attack on Chinese hop harvesters in the Snoqualmie Valley. Hunt and Kaylor, Washington West of the Cascades, 297; Schiach, An Illustrated History of Skagit and Snohomish Counties, 137.

14. E.C. Johnson to "Mr. Cambers," June 24, 1869, Papers of Thomas McCutcheon Chambers, 1838-1876, Washington State Historical Society.

15. Territorial Republican, January 1, 1870, 2; "H.A." in Daily Pacific Tribune, August 22, 1871, 1, 2. See also, Smith, "Our Aborigines;" Territorial Republican, September 14, 1868, 3.

16. Petition to Col. Ross, November, 1869, NA M-2011, Reel 2. ("Their moral sensibilities are at best of the lowest grade, and the licentiousness connected with them, and those who live with them in ilicit [sic] manner, renders their presence corrupting to manners and morals, and injurious to society.") Also, E. Carr to Ross, November 3, 1869, Ibid. ("I fear their moral pollution more than I do their scalping knives.")

17. Letter of Edwin Richardson, [Olympia] Commercial Age, January 22, 1870, 1; Letter of Edmund Carr, Ibid., 2; Petition to Colonel Ross, November, 1869, and Franklin Mathias to Hill, November 29, 1869, NA M-2011, Reel 2. See also, Hawley, Skqee Mus, 36; Edwin Eells to Capt. H. Blinn, January 20, 1874, Edwin Eells Papers, Washington State Historical Society.

18. ARCIA (1870/71), 271.

19. "Indian labor, Indian thefts, murders, filth, dissipation and diseases darker the than [sic] mists of night, repel immigration." Territorial Republican, January 1, 1870, 2. The Territorial Republican changed its name to The Commercial Age later in the same month.

20. Prucha, The Great Father, 481-483, 492, 562; Paul Stuart, The Indian Office: Growth and Development of an American Institution, 1865-1900 (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1978), 1, 17, 77. The idea of isolating

Indians in order to teach them "civilized" ways was not new with post-Civil-War reformers; but only after the war did policy makers and administrators give the idea priority as they planned Office of Indian Affairs programs. James Axtell, The European and the Indian: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial America (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), 62-63. By the 1880s the Indian policy reform movement had shifted focus again and aimed to effect Indians' assimilation into American society by dismantling the reservation system altogether; but during the late 1860s and the 1870s most policy makers and many reformers still looked to reservations to provide Indians with a sheltered environment where they could learn the rudiments of citizenship. For a discussion of the rationale behind dismantling reservations, see, Frederick Hoxie, A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880-1920 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984), 10-11.

21. In 1831 the Supreme Court said that the Indians' "relation to the United States resembles that of a ward to his guardian." Cherokee Nation v. Georgia, 5 Peters 1, 15-20 (1891). Fifty-five years later it upheld Congress's decision to subject Indians living in tribal communities to federal sanctions for major crimes, saying, "These Indian tribes are the wards of the nation." United States v. Kagama, 118 United States Reports 375 (1886).

22. Daily Pacific Tribune, August 22, 1871, 1, 2; Smith, "Our Aborigines," 1; Prucha, The Great Father, 532.

23. Prucha, The Great Father, 481-82, 512, 517-18, 526-27; Stuart, The Indian Office, 13, 32, 38; ARCIA (1876/77), 3. For a general discussion of American churches' post-Civil-War preoccupation with ministering to and saving oppressed groups, see Ronald C. White, Jr., and C. Howard Hopkins, The Social Gospel: Religions and Reform in Changing America (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1976), 6, 114.

24. R.H. Milroy, who served briefly as superintendent and then for a decade as agent for south Puget Sound reservations, had the philosophy and spirit that reformers admired. He maintained that Americans, as representatives of the highest type of civilization, had a legal and moral obligation to save the ignorant, weak, and simple Indians from extinction. He showed extraordinary determination to implement measures he deemed essential for the Indians' salvation. Milroy had ideological soulmates, at least with respect to Indian

policy, in several other men who took charge at Puget Sound agencies during this period. Father E.C. Chirouse, who had lived on the Tulalip Reservation since establishing a mission school there in 1857, served as sub-agent for several years in the 1870s. Edwin Eells, son of a Congregationalist missionary to Indians in eastern Washington, became agent on the Skokomish Reservation in 1871. When Edwin moved to the Puyallup Reservation in 1874 for a two-decade stay, his brother Myron remained at Skokomish as missionary. Myron's service ended only with his death in 1907. ARCIA (1872), 333; Sister Mary Louise, "Eugene Casimir Chirouse" (M.A. thesis, University of Washington, 1932), 41, 68; Castile, The Indians of Puget Sound, ix; Robert H. Ruby and John A. Brown, Myron Eells and the Puget Sound Indians (Seattle: Superior Publishing Co., 1976), 8-9; Cesare Marino, "History of Western Washington Since 1846," in Handbook of North American Indians 7, William C. Sturtevant, ed. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1990), 173; Edwin Eells Papers, Washington State Historical Society; M. Eells, "Justice to the Indian," 39, 46; G.W. Bell to E. Eells, August 1, 1883, ARCIA (1883), 149.

25. ARCIA 1876/77, 1. Reformers of the 1850s who expected the reservation system to convert Indians from savage to civilized ways were intent on rooting out the same vices they wished to eliminate in non-Indian society -- drinking, gambling, laziness, promiscuity, vagabondage. John M. Findlay, "An Elusive Institution: The Birth of Indian Reservations in Gold Rush California," in State and Reservation (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1992), 19.

26. Prucha, The Great Father, 501-503; Stuart, The Indian Office, 32.

27. Excerpt from Third Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1871), Appendix A, on NA M-2011, Reel 2. This contains a transcript of the Tulalip meeting only. Speeches made during Brunot's meeting at Skokomish appear in Castile, The Indians of Puget Sound: The Notebooks of Myron Eells, 268-69.

28. In March of 1871 Congress had attached a rider to an appropriation bill that prohibited further treaties with Indians. 16 United States Statutes 566; Prucha, The Great Father, 530-32.

29. Third Annual Report of the BIC, NA M-2011.

30. Ibid.

31. Native villagers customarily allowed everyone present to voice an opinion at important deliberations. Collins, Valley of the Spirits, 112-113; Northwest Intertribal Court System, "Traditional and Informal Dispute Resolution Processes," 35-36. At Skokomish Big John told Brunot, "You come to get the Indian's [sic] hearts, You ought to take time." At Tulalip Hallum finished his remarks with the words, "We would like to talk with you, but we cannot; it would take two or three days." Clum Shelton began his remarks with, "I will talk and you must listen."

32. Third Annual Report of the BIC.

33. At the Tulalip meeting Napoleon also claimed to be the only one left who took part in the treaty. However, three other speakers at that meeting -- Peter, William, and Hallum -- had the same names as sub-chiefs who signed the Point Elliott Treaty. It may be that Napoleon's claim was incorrect; it may be that the other three men inherited their names from treaty signers; or it may be a coincidence that the three names coincide with those on the treaty. 12 United States Statutes 497.

34. Castile, The Indians of Puget Sound, 268.

35. Hallum said, "Did you come from Washington? I don't believe you, for many said they came from there before. They promise to tell the President our wants, but soon they forget it....maybe when half way to Washington they throw the paper away." At Skokomish Big John spoke to the same effect.

36. Collins, Valley of the Spirits, 81 (physical possessions and the fruits of a person's industry as signs of the person's devotion and success in religious life); Smith, The Puyallup-Nisqually, 48 (fame and property as outward signs of personal worth); Elmendorf, "Skokomish Sorcery, Ethics, and Society," 162. According to a modern speaker of the indigenous language of northern Puget Sound, the word for a noble or high class person -- si'ab -- builds on a root that means wealth but has connotations that include admirable personal traits. Hilbert and Bierwert, Ways of the Lushootseed People, 55. Snyder says that si'ab has nuances connoting skill, industriousness, bravery, respect, dignity, generosity, modesty, discipline, restraint, trustworthiness, sincerity, intelligence, and perspicaciousness -- all valued qualities in Skagit society. Snyder, "Skagit Society," 117. Hess, Dictionary of Puget Salish, at 184, gives a

single word for the English terms "good," "well," and "happy."

37. In 1871 R.H. Milroy reported that chiefs and head men at a general council of Medicine Creek area bands also complained they had received only a small portion of the money and goods promised. "They mentioned a number of fine promises that were made at the time which they understood were in the written treaty, but were not." ARCIA (1872), 337.

38. Good advice was one of the inherited privileges of the upper class in Puget Sound communities. Collins, Valley of the Spirits, 81. Snyder notes that modern Skagits use the term si'ab (noble or high class person) synonymously with the word for good advice. "Skagit Society and Its Existential Basis," 118. Elmendorf says that upper class Twana were supposed to receive training from their elders in traits such as industry, ambitious, self-control, and generosity, then show it in courtesy, modesty, and their serious attitudes toward acquiring spirit partners. The Structure of Twana Culture, 333.

39. Prucha, The Great Father, 477, 492.

40. Prucha, The Great Father, 481-82, 509-10.

41. E. Eells to McKenny [sic], August 31, 1871, Edwin Eells Papers; E. Eells, Speech regarding history of Cushman School, June 16, 1910, Ibid., Box 3, Folder 2; Chirouse to Milroy, August 30, 1872, ARCIA (1872), 349; Samuel Ross to E.S. Parker, September 1, 1870, ARCIA (1870), 18-20 (no annuities for several years; agency buildings in disrepair; hay crop at Puyallup uncut; school buildings dilapidated; no agent at Swinomish Reservation); T.J. McKenney to Commissioner, October 1, 1871, ARCIA (1870/71), 289 (reservation in dilapidated condition; more than half Indians belonging there absent); White, "The Treaty at Medicine Creek," 169. It was common for new reservation administrators to deplore the conditions bequeathed to them by their predecessors, thus deliberately or subconsciously laying a basis for claiming dramatic improvements during their tenure.

42. Stuart, The Indian Office, 8, 49, 55, 70, 74, 119; ARCIA (1876/77), 1.

43. Byron Barlow to Milroy, September 15, 1872, ARCIA (1872), 358 (school's lack of success attributed to lack of funding); Milroy to Smith, October 20, 1873, ARCIA (1873), 299 (Port Madison Indians begging for agent to live among them); H.D. Gibson to E.P. Smith, September

28, 1874, ARCIA (1874), 327 (Puyallup school has only 28 children; no government employees and therefore no schools at Muckleshoot, Nisqually, Squaxin); ARCIA (1875/76), 138 (school at Puyallup closed); ARCIA (1876/77), 199, 200 (Tulalip agency farm unsuccessful; agent overworked and Indians complaining of neglect); ARCIA (1880/81), 166 (no employee at Nisqually; none at Squaxin for 20 years), 172 (children turned away because schools are full); ARCIA (1883), 147-48 (turnover at Skokomish school makes expenditures almost useless; wages for day schools at Port Madison, Lummi, and Muckleshoot so small that no teacher hired, schools still unopened); Report of Inspector Bannister, February 20, 1886, NA M-1070, Roll 31; Report of Inspector Pollock, March 28, 1881, Ibid. (calling management of affairs on sound expensive and service "farcical"); Marion to Hayt, February 4, 1879, NA PNW RG75, Tulalip Agency, Box 24 (annuities unpaid; white trespassers ignoring agent); Marion to Hayt, November 6, 1878, Ibid. (employees unpaid for four months; no funds for contingencies since July); O'Keane to Commissioner, June 7, 1881, Ibid. (teacher at Port Madison quitting because salary too low); Eells to Commissioner, ARCIA (1883), 147-48; Roberts, "A History of the Swinomish Tribal Community," 242-243.

44. Executive Order, 1869, NA M-2011, Reel 1; E. Eells to T.K. Cree, [?], 1873, Skokomish Reservation Letterbook, Edwin Eells Papers, Box 3, Item 8; Chirouse to Smith, August 2, 1876, NA M-2011, Reel 3.

45. Milroy to Chirouse, February 21, 1873, NA M-2011; Eells to McKinney [sic], August 30, 1871, Edwin Eells Papers; Eells to Milroy, August 31, 1872, ARCIA (1872), 352; McKenny [sic] to Hill, January 14, 1871, NA M-2011. See also, Underhill, Indians of the Pacific Northwest, 213.

46. Chirouse to Milroy, April 12, 1874, NA M-2011; Milroy to Chirouse, June 24, 1874, Ibid.; Eells to McKinney, August 30, 1871, Edwin Eells Papers (whites secrete Indians Billie and Annie in hope of keeping Annie, their washerwoman, with them); E. Eells to Milroy, April 16, 1873, Ibid. (white family's attempt to take an Indian woman, who had been sentenced do housework for them, along with them when they left the reservation); E. Eells to E.P. Smith, December 2, 1873, Ibid.; William H. Reeves to Father Chirouse, March 8 1874, NA M-2011; Chirouse to Smith, August 17, 1876, Ibid. (need for further means to keep Indians on reserve); "Autobiography of Edwin Chalcraft," 16; Chirouse to Smith, December 1, 1874, Ibid.; Edwin Eells to Commissioner, August 16, 1886, ARCIA (1886), 244. Henry and Frank Allen referred to people being driven out of their homes along the Hood

Canal and onto the Skokomish Reservation; but they did not say whether those doing the driving were government officials or settlers. Twana Narratives, 4-5.

47. Agents in the Puget Sound areas began assigning reservation lots to individuals in the 1870s, well before passage of the General Allotment (Dawes) Act of 1887, relying for authority on provisions in the treaties of the 1850s. 10 United States Statutes 1132, Article 6; 12 U.S. Statutes 927; 12 U.S. Statutes 933.

48. Milroy to F.A. Walker, ARCIA (1872), 329-30, 337; Chirouse to Milroy, ARCIA (1872), 349; Milroy to Commissioner, ARCIA (1876/77), 190; "Autobiography of Edwin Chalcraft;" ARCIA (1883), 148-49; Message of William A. Newell, October 5, 1881, Messages of the Governors of the Territory of Washington, 227 (recommending inalienable homesteads in place of reservations); Roberts, "A History of the Swinomish Tribal Community," 232-33; Dippie, The Vanishing American, 161-164; Prucha, The Great Father, 659-671; White, "The Treaty at Medicine Creek," 177. The late nineteenth-century reformers' idea that individual property ownership was the mark of and key to civilized status had a long history. Axtell, The European and the Indian, 52.

49. Chirouse to Milroy, ARCIA (1873), 306; Chirouse to Smith, ARCIA (1874), 338.

50. Chirouse to Smith, ARCIA (1874), 338; Eells to unknown correspondent, November 24, 1879, Edwin Eells Papers, Box 3, Folder 8 (reporting that Indians fear losing lands when treaty expires because they have no patents); Finkboner to Chirouse, March 10, 1873, NA M-2011, Reel 2 (sending petition of all Lummis to have land parcelled in severalty because they fear railroad and influx of people will cause them to be removed); Charley Jules and Charley Shelton to our dear Fathers at Washington, March 10, 1879, NA PNW RG75, Tulalip Agency, Box 24; excerpts of speeches by Big John, Jackman and Chehalis Jack and letter of unidentified schoolboy in Castile, The Indians of Puget Sound, 269-73.

51. Indians in Washington Territory, House Exec. Doc. 87, 43d Cong., 2d sess., 1875 (draft bill to consolidate Indians from Puyallup, Nisqually, Squaxin, and Chehalis Reservations on Skokomish Reservation and Indians from Port Madison, Tulalip, Swinomish, and Muckleshoot Reservation on the Lummi Reservation, with 40-acre allotment to each adult male on remaining reservations; based on recommendation to Commissioner of Indian Affairs

from two members of Board of Indian Commissioners); ARCIA (1874), 78, 80.

52. Eells to Commissioner, ARCIA (1878), 137; Message of Governor Newell, 1881; Edmond Mallet to Commissioner, August 18, 1877, ARCIA (1876/77), 198; Chirouse to Smith, December 1, 1874, NA M-2011, Reel 2; E. Eells to unknown correspondent, March 15, 1878, Edwin Eells Papers, Box 3, Folder 8 (only cause of discontent is fear of removal); Report of J. Pollock, March 28, 1881, NA M-1070, Roll 31; Report of Inspector Thomas, February 16, 1887, Ibid., Roll 53 (reporting Indians anxious to know boundaries of Tulalip Reservation, especially waterfront); Council of Chiefs, Puyallup Indians, to Hon. H. Price, February 13, 1884, copy attached to Richards, "Federal Indian Policy, Isaac Stevens, and the Western Washington Treaties;" J.B. Harrison, The Latest Studies on Indian Reservations (Philadelphia: Indian Rights Association, 1887), 92.

53. Minutes of meeting with Commissioner Brunot, NA M-2011; Twana Narratives, 5-6; Stella Lane Nickolsen in Lummi Elders Speak, 73 (complaints about farmer Finkbonner); Marion to Hayt, December 11, 1878, NA PNW RG75, Tulalip Agency, Box 24 (accusations against resident trader at Lummi); Chirouse to Milroy, March 10, 1874, NA M-2011, Reel 2 (doctor discharged for scandalous conduct); Chirouse to Milroy, April 10, 1874, NA M-2011, Reel 2 ("Indians complain every day about my employes not doing enough for them on their respective offices."); Ledger, Papers of William DeShaw, University Manuscripts No. 387, Box 1, File 13 ("Releived from the Honarable Charge of Indians at the request Beer House ring in Seattle Marshall by A Spithil and others"); A Boston Tillicum, Esq. [James Wickersham], "A Monograph on the Puyallup Indians of the State of Washington," (1892), 13, in Special Collections Library, University of Washington.

54. Report of J.M. Kelley, September 1, 1869, Edwin Eells Papers, Box 3, Item 8 (letter book); C.C. Finkbonner to Hill, August, 1870, ARCIA (1870), 43; Chirouse to Milroy, December 7, 1872, NA M-2011; Agent [Chirouse] to Milroy, April 12, 1874, NA M-2011; ARCIA (1870), 19; ARCIA (1876/77), 190; Seattle Weekly Intelligencer, September 4, 1871, 2; E. Mallet to Commissioner, August 18, 1877, quoted in Coast Salish and Western Washington Indians, 428; Permit issued to Dan Leighton, May 12, 1876, NA M-2011 (permission to construct house on reservation conditioned on Leighton's employing Indians, paying them well, and turning house over to Indians when he leaves); Report of Inspector Pollock, March 22, 1881, NA PNW M-1070, Roll 53; Alfred N. Marion to E.A. Hayt, November 6, 1878, NA PNW RG75, Tulalip Agency, Box 24.

55. Annual Report, August 18, 1872, NA M-2011; ARCIA (1872), 349; Seattle Weekly Intelligencer, March 29, 1873, 3; Chirouse to Hon. Delano, Secretary of the Interior, January 20, 1874, WTSIA, Roll 10, Reel 20; Chirouse to Blinn, February 11, 1874, Ibid. Boxberger asserts that government employees at the Lummi Reservation discouraged people there from leaving by allotting the land and telling allottees that they must farm or lose their land. To Fish in Common, 32.

56. Indian Census Rolls (1885), NA PNW M-595, Rolls 302 and 582. In 1890 officials counted 103 persons on the Muckleshoot Reservation. Sampson, Indians of Skagit County, 33.

57. E. Eells to unknown correspondent, March 15, 1878, Edwin Eells Papers; ARCIA (1876/77), 196-97; ARCIA (1879), 171, 242-43; Myron Eells, "Census of the Clallam and Twana Indians of Washington Territory," American Antiquarian 6 (1884): 36-38; Special Census, Tenth Census of the United States, Indian Division, 1880, NA PNW RG29 Microfilm I-34, Rolls 1 and 2, and Microfilm P-2193; Tribal Census Rolls, 1880-1921, NA PNW RG75, Puyallup Agency, Box 70; ARCIA (1878), 135; O'Keane to Hayt, March 31, 1879, NA PNW RG75, Tulalip Agency Box 24; ARCIA (1882), 167; ARCIA (1883), 149. To Eells, as to most other agents in this period, the meaningful indicators of the Indians' susceptibility to rapid transformation were dress, housing, and personal possessions. In 1880 Eells was pleased to write about the Skokomish Indians:

> [They] have built comfortable houses, barns, wood-sheds and outhouses, have set out small orchards, and have around them the substantial comforts of civilized life. Indoors their floors are smooth...and the rooms are warmed with stove and fire-places. Their food is cooked on stoves, eaten on tables with knives and forks, in plates and dishes, as white people do. They have...bedsteads with feather beds, sheets and pillow cases, as well as clocks and looking-glasses, and they keep their persons as neat as a large majority of the white people living on the frontiers. ARCIA (1880), 163.

58. Castile, The Indians of Puget Sound, 271-74.

59. Jack appears to have construed Eells's help as fulfilling the expectations that Big Frank had expressed in 1871 -- that is, as helping to make the Indians good by enabling

them to acquire what whites regarded as tokens of prosperity. Jack said Eells told them that the land and water were all theirs and encouraged them to make farms and build good houses. "I then built me a good house, and have tables, dishes, lamps, trunks, stoves, and everthing at hand as white men have." Ibid.

60. O'Keane to Hayt, March 10, 1879, enclosing letter "To our dear Fathers at Washington," NA PNW RG75, Tulalip Agency, Box 24.

61. "Observer" in Seattle Weekly Intelligencer, September 4, 1871, 2; Report of Chirouse, August 18, 1872, NA M-2011; ARCIA (1862/63), 461-62; Washington Standard, November 26, 1864, 3; Collins, "John Fornsby," 311; Blankenship, Lights and Shade of Pioneer Life, 47; O'Keane to R.E. Trowbridge, July 5, 1880, NA PNW RG75, Tulalip Agency, Box 24. The Assumption Day ceremonies also impressed the Weekly Intelligencer's "observer" with the Catholic sisters' "heroic self-sacrifice" for the cause of redeeming Indian children from barbarism.

62. Collins, "John Fornsby," 314; O'Keane to Hayt, December 9, 1879, NA PNW RG75, Tulalip Agency Box 24. Chirouse had already compelled white men living on reservation with Indian women to marry them or send them away. Chirouse to Milroy, March 12, 1873, NA M-2011. Also, Patrick Buckley to Henry Quina, May 20, 1884, NA PNW RG75, Tulalip Agency Box 123; O'Keane to Hayt, March 31, 1879, NA PNW RG75, Tulalip Agency Box 24 (reporting that principal offenses punished are abuse of animals, gambling, fighting); "Autobiography of Edwin Chalcraft" (Indians arrested for doctoring); Sampson, Indians of Skagit County, 33; Meeker Family Papers, Notebook III (at agent's instruction Puyallup chiefs forbid gambling).

63. E.Eells to Commissioner, August 10, 1877, ARCIA (1876/77), 196-97; Chirouse to Milroy, December 7, 1872, NA M-2011, Reel 2 (priest holding two Indians convicted of murdering an Indian at Seattle); Milroy to Chirouse, February 7, 1873, Ibid.; To whom it may concern from McKenny, November 25, 1868, Ibid. (Chirouse authorized to arrest and punish Indians for drunkenness and other crimes); Milroy to Chirouse, December 15, 1872, Ibid. (giving Chirouse complete jurisdiction over Indian logger accused of potlatching and drunkenness; also authorizing him to fine Tyee Peter the price of the coat Milroy gave him because Peter sold it); Milroy to Chirouse, April 4, 1874, Ibid.; Summary of "trial" of Jim Spakwak and Jacob for death of Indian Watchman at Utsalady, April 10, 1874, Ibid.; Marion to Hayt, November 7, 1878, NA PNW RG75, Tulalip Agency, Box 24.

64. E. Eells to J.A. Smith, February 14, 1877, Edwin Eells Papers. Also, Eells to Hayt, August 7, 1879, Ibid. (reporting that he had a chief living at Elwha, 130 miles from agency, arrested for disobeying the instructions of the agent and leading his band into anarchy).

65. E. Eells to E.P. Smith, December 2, 1873, Edwin Eells Papers (observing that treaty allows Indians to be off reservations to fish and therefore always to be off; expressing uncertainty whether agent has power to arrest them there or whether they are subject to territorial laws); Milroy to Chirouse, April 4, 1874, NA M-2011 (saying agent may adjudicate offenses committed on the reservation, but off-reservation Indians are subject to laws of the land); Chirouse to Milroy, April 10, 1874, Ibid. (noting that Indians and reservations under his charge are too numerous for him to catch and prosecute liquor violations); Milroy to O'Keane, June 14, 1881, Ibid. (claiming right to send police after Indians from this agency, wherever they go, except into jurisdiction of another agency); E. Eells to Commissioner, ARCIA (1886), 244-45 (saying agent's jurisdiction limited to reservation; no power to put Indians on reservation); Buckley to Ben Stretch, Sheriff, October 25, 1883, NA PNW RG75, Tulalip Agency, Box 123 (citizen Indians not under his jurisdiction); Harrison, Latest Studies on Indian Reservations, 98 (orders from Washington limiting agents' jurisdiction to reservations). See also, Edward Bristow to C.B. Buchanan, October 21, 1903, NA PNW RG75, Tulalip Agency Box 99 (asking whether rumor is true that agent had forbidden police from arresting people for off-reservation offenses, saying that Bristow had told police they could arrest any Indian for misdemeanor at any location so long as local authorities did not interfere).

66. Chirouse to Smith, June 10, 1875, NA M-2011 (saying he learned too late that Indians went to potlatch where there was much gambling, quarreling); Chirouse to Smith, June 10, 1875, Ibid. (reporting that Indians went to Port Gamble potlatch against his orders); O'Keane to Hayt, November 30, 1880, NA PNW RG75, Tulalip Agency, Box 24 (reporting that Indians of Samish flats opened potlatch house and invited all tribes from Northwest; a few days after agent refused to permit headmen to attend, most left without passes).

67. Myron Eells, "The Potlatches of Puget Sound," American Antiquarian 5 (1883): 137; M. Eells, answers to questions posed by General Howard attached to letter of E. Eells, March 15, 1878, Edwin Eells Papers, Box 3, Folder 8 (practice of tamanous for sick on and off Skokomish Reservation); M. Eells, essay on 1876 potlatch, Edwin

Eells Papers, Box 1, Folder 17; Finkboner to Hill, November 8, 1869, NA M-2011.

68. Foucault, Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings by Michel Foucault, ed. Gordon Colin (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980), 98. Anthony Giddens says that all strategies of control by superordinate individuals call forth counter-strategies in their subordinates, setting in motion a dialectic of control. The Nation-State and Violence, 10-11.

69. Eells to Commissioner, August 10, 1877, ARCIA (1876/77), 196-97; Marion to Hayt, November 30, 1878, NA PNW RG75, Tulalip Agency Box 24; Indian Police Record Book, 1878-1884, NA PNW RG75, Tulalip Box 504; Records of T.R. Wilson, Chief of Police, Puyallup, 1881, Edwin Eells Papers, Box 3; Talbott to Michael J. Clark, November 25, 1889, NA PNW, RG75, Tulalip Box 25; Patrick Buckley to Henry Kwina, October 24, 1883, NA PNW RG75, Tulalip Box 123; Buckley to Whome [sic] it may concern, December 5, 1883, Ibid.; E. Eells to unknown correspondent, March 15, 1878, Edwin Eells Papers (chiefs elected by Indians, subject to approval of agent); Chirouse to J.Q. Smith, May 2, 1876, NA M-2011 (Lummis elect two chiefs and twelve men to aid in carrying out their rules and regulations); Milroy to O'Keane, June 14, 1881, Ibid.; Talbott to Joe Snohomish, November 9, 1886, Ibid. (appointing him head chief of Muckleshoot Tribe). See Finkboner to G.D. Hill, November 8, 1869, NA M-2011, Reel 2, for reference to the earlier appointment of Indian police at Swinomish.

70. When Meeker was a sub-chief in the early 1880s, the chiefs' duties included holding court on alleged violations of regulations that they had themselves promulgated. Meeker Family Papers, Notebook III; Milroy to O'Keane, June 14, 1881, NA M-2011; Eells to Sir, July 29, 1878 (chiefs dividing fines when Indians found drunk), Edwin Eells Papers.

71. Buckley to Quina, May 20, 1884, NA PNW RG75, Tulalip Box 123. See also, D.C. Govan to Judges of Court of Indian Offenses at Lummi Reservation, March 6, 1897, NA PNW RG75, Tulalip Box 26 (chastising judges for punishing too lightly three men convicted of drunkenness and resisting officers; instructing them to take only cash rather than guns or horses for fines; threatening to turn future cases over to state courts if offenses not punished as deserved).

72. Eells to Sir, July 29, 1878, Edwin Eells Papers. At Puyallup, the council of chiefs abolished tamanous, gambling, and payments for brides. Indian police enforcement of the bans, Milroy crowed in 1879, had turned that reservation into the most orderly community in the territory. Milroy to Commissioner, ARCIA (1879), 152.

73. Chirouse to McKenney, May 3?, 1871, NA M-2011 (reporting that Chiefs James Seattle and Big John promise to mend ways, set better example); Finkboner to Hill, November 8, 1869, Ibid. (Indians pleading for forgiveness, promising to help chief and police); Report of E.C. Chirouse, March 27, 1872, NA M-2011, Reel 2; O'Keane to Commissioner, August 2, 1881, NA PNW RG75, Tulalip Box 24 (man removed from police force because Indians opposed him and refused to be arrested by him); Buckley to Price, February 4, 1885, Ibid. (saying chiefs, who render valuable services, are much dissatisfied with recompense and should be pacified); John Baldwin to Buckley, November 9 and 15, 1883, NA M-2011, Reel 3 (Joseph refusing an office for fear that other Indians will kill him); Sam Crockett to Buckley, June 1, 1885, Ibid.; Records of T.R. Wilson, Puyallup Police Chief, Edwin Eells Papers, Box 3, December 27 (Tyee Dick stripped of office for organizing mob to close school during smallpox epidemic; Dick claiming to be "impelled to his course by the importunities of the Indian women"). In William McCluskey to C.B. Buchanan, July 8, 1905, NA PNW RG75, Tulalip Box 99, McCluskey writes, "I have been from place to place on the Reservation to see parties capable to be Judge, and not one will accept the position. Each one saying that if he is not the choice of the people, his judgeship would be a torment to him."

74. "Autobiography of Edwin Chalcraft;" E. Eells to Commissioner, ARCIA (1876/77), 196-97; Milroy to O'Keane, October 30, 1879, NA M-2011; Milroy to O'Keane, July 1, 1880, Ibid.; Summary of proceedings, April 10, 1874, NA M-2011 (agent-supervised "trial" regarding accidental death of Indian ends in agreement to pay the deceased's relatives); E. Eells to H.D. Gibson, March 19, 1875, Edwin Eells Papers (whether Skokomish man's murder of a Nisqually man off the reservation may be handled at Skokomish to prevent retaliation from Nisquallies); E. Eells to W.H. Boyle, March 16, 1875, Ibid. (agent calling soldiers to preserve peace as Clallams and Tulalips resolve dispute arising from unsuccessful doctoring); ARCIA (1879), 152 (Milroy turning murder case over to council of chiefs because grand jury refused to indict). In 1885 three chiefs of the Tulalip Reservation filed affidavits in a territorial court seeking dismissal of a

murder charge against one Indian for the murder of another Indian on the grounds that they were members of a U.S.-supervised tribe with its own chiefs and laws. It is not apparent from the court record whether the chiefs, the agent, or the U.S. attorney first suggested this as a basis for resisting territorial court jurisdiction. The motion failed, and the defendant was tried and acquitted. Territory v. Meigs, an Indian, Case No. 394 (1885), Snohomish County Clerk's Records.

75. The question whether and how Puget Sound groups structured their governance at the time non-Indians arrived continues to generate controversy among scholars. See Foreword, above, and Boxberger and Miller, "Creating Chiefdoms;" Collins, "Growth of Class Distinctions and Political Authority;" Miller, "Centrality and Measures of Regional Structure in Aboriginal Western Washington;" Suttles, "Post Contact Culture Change among the Lummi Indians," Tollefson, "Political Organization of the Duwamish," Tollefson, "The Snoqualmie: A Puget Sound Chiefdom."

76. Ben Solomon to Buckley, June 1, 1886, NA M-2011, Reel 3; Chirouse to Smith, November 13, 1874, NA M-2011, Reel 2; Chirouse to McKenney, May 3?, 1871, Ibid. (charging that James Seattle and Big John set terrible example, show bad feeling toward whites); E. Eells to Sir, July 29, 1878 (stating that annual elections for chiefs at Skokomish caused problems because the "unruly" element threatened to withhold votes unless the chiefs did things their way); Marion to Hayt, November 30, 1878, NA PNW RG75, Tulalip Box 24 (reporting that Hallam referred in council to a hostile chief who urged people not to join the police force); Finkboner to Howe, November 6, 1864, NA M-2011, Reel 1 (saying Indians came near to displacing a chief for conduct unbecoming a Christian and chief).

77. ARCIA (1883), 149 (Puyallup farming); Report of Inspector Frank C. Armstrong, July 15, 1887, NA M-1070, Roll 31 ("No people in this Territory are prospering more than [Puyallup] Indians."); Report of Inspector R.S. Gardner, November 19, 1887, NA M-1070, Roll 53 (Tulalip Indians receiving "lion's share of the gratuities"); O'Keane to Hayt, March 31, 1879, NA PNW RG75, Tulalip Box 24 (contrasting Lummis with Indians of other reservations); O'Keane to Trowbridge, June 2, 1880, Ibid. (lack of agriculture at Port Madison); ARCIA (1880/81), 166 (absence of employees at Squaxin Island; dependence on gathering oysters for whites, on clams, and on fish); Washington Standard, April 1, 1887, 1 (contrasting Puyallup, Nisqually, Chehalis Reservation farmers with Squaxin and Skokomish hunters and fishers); Chirouse to

Smith, August 2, 1876, NA M-2010; ARCIA (1883), 169 (Tulalip subsistence strategies); E.Eells to Commissioner, ARCIA (1885), 193 (saying Indians nearer to civilization see better classes of whites and this contact stimulates them to more industry; comparing remote reservations to Puyallup); Washington Standard, April 1, 1887, 1 (Puyallup Indians described as more intelligent than other tribes because they are thrown among whites); M. Eells, "The Indians of Puget Sound," 7. Catholic and Protestant clergy also had divergent cultural impacts. Milroy to Chirouse, March 14, 1873, NA M-2011, Reel (Chief Whatcom complaining that Chirouse distributed annuities only to Catholic Indians); Chirouse to Rev. J.B. Brouillet, March 6, 1876, Ibid. (complaining that Protestant agent's repressive measures provoke backlash rather than reform among Indians); Chirouse to Rev. A.M.A. Blanchet, March 28, 1876, Ibid. (Indians complaining about Skokomish falling into wicked ways -- divorcing, drinking, gambling -- on Protestant ministers' watch).

78. Reports of Inspector J. Pollock, March 22 and 28 and April 16, 1881, NA M-1070, Rolls 53 and 31; Eells to Commissioner, ARCIA (1880/81), 171; ARCIA (1876/66), 196-97; ARCIA (1879), 155; Jno. McGlinn to Chirouse, February 28, 1874, NA M-2011, Reel 2.

79. M. Eells, "The Indians of Puget Sound," 6-7. See also, M. Eells, "Census of the Clallam and Twana Indians," 35; Twana Narratives, 64 (men at Port Gamble mostly from Klallam Bay and Dungeness); ARCIA (1872), 349; E. Eells to unknown correspondent, March 15, 1878, Eells Papers; ARCIA (1880/81), 171; Aurelia Balch Celestine, Lummi Elders Speak, 37; undated form listing off-reservation bands at Lake Washington, on the upper Skagit, lower Skagit, Samish, Nooksack, Stillaguamish, Snohomish, White, Black, and Cedar Rivers, on Orcas, Guemes, and Whidbey Island, and at Port Orchard, in NA M-2011; Milroy to Commissioner, ARCIA (1879), 148 (people not on the reservations include bands at Gig Harbor, Mud Bay, South Bay and Olympia).

80. O'Keane to Hayt, January 31, 1880, NA PNW RG75, Tulalip Box 24 (John Campbell trying to unite Indians on Skagit River against whites); O'Keane to Trowbridge, November 4, 1880, Ibid. (Indians warning surveyors not to go farther than mouth of Sauk River, claiming all lands above); O'Keane to Commissioner, April 6, 1881, Ibid. (221 Indians above Mt. Vernon, many working in logging camps); O'Keane to Fred Dyer, March 6, 1880, NA PNW RG75, Tulalip Box 123 (Indians on Skagit River driving off white men, claiming land is theirs); C.C. Thornton to Commissioner,

December 2, 1893, NA PNW RG 75, Tulalip Box 25; ARCIA (1870), 43 (Sahmish and Nowhaat persistently refusing to come to reservations); Hunt and Kaylor, Washington West of the Cascades, vol. 1, 426; Schiach, An Illustrated History of Skagit and Snohomish Counties, 109, 119, 122, 132, 471-73; Boxberger, To Fish in Common, 33.

81. Chirouse to Milroy, September 22, 1873, NA M-2011; Chirouse to J.Q. Smith, April 12, 1876, Ibid.; Buckley to Jno. D.L. Atkins, February 5, 1886, NA PNW RG75, Tulalip Box 24; Eells to Commissioner, ARCIA (1880/81), 171; E. Eells to E.P. Smith, December 2, 1873, Edwin Eells Papers; Agent to Milroy, April 12, 1874, Ibid. The Nooksacks were among the most successful but not the only Indians who tried to preserve their hold on lightly settled areas by meeting the requirements of federal homestead laws. Buckley to Atkins, February 5, 1886, NA PNW RG75, Tulalip Box 24 (Stick Samish homestead entries).

82. Jno. McGlinn to Chirouse, February 28, 1874, NA M-2011; "Interview with Louisa Sinclair," Told by the Pioneers, vol. 2, 179; "Family History of Maude Burr Basse," Ibid., 53 (recalling Indians who had huts or camps on west side of Olympia, traded fish and berries to townspeople); Chirouse to J.Q. Smith, April 12, 1876, Ibid. (murder of an Indian who had become a citizen in order to "have the liberty to drink" by an Indian who "has always been wandering among the white settlements").

83. Old Man Olie and others to the Commissioner, February 15, 1875, NA M-2011. There is no indication who wrote this petition for the obviously illiterate Indians and thus no way of knowing whether the writer had an economic or other interest in the Indians' remaining off the reservation. See also, ARCIA (1878), 138 (reporting that quite a few Indians took out naturalization papers last year, hoping to prevent their removal to other reservations).

84. Harrison, The Latest Studies on Indian Reservations, 90. See also, Eells to Commissioner, ARCIA (1885), 193; Mallet to Commissioner, ARCIA (1876/77), 198. It is impossible to know how accurate these figures are or whether they reflect a real increase in the proportion of people on the reservations. Government officials still had difficulty counting people who spent some of the year on reservations, because so many were absent in the summer when censuses were normally conducted and for other reasons. They had even greater difficulty counting or estimating Indians off the reservations. See also the

discussion in Chapter 5 about whether citizens of indigenous descent were counted as Indians.

85. Buckley to Commissioner, ARCIA (1883), 169 (reporting many Tulalip Reservation residents absent greater part of the year); Collins, "John Fornsby," 319; M. Eells, "Census of the Clallam and Twana Indians," 35, 37 (showing off-reservation Klallams intermarried with people residing on reservations at Skokomish, Port Madison, Lummi, etc.); Applications for Enrollment and Allotment of Washington Indians, NA PNW Microfilm M-1343; Chirouse to Smith, June 10 1875, NA M-2011 (Tulalip reservation Indians attending potlatch given by off-reservation Klallams). In California, too, some Indians seemed to look upon the reservations as sources of occasional food or temporary protection to be incorporated into rounds of travel and subsistence activities. Findlay, "An Elusive Institution," State and Reservation, 30.

86. Meeker Family Papers, Notebooks I and III; Collins, "John Fornsby," 307, 311, 315, 319.

87. Nels Bruseth, Indian Stories and Legends of the Stillaguamish, Sauks and Allied Tribes (Arlington, Washington: [1926]; reprint, Fairfield, Washington: Ye Galleon Press), 5, 9; Told by the Pioneers, vol. 2, 52, 181, 221; Kellogg, "A History of Whidbey's Island," 8, 27, 30, 59-60, 72; Hawley, Skqee Mus, 26, 31, 36, 40, 44, 53, 77-78, 108; Swift, "Notes on Whidby Island History," July 4 and December 13, 1913; Collins, "John Fornsby," 313; Harris, "Early Historical Incidents of Skagit County," 3, 26; Phoebe Goodell Judson, A Pioneer's Search for an Ideal Home (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984). See also, M. Eells, "The Potlatches of Puget Sound," 145; Hunt and Kaylor, Washington West of the Cascades, vol. 1, 394-95, 397, 399; Schiach, An Illustrated History of Skagit and Snohomish Counties, 103-106, 109, 270-71, 459; Helen Norton, "Social, Marital, Economic and Political Relationships of the Snohomish Tribe of Indians in the Late 19th and Early 20th Centuries" (1992), report prepared for Snohomish Tribe of Indians, copied supplied by tribe, 11.

88. Prosch, "Later Celebrations" in Pierce County Pioneer Association, "Commemmorative Celebration at Sequalitchew Lake;" Collins, "John Fornsby," 307, 311, 312, 317, 320, 334, 306. Fornsby told Collins, at 312:

> The old people used to sing at Priest Point. Their powers went down there where the dead people are...Old Father Chirouse didn't believe in it. "Don't

> you go, boys; that's the devil's work." ...I watched the old people, what they did...; bultadak is the name of the power they sing. That is the power that goes down to the dead. There must have been fifty men who sang that. There were five or six men who were Indian doctors, old fellows, and that White man who had ghost power. He would sing what the dead sing....Father Chirouse didn't want us to see the old way.

See also, Paul Fetzer, "George Swanaset: narrative of a personal document," in Melville Jacobs Collection, University of Washington Manuscripts, No. 1693-71-13, Box 112, 7: "But our big times were the camp meetings we used to have at Chilliwack and Ferndale, where the whites and Indians would come together for a week."

89. John Campbell Diary, 1869-1894, University of Washington Manuscripts; O'Keane to Commissioner, April 6, 1881, NA PNW RG75, Tulalip Box 24; Statistical report on Skagit River, 1881, NA M-2011, Reel 3; Diary of James Swan, Book 22 (1877); Washington Standard, January 11 and 18, 1879, 1 (reporting murder of George Phillips of Orcas Island by his Indian wife and "old gossip" that she is former mistress of Judge Fitzhugh); Puget Sound Weekly Courier, January 9, 1880, 1 (50 Indian taxpayers in Thurston County); E. Eells to unknown correspondent, March 15, 1878 (Clallam County, Dungeness, Port Townsend Indians intermarried with whites, working in mills and for settlers and "hence they are brought into close and immediate contact with the whites the greater portion of the time"); Chirouse to Milroy, March 12, 1873, NA M-2011 (white men living with Indian women on reservation told to marry or send women away); ARCIA (1880/81), 167 (children of a few off-reservation bands permitted to attend common schools with whites). See also, Schiach, An Illustrated History of Skagit and Snohomish Counties, 137 (non-native population of 2,816 in 1885 includes 170 half-breeds); Collins, Valley of the Spirits, 39.

90. Indian Jimmie et al. v. W.B. Moore, Civil Case No. 1991, King County Clerk's Records, Territory District Court Case Files; Territory v. Dr. Jack, District Court Case, No. 2700, Ibid. See also, discussion in following chapter of Wilbur and Kelley cases.

91. Edward Harper Thomas, Chinook: A History and Dictionary of the Northwest Coast Trade Jargon (Portland: Metropolitan Press, 1935), 27; testimony of Wapato John and Augustus Kautz, Duwamish et al. v. United States, 667, 679; Report of Inspector Robert Gardner, February 6,

1883, NA M-1070, Roll 53; Hawley, Skqee Mus, 53; Harris, "Early Historical Incidents in Skagit County," 10; Kellogg, "A History of Whidbey's Island," 59; James Wickersham, "Notes on the Indians of Washington," American Antiquarian XXI (1891), 370; Myron Eells, "The Chinook Jargon," American Anthropologist (1894): 303; M. Eells, "The Twana Indians of the Skokomish Reservation," 98; M. Eells, Ten Years of Missionary Work among the Indians, 33-34; "Autobiography of Edwin Chalcraft"; Chirouse to W.B. Gosnell, July 1, 1861, WTSIA, Roll 9, Reel 19; [Tacoma] Daily Ledger, May 23, 1889, 4 (jargon used at funeral of Puyallup chief); Ibid., November 28, 1890, 2 (Mr. Mann preaching one Thanksgiving sermon in English, one in Chinook for old Indians); C.C. Thornton to Commissioner, December 2, 1893, NA PNW RG75, Tulalip Box 25; Affidavits of John Elwood and Kate Waller in United States et al. v. The Chicago Fishing Company, U.S. District Court for the District of Washington (1895), NA PNW RG21, Box 82, Case No. 481; transcript of Hatch v. Ferguson et al., Ibid., Box 20, Case No. 151, 10, 15, 44, 58. No wonder settler Nels Bruseth had the impression that "[m]ost everybody in those days knew a little Chinook...." Bruseth, Indian Stories and Legends of the Stillaguamish.

92. M. Eells, "The Indians of Puget Sound," 1.

93. Ibid., 104; E. Eells, speech on history of Cushman school, 1910, Eells Papers; ARCIA (1883), 147-48; Puget Sound Weekly Courier, February 11, 1881, 1; White, "The Treaty of Medicine Creek," 177.

94. ARCIA (1872), 348. Two members of the Board of Indian Commissioners recommended in 1874 that Puget Sound Indians not on reservations and already employed should not be forced to come under government care. Those on the reservations, they said, should be encouraged to seek outside employment, with agents intervening on their behalf for their protection. ARCIA (1874), 79. See also, Chirouse to Smith, August 2, 1876, NA M-2011 (requesting clerk and two more employees to look after interests of "poor Indians who are so far removed from the main Reservations without any one to look to for redress when their rights are infringed on by a set of unscrupulous white men who sometimes invade their domestic circle causing in many instances ruin and destruction to body and soul").

95. E. Eells to Brown, Register, December 8, 1879, and to R.S. Greene, December 12, 1879, Edwin Eells Papers; ARCIA (1886), 244 (large number of complaints from citizens about disturbances involving Indians); W.B. Hall to

O'Keane, February 19, 1881, Ibid. (attorney writing on behalf of client who claims reservation Indians burned his barn, robbed his house; offering to settle the matter for $200 rather than prosecute); Chirouse to J.Q. Smith, April 12, 1876, Ibid. (H.A. Smith's claim that Snohomish Indians owe him money and their claim that debts are not all just); Chirouse to Smith, May 2, 1876, Ibid.; Richard Jeffs, to O'Keane, May 15, 1882, Ibid.; Buckley to U.S. District Attorney, June 30, 1886, NA PNW RG75, Tulalip Box 24 (asking investigation of Muckleshoot Indians' claim that county opened a road there without their knowledge or consent); Papers of William DeShaw, Box 1, File 13 (ledger entries regarding DeShaw's trip to see Indian woman off the reservation who was beaten by white man).

96. Buckley to Whome [sic] this may concern, November 19, 1883, NA PNW RG75, Tulalip Box 123; O'Keane to Hayt, September 1, 1879, NA PNW RG75, Tulalip Box 24; Milroy to Superintendent, March 14, 1874, NA M-2011 (certificate that Indian bearers have right to fish in accustomed locations); Buckley to Whome it may concern, December 5, 1883, NA PNW RG75, Tulalip Box 123 (certificate that bearer is U.S. Indian policeman with duty to help preserve order and arrest Indian offenders; asking citizens to assist him in discharging his duty when off reservation). See also, Edward Bristow to C.B. Buchanan, January 16, 1902, NA PNW RG75, Tulalip Box 98 (silversmith from Swinomish Reservation, planning to peddle jewelry among strangers in British Columbia, thinks it advantageous to have permit from agent).

97. Milroy to Joseph and Elizabeth To-la-walh, July 12, 1873, NA M-2011; "Autobiography of Edwin Chalcraft;" Citizen of White River to Tulalip Agent, May 18, 1873, Ibid.; F. Tarbell, to Chirouse, February 15, 1874, Ibid.; Buckley to C.H. Hanford, October 8, 1883, NA PNW RG75, Tulalip Box 123.

98. For example, hop growers asked agents' permission to hire workers from among reservation residents. Thompson and Meade to Father Chirusch, August 28, 1875, NA M-2011.

99. Marion to Hayt, December 11, 1878, NA PNW RG75, Tulalip Box 24. See also, E. Eells to Hayt, May 10, 1879, Edwin Eells Papers, for statement that Indians who met legal requirements for citizenship could be "the most dangerous of Indians;" and Harrison, The Latest Studies on Indian Reservations, 168-69, for a reformer's assertion that Indians as a race are "of course" inferior to whites in intellectual capacity and cannot hope to contribute

anything vital to national life even after they are civilized.

100. Marion to Hayt, November 7, 1878, NA PNW RG75, Tulalip Box 24; M. Eells, "The Potlatches of Puget Sound," 145. In 1879 the Tulalip Reservation agent forwarded to the President letters from several chiefs, begging for land patents in words that alluded to the low status Indians had in American leaders' eyes. "The white men belong to Washington," Hallum's letter said, "and we are only indians therefore two different kinds of men." Charley Jules, et al., to our dear Fathers at Washington, March 10 1879, NA PNW RG75, Tulalip Box 24 (Hallum here spelled Hallem).

101. ARCIA (1874), 338; Annual Report, March 27, 1872, NA M-2011; Marion to Hayt, November 30, 1878, NA PNW RG75, Tulalip Box 24 (reporting that a "hostile" chief is spreading rumors that agent plans to use police force to fight other Indians); Territory v. John Kilcup and Territory v. Arthur Petit, Whatcom County Justice Court Cases No. 157 and 158 respectively (1885), Territory District Court Case Files (attempted lynching of Jimmie Poole, an Indian).

102. M. Eells, "The Potlatches of Puget Sound," 136-37; Puget Sound Weekly Courier, November 3, 1876, 1 (many Indians passing through town on way to potlatch at Skokomish); O'Keane to Trowbridge, November 30, 1880, NA PNW RG75, Tulalip Box 24 (chiefs and headmen leave for Samish potlatch); Twana Narratives, 29-37, 64-87; Leighton, Life at Puget Sound, 24-25, 3-36. Jonathan McGlinn, who worked on the Lummi Reservation in 1874, deplored "the numerous potlatches, not only held here, but all over the sound -- where the hoarding of years are scattered broad cast, and the poor Indian comes out -- a big Tyee but a very poor Siwash." McGlinn to Chirouse, February 28, 1874, NA M-2011.

103. DeShaw to Chirouse, April 16, 1876, NA M-2011.

104. M. Eells, "The Potlatches of Puget Sound," 136-37; M. Eells, answers to request of General Howard for information, enclosed with letter of E. Eells, March 15, 1878, Edwin Eells Papers, Box 3, Folder 8; Chirouse to Smith, ARCIA (1874), 337; Buckley to Commissioner, ARCIA (1884), 171.

105. In 1878 Charley Waterman of the Skokomish Reservation, perhaps an alumnus of the school there, sent the Puget Sound Weekly Argus some words "spoken by a boy sixteen years old [who] wants me to write...what he says." The

editors thought the letter "curious," but most partisans of the civilization program would have seen it as support for Chirouse's claim that pupils in reservation schools were learning to "forget their lodges, and laugh at the superstitious and shameful habits of their parents."

> I am an Indian. I can read some, but I cannot say that I can read as well as a white man. I am very glad that white people learned me to read....White people say that the world is round like a bubble. I guess it is true. White people know a great deal. I cannot stand against a white man, and say that he (the white man) is not speaking the truth, when he says the world is round....And when one Indian gets ready to fight a great many white people, they take up old rusty guns, and load them, and fire against white people. I only a boy, am wiser than older Indians. I would not stand against white man with a rusty gun. And when they fight, they go behind rocks, and hide round like so many frightened rats, before cats -- terrible eaters. Oh. I wished I was there when they go to fighting and I would tell them "Oh stop fighting, you will be swallowed up by the great eaters" (white people).

Puget Sound Weekly Argus, November 26, 1878, 8. It was Myron Eells, who identified Waterman as a resident of the Skokomish Indian Reservation. Castile, The Indians of Puget Sound, 248.

106. Collins, "John Fornsby," 295; Meeker Family Papers, Notebook III.

107. Stephen Cornell, The Return of the Native: Native American Political Resurgence (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 62-67; Dippie, The Vanishing American, 202. Religious innovation and zeal were not peculiar to Indian societies during the late nineteenth century. The repercussions of rapid large-scale industrialization, developments in the sciences, and mass communication and education stimulated intense spiritual crises in many non-Indian Americans. Some Christians torn between tradition and innovation were attracted to primitivist sects and churches prophesying Christ's imminent second coming. Paul A. Carter, The Spiritual Crisis of the Gilded Age (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1971); T.J. Jackson Lears, No Place of Grace: Anti-Modernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920 (New York: Pantheon, 1981).

108. T.T. Waterman, "Puget Sound Geography," [ca. 1920] manuscript in Special Collections Library, University of Washington, 70 (giving Slocum's residence as north shore of Big Skookum Inlet); Lida W. Quimby, "Puget Sound Indian Shakers," The State, 7 (1902): 188; Notes (1930s), Erna Gunther Papers, University of Washington Manuscripts, Accession No. 614-70-20, Box 2, Folder 16, and Box 3, Folder 2 (Nancy Kimball, Slocum's niece, saying he lived at Church Point or SaXeWamish, was raised in Shelton Bay; his father's mother was part Port Madison); notes of interviews at Squaxin Island (1905), Edmond S. Meany Papers, University of Washington Manuscripts, Accession No. 106-70-12, Box 86, Folder 2 (saying Slocum had logging camp and preemption claim on Big Skookum and a house at Oyster Bay); Seattle Post-Intelligencer, October 22, 1905, Magazine 5 (some identified Slocum as a Twana); M. Eells, "The Indians of Puget Sound," 5 (30 Squaxins incorporated at Skokomish); Deegan, History of Mason County, 30-31 (Nancy George Sherwood's claim that Slocum's camp on Hammersley Inlet sheltered 16 families); Barnett, Indian Shakers, 349, 351; George P. Castile, "The 'Half-Catholic' Movements: Edwin and Myron Eells and the rise of the Indian Shaker Church," Pacific Northwest Quarterly 73 (1982): 171.

109. Erna Gunther Papers; account of beginning of Shaker faith told by Annie James to Frank F. Bennett (1944), Records of the Indian Shaker Church of Washington and the Northwest, 1892-1945, University of Washington Microfilm A-4547; Castile, "The 'Half-Catholic' Movement," 168; Erna Gunther, "The Shaker Religion of the Northwest," in Indians of the Urban Northwest, 55-6; Barnett, Indian Shakers, 53; Lummi History Record Center, Nooh-whLummi, A Brief History of the Lummi (1974), 15, pamphlet in Research Room, National Archives, Pacific Northwest Region; William W. Elmendorf, "An Almost Lost Culture," Washington State Review 2 (1858): 6; June McCormick Collins, "The Indian Shaker Church," Southwestern Journal of Anthropology 6 (1950): 405.

110. Castile, "The 'Half-Catholic Movement,'" 170-171. Barnett, who says Slocum's death and resurrection occurred in 1881, infers that news of the miracle was responsible for the increase in religious interest that officials noticed during the winter of 1881-82. Indian Shakers, 46. See also, Barnett's and Castile's references to a revelation which Big Bill, brother of Skokomish chief Dick Lewis, received before Slocum's vision. Barnett, 48-49; Castile, 171. Edmond Meany, relying on interviews conducted at the Skokommish Reservation, said that Big Bill, Big John, and Mowitch Man were religious visionaries who first were independent

of the Shakers but whose "creeds" later merged with Shakerism. Seattle Post-Intelligencer, October 22, 1905, Magazine 5.

111. Barnett, Indian Shakers, 51-52; Gunther, "The Shaker Religion of the Northwest," 70.

112. Edwin Eells Papers, Box 1, Folder 17; Castile, "The 'Half-Catholic' Movement," 171. In "The Shaker Religion of the Northwest," 70, Gunther says that Big John and other Shakers went to Olympia to appeal the agent's order to disband and cease shaking over the sick. Barnett's version of this event does not mention either this order or the Olympia pastor's invitation. Indeed, it implies that Big John's revelation was independent of the Shakers' activities. According to Barnett, who relies on Myron Eells, John disregarded orders to return to the Skokomish Reservation for a month after his parade. When he did return, the ridicule of whites there drove him to leave again for Mud Bay, where his wife's family lived. For leaving without permission, the agent had him arrested. Barnett, Indian Shakers, 56; M. Eells, Ten Years of Missionary Work, 185. See also, [Tacoma] Daily Ledger, November 28, 1890, 2, which says that many recall Slocum's leading a band of Indians into Olympia, where he was given free use of churches.

113. "Autobiography of Edwin Chalcraft;" Castile, "The 'Half-Catholic' Movement," 172; Barnett, Indian Shakers, 91, 93 (Shakers imprisoned at Puyallup for seven weeks for doctoring); Quimby, "Puget Sound Indian Shakers," 189; Daily Ledger, November 28, 1890, 2.

114. "Autobiography of Edwin Chalcraft." Native people at the beginning of the nineteenth century believed cleanliness -- that is, abstention from human acts such as eating and sexual realtions -- was a prerequisite to attracting a spirit partner.

115. Gunther, "The Shaker Religion of the Northwest," 41-42, 59; Collins, Valley of the Spirits, 43; Langness, "A Case of Post-Contact Reform," 40 (saying most shamans at Jamestown became Shakers); Nooh-whLummi, 15; Smith, The Puvallup-Nisqually, 86 (man who thought the power of the old doctors turned into a new religion to be used for good); Albert B. Reagan, "The Shaker Church of the Indians," Alaska-Yukon Magazine 5 (1908): 82-83; Elmendorf, "An Almost Lost Culture," 6; Collins, "The Indian Shaker Church," 405.

116. Gunther, "The Shaker Religion of the Northwest," 41-42; Collins, Valley of the Spirits, 43; Barnett, Indian Shakers, 338-39. Regarding the proliferation of "mean" Indian doctors due to crowding on the reservations, see Roberts, "A History of the Swinomish Tribal Community," 254-55. Frank Allen related tales from the 1870s of shamans who never used their powers to cure but instead used malignant magic to take revenge on people who angered them. One involved Long John, who used his power against Spar when the latter refused to give him a job in a logging camp. Twana Narratives, 224-26, 216-17. Ethnographers say that aboriginal villages rarely, if ever, had more than one shaman. Yet in the 1880 census Myron Eells counted five medicine men at the Skokomish Reservation settlement alone (and this was undoubtedly an incomplete tally of the people who claimed shamanic power). Special Census, 1880-81, NA Mic P-2193; Collins, "An Interpretation of Skagit Intragroup Conflict," 347-355; Smith, "The Puyallup of Washington," 7. Shakers insisted that they formed their own church without borrowing from whites. Seattle Post-Intelligencer, October 22, 1905, Magazine 5.

117. Thus motivated by historically determined self-conceptions, as Marshall Sahlins points out, historical actors generate the bases for new self-conceptions. Sahlins, Historical Metaphors and Mythical Realities, 33, 35.

118. The Shaker movement thus appears to illustrate a phenomenon described by Loretta Fowler and Morris Foster -- Indians adapting to social conditions outside their control by creating culturally acceptable innovations that they can control. Being Comanche, 14, citing Fowler, Shared Symbols, Contested Meanings: Gros Ventre Culture and History, 1778-1984 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987).

119. This reference to boundaries does not mean that the Shaker church provided Indians with a formal, organizational means of proclaiming their identity. The Shakers, who valued spontaneity and the individual's personal relation to the holy spirit, did not constitute an association with a defined membership.

# CHAPTER 5

## DEFINING INDIANS: DIALOGUES ACROSS MOVING BOUNDARY LINES

On May 22, 1892, the Seattle Post-Intelligencer reported the outcome of a lawsuit it deemed the most important ever heard in Kitsap County and one of the most remarkable before any court in Washington State. Charles Kelley had reclaimed his father Michael's estate from the county, which had held it since 1869 in the belief that the elder Kelley died without heirs. The case aroused "considerable commotion," the P-I said, not because Michael Kelley had twice served as county commissioner nor because his estate consisted of land valued at more than $200,000, but because Charles Kelley's mother was an Indian whom the newspaper described as Michael's "house companion."[1]

The question for jurors was whether Michael Kelley had fathered Charles during a valid marriage. After hearing testimony about Indians' "ancient" marriage customs, they found that Charles's parents had married in accordance with such customs; and the judge consequently declared Kelley legitimate, "though Indian." The Post-Intelligencer, observing that "it was the admitted custom of many of the old settlers to take Indian women and live with them as wives," expected the decision in Kelley's case "to disturb the titles of the most valuable land through the western part of the state," because many children born of similar arrangements were "still living in the several Sound counties and just reaching their majority."[2]

The census of 1900 confirmed the P-I reporter's contention that intercourse between settlers and indigenous people had produced many persons of ambiguous identity such as Charles Kelley. In the counties surrounding Puget Sound were at least

1,305 people who had both Indian and non-Indian progenitors. On the other hand, the writer might have been surprised to learn that these hybrid people were not all reminders of a pioneer past. Census takers identified 136 homes where a non-Indian was cohabiting in 1900 with someone who had at least one Indian parent.[3]

Although persons of mixed ancestry were numerous and increasing at the turn of the century, they and the Indians from whom they descended were a tiny and shrinking proportion of the population around Puget Sound. Nonetheless, the racial and legal status of Indians and their offspring attracted intense public interest, because their status could determine whether they would share in resources that became more precious as the region's population grew. Acknowledged Indians as well as immigrants had a stake in cases like Charles Kelley's. If classed with white citizens, indigenous people and their descendants might lay claim to wealth for which whites were already competing. If classified as Indians, they would crowd the field of those vying for the even scarcer resources reserved to Indians.

Demographic and economic developments of the late nineteenth century thus forced inhabitants of the Puget Sound region to admit that earlier attempts to separate Indians from non-Indians had been largely ineffectual. Mounting pressures on land and other resources touched off new efforts to define Indians and to spell out Indians' rights and liabilities. Questions about the characteristics that identified Indians arose in many different forums at the century's end -- in courtrooms, administrative offices, historical society meetings, publications, and schools.

In some settings people who made no pretense of being Indians discussed Indians' traits among themselves; in other settings the parties to the discussion all identified themselves as Indians. However, neither Indians nor non-Indians could draw the boundaries between their two groups unilaterally. In order to develop workable definitions of Indianness they not only had to take each other's proposed definitions into account; they also had to talk with each other about the issue. Talk they did. The salient feature of Indian-white relations at the turn of the century was an explicit, multi-faceted, multi-party discourse about the nature and consequences of Indian identity.

The immigrant tide that had begun flowing into Puget Sound during the 1860s surged between 1880 and 1910. New railroads channeled one hundred fifty-five thousand additional people to the area during the 1880s alone, boosting the population 600 percent. Together with a boom in agriculture east of the Cascade Mountains, this accumulation of inhabitants earned Washington Territory its statehood in 1889; and statehood enhanced the region's attractions for investors as well as settlers, thus encouraging further growth until the depression of 1893. In the wake of the Klondike gold discoveries of 1897 came another tidal wave of immigrants. Argonauts boun. to or from the Yukon were a bonanza themselves for Puget Sound merchants and promoters; and so, by 1910 the region's population had leaped to 600,000.[4]

Development, much of it still tied to the water-and-rail-dependent timber industry, concentrated during these decades along shorelines and river valleys. Particularly in the late 1880s and early 1890s, speculators who financed or correctly

foresaw the locations of new rail lines and ports could parlay modest investments into fortunes overnight. Some entrepreneurs invested in catching and preserving fish. Those with capital and access to strategically located reefs and tidelands could build structures that trapped salmon by the hundreds of thousands. By 1900, commercial oyster culture was also paying well. Consequently, contests for title and access to waterfront property were intense. As the unclaimed public domain contracted and lumber companies bought up millions of forested acres, the value of other lands skyrocketed, too.[5]

To people in a fever to profit from such economic activity, lands and resources allocated to Indians -- most were on the water -- appeared to have medicinal qualities. For example, many whites decided that Puyallup Reservation land was a likely remedy for what ailed them. They saw the capacious reservation as mostly vacant and neglected, its potential for generating wealth unrealized. Bordering an ideal harbor, it lay between the burgeoning city of Tacoma and proliferating farms and mines to the east. However, because reservation lands were allotted to individual residents with prohibitions against transferring them, non-Indians could neither buy nor tax them.[6]

Some local whites made it their mission to promote economic development of the Puyallup lands. In 1890, under the headline "Rich Puyallup Indians," an Olympia newspaper estimated that people holding patents to reservation allotments were worth from $50,000 to $250,000 each.[7] County and city authorities petitioned Congress to remove constraints on Puyallup lands so that allottees could sell or lease them if they wished. Where

there was a comparative wilderness, Tacoma's mayor and council claimed, there could be vast gardens.[8] Frank Ross saw no reason to petition or wait for congressional action before planting his money tree in the Puyallup garden. While backers of a Puyallup Valley railway followed federal procedures for obtaining a right-of-way through the reservation, only to see a council of Indians reject their proposal, Ross cut private deals with individual allottees for a route across their lands.[9]

When agent Edwin Eells sought to invalidate Ross's deals, a federal judge upheld them on the ground that the people Ross had contracted with were no different by law from non-Indians. Upon receiving patents to reservation lots, the judge ruled, the Puyallups had become U.S. and state citizens, with all attendant rights to manage property. The appeals court reversed this decision in 1894 because it had a different conception of the Puyallup allottees. Abolishing Indians' distinct status was Congress's ultimate goal, the court acknowledged, but that goal would "not be soonest realized by attributing fanciful qualities to the Indians or by supposing that their natures can be changed by legislative enactment."[10] By the time of the appellate court ruling, however, Congress had yielded to pressure and authorized government-supervised sales of Puyallup Reservation lands. In 1903 it permitted all federal restrictions on the lands to lapse. While whites devised schemes for separating allottees from their land, both they and many Puyallups announced that the Puyallup Indian tribe had disbanded.[11]

Non-Indians who ventured onto reserved Puyallup lands to lay rails, speculate, or farm were toppling or ignoring boundary markers -- both geographical and legal -- that an earlier

generation had labored to erect around Indians. There were many such incursions in the last decade of the nineteenth century and first decade of the twentieth. Whites demanded opportunities to acquire property inside other Puget Sound reservations. They also appeared more frequently along reservation borders, claiming the right to take fish, shellfish, and water there. In 1900, for example, the two dozen residents of the Squaxin Island Reservation, who depended on the fauna of surrounding tidelands for food and income, were alarmed to learn that the state was selling those tidelands to whites. Three years later federal officials obtained a court order declaring the reservation boundary to be the low water rather than the high water line; but that did not discourage non-Indians from locating fish traps and hauling seines on the shores of other reservations in the region.[12]

The same strategy that gave non-Indians access to land at Puyallup -- erasing or disregarding old boundaries around Indians -- enabled speculators to pry Ezra Hatch's Snohomish County homestead out of his Indian widow's hands and profit from its location in the path of an approaching rail line. Josephine Hatch was illiterate and unable to converse in English. The men who persuaded her to sell them the homestead promptly resold it for one hundred times their purchase price. Neither fact, however, induced a federal judge to invalidate the sale. Cornelius Hanford, the judge who later approved Puyallup allottees' leases to Ross, declared that the Hatches' marriage in the 1870s had given Josephine the same rights as white female citizens to inherit and dispose of property.[13]

In other cases during the same era, whites bested Indians in contests for property by pursuing a contrary strategy -- that is, by erecting or reinforcing fences between Indians and non-Indians. Charles Kelley's lower court victory, for instance, inspired powerful whites to bring out their posts and barbed wire. The state supreme court reversed the jury and trial judge, declaring that Michael Kelley's arrangements with his would-be bride -- he had paid a few dollars to her sisters -- could not possibly amount to marriage.[14]

Still a threat to some white interests were people of native ancestry who, like Josephine Hatch, claimed property by virtue of links to whites that were more formal and permanent than Michael Kelley's. When John Wilbur married a Skagit woman named Kitty, for instance, he indisputably observed Indian formalities. Moreover, he acknowledged Kitty as his wife for years and fathered her three children before putting her aside to marry a white woman. By relying on a historic attempt to separate Indians from whites, Wilbur's white heirs nevertheless thwarted Kitty's bid for a share of his estate. The state supreme court ruled that Kitty's marriage did not entitle her to Wilbur's property because it occurred at a time -- between 1855 and 1866 -- when the laws of Washington Territory invalidated all marriages of white men and Indian women.[15]

Thus, by depicting Indians as operating outside the rules of American society, lawyers and judges achieved the same results in the Kelley and Wilbur cases as they did by denying differences between Indians and non-Indians in the Puyallup and Hatch cases: they assured white control of valuable assets. In 1893 the Post-

Intelligencer had warned that Charles Kelley was the tip of a sizeable iceberg adrift in western Washington's economy. By the end of the decade the courts had substantially eliminated the danger that Indian consorts and their progeny would appear out of the misty past to sink other white boats on Puget Sound's rising economic tide.

As whites used laws to whittle away the economic opportunities available to people of indigenous descent, more and more of those people focused their hopes on land and resources reserved for Indians. The scarcity of affordable land motivated whites to displace many Indians who had squatted or homesteaded outside reservations, and some of the displaced families then sought homesites on reservations.[16] There they had to get in line with other people of aboriginal descent -- those born after the first allotment of reservations, for instance -- who also hankered for land. Government files from this period contain numerous inquiries and complaints from people who thought their ancestry or social ties might entitle them to new or abandoned reservation lots. Mindful of such interest and of simultaneous developments conducive to farming, government agents soon parceled out remaining common reservation lands.[17]

Applications for new allotments presented federal agents with a question they were ill prepared to answer: What characteristics did entitle someone to land reserved for Indians? In 1901, for example, the government farmer at the Muckleshoot Reservation asked his supervisor whether he could assign the unimproved allotment of a deceased man to Jonas Jack, who claimed to be a Puyallup Indian but did not appear on any Indian census. "He has not been considered a Muckleshoot Indian but would like

to belong to this tribe," the farmer wrote. "He is a citizen Indian and has never held land at Puyallup or elsewhere."[18]

A common problem for allotting agents was the one D.C. Govan posed in 1895: what to do about applications from women married to whites. Should he distinguish, Govan asked the commissioner, between women whose parents or grandparents had been on the reservation and those whose families "failed or refused to avail themselves of the benefits of the treaty of 1856 [sic] and belong to that class which has always lived outside the reservation?" Some women's non-Indian husbands had lived for years on the reservations, "complying with all the indian regulations." Others appeared to be outsiders who instigated their wives' applications with the hope of profiting when restrictions on disposition of the land lapsed.[19]

Indian Department officials thus struggled to classify diverse people, including many who had multiple or tenuous connections to Indian communities and many who had non-Indian as well as Indian ancestors or family members. The officials' responsibility was heavy with irony. They administered a political-legal system whose designers had assumed not only that Indians should be segregated from whites but also that Indians could be easily distinguished from whites; yet that system, rather than accomplishing a clear division of Indians and non-Indians, had generated new uncertainties about what an Indian was and new needs for ways to identify Indians.

American leaders expected to apply a simplistic and static notion of Indian identity to people whose social relations were complex and dynamic. When they finally made serious efforts to implement their plan, at century's end, they had complicated

their own task by changing their policies and rendering the status of many presumed Indians more ambiguous instead of clearer.

In the 1850s, when Isaac Stevens urged all Indians to settle permanently on reservations, he did not anticipate problems differentiating Indians from other people. In each treaty he designated reservations for certain listed bands of Indians, apparently without wondering whether and how officials would determine who belonged in those bands. For the most part indigenous people, rather than government agents, made the first determinations by going where they willed.[20] Those individuals who settled on reservations were the ones who appeared on early censuses of Indians.[21]

Officials left almost no record before the 1880s that they tried to sort people who belonged on particular reservations from those who did not. Almost certainly, the record is blank because agents made few such efforts. During the years when they had annuities to dispense, they occasionally worried that people were coming from outside a ceded area to claim treaty benefits not rightfully theirs; but more often they worried that paltry payments and fear of encountering enemies kept eligible Indians away, beyond government influence. Glad to have any Indians gather around them, agents rarely questioned the identities of the people who came in.[22]

Records of individual land assignments in the 1870s, too, are nearly devoid of evidence that eligibility was an issue. In general any family on the reservations at the time could receive a plot. Chirouse inquired once whether Indians from outside the

Point Elliott treaty area could settle at Tulalip, and Milroy answered that such people could not claim any "rights or benefits" but could settle there so long as no Indian from the area objected. In practice, the earliest inhabitants of most reservations probably determined whether to make new people welcome; and the welcomed families received land if land was available.[23]

Social ties that linked reservation residents to people elsewhere portended problems, however, for the government's plan to group Indians by tribe and allot them portions of common reserved land. Myron Eells discovered during the census of 1880 how extensive such ties were. When he asked Indians to name their parents' and grandparents' tribes, only 290 of the 485 people who called themselves Klallams said that they considered all four grandparents to be Klallams. The remaining people, Eells said, were "intermingled with eighteen other tribes." Many had the "blood" of three or four tribes. Among 242 Twana, Eells found only twenty who did not identify a grandparent as non-Twana -- Klallam, Squaxin, Chehalis, Samish, Nisqually, Snohomish, Port Madison, Puyallup, Chemakum, Duwamish, Skagit, Victoria, Klikitat, Skewhamish, or Snoqualmie. Fifteen Clallams and twenty-four Twanas also had white ancestors.[24] Aside from Eells, no early agents seemed to appreciate the range and importance of the interrelations he documented. Although other agents were vaguely aware that kinship ties criss-crossed the lines between presumed tribes and races, none betrayed concern that the tangled ties could trip them up as they allocated reserved resources.[25]

Meanwhile, the government itself took actions that made it

harder to compartmentalize Indians. By the 1890s, American policy shifted from minimizing Indian contact with whites to devising opportunities for beneficial intercourse.[26] Influential whites, intent on accelerating Indians' preparation for citizenship, advocated bringing Indians into contact with more white exemplars.[27] Some reformers even posited that the proximity of the races would encourage intermarriage, which would solve the "Indian problem" by effecting amalgamation of Indians into American society.[28] In other words, at a time when people with dual ancestry were increasing in number, whites differed about how to characterize them and about what they meant for racial categories. While judges were pronouncing many of them Indians, some policy makers were pointing to them as evidence that Indians could become non-Indians.[29]

The government also complicated the business of drawing and patrolling boundaries around Indians by providing for Indian citizenship. In the view of assimilationist reformers, Indians who accepted individual portions of tribal land and renounced tribal ties surmounted the most significant structural barrier to their inclusion in American society. The reformers' keystone legislation, the General Allotment Act of 1887, therefore conferred citizenship on all allottees. Although most allottees in western Washington received patents pursuant to treaty provisions rather than the Allotment Act, their patents also made them citizens.[30]

In reform theory and under the 1887 legislation, an Indian who became a citizen was no longer an Indian for most legal purposes. Therefore, when many allottees in western Washington

promptly asserted their rights as citizens, reservation agents reported that government policy was achieving its end: solving the Indian problem by taking people out of the special class called Indians. Congressman John B. Allen, whose ulterior motive was persuading lawmakers to lift restrictions on Puyallup Reservation lands, declared that conferring citizenship on the Indians "suddenly and forever wiped out every vestige of racedome [sic] or Indianship in their case. You may make a citizen out of an Indian, but you can not make an Indian out of a citizen."[31]

However, when many of the new citizens made clear that they expected their change of status to free them of federal agents' control over their activities, Edwin Eells and others hastened to redraw racial boundaries. Eells complained in 1891 of a court ruling that citizen Indians could not be placed under an agent's jurisdiction. The decision, he noted, left Indians free to indulge in liquor, to practice heathen rites over the sick, and to take their children out of school on any pretext. Evidently Eells found it difficult to reconcile the prevailing theory of Indian assimilation with his perception that these new citizens were still more Indian than non-Indian. He was not alone.[32]

Among the citizens whom Eells and his colleagues persisted in regarding as Indians were many homesteaders, landowners, and taxpayers who had never lived on reservations. Over-extended Indian Department personnel sometimes seemed thankful for national directives and court decrees limiting their power to the reservations and permitting them to declare some off-reservation people beyond the official Indian pale. They knew, however, that the law did not relieve them of all responsibility for Indians

outside reservations. Instead, Congress had enacted legislation that further muddled the bases for sorting Indians under federal protection from people who could be treated as non-Indians. An act of 1875 allowed Indians to take advantage of general homestead laws, and one in 1884 allowed them to select allotments outside reservations. While both statutes enabled Indians to become citizens, both also singled Indians out for special treatment. They prohibited sale and taxation of the homesteads for specified periods; and the 1884 law explicitly imposed on federal authorities a trustee's duty to protect the property, as they did on-reservation allotments.[33]

Scores of people around Puget Sound claimed land under one or the other Indian homestead law, often without the initial knowledge or help of local Indian Office employees. As competition for land heated up, those employees received more requests to account for and help Indian homesteaders and even to help Indians who had not relied on federal law when they occupied land outside reservations. Such requests revealed how uncertain and paradoxical was the status of many putative Indians. People who owned land could be citizens by virtue of that ownership but government wards by virtue of "blood" and the restrictions on their land. Morever, the government's focus on managing Indian land meant that some land-owning citizens received more attention from the Office of Indian Affairs than people who exhibited fewer signs of being "civilized" but made no claims on the government.[34]

In sum, the reservation system had produced a set of political and property relations premised on the idea that

Indians were readily identifiable people, each born into a tribal group. Yet by 1890, when system administrators in western Washington faced an acute need to identify individual Indians so they could allocate property and benefits intended for particular tribes, their task was far from simple. In part because of the ways policy makers had modified and administrators had implemented the reservation model, and in part because the model fit awkwardly over the interconnected people it supposedly served, the traits that might mark people as Indians or as members of tribes were numerous and confusing.

In 1901 Charles Buchanan took charge of the Tulalip Indian Agency, where he would have responsibility for managing property earmarked for Indians in the Point Elliott treaty area, directing a boarding school, and eventually building a new school. Buchanan, a physician with an inquiring and systematic mind, promptly asked the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for guidance in allocating land and benefits. Please tell me, he wrote,

> Who and what is an "Indian"?
> What is a "tribe"?
> What are "tribal rights"?....
> In what manner and by what methods can mixed bloods acquire tribal rights, and how are they extinguished?....
> Is the patenting of land restricted to Indians or heirs, etc., of Indians participating in treaties, etc. which set aside such lands?
> Can an Indian of the mixed blood, one who is white, Yakima and Snohomish maintain a status, tribal or otherwise, as all three? Can he homestead land and also exercise tribal rights among the Yakimas and at the same time maintain tribal rights with the Snohomish?[35]

Guidance from the national office dribbled in during Buchanan's tenure as superintendent, but it did not simplify his job. When Buchanan sent his subordinates forms to use in

gathering data on Indian families, Charles Reynolds at the Muckleshoot Reservation asked for explanation of the terms "Blood or Nationality" and "Tribe or allegiance by Citizenship." Edward Bristow asked whether to include on the Swinomish roll two men who had allotments there but resided elsewhere. One lived at Tulalip; the other was a "half breed" married to a white woman and living among whites. Not surprisingly, William McCluskey, agent on the Lummi Reservation and himself the son of a local Indian, concluded that Bristow produced a Lummi roll laden with errors, particularly in attributions of tribal identity and "blood."[36]

Buchanan emphasized repeatedly that the Indians' habits added to the difficulty of identifying the people for whom he had responsibility. Because the Indians moved around, Buchanan argued, census rolls did not necessarily show who belonged on a reservation and had attendant rights to land and schooling there. He later elaborated:

> It not infrequently happens that relatives or visitors (or those who hope to be either or both) appear upon the reservation at various times for visits more or less protracted, or even indefinitely protracted, at the same time claiming residence rights through relationship, personal relationship, or tribal affiliation, and thus become enrolled on the annual census for that year, but afterwards go out to their former or other haunts, and thus disappear from the census for such period, or may even be lost track of entirely.[37]

By 1910, when Buchanan made this argument, he knew from first-hand experience how hard it was to apply the principle that particular persons belonged on particular western Washington reservations. A federal inspector had recently chastized him for enrolling a Puyallup allottee's children at the Tulalip school.

Never mind that the woman was born on a reservation in the Tulalip jurisdiction and now wanted to resume relations with people there; the inspector declared that her allotment at Puyallup fixed her tribal membership.[38]

There was a catch in the inspector's rule, as Buchanan knew. The right to an allotment depended in the first place on membership in a tribe. Moreover, Buchanan had recently learned the hard way that tribal membership was an elusive phenomenon. When a family named Spithill had sued him for denying them allotments on the Tulalip Reservation, Buchanan had defended his decision on the grounds that the Spithills were not tribal members. In the process of losing the case, he glimpsed the difficulty of reconciling people's actual social relations with the notions of Indian and tribal identity that were embodied in law and policy.

Records of the dispute about allotments for Alexander Spithill's wife and children show how interethnic marriages, individuals' mobility, and erratic government practices could combine to stymie administrators as they tried to identify Indian treaty beneficiaries. The identification effort drew Indians, who had varied and inchoate ideas about tribal membership, into a dialogue with whites, who were themselves uncertain how to recognize members of an Indian community. The underlying question in the Spithill case was what made someone a Snohomish Indian eligible for land at Tulalip. Buchanan thought he knew what the criteria were, but in order to apply them he needed information from Indians. The Indians, trying to understand what whites meant by tribal membership and how Indian ideas fit white

categories, gave him vague and varying answers.

The Spithill applications had troubled agents even before Buchanan considered them. Alexander, a Scot who immigrated in the 1850s and was briefly an unpopular government farmer at Tulalip, first married or lived with a woman he called a Stillaguamish Indian. Their sons Neil and Duncan requested allotments in 1885 along with Spithill's second wife, Anastasia, and her six children. The daughter of a native woman and unidentified white man, Anastasia had been raised by her grandfather, known to all as Chief Bonaparte of the Snohomish tribe.[39] In the belief that the family lived on Alexander's valuable homestead, agent Patrick Buckley first denied their request for reservation land; but he permitted them to select several tracts after the commissioner told him that Indian women with white husbands were eligible for lots. Fifteen years later the Spithills complained that Buchanan was locating other Indians on the tracts they had selected. A seven-year dispute ensued.[40]

The Spithill conflict flared in part because the government had undermined its own efforts to draw tidy lines around Indians. Nineteenth-century administrators had ensured that there would be confusion about many persons' eligibility for allotments when they failed to take complete censuses of Indians and were careless in making and recording assignments of reservation land. Rather than noting lot selections in a tract book, agents merely marked applicants' names on a map, which rapidly became "badly messed." According to Buchanan's predecessors, the fact that he found Anastasia Spithill's name on a map but could not find it either on a Tulalip census or on the original allotment schedule

was of no use in determining her status.[41]

Government officials also contributed to the Spithill controversy's long life because the criteria they employed to determine whether someone had rights in reservation property varied over time. In 1886, when Buckley sought his superiors' advice regarding the Spithill applications, he did not question Anastasia's identity as an Indian of the Snohomish Tribe even though her father was white. He merely asked whether it was proper to allot land to a woman with a white husband, and the acting commissioner replied that the only criterion was her membership in the tribe.[42] Between 1886 and 1907, however, Congress provided that half breeds could enjoy the status of their Indian mothers only if conceived during a verifiable, formal marriage. For this reason the federal court declared that Neil and Duncan Spithill were not Indians.[43]

At trial, applying recent instructions from his superiors, Buchanan acknowledged that Anastasia and her stepsons were probably entitled to allotments by inheritance through their mothers; but he denied that they were Indians of the Tulalip Reservation who had a right as tribal members to their own allotments. Buchanan believed the indices of membership were descent from Indians represented at the treaty, residence in the reservation community, and continuing association with Indians of that community.[44]

Buchanan's criteria proved difficult to employ in classifying the Spithills. Like many presumed Indians of the area, the Spithills did not stay put, identify consistently with a tribal group listed in the treaty, or restrict their social

relations to other treaty Indians. According to testimony, they neither lived continually on the reservation nor left it for good. They came in for varying periods, tending to economic interests and maintaining ties to friends and relatives by occasional visits or extended sojourns. Young Spithill men circulated from Tulalip to various towns and back. Several witnesses, including Buchanan, said there were numerous Indians as peripatetic as the Spithills. As Anastasia saw it, the issue in her case was whether she lived on her allotment any less than other Indians.[45]

To support his contention that Anastasia Spithill did not meet his tests, Buchanan needed information from undisputed Indians of the Tulalip Reservation. In part because government records were so poor, Buchanan and his colleagues knew little themselves about Indians' lineages and affiliations. He did profess to know that "an Indian uses a white man's terms of relationship in a way very uncertain...," calling people "grandfather" and "uncle" without regard to actual kin relations; but he did not know that Anastasia's grandfather had signed the treaty. Based on sources he refused to identify, Buchanan asserted that Anastasia had "Indian blood to the tribes belonging on the Tulalip Reservation" and "alien blood to our tribes;" but his and other white witnesses' unfamiliarity with the Indians' conceptions of tribal ties left him unable either to verify this allegation or to explain its significance for the issue before the court.[46]

The Indians Buchanan called on for information did not give clear answers to questions about Anastasia's tribal origins.

Charles Jules, who knew Anastasia's grandfather, said that Bonaparte belonged to the Snohomish Tribe, then qualified his statement by explaining that Indians' custom of marrying into adjoining tribes had also given Bonaparte "little different connected to other nations of people." William Shelton, Bonaparte's grand-nephew, identified the chief's tribe as Statan or Skagit Head. A third Indian witness, when asked whether reservation residents were from different tribes, said, "No. All that belongs to Tulalip." Tulalip, however, was not a tribal name listed in the Point Elliott Treaty; it was simply the name of the reservation's locale.[47]

Before trial, Buchanan put the question of Anastasia Spithill's tribal affiliation to most adults on the reservation, assembled in council. Although they voted not to recognize her as a member of their community, trial testimony suggested that they were neither certain nor of one mind about what made someone a Snohomish or Tulalip Indian. People apparently rejected Anastasia for a variety of reasons, not all of which Buchanan or the court regarded as salient. Some at the council had in mind the bloodline and white, freckled skin that prompted them to call Anastasia "Little Boston." Others spoke of her mother's Klallam ancestry. However, according to a man who interpreted at the council meeting, Anastasia's ancestry mattered less to the old people than the way she snubbed them after her marriage. Perhaps these people also weighed the fact that the Spithills wanted a whopping 720 acres of reservation land.[48]

As happened at Tulalip, competition for land on the Puyallup Reservation also stimulated a public dialogue about tribal

membership. At Skokomish, Myron Eells aroused no opposition when he assigned land reserved for Twana and Klallam Indians to people who traced most of their ancestors to other tribes and races; but when people who coveted Puyallup lands learned that Myron's brother had patented tracts to persons with similarly diverse backgrounds, they seized on that diversity as reason to invalidate the patents. Edwin Eells, they argued, had allocated valuable resources without proper regard for the criteria of Puyallup Indian identity. James Wickersham, a lawyer and real estate dealer, claimed that sixty-eight of ninety-eight allottees were not true Puyallups. He reported to Congress that the sixty-eight included not only half breeds and full bloods from nearby tribes but also a Mexican, a Sandwich Islander, a British Columbia half breed, and a Bad River Indian from Manitoba.[49]

Wickersham's "Monograph on the Puyallup Indians of the State of Washington," aimed at getting Congress to cancel and sell some allotments, reproduced testimony from a Senate hearing on Eells's alleged mishandling of the allotment process. The principal witness against Eells was Tommy Dean, who had helped to compile the list Wickersham brandished as proof that non-Puyallups had received reservation land. On cross examination, Eells hit Dean with the fact that Dean's own mother described herself as half Snohomish. Eells followed with a second punch: "Then you are as much of a foreigner as David Willard and George Byrd are you?" Dean parried with the statement that he at least had been born on the reservation, although he promptly conceded that he was actually born a few miles from the site of the reservation before there was a reservation.

Joe Taylor, the chief judge of the Puyallup court, readily admitted that his mother, too, was not a Puyallup. She was half Klallam, half Skagit. Taylor, however, did not reason as Dean did that birthplace defined a person's tribal identity. No one had ever explained to him about being a member of the Puyallup tribe, Taylor said, but he was inclined to call anyone on the reservation a member. When asked whether several named individuals were Puyallups, he could not say; yet he subsequently referred to them as tribe members or to their having many Puyallup relations. Describing them thus made sense to Taylor, "Because when a person joins a tribe he is a member....It is all worked by marriaging and relations."[50]

The debates at Puyallup and Tulalip about the nature and composition of presumably Indian communities did not pit united teams of non-Indians against teams of Indians. Rather, while non-Indians proposed diverse tests of community membership, people who thought of themselves as Indians also gave divergent characterizations and explanations of their relationships to each other. Although non-Indian officials presided at debates of this kind and then decreed which criteria of Indian and tribal identity would prevail for legal and administrative purposes, records of the Spithill and Puyallup controversies show that official formulations emerged from complex cross-cultural and intra-cultural dialogues.

Quarrels over land were not the only encounters that provoked people to say whether they considered themselves or someone else Indian and why. Census-taking did too, and the census of 1900 confirms that there was no agreement yet about the

defining features of Indian identity. When deciding how to classify people of dual ancestry and members of mixed families, for example, neither the enumerators nor the people they interviewed applied consistent criteria. Some individuals who appear on the census as Indians had parentage comparable to individuals on the white rolls. The identity ascribed to a mixed ancestry person apparently depended on census workers' biases, precinct policies, family members' self-identification, or families' reputations in their communities. Census workers did not even agree on how to count people with unadulterated native ancestry. Of the 4,178 individuals who fit this description only 1,833 were on Indian reservations. When these people paid taxes, voted, and lived and worked as or with non-Indians, some enumerators put them on the census of whites.[51]

The task that required census takers to make quick judgment calls became a time-consuming matter for courts. People who sued for allotments or pioneers' estates were not the only litigants who caused judges to sort Indians from non-Indians. During the two decades on either side of the century mark, federal and state courts in western Washington handled numerous cases involving people whose racial and legal status were in question because they or their ancestors had crossed lines that supposedly separated Indians from other people. Some were civil contests, as the Kelley, Wilbur, Hatch, and Ross cases were. Others were criminal proceedings in which a defendant's status determined the jurisdiction that could prosecute him for a crime.

Defendants facing prosecution as Indians under federal law were likely to argue that white ancestry or their lack of ties to

a reservation community made them non-Indians who could be tried only in state courts. On the other hand, some defendants with similar life stories tried to dodge state charges by citing their descent from and association with Indians.[52] Western Washington judges, defendants, and litigants were not alone in having to settle Indians' and half breeds' legal status; similar questions arose in courts throughout the United States at the turn of the century.[53] In Washington, however, the mingling of peoples and the region's spectacular growth gave these issues exceptional urgency and significance.

Lawsuits and prosecutions involving Indians, both questionable and acknowledged, invited judges to expound on the traits they associated with Indians. When they did so, they lent their voices to a chorus of voices rising outside their courtrooms in many forums. The century's end is remarkable for the prominent place Indians occupied in public discourse. Lively discussions about Indians and their characteristics went on not just in judicial and administrative proceedings but also in cultural arenas. Journalists, educators, civic leaders, pioneer settlers, and others joined the conversation. These whites often seemed less intent on defining and influencing Indians than on using images of Indians to score points in internecine political and cultural debates; however, they did catch the ears of people they regarded as Indians. Any persons deciding whether and how to represent themselves as Indians had to take non-Indians' views into account.

Whites were so interested in Indians that they gave them heavy coverage in periodicals and invited them regularly to

appear at public pageants. Demographic change accounts in part for this interest. The overwhelming majority of western Washington's residents were recent immigrants. In contrast to settlers before the 1880s, most led lives in which Indians had no integral part. Especially in the cities, there were now thousands of people who did not know any Indians or anything about the region's indigenous inhabitants. To such people local Indians were exotic curiosities and probably thrilling proof that Washington was in the fabled Wild West.

Between 1890 and 1910, scarcely a month went by when Seattle and Tacoma newspapers did not publish one or more stories about Indians in the vicinity. Regional magazines -- Pacific Monthly, The State, Northwest Magazine, Argus, Overland Monthly, The Coast, and Alaska-Yukon Magazine -- also devoted much attention to Indians.[54] In addition to monitoring contests for lands and resources claimed by Indians, the periodicals reported on Indian street vendors, Shaker worship and conventions, hop harvesters, marriages, funerals, citizenship, mortality rates, shamans and shaman murders, fishing, schools, legends, and crimes. Many articles introduced readers to local tribes, their languages, ceremonies, pastimes, and traditions. The history and status of laws and institutions for Indians also received ample press. In 1905 historian Edmund Meany provided the Seattle Post-Intelligencer with a series of lengthy essays based on visits to nearby reservations and Indian communities. For each community, Meany related the Indians' history as he had heard it from some of them and described the residents' current circumstances and concerns.[55]

A common feature of the day was the highly embellished word portrait of Indians deemed picturesque or droll. Indians on city streets and waterfronts especially amused newspaper correspondents. A P-I piece of 1904 began, "Under the influence of the summer sun the siwashes have thawed out from their winter hibernations and run out over the city sidewalks, collecting here and there in little pools." Variations on the description that followed appeared in the same publication and others repeatedly over the next several years: Indians parading mournfully in dirty blankets, barefoot squaws squatting stolidly for hours in the rain, children gazing wistfully at store window displays. Agnes Lockhart Hughes, who contributed two such vignettes to the Mail and Herald in 1906, peopled her scenes with wrinkled old crones jabbering in dialect and girls whose gaudy dress "approached the modern."[56]

The discovery of Indians as local exotica coincided with -- no doubt reflecting and perhaps furthering -- a related national trend. Historians have traced the vogue for Indians in the popular culture of this period to a belief that America had recently closed the chapters of its history in which Indians were important characters. Wars with Indians had ceased. In eliminating the Indian barrier to expansion, the nation appeared to have sealed the fate long predicted for Indians: extinction. With the sense of closure came not only pride in whites' accomplishment but also nostalgia for what had been sacrificed to progress and a desire on many non-Indians' part to preserve a record of Indians before they vanished altogether.[57]

The aging cohort of people who had colonized Washington

before the 1880s both fostered and responded to popular sentimentality about the era when "real" Indians had tested Americans' mettle and found it formidable. In 1893 The Tacoma Ledger promoted the formation of an old settlers' association by sponsoring a contest: the prize of two round-trip train tickets to the Chicago World's Fair would go to the pioneer who submitted the most accurate, interesting story of early days in the Pacific Northwest. Eighty essayists entered the contest. A generous handful of early settlers also produced longer memoirs. From the written and oral recollections solicited by Hubert Howe Bancroft in 1878 to personal narratives collected under Works Progress Administration auspices in the 1930s, reminiscing pioneers contributed liberally to regional literature.[58]

Adventures involving Indians were de rigueur in pioneer narratives and commemorations. When David and Rebecca Denny celebrated their wedding anniversary in 1895, the party's high point, according to Emily Denny, was the entrance of sixteen young people "gorgeously dressed as Indians." After marching in "true Indian file," they formed a circle on the floor and beat out Indian songs on their "tamanuse" boards. Then their "chief" addressed "white chief Denny" in Chinook, wishing him many happy returns.[59]

Encounters with Indians became part of early settlers' standard repertoire of yarns because opportunities to reminisce at reunions and in pioneer clubs gave them a collective sense that such encounters established their credentials as pioneers. Whether they recalled meeting Indians who were friendly and helpful or obnoxious and dangerous, the fact that they had had to

deal with Indians proved that they were the first people of their kind in the region. In 1905 Ezra Meeker declared "that it was impossible to write of the white race...of that period without reference to the Indians...whose everyday life was so intimately connected that the one could not be written without the other."[60]

In the time of the pioneers, as survivors of that era recreated it, "the Sound country was swarming with Indians," while whites were few and isolated from each other. "Had the pioneers fully realized the risk they ran," Emily Denny surmised, "nothing would have induced them to remain...." They remained, Meeker claimed, because "[t]hey had an abiding faith in the great future that lay in store and of the commanding position the country of their choice would attain, and which has never been shaken by adverse conditions, now so clearly proven to be transient." Adverse conditions the old settlers thought worthy of mention included Indians who bullied unescorted women, plotted to kill inoffensive white men, and abruptly shed their neighborly manners to declare war on the white race.[61]

Through such stories of adversity early settlers sought to impress upon newcomers that all residents of the Northwest now enjoyed the amenities of civilized life because of the pioneers' sacrifices. For example, Benjamin Shaw began a defense of the Medicine Creek treaty by saying, "I am well aware of the fact that there is a disposition on the part of those who have come to the Coast in palace cars to look upon the achievements of the earlier settlers as matters of no great consequence...."[62]

Reminiscing pioneers were usually grinding more axes than the one they had used to clear the wilderness.[63] Some were

honing blades to use in an emerging conflict about the nature and repercussions of their past relations with Indians. In the Squaxin tidelands case and other lawsuits of the 1890s, Indians were making well-publicized claims to resources based on the treaties of the 1850s. Federal officials, instead of abolishing reservations and Indians' special legal status as they promised to do, were asserting that treaties, reservations, and special laws for Indians presented obstacles to new white enterprises.[64] So by 1900, the treaties and their consequences were subjects of a debate that spilled out of courtrooms into historical societies, the press, and other public forums.

Because whites clashed on many of the issues they faced at century's end, and because they looked to their past to explain the present and to suggest their future direction, their disagreements about the treaties were as sharp in the 1890s as they had been in the 1850s. Meany argued that the treaties, although "little thought of" in 1897, were Isaac Stevens's greatest work; and a fellow professor praised early settlers as visionaries who saw the need for a pact that would secure their right to the country Indians inhabited.[65] Pioneer Ezra Meeker, on the other hand, held Stevens and his treaties responsible not only for the war of 1855-56 but also for contemporary disputes over Squaxin and Puyallup reservation tidelands.

Critics such as Meeker faulted early settlers and territorial officials for saddling posterity with the unwanted legacy of a divided society, either by granting Indians an anomalous special status or by failing to honor a special relationship with Indians or both. In Meeker's view, Stevens had

pressured Indians to make treaties that reflected inappropriate national policy rather than local conditions, thus driving them into a war they did not want. Gone overnight was a peaceful community where Indians were learning the advantages and precepts of civilized existence by associating with honest, industrious settlers. Of pioneers' relations with Indians Meeker said, "The leaven was at work that would have gradually elevated the natives far above their original position if it had been left to work out to its logical sequence." For the settlers' common sense, Meeker argued, the national government had substituted the judgment of men who only knew about native races entirely unlike those of Puget Sound.[66]

Benjamin Shaw, interpreter for Stevens at the treaty conferences, derided treaty critics for relying on stories told by "a lot of Indomaniacs" and by Indians who had started the war but now sought to cast their actions in a favorable light. Specifically, Shaw scoffed at Meeker's claim that Stevens had imposed terms on Indians in the face of open opposition. The governor and his aides had had the natives' confidence and apparently unanimous agreement, Shaw said, until some scheming whites afterward planted seeds of discontent.[67] Shaw viewed the Indians who declared war as treacherous and vengeful, albeit foreseeable, foes of civilization's pre-ordained advance. Meeker and his allies, on the other hand, portrayed war leader Leschi as a noble soul who fought with his back to the wall, was falsely accused of murder, and died a martyr to Isaac Stevens's political ambitions and ill-conceived policies.[68]

Thus, as they deflected blame for poor relations with

Indians from themselves to other whites, old settlers also generalized about Indians. Benjamin Shaw justified the reservation system by describing Indians as people who formerly knew nothing about religion or law and had no check on their conduct except superstitious fear. Pioneers who dissociated themselves from Shaw's sort commonly depicted local Indians as harmless, honest, hard-working, loyal friends of good whites. Emily Denny, in an article ostensibly debunking stereotypes by sketching individuals she knew in her childhood, declared that there were many "types" of Puget Sound Indians, including sociable, humorous, and justice-loving Indians. However, she would have elicited nods of approval from purveyors of negative stereotypes with her claim that Indians were "like untaught children in many things."[69]

As surviving pioneers and other whites surveyed past relations with Indians in the light cast by contemporary conditions, they spotted individual Indians who could serve as symbols of the lessons they drew. Commonly these were men known to whites as chiefs. Seattle and Leschi, particularly, were figures to whom many people attributed traits consistent with their competing views on Indians. Those who portrayed the Indians as amenable to white guidance were partial to Seattle, the alleged champion of peaceful co-existence. Those who emphasized the incompatibility of Indians' cherished ways and whites' modern ambitions used Leschi's story to make their point.

Emily Denny, describing Seattle as an imposing, mild-tempered, merciful man and a natural orator, declared him "the

noblest of his race." To many commentators, Seattle's most significant virtue was the respect he showed whites by extending his unwavering friendship. When depicted as a man who understood Indians' need to accommodate American settlers, Seattle implicitly exonerated whites of charges that they had mistreated Indians. Probably for this reason, his popularity as a symbol of Washington's successful colonization increased with the passing years. The more whites studied Seattle's life, Meany said in 1905, the more they respected him.[70]

To show their professed respect for Seattle and other chiefs who had sided with the settlers, members of the white elite not only wrote adulatory sketches but also erected monuments and staged pageants. In 1912, for example, leading citizens of Seattle erected a bust of Chief Seattle in a city park. At dedication ceremonies, to a crowd that included members of the Tilikums Club organized in three "tribes," Meany described Seattle as a venerated overlord who occupied the largest native palace north of Mexico.[71] Meeker, on the other hand, declined to fuss over Seattle, even disparaging the chief for his alleged willingness to levy tribute on those who used his name. To Meeker the better symbol of Indians' relations with settlers was Leschi, the martyred warrior. "The life, achievements and fate of Leschi are so intimately connected with those of the pioneers," Meeker declared, "that the history and life struggles of the one cannot well be written without that of the other." In Meeker's iconography, Leschi and Stevens "were representatives of their respective races...."[72]

In support of his contention that Leschi was a misunderstood

patriot, Meeker capitalized on an event of 1895. News that Indians of the Nisqually Reservation planned to move Leschi's body prompted Meeker and other white citizens of Tacoma to charter and fill a train of three coaches bound for the ceremonies. There, according Meeker, even whites who could not understand the Nisqually language could at least infer from a thousand Indians' obvious grief that they adored their fallen leader. The gist of eulogies at the reburial "was that Leschi loved his home and that Governor Stevens tried to take it away from him, and all the good land from the Indians, and if it had not been for Leschi the Indians would have been without a reservation they could live on."[73]

It was not as difficult in the 1890s as in the 1850s for non-Indians to see Leschi as a tragic hero. At last secure in their control of nearly "all the good land" once claimed by Indians, many Americans could talk without rancor of Leschi's valiant fight for the land he loved. As they did so, they conveniently discredited the whites who defended federal policy. Praising Leschi probably also served to atone for the suffering that American colonization had caused Indians. By such gestures as attending Leschi's reburial, some whites (including Meeker, who had voted to acquit Leschi at his first trial but had eventually declined to join efforts to block his execution) probably hoped to put to rest the ghosts of Indians by whom they or their forebears had not done right.[74]

There was indeed a ghostly pallor to most of the Indians featured in ceremonies, books, and articles that whites produced for each other's benefit during these years. Living Indians,

many whites believed, were but shadows, following their forebears into oblivion. This conviction inspired Seattle-based photographer Edward Curtis to hurry as he tried to compile a comprehensive pictorial record of Indians' aboriginal garb and activities. It imbued non-Indians' writings and speeches about Indians with pathos. "So to-day," Charles Buchanan lamented ritualistically in 1900, "this great and once-powerful race remains little else than so much flotsam and jetsam upon the tides of time, water-logged by civilization and sluggishly jostled by the currents of life where they touch it at all."[75]

Along with interest in the exotic, the vanishing Indian myth explains the attention non-Indians lavished during this period on individual aged Indians. Seattle's daughter Angeline attracted a disproportionate share of the attention, probably because she lived in the region's premier city and because she served as a surrogate symbol of her father's acquiescence in the changes whites had wrought. Angeline, said Emily Denny, had seen all the progress of modern civilization and the revolt and subjugation of the original, inferior race. Repeatedly photographed in shabby clothes and a waterfront shack, presented in bare feet to President Benjamin Harrison, buried with elaborate ceremony at whites' expense near the city's founders, Angeline was one of many old people who represented for whites the stoicism and dignity with which Washington's last aborigines faced their fate.[76]

It is a happy irony that people who thought they were preserving images of the last true Indians documented societies that were far from moribund. Many news and magazine articles

belied the ubiquitous announcements, sometimes included in those articles themselves, that Indians were vanishing. Like the account of Leschi's reburial, they provide evidence that Puget Sound was still home to a variety of dynamic, highly visible populations whose Indian identity most people accepted without question. A superb example is the Post-Intelligencer's 1907 coverage, in text and photos, of a "Siwash" village on the Tacoma tideflats. Sandwiched between reminders that the village afforded a glimpse of conservatism's last stand against civilization, long passages of the P-I story evoked the sights, smells, and sounds of a dense and lively modern settlement. The old Siwash fishermen scorned to work, the author said; but their sons found work in the mills, their daughters sold baskets to frequent white visitors, and their grandchildren played in the tidal mud, astonishingly free from disease. The Siwash families lived in houses styled after white dwellings, fished from catboats and sloops instead of canoes, used sewing and washing machines, and wore store-bought clothes.[77] Rather than admitting that the Indians were prospering, however, the reporter argued from these observations that "[s]tep by step the Indian is giving in to the white man as the battle for supremacy continues...."[78]

Residents of the tideflats village may not have read the article declaring them an endangered species. Nevertheless, they could not have been oblivious to the image a white reporter would transmit to his readers. Even though discussions of Indians' character, history, and future often seemed to proceed in non-Indian cultural forums with little or no Indian involvement, they were dialogues across racial and ethnic frontiers, just as the

Spithill and Puyallup allotment litigation was. Non-Indians' interest in Indians as relics of a colorful past and in treaties and chiefs could not help but make itself felt among people of indigenous descent, provoking them to think about, to debate among themselves, and to communicate to non-Indians how they wanted to be seen.

Most presumed Indians, even those who did not read or attend trials and civic pageants, had ample occasion to hear what whites were saying about Indians, their history, and their status. Government employees in particular regularly exposed them to prevailing white images of Indians. Agents, teachers, and missionaries presided at a variety of formal and informal gatherings where they alluded to qualities that supposedly characterized good and bad Indians. Such events -- standard fare on staffed reservations such as Tulalip -- included councils, holiday celebrations, athletic competitions, and school exercises.[79] Especially in the schools, where they had a captive and impressionable audience, government personnel spelled out Indian traits they abhorred and described the new, civilized citizens they were endeavoring to mold from Indian clay.[80]

However, because many whites were enamored of their own pioneer past and increasingly wistful about dying aboriginal cultures, they showed Indians flattering as well as unflattering images of themselves during this period. While some non-Indians were condemning Indians' inherent tendencies and barbaric heritage, others -- even the same persons in certain instances -- were encouraging Indians to recall and exhibit ancient customs.

Thanks to Indian culture's new cachet, for instance,

potlatches were likely to attract a delighted pack of journalists and other citizens rather than censorious authorities. When Indians named Patsy and Prince of Wales hosted a potlatch across from the whites' picnic grounds at Hadlock in July of 1891, coverage in The Overland Monthly and other periodicals was not only copious but also free of disparaging comments. The Post-Intelligencer reported that streams of palefaces joined the native guests, thus fulfilling the hopes of an "intelligent" Indian woman who said, "'The Indians wanted to come over and celebrate the Fourth of the July with the whites, so that the whites would come over and help us celebrate the potlatch.'" During the next two decades, whites publicized and helped Indians celebrate many other potlatches. In 1907 the P-I claimed to detect waning Indian interest in such events; but under the headline "Last Potlatch of the Nisquallies," it described festivities that drew a thousand prosperous looking Indians and several white pioneers.[81]

Non-Indians did not just tolerate or enjoy certain Indian cultural displays; they encouraged and even produced them. For instance, in September of 1902 former Tulalip agent Edward Mills, by then a leading citizen of a nearby town, asked Buchanan whether it was feasible to pay Indian boys from different reservations to be in a "really, truly" canoe race "for the gratification and edification of the President." Paid canoe racers did edify Theodore Roosevelt later that month and other dignitaries who visited in succeeding years. Similarly, sponsors of a "labor carnival" at the University of Washington in 1903 recruited people from the Port Madison Reservation to set up an

Indian village, where a Seattle Times correspondent saw them demonstrate basket making, bead work, and "war" and "medicine" dances, "decked out in gay and brilliant costumes."[82]

Buchanan claimed credit for assembling a large number of Indians to commemorate the fifty-fifth anniversary of the Point Elliott Treaty. "After dinner," he recorded in his diary for January 23, 1910, "speeches were made by the old men; old time songs and dances were given and general good old time reunion was held." By the fourth annual Treaty Day celebration Buchanan made sure that journalists were present to take moving pictures, "make proper record and write up the occasion." During the same years a reservation employee and local businessmen worked with Port Madison Indians to mount a summer festival they called Chief Seattle Day. Events at Chief Seattle Day in 1911 ranged from a U.S. Navy band concert to a Catholic priest's address in the Chinook jargon to eighty-year-old George Ewye's recitation in Lushootseed of an aboriginal legend.[83] Government agents also encouraged Indians to put themselves and their customs on display when they identified people, almost invariably men, for journalists and scholars such as Meany to interview.[84]

The new tolerance of native traditions not only permitted some people to earn rewards for doing things that had previously marked them detrimentally as Indians; it also enabled many such Indians to contribute to the ongoing public discourse about Indianness.[85] By granting interviews to white writers or by pressing government officials to hear and relay their views to other whites, some descendants of indigenous people helped to shape public perceptions of Indians and their past.[86] At

commemorative ceremonies and informal get-togethers, aging Indians also collaborated with pioneers to re-create the world they had jointly experienced. Thus in 1894 the principal orator for July Fourth ceremonies at Oak Harbor was an Indian resident, Billy Barlow; in 1903 Port Madison Indians participated as presumed descendants of Chief Seattle in the golden anniversary celebration of the city bearing his name; and in 1906, when the Pierce County Pioneer Association commemorated the Wilkes Expedition's Independence Day observance at Nisqually, one of the speakers was Slugamus Koquilton, last known surviving witness of the event.[87]

Indians who received requests for interviews or invitations to stage canoe races and dances no doubt welcomed the shift in attitudes that brought them white approval for displaying parts of their heritage. However, it would be wrong to infer further that they merely performed at whites' behest and tailored their depictions of Indians entirely to white sensibilities. From different accounts of the decision to resume aboriginal dances on Tulalip agency reservations, for example, it is apparent that collaborative celebrations of Indian tradition were possible because distinct Indian and non-Indian agendas converged.

Buchanan denied that he intended to perpetuate abhorrent Indian culture when he allowed the dances. He told himself and his superiors that he had authorized only innocent social activities and had drawn the line against superstitious conjuring. To the Commissioner of Indian Affairs he explained as follows why he gave Joseph Solomon permission to lead dances at the annual Lummi picnic in 1914:

> In the last four or five years, in return for the courtesy and hospitality of the young folks, the folks have attempted to show them some of the customs and habits of ancient days, not seriously nor with any intention of teaching the children the olds [sic] ways but by way of giving them a page out of the past Indian history in order that they might realize the progress that had been made by the race.[88]

One of the "folks" Buchanan referred to, John Fornsby, put a different spin both on the decision to allow the dances and on the dances themselves. He proudly claimed a key role in prompting Buchanan to give Indians their songs back. Everyone was searching in vain for a missing Indian, Fornsby recalled. Then Buchanan said, "'If John finds that man, I'll let them use all the power they want and have a time.'" Fornsby's "guarding" power led him to within sixty feet of the place where the man's body was later discovered. After that Buchanan invited Fornsby to sing wealth power for the white people. "I led the song when we started the Treaty Day celebration at Tulalip," Fornsby exulted.

> Dr. Buchanan liked it....That is how we got Treaty Day. Dr. Buchanan didn't want the Indians to have the old time way. But that time they saw how the Indians fixed power. And he saw the guarding power shake right in the room, running around the school building. That is why those folks have a time now on Treaty Day.[89]

Dora Solomon, speaking in the late 1970s, credited not Fornsby but a younger Tulalip Reservation Indian, William Shelton, with convincing Buchanan to "set the powwows free." Shelton's perspective differed both from Fornsby's and from Buchanan's. He took on responsibility for managing the first Treaty Day celebration, Shelton said, "with the idea I have to make our old people feel good instead of discouraged...."[90]

If one official's message about one feature of aboriginal

culture could get varying readings and responses from Indians it reached, other whites' conflicting and ambiguous messages about Indians were sure to draw an even richer variety of responses; and so they did. By the end of the nineteenth century, persons of native descent knew that Indian status was a salad of ingredients both bitter and sweet. Being identified as Indians might entitle them to such benefits as free land or shelter and sustenance at a federal school. It might also bring them the apparently respectful attention of people interested in Indian traditions. On the other hand, being identified as Indians could subject them to demeaning rules limiting their use of their own land and ordaining the customs they could observe without fear of punishment.

Understandably, some Indians tried to pick the sweet ingredients from the mix non-Indians served up, while others declined to partake of government offerings altogether. Thus some Indian parents petitioned for their children's admission to crowded government boarding schools, while a citizen at Puyallup filed suit to keep Indian Department officials from forcing her son back to school, and a man pulled his family off the Port Madison Reservation rather than submit to the agent's order that he send his children to school.[91] In 1892 104 Puyallup Reservation residents who had been primed to expect that citizenship would bring freedom and respect signed a demand for an end to their peculiar status as Indians, declaring, "We are citizens of the United States...and we demand that our rights as citizens be no longer abridged or out [sic] lives and liberties harassed by an agent hostile to our interests...." Within the

same year, by contrast, people in the Sauk River Valley asked the Tulalip Indian Agency for help securing a protected Indian reservation.[92]

Even if non-Indians had presented these people with a single, consistent vision of what it meant to be Indians in a white-dominated society, they would have elicited a wide variety of responses; for the people classified as Indians were more diverse than ever. Presumed Indians included persons who had found ways to live outside reservations, with little or no help and interference from government, as well as persons who had staked their economic and social status on government promises to protect them and their resources. Indians included individuals who had never darkened the doorway of a schoolhouse, others who had attended public or Indian day schools for brief periods, and yet others who had spent years in Indian boarding schools. They included individuals who did not count any non-Indians among their kin and individuals who had as many non-Indian as Indian ancestors.[93] Among those classed as Indians were also Catholics, Protestants, Shakers, spirit dancers, and many people who participated with cheerful ecumenism in the rites of all these religions.[94] Such widely varying experiences and beliefs help to explain the multiplicity of ways Indians tried to make sense of themselves and the identity ascribed to them.

It was common for both non-Indians and Indians to explain much of Indians' diversity as a reflection of generational differences.[95] However, although most younger people had indeed come of age in a society bearing little resemblance to the one that reared their Indian parents and grandparents, differences in

beliefs and habits did not correlate with age. Many Indians who were children at the turn of the century attended school, but almost as many did not. Some later recalled that their parents systematically trained them in ancestral mores and passed on family lore, while others said their parents declined to teach the old ways. In the same generation were women whose families arranged their marriages without their consent, according to ancient custom, and women of comparable class backgrounds who chose their own spouses, even from distant communities.[96]

By the turn of the century several thousand people in the Puget Sound area knew that white Americans considered them all Indians, whether or not they had acquired a spirit power, married by aboriginal custom, lived on a reservation, or attended an Indian school. While most individuals in this heterogeneous population did not doubt that they were Indians rather than non-Indians, they were not always sure what they had in common with each other, as testimony in the Spithill and Puyallup cases revealed. The pressure exerted by outsiders who lumped them all in a single category pushed most people of native descent onto the same broad roadway, but there their varied orientations and strategies ensured that they would head in different directions and occasionally collide.

One collision occurred on the Puyallup Reservation in the 1880s between people loyal to the old chiefs and people who agitated to replace the chiefs with elected officials so that the Indians "could get things like whites." Jerry Meeker attributed the confrontation to generational differences. Once they were citizens, Meeker said, the older Indians mostly voted Democrat,

while younger men were Republicans. On the other hand, when valuable land was at stake, Tommy Dean and James Wickersham fomented or perpetuated dissension at Puyallup by emphasizing differences in ancestry and nativity.[97]

Behind other disputes among Indians, both Indians and government officers saw disparities of religion, morals, and economic strategy. A missionary priest told the Tulalip agent in 1900 that unrest over the election of a judge for the Lummi Reservation divided younger from older residents because the young men represented "the whiskey element, & naturally [wanted] a judge likely to sympathize with them, were they to get into trouble." Six years later a proposal to give Indians of the same reservation taxable and alienable title to their lands divided them again. The resident farmer said the motivation of the plan's Indian sponsors was "the fill of their own pocketbooks from land sharks." According to the sponsors, however, the issue was whether Indians should regard themselves as less capable than whites of managing their property.[98]

Occasionally clashes between Indians with opposing interests turned violent. When someone shot David Teuse in 1900, the Post-Intelligencer said it was the fourth such murder on the Tulalip Reservation in a few years.[99] While unsuccessfully trying to build a case against the men they suspected of killing Teuse, who was chief judge of the Indian court, agent Edward Mills and physician Charles Buchanan exposed widespread animosities and suspicions among reservation residents. The bad feelings had roots in a variety of soils, including family loyalties, economic rivalries, desires for advantage in relations with government

officials, opposing political strategies, and uncertainty about the relative powers of shamans and government officers. Nevertheless, to many non-Indians and probably even to feuding Indians, the Teuse murder case afforded a measure and a symbol of enduring differences between Indian and non-Indian societies.

Mills and Buchanan strongly suspected that seventy-year-old Teuse had died at the hands of William Shelton, then in his early thirties. A probable accomplice was Shelton's uncle, Charlie Hook. Various informants told the investigating officials that Shelton had a host of motives for murder: he was angry that his wife, supposedly at Teuse's instigation, had moved her grown son (Shelton's step-son, a half-breed Klallam/Samish) onto her allotment, which Shelton had improved and expected to occupy; he was bitter that Teuse had punished him and his close relatives in court; the Shelton family, which had come to the reservation from south Whidbey Island, had a long-standing feud with Teuse's family, which hailed from "up the river"; Shelton blamed the recent loss of his job at the agency sawmill on Teuse; and Shelton and his associates were desperate for money to pay a lawyer they had hired to procure an end to restrictions on the sale and logging of reservation lands -- a plan Teuse opposed. Other Indians, however, told Buchanan and Mills that Shelton was not the only person who had threatened Teuse.[100]

The evidence that Buchanan and Mills collected informally and at a formal inquest induced prosecutors to convene a grand jury in June, 1901; but most of the people called to testify against Shelton and Hook would not do so, the jury failed to return an indictment, and the Teuse case closed. The apparent

reason for witnesses' reticence was their fear of Charlie Hook. Hook was a shaman. Several people at the inquest mentioned seeing him "mammucking [making, doing] his temaniwas" shortly before the murder. They also held his supernatural power responsible for earlier deaths. When Mills asked witnesses whether they were afraid of the medicine man, he elicited negative as well as positive answers. Nevertheless, it is evident that most people fit the description one informant gave of Jim Snoqualmie: "scared both of the tamanamus man and of the Agent and he does not know what to do between the two fears...."[101]

Buchanan and Mills claimed to detect an Indian conspiracy of silence. They mistrusted the interpreters they needed for many interrogations; and Buchanan believed specifically that millwright William McCluskey was protecting Shelton by warning him in Lushootseed to guard his tongue, while unknowing officials looked on. Buchanan also credited rumors that Shelton's family had bought many persons' silence or favorable testimony with blankets and cash and that potential witnesses against Shelton refused to talk because they wanted pay as well. A white reservation resident, claiming that Indians had allowed him to hear several incriminating conversations because they considered him "just like an Indian," reported that Shelton's people had rallied support by promising to get rid of white overseers so that Indians could do as they liked.

In the face of evidence that Indians were sharply at odds with each other on several fronts, Mills excused his inability to muster evidence against Shelton by publicly accusing the Indians

of closing ranks to protect their own. "[T]hey can not understand that a murderer should be hung as a matter of protection to the tribe," he wrote. "The greater the guilt of the suspected man, the greater the obligation on the part of relatives and friends to stand by him. That is the Indian idea."[102] For the Post-Intelligencer, likewise, the case provided an occasion to make broad generalizations about Indians' nature. Cowardly assassination, the paper said, was typical of Indian murders in the West and the basis for a truer image of the red man than James Fenimore Cooper had painted in his novels. In the Indians' reluctance to finger the killers the P-I saw ignorance, superstition, indifference toward life, and secretiveness "almost beyond belief." It made a person realize "how very superficial is the veneer of civilization the average reclaimed Indian wears, and...how strong in comparison with the laws of the white man is the unwritten criminal code of the red man." The P-I reporter speculated that the unwritten code had been enforced in this instance, with members of the dead man's family exacting payment from the murderer's family.[103]

The comments of Mills and the Post-Intelligencer -- overgeneralizations though they be -- point to an important truth: the need to deal with whites and white-imposed conditions simultaneously pitted Indians against each other and encouraged them to conceptualize Indian society as distinct from non-Indian society.[104] Although the Teuse case exposed antagonisms that would not have existed but for whites' actions, and although Shelton and other Indians benefitted materially from the federal presence at Tulalip, whites' meddling could also prompt Shelton's

Indian neighbors to think of themselves collectively in contrast to whites.[105]

Events at the Muckleshoot Reservation in 1903 had similar repercussions. A government decision favoring one faction prompted another faction to raise and rally people behind an Indian flag. Just nine months after the resident farmer informed Buchanan that the Muckleshoot Indians had had no chiefs or tribal relations since 1883, Buchanan received a written protest from five Muckleshoot men, including "Chief" George Nelson, who purported to speak "in the name of all the Indians of this place." The petitioners objected to the farmer's choice of a "half breed" to be Indian court judge, arguing, "we are always told By a great number of white mans and some Government officials, that a half Breed is not honest man to Carry on office he is liable to Create a Stormy little trouble any moment and a white and Indian Blood, might Be Shed...." Paradoxically, in asserting the right of "all the Indians of Muckelshoot" to elect their judges, the protesters cited the disappearing differences between them and whites.

> the Indians of Muckelshoot or not in the dark laws of old day any more the[y] are now in path of a new law lighted on all sides so that they can see what is Just and So Be not wild any more But Civilized like the whites forever...we think that it is known around the world that all american people elect thier officers from the lowest to the highest...and Who ever Gains the most friends for the right to Be appointed and we the Indians of Muckel Believe in all this as it is like the sun of the Buisness people of the whole world...and we the Indians of the Muckel dwell in this Same lovely Earth....[106]

The same forces that brought assorted Indians into new, often abrasive contact with each other thus provided them with increased opportunities to see and articulate some bases for

unity. As Morris Foster has shown, people who gather regularly, on informal as well as formal occasions, may develop or preserve a sense of belonging to the same group despite their growing diversity. The diverse descendants of Puget Sound Indians, like the Comanches Foster studied, had many such gatherings where they could develop a common conception of their identity.[107] As the nineteenth century drew to a close, most people who had reason to think of themselves as Indians -- people from different districts, families, and generations -- associated with each other in a variety of combinations and contexts, both voluntarily and involuntarily. Often they assembled explicitly as Indians.

In addition to meetings occasioned by government mandates, presumed Indians attended functions mostly of their own making. The mobility that government agents so often deplored took Indians to common worksites, fishing and berrying grounds, funerals, weddings, July Fourth and Christmas celebrations, gambling contests, and religious observances. In the hop fields, where thousands of pickers assembled for several weeks, Indians from widely dispersed settlements not only worked together but also relished the chance to socialize and gamble. When Nooksack Valley resident George Swanaset told his life story to anthropologist Paul Fetzer, he revealed how important certain gatherings were to his understanding of his Indian identity. Although he admitted that his family did not follow all the old customs at weddings and funerals, Swanaset delighted in reciting the names of the several native communities that sent guests to those events.[108]

Even at federal and mission schools, whose ostensible goal

was to replace the ideas and habits that identified the inmates as Indians with the ideas and habits of white people, the diverse pupils' interaction with each other helped them formulate a new common culture that everyone knew to be Indian. After all, children were at the schools because they had all been identified as Indians. Louisa Sinclair, whose father was white, sensed this and resented going to school with full bloods. William Shelton's daughter Harriet, who attended the Tulalip school in the late teens, recalled a staff member who responded to pupils' minor infractions with the comment, "'Isn't that just like an Indian?'" On the other hand, Harriet expressed pride, echoed by many other alumni of the Tulalip and Puyallup schools, in her schoolmates' ability as Indians to emerge from the government institutions with their psychological integrity intact.[109]

Assemblies of Indian Shakers likewise contributed to a broadly inclusive conception of Indians, even though Shaker practices also provoked controversies that split many communities. The Post-Intelligencer alluded to the sect's wide embrace when it reported in May of 1898 that Puget Sound Indians were preparing for a religious festival whose aim was the union of all "tribes" accepting the Shaker tenets. For the convocation at Quinault on July 4, couriers were delivering invitations to people at Lummi, Muckleshoot, Puyallup, Neah Bay, Nisqually, and Mud Bay. Despite their lack of a formal membership, the Shakers thus created and preserved links among many scattered people, all of whom identified themselves as Indians.[110]

Gatherings for Indians were opportunities to do what whites did at picnics and historical pageants or in the pages of their

publications: to pool memories and myths and thus to develop a standardized lore about a claimed common heritage. Contemporaneous documentation is scarce -- it is limited to a few court proceedings -- but surely aged natives created and preserved traditions by trading and building on each other's reminiscences, just as the pioneers did. A generation later many Indians claimed to have overheard their elders discussing such topics as the treaties and the bitterness they felt about having received so little of what they expected from the Bostons.[111]

By means of such conversations, as Foster contends, people who bore or sought the label "Indian" probably devised ways of identifying themselves to each other that were different from the distinguishing traits they emphasized in relations with outsiders. Yet this internal process of group self-definition was inseparable from ongoing dialogues with people who stood outside the Indian circle, however defined. Even inward-directed displays of Indian identity derived their importance and much of their symbolic code from relations with non-Indians. For example, Shaker solidarity developed in a context of contradictory non-Indian reactions. On one hand, at their 1912 convention the Shakers responded to government harassment of cult members by urging all Shaker churches to help all other Shaker churches. On the other hand, the support the Shakers received from some non-Indians also influenced their self-characterization. The church's constitution and by-laws, drawn up by a white friend who helped the group incorporate under state law in 1910, declared that its members' object was the "elevation of the Indian race of this State and of the Northwest...."[112]

Signals from outsiders could influence the direction Indian elders took as they revisited the past and their choice of landmarks to point out along the way. As one observer remarked regarding the suit to quiet Indians' title to the Squaxin Island tidelands, old people who testified about ancient practices likely had their "memories brightened by the exigencies surrounding them." Even outside of litigation, the questions whites asked and their reactions to the answers they got could affect what Indians emphasized as they retold their stories. To Ezra Meeker, Wahoolit described Leschi as rich, strong, wise, and kind to all people. "'All the best Indians, King George men and Boston men like Leschi,'" he enthused. If it had not been for Meeker's obvious sympathy, would Wahoolit have felt so free to emphasize Leschi's admirable qualities?[113]

Sometimes, as for the Shakers and perhaps for Indians at Tulalip after the Teuse murder, non-Indians' actions stimulated Indians to put aside differences and present one face to the outside world. One such instance --a lawsuit that Lummi Reservation men prosecuted with government aid -- was to have long-term significance for Indians in the Puget Sound area as they considered how to identify themselves to whites and to each other.

The Lummi grievance was against the Chicago Fishing Company and its successor-in-interest, Alaska Packing Association, which operated a sockeye salmon cannery northwest of the reservation at Point Roberts. After a few years of contracting with Indians to supply the cannery with fish, the company built its own traps at reefs where the Indians had hitherto set their nets. The result,

said Indian fishers, was a reduction of their catch to almost nothing.

To support the complaint they filed in federal court in 1895, the plaintiffs relied on and thus reinforced the pooled memories of several old men who had attended the treaty conference at Point Elliott. The elders' affidavits recited, among other things, that Governor Stevens had explicitly promised the Indians to "put it in the paper and they could fish and hunt wherever they have done before...." Judge Hanford rejected the plaintiffs' claim that the canning company's traps breached this promise, but he did not discredit the old men's stories. The cannery's activity simply did not harm the Indians, the judge found, because they could still catch fish at remaining places and sell their fish to the cannery. Hanford also ruled that state regulation, which permitted the company trap, was not inconsistent with the treaty promise.[114]

Clearly influencing the judge's decision was defense testimony that Indians on the Lummi Reservation had adopted white habits, that most supported themselves by farming on patented individual lands, and that the minority who fished now did so for profit. Apparently realizing that this image of a civilized and prospering people undermined their reliance on promises made to "primitive" Indians forty years earlier, the plaintiffs produced witnesses who swore that the Indians were still "a race of fishermen" and pitifully poor.

Significantly, the judge accepted the plaintiffs' version of another hotly contested question: whether Point Roberts was the traditional fishing site of Indians who were really Lummis.

Witnesses for the defendants contended that nearly all the Indians there were from British Columbia. The Lummis, several witnesses said, were latecomers to the fishing grounds and never came in substantial numbers because they were afraid of the King George Indians. According to John Martin, the plaintiff named Captain Jack was one of only a few Lummis to fish at Point Roberts in the 1880s "because he was a relation by marriage of one of the leading Cowichan Indians."

The implication that Lummis who fished at Point Roberts could do so only because they were also members of families from British Columbia was an awkward one to address. The plaintiffs could not deny that the great majority of fishers at the site were from British Columbia; and to prove that Lummis had always been present and safe among such King George Indians, they affirmed that Lummi, Saanich, and Cowichan peoples were extensively intermarried. They implicitly denied, however, that the result was an attentuation of tribal identities. For purposes of their suit, they asserted membership in what they called the tribe or nation of Lummi Indians.

The affidavit of Harry Sealton incorporated this concept of distinct autonomous tribes, but it also revealed that the concept was a simplistic characterization of relations among the men who fished together. Since the treaty, Sealton said,

> the LaConnors of Skagit county...., the Tulalips and other tribes of the state and territory...also annually fished at said Point....[T]here have been numerous disputes between said indians regarding locations on said reef and sometimes struggles in which lives were lost including the lives of some of the said Lummi Indians, but...said struggles did not grow out of any tribal hostilities.

As Sealton suggested, personal relations linked men of the Lummi

Reservation to people in other communities as well as to each other; but multiple possible loyalties or affiliations and rivalries could also pit some of the same men against each other. The desire to protect an economic resource, however, prompted Sealton and his fellow fishers to present their complex web of social relations in simplified form. For purposes of fighting white profiteers' threat to their livelihood, they would be just the Lummi Tribe.

When the judge accepted this self-representation, itself a response to exigencies of ethnic relations in Puget Sound at the turn of the century, he added another brick to a slowly rising structure of Indian identity. The construction project enlisted laborers from a variety of backgrounds and social settings. Although powerful non-Indians monopolized the job of erecting the framework, they neither followed a plan nor prescribed all ingredients for the mortar and bricks. In a haphazard and sometimes acrimonious process, Indians and non-Indians mixed such elements as kinship, lineage, property law, social relations, and residence to build a rambling structure that offered some people welcome shelter, trapped others against their will, and shut out still others who wanted in.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 5

1. Seattle Post-Intelligencer (hereafter, P-I), May 22, 1892, 5.

2. Ibid.

3. Data compiled from 1900 census and supplied by Russel Barsh. Mixed-ancestry people counted here include those who so identified themselves to enumerators, the children of people from different racial groups, and a few people whose ancestry Barsh infers from other genealogical data. The 1910 census of five Tulalip Agency reservations lists 537 of 1,507 people as less than full-blood Indian. The Tulalip Reservation census for 1905 includes in the 460 people enumerated four white men married to Indian women. Indian Census Rolls, 1898-1910, NA M-595, Roll 583. Of 37 marriages recorded by Tulalip Agency officials in 1907 and 1908, 16 involved people -- 19 out of 74 people in all -- identified either as non-Indian or as having non-Indian ancestry. Three Indians married white men, and one married a Japanese citizen. Marriage Registers, 1907-1918, NA PNW RG75, Tulalip Box 472.

4. Mapes, "A Map Interpretation of Population Growth," 11-12, 47; Johansen and Gates, Empire of the Columbia, 383, 400, 407, 491-92; Building a State, 84 (Seattle gaining 1000 new residents per month in 1889), 87, 90, 93, 97 (Seattle's population 80,670 in 1900 and 237,194 in 1910).

5. Between 1880 and 1890 the value of regional property and manufactures increased ten-fold. Johansen and Gates, Empire of the Columbia, 389, 397-99, 461-63, 476, 479, 482-83, 486-87; Building a State, 85, 87-88; Schiach, Illustrated History of Snohomish and Skagit Counties, 166, 317; Boxberger, To Fish in Common, 45; Annual Report of Charles M. Buchanan, October 24, 1901, 5, NA PNW RG75, Tulalip Box 311.

6. Shackleford, "A History of the Puyallup Indian Reservation," 18-23.

7. Washington Standard, September 26, 1890, 1; Ibid., January 8, 1892, 1 (describing Puyallup Indians as wealthiest class of people in Washington, possibly in the Union, because value of their lands if divided among them would be $16,370); A Boston Tillicum, "A Monograph on the Puyallup Indians," 5-6.

8. Hon. John B. Allen, "Puyallup Indian Reservation Lands," speech in U.S. Senate, July 20, 1892, 14-15, copy from Senate record in Special Collections Library, University of Washington; Pierce County Commissioners, Memorial, Senate Misc. Doc. 62, 52d Cong., 1st sess., 1892; Mayor and Council of Tacoma, Memorial, Senate Misc. Doc. 73, 52d Cong., 1st sess., 1892; Commercial Club of Tacoma, Memorial, Senate Misc. Doc. 78, 52d Cong., 1st sess., 1892; Elwood Evans, "Puyallup Indian Reservation," speech to Tacoma Chamber of Commerce, May 17, 1892, copy in Special Collections Library, University of Washington. Some of the many newspaper articles on this subject appear in The Daily Ledger, March 24, 1889, 6 (a few Indians blocking progress by denying right-of-way); Ibid., March 25, 1889, 3; Ibid., August 1, 1889, 5; Ibid., December 3, 1889, 4; January 14, 1890, 3.

9. Frank Ross, a non-Indian, had an Indian wife and children. Applications for Enrollment and Allotment of Washington Indians, NA M-1343. Miles and Sperlin, Building a State, 10, features an excerpt from the diary of John Scovell in 1889, saying that Frank Ross has a big idea about building a railroad to Seattle across the Indian reservation, plans to evade government bans "by getting the Indians to build their own road through that part of the route. He has the Siwashes running in and out of the office all day and they generally smell of whiskey."

10. Ross v. Eells, 56 Federal Reporter 855-59 (U.S. Circuit Court for District of Washington, 1893); Eells v. Ross, 64 Federal Reporter 417, 420 (U.S. Court of Appeals, Ninth Circuit, 1894). See also Meeker et al. v. Winyear et al., 48 Washington Reporter 27 (1907) (dispute among Indians regarding patent of Puyallup Reservation land to Nisqually man married to Puyallup woman); Bird v. Terry, 129 Federal Reporter 472, 473 (U.S. Circuit Court for District of Washington, 1903); Meeker v. Kaelin, 173 Federal Reporter 216, 222 (U.S. Circuit Court for District of Washington, 1909).

11. Shackleford, "A History of the Puyallup Indian Reservation," 22-23; Terry v. Sicade, 37 Washington Reporter 249 (1905).

12. Talbott to Commissioner, March 28, 1890, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 25 (Whites who are annoying Indians on Muckleshoot Reservation believe they will ultimately get possession of Indian lands.); Buchanan to Bartow, April 9, 1906, Ibid., Box 103 (payments to Port Madison Reservation residents for lands taken by Army); Edmond Meany in P-I, October 1, 1905, Magazine 6 (whites

clamoring for opening of Lummi Reservation); P-I, October 6, 1906, 8 (meeting at Port Orchard to talk about opening Port Madison Reservation to settlement); F.H. Abbott to Chas. E. McChesney, October 20, 1909, NA RG75, Central Classified Files, Entry 121, Tulalip Agency, File 84430-1909-150 (citizens of Bellingham anxious to have Secretary confirm Indians' desire for right to sell or lease to whites). Information on the Squaxin case and other trespass cases appears in Susan Olsen and Mary Randlett, eds., An Illustrated History of Mason County (Mason County Senior Center, 1978), 31-32, excerpting Mason County Journal, May 4, 1900; P-I, November 9, 1903, 7; United States v. O'Brien, 170 Federal Reporter 508 (U.S. Circuit Court for District of Washington, 1903); McCluskey to Buchanan, February 13, 1906, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 99 (white fishermen on Lummi Reservation and banks of old river); Chas. A. Reynolds to C.M. Buchanan, September 26, 1903, Ibid., Box 100 (Indians objecting to White River Power Company's claim of riparian rights on Muckleshoot Reservation); Chas. H. Baker, White River Power Company, to Buchanan, August 11, 1904, Ibid., (Tacoma Industrial trying to incite Indians of Muckleshoot Reservation to assign water rights); Affidavit of Chas. Reynolds, February 25, 1905, Ibid., Box 101; A.A. Bartow to Jesse A. Frye, U.S. Attorney, January 31, 1905, Ibid., Box 102 (whites fishing in front of Port Madison Reservation); Farmer, Swinomish Reservation, to Buchanan, May 1901 and ff., Ibid., Box 104 (fish companies driving piles on reservation tidelands); Buchanan to State Fish Commissioner, July 17, 1901, Ibid., Box 123 (fish trappers planning to locate near Tulalip Reservation); ARCIA (1904), 359 (litigation to prevent state expropriation of Tulalip tidelands); United States v. Ashton, 170 Federal Reporter 509 (U.S. Circuit Court for District of Washington, 1908)(Puyallup tidelands); Corrigan v. Brown, 169 Federal Reporter 477 (U.S. District Court for Western District of Washington, 1909) (Swinomish tidelands); Nugent, Lummi Elders Speak, 19-20 (Felix and Dora Solomon recalling whites who put traps where Indians had formerly netted fish).

13. Josephine Hatch et al. v. Ferguson et al., 57 Federal Reporter 959 (U.S. Circuit Court for District of Washington, 1893). The economic boom turned Ezra Hatch's homestead into the likely site of a new city (Everett) just before E.C. Ferguson offered to help Josephine sell her inheritance. Building a State, 85-87.

14. Kelley v. Kitsap County, 5 Washington Reporter 521 (1893). The Post-Intelligencer implied that lawsuit itself was the brainchild of white "friends" of Kelley's who were aware that the economic boom had driven the

value of Michael's estate up 4,000 percent in two decades. P-I, May 12, 1892, 5.

15. In re Estate of John T. Wilbur: Kitty Follansbee et al., Appellants, and Sarah J. Wilbur, Administratrix, Appellant, 14 Washington Reports 242, 245 (1896); Hubbard, "The Indian under the White Man's Law," 48. The court could not disinherit Wilbur's children because he had legally adopted them. Kitty Wilbur later married John Fornsby [Follansbee], who recalled that in the lawsuit about John Wilbur's land "[t]hey wanted to find out how Indians get married." Wilbur, Fornsby said, was the first Boston in what is now Skagit County. He paid Kitty's uncle one hundred dollars when he got married, and "the woman's side paid John Wilbur something...blankets to use in the house." Collins, "John Fornsby," 320. In 1913 the P-I ran a lengthy feature story on the Wilbur case, implying that the trial judge regarded the testimony concerning Indian marriage customs and pioneers' observance of those customs as fascinating because it afforded a glimpse into a quaint past. P-I, March 17, 1913, 8.

16. William McCluskey to Jesse E. Flanders, January 16, 1909, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 99 (Nooksack men complain about a white man who leased land for a shingle mill but now refuses to pay rent and claims land is his. Three of five families lost land they homesteaded because it was not put in trust.); Nugent, Lummi Elders Speak, 66 (white man who homesteaded on San Juan Island, driving out Indians who had three houses there).

17. Philip John to McCluskey, March 27, 1906, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 99; P. Gard to Buchanan, March 26, 1903, Ibid., Box 116 (Is Duwamish Indian living in Kitsap County with wife, who was born at Skagit Head of Snohomish parents, entitled to land on Tulalip Reservation?); Johnson Williams to Buchanan, April 16, 1903, Ibid. (resident of Dungeness asking for land at Lummi); Buchanan to Moses Pike, November 21, 1901, Ibid., Box 123; P-I, October 22, 1905, Magazine 5 (Henry Johnson eager for allotment on some reservation because he cannot afford land near Dungeness); Chas. Reynolds to Buchanan, December 18, 1902, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 100; Annual Report of Charles M. Buchanan, October 24, 1901, 5, in NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 311; Johansen and Gates, Empire of the Pacific, 446, 452-454; Buchanan to Commissioner, ARCIA (1903), 336 (reporting allotment of entire Muckleshoot Reservation, 68 additional allotments at Tulalip and eight at Swinomish). See also correspondence regarding "claim jumping" -- Indians occupying reservation land assigned to other Indians; e.g., C.B.

Pickrell to Buchanan, October 27, 1908, and February 25, 1909, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 103.

18. Chas. A. Reynolds to Buchanan, October 9, 1901, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 100. See also, Reynolds to Buchanan, April 9, 1902, Ibid. (inquiring whether man on Muckleshoot Reservation can transfer his land to Peter James of Lummi Reservation); A.A. Bartow to Buchanan, January 19, 1903, Ibid., Box 102 (reporting assignment of land to Joe Nappa, "a Chilian," and his wife, an Indian "presumably connected with [the Port Madison] tribe"); statements of Chas. J. Thompson and Charles Keo-kuke regarding eligibility of Joseph Pratt and others for land, April 28, 1902, Ibid.; A.A. Bartow to Buchanan, November 13, 1901, Ibid. (Half-breeds David and Emily Fowler desire to renew allegiance with Port Madison tribes so they can have allotment, put children in school.); C.B. Pickrell to Buchanan, September 11, 1908, and Pickrell to Jesse Flanders, January 26, 1909, Ibid., Box 103 (Puyallup Indian's desire to build on a Port Madison allotment next to land of an elderly man whom he is supporting and from whom he hopes to inherit).

19. D.C. Govan to Commissioner, November 20, 1895, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 25; C.B. Pickrell to C.M. Buchanan, October 12 and 27, 1908, Ibid., Box 103; C.C. Thornton to Commissioner, January 29, 1891, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 25; W.H. Talbott to Commissioner, April 12, 1887, Ibid. (trouble at Swinomish because white man has married Indian girl and moved onto the reservation; Indians claiming he is holding her against her will). See also, a letter from Neil Spithill to Buchanan, May 12, 1903, asking why he is denied an allotment at Tulalip because his wife is white, while Indians whose wives are Indians from British Columbia or Puyallup get land. Ibid., Box 116.

20. In 1856 special sub-agent Nathan Hill said the Indians he was supposed to supervise moved from temporary reserve to temporary reserve (or off the reserve and then on) according to their own notions of group affiliations rather than his. Hill's experiences mirrored those of agents elsewhere. N.D. Hill to Isaac Stevens, February 2, April 20, and May 28, 1856, WTSIA, Roll 10, Reel 21; ARCIA (1857), 340, and (1860), 202; ARCIA (1878), 133; R.H. Milroy to E.C. Chirouse, March 25, 1873, NA, PNR, RG 75, Tulalip Agency Correspondence 1861-1886, M-2011, Roll 2.

21. The special Indian census of 1880 for the Tulalip Reservation includes for each head of household an estimate of the number of years he or she had been on the

reservation. Only three of 142 had been there less than ten years. Virtually all the adults identified as Snohomish -- the name usually assigned to people from the territory where the reservation was located -- had been there since the government agents had, and a majority had been there since the treaty or before.

22. ARCIA (1857), 326, 329-30, 340; ARCIA (1860), 202; ARCIA (1860/62), 386, 389, 410; ARCIA (1862/63), 457; ARCIA (1877), 190; R.C. Fay to Mr. Taylor, August 28, 1861, NA PNR RG75, M-2011 (requesting revenue cutter to keep order among different tribes at distribution of annuities); unsigned annual report from Tulalip, September 30, 1862, Ibid. (reporting several hundred Indians stayed away from distribution on advice of whites who said goods were not fair pay for their land); Finkboner to Howe, November 6, 1864, Ibid. (complaining that jealous and clannish chiefs keep all Indians off the reservation except their own tribe); H. Haley to Stevens, April 7, 1856, WTSIA, Roll 10, Reel 20 (describing difficulty getting Indians in his jurisdiction together to make list of them); Edwin Eells to R.H. Milroy in ARCIA (1873), 310 (reporting that less than half the Klallams come for annuities, nearly all refuse to move to reservation among people they do not like). See also the discussion and notes in Chapter 3 regarding government officials' failure to get Indians onto reservations in the 1860s.

23. Milroy to Chirouse, March 14, 1873, NA PNR RG75, M-2011. In 1902 a government farmer told the Tulalip Agency superintendent that Indians at the Port Madison Reservation had long been in the habit of arranging land matters among themselves, "looking to Judge K. [a leading man and Indian court judge] as a sort of manager in such matters...." A.A. Bartow to Charles Buchanan, March 31, 1902, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 102. In the early twentieth century Charlie Moses stated that when he tried to get an allotment on the Port Madison Reservation, "the other Indians objected, on the ground that I am a D'Wamish Indian." Duwamish Roll, Applications for Enrollment, NA M-1343, Roll 3. Bill Kanim, whose parents lived in the Snoqualmie River Valley, testified in 1923 that his family did not receive an allotment on the Tulalip Reservation because they were not aware that the land was being surveyed and apportioned to members of nearby communities. In the Matter of the Claims of Indian Tribes and Individual Indians, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 96, Folder 60. Nevertheless, allottees at most reservations included some who were identified by ancestry and/or upbringing with distant groups assigned to other reservations. For example, at the Port Madison Reservation, where most allottees identified themselves

as Suquamish or Duwamish, one allottee was Ignatius Peter, whose father was from the Skagit Valley and whose mother was from the Nooksack Valley. Although he was born at Port Madison, Peter called himself Skagit. Records and Evidence Concerning Puyallup Enrollment, NA RG75, Entry 615, Puyallup Box 4. Little Joe said in 1923 that he came from Suquamish but settled at Tulalip, where he received land, because his daughter was in school there. In the Matter of the Claims of Indian Tribes and Individual Indians. (Indian Department records for Tulalip list Joe as Snoqualmie and Snohomish. Survey of Conditions of Indians in the United States, 72d Cong., 1st sess., part 32, 17207.)

24. M. Eells, "Census of the Clallam and Twana Indians," 35, 37. The census taker at the Tulalip Reservation assigned each person a tribal label and counted 291 Snohomish, 75 Snoqualmie, 152 Skiwhomish, 5 Kikealis, 8 Puyallup, 5 Duwamish, 7 Lummi, 2 Klallam, 1 Tillamook, 1 Saanich, 1 Sauk, 1 Skagit, and 1 Cowichan. Enumerators for other Point Elliott reservations likewise noted adults who were affiliated with tribes other than those presumed to have contributed the bulk of reservations' populations. Tenth Census of the United States, Indian Division, 1880, NA PNR RG29, Microfilm I-34, Rolls 1 and 2.

25. Agents were prone to generalizing that the Indians were all related or that once-distinct tribes were indissolubly intermixed. M. Eells, "The Indians of Puget Sound," 4-5, 271; W.H. Talbott, to Daniel Dorchester, October 19, 1890, NA, PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 25; Report of Tulalip Superintendent, 1915, NA RG75, Central Classified Files, Entry 121, Tulalip File 39946-033.

26. Placing Indians in protected enclaves ostensibly discouraged them from interacting with non-Indians until they were prepared to join American society as virtuous citizens. Even government agents in western Washington, despite their practice of permitting off-reservation contact between Indians and citizens, endorsed the isolation rationale for reservations many times during the nineteenth century. Trennert, Alternative to Extinction, 195; Rawls, Indians of California, 175; Edwin Eells to T.P McKinney, August 30, 1871, Edwin Eells Papers; Edwin Eells to Blinn, January 20, 1874, Ibid.; Jno. McGlinn to E.C. Chirouse, February 28, 1874, NA PNR RG75, M-2011; Chirouse to J.B. Brouillet, March 6, 1876, Ibid.; Chirouse to J.Q. Smith, August 17, 1876, Ibid.; W.H. Talbott to Commissioner, October 5, 1887, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 25 (reporting that Indians are instructed not to loiter in towns after they pick hops); report of Chirouse in ARCIA (1874), 336-37.

27. The vogue for encouraging Indians to interact with exemplary whites provided a rationale for bringing white citizens onto reservations, not only as missionaries and teachers but also as lessees and purchasers of land. By this reasoning Indians of the Puyallup Reservation, where land sales began in the 1890s, had the greatest opportunity to learn from new neighbors. On other Puget Sound reservations only a few whites appeared after 1900 as lessees and a decade or more later as purchasers. F.H. Abbott to Chas. E. McChesney, October 20, 1909, NA RG75, Central Classified Files, Entry 121, Tulalip File 84430-1909-150 (recommending that some Lummi allottees be allowed to lease or sell land); Charles Buchanan to Commissioner, February 15, 1910, Ibid. (regarding sales of trust lands at Port Madison Reservation); Report of Tulalip Superintendent, 1915, NA RG75, Entry 121, Tulalip File 39946-033; Annual Report of Tulalip Superintendent, 86, NA PNR RG75, M-1011; Special Census, Indian Division (1880), NA PNR RG29, Microfilm I-34, Roll 1, Port Madison Reservation, and Roll 2, Lummi Reservation.

28. Hoxie, The Final Promise, 66-67, 190: Dippie, The Vanishing American, 247-50; Helen Marie Bannan, "Reformers and the 'Indian Problem,' 1878-1887 and 1922-1934," (Ph.D. dissertation: Syracuse University, 1976), 177-78; Report of Edwin Eells, ARCIA (1883), 148-49; ARCIA (1885), 193; O.O. Howard in Seattle P-I, January 4, 1891, 9; The Seattle Mail and Herald, July 11, 1903, 10, c. 3-4; interview with D.C. Govan, P-I, January 2, 1897, 7; Edwin Eells to unidentified correspondent, November 24, 1879, Edwin Eells Papers; Charles Milton Buchanan, "The Indian: His Origin and Legendary Lore," Overland Monthly 36, 118 (diffusion of Indian blood by absorption of mixed-bloods into white population touted as solution to Indian problem); Report of Field Matron Lida Quimby, ARCIA (1904), 355; Lida W. Quimby, "Indian Education," The State 5 (1900), 80; Annual Report of A.A. Bartow, June 30, 1905, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 311 (claiming that bad example of low whites is offset by letting Indians meet cultivated white visitors). See also, Meeker, Pioneer Reminiscences, 226 (alleging that individuals benefit from contact with superior race). Arguments to the same effect by nationally prominent reformers are cited in Alexandra Harmon, "When Is an Indian Not an Indian? The 'Friends of the Indian' and the Problems of Indian Identity," Journal of Ethnic Studies 18 (Summer, 1990): 100 and notes 27-30.

29. It is not possible to measure the increase in the mixed-ancestry population by comparing censuses, not only because Indian censuses were notoriously inaccurate but also because enumerators gathered different information

and classified people differently from census to census. However, in 1877 Tulalip special agent Edmund Mallet estimated that one-eighth of the Indians under his jurisdiction had some white ancestors. ARCIA (1876/77), 198. Censuses in 1910 of the five Tulalip Agency reservations and five communities in the Cushman [Puyallup] Agency jurisdiction show that 707 of 2,107 people or thirty-three percent had mixed Indian and white ancestry. Indian Census Rolls, NA PNR M-595, Rolls 93 and 582. Joseph Kossuth Dixon, The Vanishing Race, The Last Great Indian Council (Philadelphia: National American Indian Memorial Association Press, 1925), ci (citing James Mooney). Census takers in 1900 identified as white every person on the Port Madison and Lummi Reservations who had one white and one Indian parent.

30. Felix S. Cohen's Handbook of Federal Indian Law (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press), 154, citing 24 United States Statutes 288, 289; Article 6 of Treaty with the Nisqualli, etc., 10 United States Statutes 1132; Treaty with the D'Wamish, etc., 12 United States Statutes 927; Treaty with the S'Klallam, etc., 12 United States Statutes 933; R.H. Milroy to Commissioner in ARCIA (1876/77), 190; ARCIA (1885), 192; U.S. Attorney to C.M. Buchanan, December 10, 1902, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 116 (saying that Dawes Act citizenship provision takes effect only upon completion of allotment and issuance of patents in fee).

31. Allen, "Puyallup Indian Reservation Lands," 10. Edwin Eells expressed satisfaction that Indians within his jurisdiction were not only voting but also paying taxes and staffing local voting precincts. ARCIA (1888-89), 286; ARCIA (1892), 498-99. Note also, article in The Daily Ledger, February 18, 1891, 4, reporting the election of the first Indian justice of the peace by citizen Indians of the Puyallup Reservation.

32. ARCIA (1891), 451; ARCIA (1890), 227 (people hoping Indians will sell their lands are telling them that as citizens and voters they should be free of Indian Department influence); Report of Inspector McCormick, March 11, 1894, NA PNR RG75, Microfilm M-1070, Roll 31 (inferring that Eells is exceeding his authority, because Indians have all the rights of whites); Report of D.C. Govan, August 20, 1895, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 311; Report of C.M. Buchanan, August 6, 1906, Ibid.; Chas. Reynolds to Buchanan, May 2, 1905, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 101; A.A. Bartow to Buchanan, September 7, 1901, Ibid., Box 102 (Charles Kelley says he has voted at Port Madison and Tracyton and can buy liquor at any saloon in Seattle.); C.C. Thornton to Commissioner, August 24,

1892, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 25 (Indians have allotments, may vote, but are not civilized enough to make good use of liberty afforded by General Allotment Act.); Letter from Ezra Meeker, P-I, November 15, 1903, 30 (asking how Indians who are citizens and voters can claim greater rights than white citizens to property such as reservation tidelands); The Daily Ledger, March 24, 1889, 6 ("Many of our citizens would like to know where to place the Indians. At the last election they voted as any other citizens, and now when the QUESTION OF RIGHT OF WAY is being decided they fall back on the Indian plea of recognizing the whole tribe...."). Some Indians applied for citizenship as early as 1879, before they had patents. "Having done this," Eells wrote," they stand off and defy the authority of the Indian Department and declare themselves citizens of the United States,...and have the right to drink as much whisky as they want. In making this defiant assertion, they are supported by those whose patronage they support. Many good citizens are muddled on the question, and are uncertain who to support." Eells to E.A. Hayt, May 10, 1879, Edwin Eells Papers. See also, Eells to H. Himes, March 17, 1910, E. Eells Papers, Box 3, Folder 17 (saying that since Indians became citizens, there has been some laxness and retrograde movement in marriage and divorce practices).

33. 18 United States Statutes 402, 420; 23 United States Statutes 76, 96; Cohen's Handbook of Federal Indian Law, 259-60.

34. W.H. Talbott to Commissioner, February 6, 1890, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 25 (agent denying knowledge of Indian claiming land on Orcas Island); Talbott to Patrick Halloran, June 10, 1890, Ibid. (denying Tulalip Agency responsibility for Indians living on Skagit, Samish Rivers); C.C. Thornton to Commissioner, December 2, 1893, Ibid. (recommending against the creation of a reservation for so-called Sauk Tribe -- about two dozen Indians living on Sauk Prairie who properly belong at Tulalip); Edward Bristow to Edward Mills, January 29, 1901, Ibid., Box 26 (reporting visit to Sauk Indians, who are anxious for Commissioner's help securing allotments they claim); William McCluskey to Jesse Flanders, January 16, 1909, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 99 (reporting discussion with leading men of Nooksack tribe regarding long-standing troubles "of which they have been unable to state to any proper authority for their protection;" mentioning their petition for continued trust status of homesteads); Bristow to Charles Buchanan, May 7, 1903, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 104 (asking whether he has power to stop an Indian living on Whidbey Island from inviting reservation Indians to potlatch); Agent, Tulalip Reservation, to

James Moore, Mt. Vernon, October 31, 1901 (indicating that an off-reservation citizen Indian may send children to boarding school on the reservation if he furnishes proof that he is Indian).

35. Buchanan to Commissioner, August 19, 1901, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 123.

36. Chas. Reynolds to Buchanan, November 4, 1901, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 100; Edward Bristow to Buchanan, June 5, 1902, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 104; McCluskey to Buchanan, June 27, 1906, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 99. Other employees confessed that they were handicapped by lack of familiarity with Indian languages and names. Reynolds to Buchanan, n.d., regarding circular of April 5, 1902, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 100; A.A. Bartow to Buchanan, November 13, 1901, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 102. Other evidence of the difficulties agents had compiling censuses appear in birth and death records, where notes next to names include, "Not on census," "Birth not known to me until...," or, "Present location unknown." Birth and Death Certificates and Reports, 1897-1939, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 470; Notes from Book of Indian Offenses, 1908-1912, Suquamish Tribal Archives. For William McCluskey's background, see P-I, October 1, 1905, Magazine 6; Sister Mary Louise, "Eugene Casimir Chirouse," 91-92.

37. Buchanan to Commissioner, February 15, 1910, NA RG75, Central Classified Files, Entry 121, Tulalip File 93127-07-311; Edward Bristow to Buchanan, June 5, 1902, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 104; Buchanan to Superintendent, Puyallup Indian School, October 22, 1908, Attachment to Report of Inspector Chas. L. Davis, NA RG75, CCF, Entry 121, Tulalip File 24323-1908-150.

38. Report of Inspector Chas. L. Davis, NA RG75, CCF, Entry 121, Tulalip File 24323-1908-150.

39. Hunt and Kaylor, Washington West of the Cascades I, 404; Applications for Enrollment, Snohomish Roll, NA PNR RG75 M-1343; Memorandum Decision (1907), Spithill et al. v. McLean et al., United States Circuit Court for Western District of Washington, Case No. 1194, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 503; Record in Spithill v. McLean, NA PNR RG21, Civil and Criminal Case Files, 1890-1911, Box 184; Alexander Spithill to Charles Buchanan, August 13, 1901, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 115; Minutes of Meeting with Felix Brunot, August 1871, NA PNR RG75 M-2011 (Spithill identified as farmer whose cruel treatment prompts complaints from Indians).

40. Patrick Buckley to Commissioner, July 20, 1886, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 24; Buchanan to S.T. Smith, September 13, 1901, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 123; Buchanan to W.G. Talbott, September 21, 1901, Ibid.; Buchanan to D.C. Govan, November 26, 1901, Ibid. Besides Buchanan, the Spithills sued the half white, half Skagit man to whom Buchanan planned to assign the property in dispute.

41. Transcript of Testimony, Spithill v. McLean, NA PNR RG21, Box 184; 55, 61, 63, 70, 77, 205, 215-16, 232. Agents' lists of Indians, even on the reservation, were not the result of house-to-house censuses but were old rosters updated to reflect second-hand information.

42. Acting Commissioner to Buckley, included in records of Spithill v. McLean, NA PNR RG21, Box 184. Edwin Eells in a letter to Commissioner E.A. Hayt of March 1, 1878, said he always dropped from his censuses the names of Indian women who married whites and lived with them off the reservation. E. Eells Papers, Box 1, Folder 17.

43. Memorandum Decision, Spithill v. McLean, October 23, 1907.

44. Transcript of Trial, Spithill v. McLean, 210. To support his contention that Anastasia lacked the requisite ties to the tribe, Buchanan cited her marriage to a white man and her reported exercise of a citizen's prerogatives.

45. Transcript of Testimony, Spithill v. McLean, 14, 31, 33, 7, 91, 93, 103, 148, 181, 190-91, 195.

46. Transcript of Testimony, Spithill v. McLean, 289, 292, 18-31, 183.

47. Ibid., 79-80, 40-41, 323-24.

48. Ibid., 80, 205. Allotting agents apparently did not encounter the same resistance when they assigned Tulalip Reservation land to Andrew Fryberg. Fryberg's father was probably non-Indian and his mother was Indian, but neither Fryberg nor officials could determine anything about his mother's tribal affiliation except that she was the cousin of the wife of a Port Madison allottee. Fryberg's wife, however, was the daughter of an allottee and an acknowledged member of the reservation community. Application of Lillian Tower, Suquamish Roll, Applications for Enrollment, NA M-1343, Roll 5.

49. A Boston Tillicum, "A Monograph on the Puyallup Indians," 6-13.

50. "A Monograph on the Puyallup Indians," 21, 25, 28, 33-41. There is abundant evidence of people who settled and received allotments on the Puyallup Reservation despite their lack of known previous ties to the people of that area. See application of August Kautz, Duwamish Roll, Applications for Enrollment, NA M-1343, Roll 3; George Sloan, Ibid., Roll 4; Charles Satiacum, Ibid., Roll 5.

51. Barsh census data. See also Special Census, Indian Division (1880), NA PNR RG29, Microfilm I-34, Roll 1, Port Madison Reservation, and Roll 2, Lummi Reservation, where half white/half Indian children living with their Indian mothers are listed as white; and Special Census of Indians Not Taxed, 1880-81, NA PNR Microfilm P-2193, Twana Tribe, which includes a list of twenty-one Twana enumerated as part of the white population of Kitsap and Jefferson counties and lists seventeen people on the Skokomish Reservation as half white. In 1881 R.H. Milroy blamed the decrease in the number of Indians listed on his agency's census partly on county census takers' eagerness to include off-reservation Indians on the list of persons with the same taxable status as whites. In Thurston County alone, he said, 164 Indians and eight half-breeds appeared on the white census. ARCIA (1880/81), 164. In 1889 Edwin Eells informed Governor Miles C. Moore, "Besides the Indians living on the Reservation [in Eells's south sound jurisdiction] there are nearly half as many more that are not living on any Reservation but are still connected with the Agency. These are scattered among the white settlements some of them having homesteads, some having acquired land by purchase some living near saw mills where they work and others roving about -- fishing and living from hand to mouth." Letter of August 29, 1889, Washington State Archives, RG 1/P-1, Box 2. To similar effect see ARCIA (1900), 397.

52. State v. Williams, 13 Washington Reporter 339 (1895); State v. Tommy Santiago Howard, 33 Washington Reporter 251, 254 (1903) (ruling that Indian who murdered an Indian on Puyallup Reservation is subject to state jurisdiction because he is not a tribe member, lives and works off the reservation, never allied with his ancestral tribes); State v. Jack Smokalem, 37 Washington Reporter 91 (1905) (ruling that full-blood Puyallup Indian who killed another Puyallup on the reservation is subject to state jurisdiction because Indians of the reservation no longer maintain tribal relations but have assumed habits of whites and participate fully in state legal and political institutions); State v. Nicolls, 61 Washington Reporter 142 (1910) (rejecting the argument that the son of an Indian woman and white man takes the

status of his father for purposes of statute prohibiting Indian liquor use); United States v. Hadley, 99 Federal Reporter 437-38 (U.S. Circuit Court for District of Washington, 1900) (ruling that son of white father and Indian mother takes the status of his father for purposes of federal prosecution, even though he has an allotment on an Indian reservation).

53. See, for example, Prucha, The Great Father, 773, 783; Waldron v. United States, 143 Federal Reporter 413 (1905) (woman who was 5/16 Sioux married to white man); United States v. Gardner, 189 Federal Reporter 690 (Wisconsin, 1911); Alberty v. United States, 162 United States Reports 499 (1896) (black man born in slavery subject to U.S. laws even though he became Cherokee citizen); Montoya v. United States, 180 United States Reports 261 (1901) (definition of Indian tribe or band); United States v. Ward, 42 Federal Reporter 320 (California, 1890); Keith v. United States, 8 Oklahoma Reports 466 (1899) (child of mixed parentage); United States v. Higgins, 103 Federal Reporter 348 (1900) (Montana half-breeds classed as Indians).

54. Sources cited in the pages that follow this paragraph should be ample evidence of the high volume of newspaper and magazine stories concerning Indians during this period. I have not gathered data for a quantitative analysis of such press coverage. However, from the Tacoma Public Library's index of the The Daily Ledger for the period between June of 1889 and June of 1901, for instance, I noted 85 stories of local interest featuring Indians. The index included many more articles I did not note, most concerning the opening of the Puyallup Reservation. Seattle Public Library's indexes for the Post-Intelligencer, which began publication in 1871, show stories about Indians in highest concentrations at the turn of the century and after 1960.

55. P-I, July 30, 1905, Magazine 13 (Tulalip); Ibid., August 13, 1905, Section II, 11 (Muckleshoot); Ibid., October 1, 1905, Magazine 6 (Lummi); Ibid., October 8, 1905, Magazine 6 (Swinomish); Ibid., October 22, 1905, Magazine 5 (Twana and Clallam); Ibid., October 29, 1905, Magazine 6 (Port Madison); Ibid., November 5, 1905, Magazine 6 (anecdotes from Meany's visits to reservations). Also, Washington Standard, January 8, 1892, 1; P-I, September 13, 1905, 8 (history and practices of Indian Shakers); Ibid., January 4, 1891, 9 (potlatch at Hadlock); Ibid., January 2, 1897, 7 (interview with Agent D.C. Govan); Ibid., May 20, 1898, 5; Ibid., July 4, 1897, 20 (details of ten Indian treaties); Ibid., May 11, 1898, 8 (upcoming Shaker "festival"); Ibid., May 24, 1898, 9 (Lummi "feast"

on occasion of government distribution); Ibid., September 17, 1899, 22; Ibid., April 5, 1901, 9 (interview with Agent Edward Mills about government policy); Ibid., June 16, 1901, 35 ("Treaties with the Indians of Washington Territory" by Grace Evarts Greene of the University of Washington); Ibid., August 14, 1904, 9 (photo and history of "Injun Dan: on White River); Thomas Nelson Strong, "Indians of the Northwest," Pacific Monthly XVI (1906), 169-177; James Wickersham, "Nusqually Mythology, Studies of the Washington Indians," Overland Monthly 32 (1898), 345-51.

56. P-I, May 31, 1904, 9; The Seattle Mail and Herald, November 29, 1902, 6; Ibid., October 6, 1906, 5; Ibid., December 8, 1906, 5; Ibid., August 2, 1902, 10 ("The Demure Siwash"); The Patriarch 15 (May 13, 1911), 2; P-I, July 4, 1891, 8 ("Potlatch at Hadlock"); Ibid., September 10, 1899, 6 (hop harvest bringing thousands of Indians to town); Ibid., June 22, 1904, 9 (potlatch); Ibid., June 26, 1904, 10; Ibid., December 30, 1904, 9 (gambling festival at Nisqually); Ibid., December 10, 1905, 7 (photo of Indian street vendor, referred to as common sight; reproduction of sales pitch in jargon); Ibid., May 29, 1906, 1 ("Indian John is Holding Potlatch" on Lake Union); Ibid., October 1, 1906, 16 (Indians returning from hop harvest; photo of tent camp). Akin to portraits of quaint Indians are anecdotes about Indians who appear comical because of their naivete, ignorance of white technology, or bewilderment at aspects of white civilization. P-I, November 5, 1905, Magazine 6 (Meany's tales of practical jokes at Indian expense); The Seattle Mail and Herald, August 2, 1902, 10.

57. Dippie, The Vanishing American, 199-200, 202-07; Hoxie, A Final Promise, 85-90; Barbara A. Davis, Edward S. Curtis, The Life and Times of a Shadow Catcher (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1985), 31, 33-34. See also, Lee Clark Mitchell, Witnesses to a Vanishing America: The Nineteenth Century Response (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1981); Werner Sollors, Beyond Ethnicity: Consent and Descent in American Culture (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 118-19. Photographs were as common a way as news stories and essays to document the presumably disappearing Indian. University of Washington Special Collections Library has a large number of photographs of Indians around Puget Sound taken during the period 1890 to 1910. Some, including those by Edmond Meany and several that resulted from the collaboration of Charles Prosch and Anders Wilse, illustrated newspaper articles cited above. Some photos that emphasize the quaint or exotic character of Indians on city streets are Nos. 1337 (Prosch/Wilse: old

couple crafting baskets and miniature canoes for sale); 869 (Webster and Stevens, 1904-1910: Indian woman on sidewalk of Seattle); 743 (William H. Wilcox, 1890-1900: white women buying baskets from Indian women on beach at Point Hudson); 707 (Prosch/Anders: Indian dwelling at Portage Bay, Seattle); 1501 (John P. Soule, ca. 1900: Indians on tide flats of Seattle).

58. Bennett, A Small World of Our Own, xi, 365-68; Weir, "Roughing It on Puget Sound;" Clarence B. Bagley, In the Beginning (Ezra Meeker, 1905); Meeker, Pioneer Reminiscences of Puget Sound; Ezra Meeker, Uncle Ezra's Short Stories for Children (Tacoma, n.d.), booklet in University of Washington Library; Emily Denny, Blazing the Way; Orange Jacobs, Memoirs (Seattle: Hanford & Lowman Publishing, 1908); Charles Prosch, Reminiscences of Washington Territory; H.A. Swift, "Ancutty Tillicum, The Indians in the 60s," Island County Times series (1913); Seattle P-I, July 22, 1906, Magazine 6 (recollections of A. Denny-Lindsley). Former Hudson's Bay Company employee Edward Huggins, who also wrote a series of articles for the Portland Oregonian, penned two very short sketches based on his personal experiences. Copies are in the Special Collections Library at the University of Washington: "The Story of 'Bill' or 'Sclousin'" (1900) and "A Trip to 'Alki' Point Near Duwamsh Bay" (1901). Earlier memoirs include Arthur Denny's, Pioneer Days on Puget Sound; Leighton, Life and Puget Sound; Myron Eells, Ten Years of Missionary Work; Erasmus Keyes, Fifty Years' Observation of Men and Events (New York: Scribner, 1884); H.A. Yesler, "The Daughter of Old Chief Seattle," The Washington Magazine 1 (1889): 25-27. Later reminiscences appear in Phoebe Judson, A Pioneer's Search for an Ideal Home (Bellingham: Union Printing, 1925); Bruseth, Indian Stories and Legends of the Stillaguamish; Blankenship, Lights and Shades of Pioneer Life on Puget Sound; Hancock, The Narrative of Samuel Hancock; Kellogg, "A History of Whidbey's Island;" Lotzgesell, "Pioneer Days at Old Dungeness;" McCurdy, By Juan de Fuca's Strait; Winthrop, The Canoe and Saddle (written in the 1850s but published in 1913); Told by the Pioneers (1937). Early histories that drew heavily on elicited memories of pioneer settlers include Bancroft, History of Oregon and History of Washington, Idaho and Montana; Elwood Evans and Edmond Meany, The State of Washington: A Brief History (Tacoma: Tacoma Daily News, 1893); Meany, History of the State of Washington (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1909); William F. Prosser, A History of the Puget Sound Country (New York: 1908); Hunt and Kaylor, Washington West of the Cascades; Schiach, An Illustrated History of Skagit and Snohomish Counties (1906).

59. Denny, Blazing the Way, 260.

60. Barbara Allen, "Shaping History: The Creation of a Collective Pioneer Experience," Columbia (Winter 1993/94): 6-13; Clyde A. Milner II, "The Shared Memory of Montana Pioneers," Montana 37 (1987): 4-7; Meeker, Pioneer Reminiscences, 205-06; Meeker in Seattle P-I, June 16, 1901, 35.

61. Denny, Blazing the Way, 51, 57, 175; Ezra Meeker, "Address delivered at Olympia March 2d 1903 upon the occasion of celebrating Creation day of Washington Territory fifty years before," Bagley Papers, Box 22, vol. 9, 3, 8, 12-13; Captain J.G. Parker, "Puget Sound" (June 6, 1878), Bancroft collection, University of Washington Microfilm 37. In Uncle Ezra's Short Stories for Children, at 17, Meeker admitted that a large majority of Indians remained friendly during the war of 1855-56. But how could you know about particular individuals? he asked rhetorically. For tales of people who thought they narrowly averted being the targets of deadly Indian attacks, see Denny, Blazing the Way, 67; "Autobiography of John Roger James," in Told by the Pioneers, vol. 2, 92. Samuel Hancock, who traveled alone in the territories of diverse native groups, made especially colorful and extravagant claims that he overheard natives plotting to kill him. The Narrative, 110, 112-13. James McCurdy asserted that settlers at Port Townsend in its early years would have been wiped out "had Chief Seattle and the Duke of York allied themselves with the war element at that time." By Juan de Fuca's Strait, 102.

62. Benjamin F. Shaw, "Medicine Creek Treaty," Proceedings of the Oregon Historical Society (Salem: J.R. Whitney, December 20,1903), Appendix C, 24-32. Arthur Denny caustically attacked the "very small people" and "degenerate scrubs" with no good words to say for "stalwart sons of the West" who had met privation and danger with hard toil, pluck, and faith. Pioneer Days on Puget Sound, 18, 38, 47.

63. Denny, for example, declared that the Northwest needed more people with the pioneers' spirit in order to quell the conflict between labor and capital, which he called a conflict between labor and laziness. In earlier days, Denny wrote, "I never heard of anyone striking, not even an Indian." Pioneer Days on Puget Sound, 47.

64. The defendant in Frank Ross's suit regarding Puyallup lands was government agent Edwin Eells, who took the position that citizenship was not enough to end federal

oversight of Indian allottees. Ross v. Eells, 56 Federal Reporter 858. In United States et al. v. Alaska Packers' Association et al., 70 Federal Reporter 152 (U.S. Circuit Court for District of Washington, 1897), attorneys for the United States represented Lummi Indians who argued that the Treaty of Point Elliott prohibited a cannery from occupying a fishing reef. The P-I, March 13, 1897, 5, called the Lummi case one "of unusual interest." The United States was also the plaintiff in lawsuits to prevent the state and its successors-in-interest from claiming tidelands of the Squaxin Island, Puyallup, and Tulalip Reservations. P-I, November 9, 1903, 7 (mentioning that Squaxin case excited a lot of interest, comment, "delving back, as it does, into the early history" of the territory); United States v. O'Brien, United States v. Ashton.

65. P-I, July 4, 1897, 20; Ibid., June 16, 1901, 35; Ibid., July 30, 1905, Magazine 13. See also, Evans, "Puyallup Indian Reservation," 4-5. A later positive characterization of the treaties appears in Samuel A. Eliot, Report upon the Conditions and Needs of the Indians of the Northwest Coast (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1915).

66. P-I, November 15, 1903, 30 (Meeker claiming that treaties ignored rights of Indians but now were being interpreted to give Indian citizens greater rights than white citizens); Meeker, Pioneer Reminiscences, 172, 208, 213-214, 226, 228, 232. For Meeker's claim that he and other settlers could easily handle minor troubles with Indians, see Ibid., 223-24; and for a similar claim from H.L. Yesler, see "Settlements of Washington Territory" (1878), Bancroft collection.

67. Shaw, "Treaty of Medicine Creek;" "Did Leschi Sign the Medicine Creek Treaty?" P-I, January 31, 1904, 25. The latter article contains a brief chronology of the debate between Meeker and Shaw. Although the P-I later published Meany's description of the treaties as the Indians' best hope for the future, it also ran an editorial favoring Meeker's position: that the treaties and reservations were harmful except as they entitled Indians to a good education. March 3, 1904, 4; July 30, 1905, Magazine 13.

68. Shaw, "Treaty of Medicine Creek," 30-32; Meeker, Pioneer Reminiscences/Tragedy of Leschi, 207-10, 215, 446.

69. Shaw, "Medicine Creek Treaty," 25-26; E.I. Denny, "Types and Characteristics of Puget Sound Indians," Northwest Magazine XII (September, 1894): 4-6; Denny, Blazing the

Way, 56; Meeker, Pioneer Reminiscences, 129, 222-24; Meeker in P-I, June 16, 1901, 35; M. Eells, "The Indians of Puget Sound," 276 (characterizing Indians' reasoning abilities as inferior to whites and Indians' former moral ideals as low).

70. E.I. Denny, "Types and Characteristics," 5; P-I, October 29, 1905, Magazine 6; "Princess Angeline," The Midland Monthly, October 2, 1897, reprinted in The Ballard News, [date?], 3, University of Washington Microfilm 212; H.A. Smith in The Seattle Sunday Star, October 29, 1887, 3 (Seattle described as noble, dignified, and a kind ruler); Frederic James Grant, History of Seattle, Washington (New York: American Publishing and Engraving, 1891), 432 and ff. (reproducing Smith's Sunday Star reminiscence and re-creation of Seattle's 1854 speech to Stevens); Costello, The Siwash, 29, 31, 105 (characterizing Seattle [Sealth] as wise, noble, and a moral reformer highly respected by whites).

71. Copy of otherwise unidentified 1912 newspaper article in Meany Papers; Building a State, 99. Other "friendly" Indians whose virtues the whites remembered in this period included Chetzemoka. McCurdy, By Juan de Fuca's Strait, 126. See also, P-I, August 13, 1905, Sec. II, 11 (Meany article featuring Old Tom, who rescued three children during the so-called White River massacre); Photograph No. 1220, Native American Collection, University of Washington Special Collections Library.

72. Meeker, Pioneer Reminiscences, 180.

73. Meeker, Pioneer Reminiscences, 205-07, 209-10, 215, 220, 242, 256. 455-57.

74. In Uncle Ezra's Short Stories for Children, at 17-18, Meeker claimed that during the war both he and George Dougherty encountered parties of Indian warriors but were left unmolested when Leschi identified Meeker and Dougherty as friends and instructed his followers not to harm them.

75. Buchanan, "The Indian: His Origin and Legendary Lore," 114, 118; Dippie, The Vanishing American, 208-09; Davis, Edward S. Curtis, 33-34; P-I, September 17, 1899, 22; Ibid., February 17, 1903, 8; Ibid., April 15, 1907, 20; Ibid., May 30, 1907 ("Lummis Going Way of Red Man;" early extinction apparently inevitable); Ibid., August 11, 1907, 9 ("Last Potlatch of the Nisquallies"); Ibid., December 9, 1909, cited in Noel, Muckleshoot Indian History, 87 (death of Slugamus Koquilton means the Muckleshoot Indians are extinct); Mary Alice Harriman in

The Northwest Magazine 17 (February 1899); Strong, "Indians of the Northwest," 169; Meeker, Pioneer Reminiscences, 172. But see P-I, January 2, 1897, 7, where agent Govan denies that Indians are dying out.

76. "Princess Angeline," The Midland Monthly (referring to her as "this living mummy," praising her father, romanticizing her past, and describing her as almost mindless and a pathetic sight); Bagley, "Chief Seattle and Angeline," 273, 275; E. Denny, Blazing the Way, 378-81; Meany in P-I, October 29, 1905, Magazine 6. In a letter to E.N. Fuller dated September 11, 1900, Huggins described Angeline as a dirty, ill-looking, no-account woman, not wicked but "not by any means worthy of so much gush and blarney as has been written about her." Edward Huggins Papers. Sometime during the teens Harrington talked with a Klallam woman who claimed that white merchants in Seattle tolerated Angeline's shoplifting because they knew that whites had driven her out of her home. Papers of J.P. Harrington, Reel 10, 1107. For sketches of other pathetic but proud living "relics" of the aboriginal past, see Lucius Grant Folsom, "An Hour with a Queen," The Overland Monthly 61 (1913), 502-04; P-I, August 14, 1904, 9 (photo and story of "Injun Dan"); Ibid., May 29, 1906, 1 (Indian John described as dying of old age and the "loneliness that comes even to the stoic heart of an Indian"). Many photographs from this era in the University of Washington Special Collections Library also fall into this category. Nos. 1056 (Albert Barnes, ca. 1905: Slugamus Koquilton); 591 (Orion O. Denny, ca. 1904: Indian John); 1185-1185 (Meany, 1904: portraits of Charley Keokuk and Tecumseh); 1359-1360 (Prosch, n.d.: Old Betsy and her blind son in Olympia); 1174 (Meany, 1905: Clallam Jackson, last survivor of Clallam Bay village); 1175 (Meany: Dominick Pousley, said to be 107).

77. Regarding the tendency to see Indians who accept cultural change as heading for extinction, James Clifford observes: "[W]henever marginal peoples come into a historical or ethnographic space that has been defined by the Western imagination, their distinct histories quickly vanish....What is different about them remains tied to traditional pasts, inherited structures that either resist or yield to the new but cannot produce it." The Predicament of Culture, 5.

78. P-I, April 15, 1907, 20. According to this article the inhabitants of the village included people from several nearby reservations, British Columbia, and the Columbia River. In 1900 census takers recorded the names of 49 people living in a waterfront tent camp in Tacoma, listing all as Puyallup Indians and the adult males as

fishermen. For at least part of the same year, Seattle was the site of a similar shanty town where 153 Indians identified as Clallams lived. Barsh, Census of 1900. Photographs from the UW collection that show young Indians who appeared similarly vigorous and who were making enthusiastic use of commodities and conveniences introduced by non-Indians include Nos. 1362 (Prosch/Wilse); 1126 (Barnes: Indian families camped near railroad tracks with large canvas tents, parasols, fancy hats); 1366-67 (Prosch/Wilse: Indian village at Eagle Harbor with caption saying, "These people are well dressed, comfortable and happy as Indians usually are or can be."); 1173-c (Meany, 1905: Henry Johnson in overalls); 662 (Ida B. Smith, 1895-1910: Mud Bay or Oyster Bay Indians, formally dressed, one in wedding gown).

79. Diary, Tulalip Agency, 1909-1913, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 310; programs from commencement, Christmas, and dedication ceremonies at Tulalip School, 1905-1916, Meany Papers, Folder 85-16; A.A. Bartow to Buchanan, September 9, 1903, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 102 (reporting that he talked Port Madison Reservation Indians into forming an improvement club "with a desire on my part to get the Indians interested in doing something for themselves, and thus grow toward a condition in which they might eventually be able and willing to become a fraternal, intelligent, self-respecting, self-supporting, self-governing community").

80. Bartow to Buchanan, July 31, 1902, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 102 (girls in day school "being encouraged to lead their parents to clean up the houses, and use bedsteads"); Teacher Liza Whitaker to Buchanan, May 19, 1902, Ibid., Box 104 (formation at Swinomish Reservation of a "school city" with voting student-citizens; Bristow to Buchanan, June 30, 1904, Ibid. (school exercises packed with parents and white visitors who "had nothing but praise for the manner in which the Indian pupils acquitted themselves"); Buchanan to Emma Jules, [December?] 1901, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 123 (telling Lummi student at boarding school in Oregon that his mother-in-law was astonished to see "what a little lady you are" and speculating that the mother-in-law imagined Indians still wore cedar bark skirts and painted skin and could "hardly realize that our Puget Sound Indian people are very civilized"); ARCIA (1895), 320 (elected court at Tulalip School); ARCIA (1896), 399 (public exercises at Jamestown school on Memorial Day and July 4); Annual Report of C.M. Buchanan, 1908, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 311 (school band and baseball team); Stella Nickolsen in Lummi Elders Speak, 96 (saying Buchanan wiped out Indian

culture at his boarding school); Report of Chas. L. Davis, NA RG75 CCF, Tulalip File 24323-1908-150 (harsh corporal punishment meted out at Tulalip School under Buchanan's supervision); Lawrence Rygg, "The Continuation of Upper Class Snohomish Coast Salish Attitudes and Deportment as Seen Through the Life History of a Snohomish Coast Salish Woman" (Master's thesis: Western Washington College, 1977), 118, 140-41; Noel, Muckleshoot Indian History, 43. For general information on the curricula at the Indian schools, see Quimby, "Indian Education," 79; H.H. Johnson to Commissioner, March 21, 1910, NA PNR RG75, Puyallup Box 2, Book 3.

A telling example -- albeit from a slightly later time -- of the way school staff influenced Indian children's understanding of their own history appears in the Tulalip Bulletin for September, 1917. Buchanan reported that three men -- Isaac Stevens's son Hazard, Ezra Meeker, and Edmond Meany -- were scheduled to talk to boarding school students about the region's early history. Although Meany had no Indian blood, Buchanan said, he was "the best 'Indian' we have off the reservation." Tulalip Bulletin, September, 1917, 1, in 1918 Annual Report, NA PNR RG75, Microfilm M-1011, Roll 153.

81. P-I, July 4, 1891, 8; Ibid., August 11, 1907, 9; F.I. Vassault, "Patsy's Potlatch," Overland Monthly 19 (1892): 461-64; Castile, The Indians of Puget Sound, 326 (citing The Mason County Journal article on Patsy's potlatch); P-I, June 22, 1904, 9, and June 26, 1904, 10 (issuing invitation to potlatch by wireless); Ibid., December 30, 1904, 9 (gambling festival at Nisqually); Ibid., May 29, 1906, 1 and 10; Ibid., December 24, 1906, 16 (William Kitsap's "Christmas potlatch"); Ibid., May 5, 1907, 9, and May 6, 1907, 1 (John Seattle's potlatch outside Auburn); notes regarding potlatch of Peter John at Oyster Bay in 1904, Meany Papers, Folder 86-3; Waterman, "Notes on the Ethnology of the Indians of Puget Sound," 77; Jacobs, Memoirs, 161-62 (Indian Jimmy "very anxious" to have Judge Jacobs attend the last day of his potlatch on Seattle's tideflats); photographs No. 831-33, 861, 864, Special Collections Library, University of Washington (O.S. VanOlinda, 1904: potlatch house and activities on Whidbey Island). But see, Edward Bristow to Charles Buchanan, May 7, 1903, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 104, asking whether authorities can do anything to stop Bill Barlow's plans to host potlatch near Coupeville, Whidbey Island.

82. Edward Mills to C. Buchanan, May 7, 1902, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 115; clipping from Seattle Times, September 16, 1903, in Meany Papers, Folder 85-12; Edward Bristow

to Buchanan, May 14, 1903, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 104; Bristow to Buchanan, July 8, 1906, Ibid., Box 105; photographs No. 1176-1179, UW Native American Collection (Meany, 1903: "teepees" and camp of Port Madison Indians at Labor Carnival). The Alaska-Yukon Exposition of 1909 provided another occasion for Indians to edify non-Indians with craft and culture demonstrations. Diary, entries of August 23 and October 16, 1909, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 310.

83. Diary for January 23, 1910, and January 22, 1913, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 310; "Scenes at Potlatch at Tulalip Held to Celebrate Making of Mukilteo Treaty," P-I, January 23, 1913, 1; Program for Chief Seattle Day, August 26, 1911, Meany Papers, Folder 85-12; notes, interview of Holmes Hyland by Marilyn Jones and Pegie Ahvakana, December 23, 1981, Suquamish Oral History Archives H.8.01, and interview of Lawrence Webster by Susan Blalock, Ibid., July 1, 1982, W.1.18.

84. Meany's July 30, 1905, article about the Tulalip Reservation not only praises Buchanan for earning the Indians' confidence but also describes the agent's close relationship with the last surviving treaty signer, Tyee William (Steh-shail). It also includes flattering portraits of "intelligent millwright" William Shelton and of Charles Jules. At the Lummi Reservation Meany talked with resident farmer and half-breed William McCluskey. P-I, October 1, 1905, Mag. 6. At Port Madison he featured Charles Keokuke, chief judge of the Court of Indian Offenses. October 29, 1905, Magazine 6. See also, H.H. Johnson to Commissioner, July 17, 1909, NA PNR RG75, Puyallup Box 2, Book 2 (listing five Indians he considers eminent because they lead honorable, upright lives or stand for advancement in civilization); P-I, July 7, 1901, 35 (portrait of murdered Tulalip Indian judge David Teuse as man of stern integrity, feared by lazy and vicious on reservation, revered by law-abiding whites and Indians).

85. On April 28, 1906, at page 4, The Seattle Mail and Herald carried a long story by Katherine McCurdy about what happened when she went to the Port Townsend waterfront with the intent of photographing Indians just back from the hop fields. A man approached and allegedly said, in a manner McCurdy thought threatening, "'White man, Indian picture every day, picture, Indian man not bother white man's picture. This man, that man, Indian picture, klootchman's [woman's] picture, sell picture, get hiyu [many] dollar, no picture -- no picture.'" Although McCurdy assured him that she would not make "hiyu dollar" selling his picture, he refused to sit for a portrait

until she offered him half a dollar, for which he agreed smilingly to two photos. Declaring the man a perfect representative of the "'lowest specimen of mankind,'" McCurdy concluded, "By such process the Indian has learned the value of the dollar." A reference to the City of Seattle's paying Indians "for services rendered" during Potlatch Week, appears in W.J. Egbert to John F. Pace, August 4, 1911, in Notes from Book of Indian Offences, Suquamish Tribal Archives.

86. Often officials of the Indian service purported to relay Indians' views of themselves. Correspondents for Seattle newspapers regularly provided agents from the Tulalip Reservation with opportunities to do so. Some government personnel also published their own writings on the subject. Myron Eells and Charles Buchanan were especially prolific and eager to explain Indians to people who lacked direct contact. Some P-I articles based on interviews with Indian Department officials appeared on January 2, 1897 at 7; March 21, 1898 at 3; May 20, 1898 at 5; February 13, 1899 at 5; September 17, 1899 at 22; April 5, 1901 at 9; and in several articles in Meany's 1905 series cited above. Newspapers and magazine articles authored by local reservation personnel include Myron Eells, "Treatment of Indians by Whites," Seattle Argus, December 29, 1899; P-I, August 20, 1899, 16 (Buchanan on Indian canoes); P-I, September 16, 1899, 32 (Buchanan on the Chinook jargon); Buchanan, "The Indian: His Origin and Legendary Lore;" Quimby, "Puget Sound Shakers;" Quimby, "Indian Education;" Reagan, "The Shaker Church of the Indians." For a bibliography of Myron Eells's many publications, only a few of which appeared in local journals, see Castile, The Indians of Puget Sound, 456-60.

Because they saw Indians through a lens of non-Indian making and reproduced the image selectively, government officials were hardly reliable spokesmen for Indians. Nevertheless, their reports to each other indicate that they heard and occasionally reiterated some concerns of people on the reservations. Especially when Indian Department officials brought provisions of the treaties to the attention of attorneys, judges, state officials, and other outsiders, they appear to have been responding to complaints or inquiries from Indians. For example, shortly after Buchanan began his tenure as Tulalip agent, he told a state official, "[O]ur Indians have always been exceedingly jealous of their fishery rights guaranteed by treaty with the U.S. Government." Indian Agent [Buchanan] to State Fish Commissioner, July 17, 1901, NA PNR, RG75, Tulalip Box 123; D.C. Govan to Governor John R. Rogers, January 28, 1898, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 26 (Lummi Indian arrested for fishing near

licensed trap believes he has right to fish under treaty.); Govan to U.S. Attorney F.C. Robertson, July 23, 1897, Ibid. (Lummi Indians' objection to state fish license requirement, on ground that treaty protects them, impels agent to write for advice.); Chas. Reynolds to Buchanan, July 4, 1904, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 100; Edward Bristow to Buchanan, May 1, 1902, Ibid., Box 104 (Indians at Swinomish disturbed over white man's bid for tidelands of reservation); Bristow to Buchanan, March 2, 1903, Ibid. (Indians arguing that even if government does not back their fight against tidelands claimant, Lummi, Tulalip, Puyallup Indians will); Bristow to Buchanan, October 17, 1905, Ibid., Box 105 (Indians believe treaty allows them to kill ducks without license.). In 1895 Govan reported that it was the Indians who lodged complaints against Alaska Packing Company for locating traps on accustomed Lummi fishing grounds, claiming "that the right was guaranteed to them by the treaty of 1856." ARCIA (1895), 318; Govan to Commissioner, August 20, 1895, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 311.

87. A.A. Bartow to Charles Buchanan, July 16, 1903, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 102; Edward Mills, to Parade Committee Chairman E.P. Edson, June 27, 1899, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 26; A.A. Bartow to Charles Buchanan, September 9, 1903, NA PNR RG7, Tulalip Box 102; Kellogg, "A History of Whidbey's Island," 72; "Commemorative Celebration at Sequalitchew Lake," 9; Building a State, 99 (first Seattle Golden Potlatch in 1911). In 1909 a Skokomish man told the Puyallup school superintendent that "all the pioneer population of the neighborhood" supported the Indians in their claim that the treaty of Point No Point allowed them to hunt and fish "at all time and all places." Andrew P. Peterson to H.H. Johnson, May 18, 1909, NA PNR RG75, Puyallup Box 2, Book 2. Elderly Lummi Indians recalled in the 1970s that during their youth, before World War I, their families joined whites at July Fourth festivities and pioneer picnics. Nugent, Lummi Elders Speak, 108-09.

88. Ann Nugent, "Regulation of the Lummi Indians by Governmental Officials Between 1900-1920," 1977, in Special Collections Library, University of Washington. In his annual report for 1914 Buchanan said children in Indian schools were taught to regard the old dances as incidents of past barbarism in the evolution of their race. The Treaty Day, he said, was "in a sense, Old Folks Day." NA PNR RG75, M-1011, Roll 153.

89. Collins, "John Fornsby," 322-23.

90. Lummi Elders Speak, 82; Deposition of William Shelton, Duwamish et al. v. United States, U.S. Court of Claims, University of Washington Microfilm A-7348, p. 254; Transcript, interview of Martha George by Pegie Ahvakana, March 13, 1982, Suquamish Oral History, G.1.01.

91. Bristow to Buchanan, December 24, 1901, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 98 (regretting that school is too crowded to take children of man too poor and old to feed and clothe them); James Moore to Tulalip Agent, October 30, 1901, and two responses indicating that Tulalip School is full, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 115; The Daily Ledger, May 20, 1891, 6 (Annie Washington's petition for habeas corpus); "To Whom It Concerns," signed with marks by Louis and Lucy Napoleon, Port Madison, October 10, 1902, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 102; Bartow to Buchanan, October 20, 1902, Ibid. Lawrence Webster and Louis Napoleon's daughter Celia Jackson recalled that Napoleon decided to leave Port Madison for an off-reservation site because he wanted to keep his children with him. Suquamish Oral History Interviews W.1.07 and J.3.03. See also, Bremner to Buchanan, December 15, 1903, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 98 (reporting forcible methods to get some children in school); Bristow to Mills, July 11, 1900, Ibid. (threat of Lummi Indians to drive teacher off reservation, claiming that church is stronger and more important civilizing agent than school); Bartow to Buchanan, January 30, 1903, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 102 (asking whether he should grant request of two boys to attend Port Madison school for two or three months while their parents stop there); Bartow to Buchanan, November 13, 1901, Ibid. (family moving to reservation because they want an allotment and children in school); Bristow to Buchanan, September 20, 1906, Ibid., Box 105 (half-breed refusing to put his children in reservation school on grounds that they get better education in white schools).

92. The Daily Ledger, April 16, 1892, 4; Ibid., July 30, 1889, 5; Ibid., August 1, 1889, 5; Meeker Family Papers, Notebook III; C.C. Thornton to Commissioner, December 2, 1893, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 25; Edward Bristow to Edward Mills, January 29, 1901, Ibid., Box 26. Regarding Nooksack Valley Indians' petition for Indian Department help, see William McCluskey to Jesse E. Flanders, January 16, 1909, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 99.

93. D.C. Govan to Commissioner, ARCIA (1896), 315 (variety of Indians' occupations); Govan to Commissioner, August 20, 1895, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 311 (reporting that large number of Indians with patents do not live there, and many have been absent from agency for years); Frank Terry to Commissioner, ARCIA (1898), 302 (variety of housing in

off-reservation settlement at Port Gamble). In home visits on the Swinomish and Port Madison Reservations in 1907, agency personnel found that half the adults -- all of the adults over 38 -- had never been to school. Report on Homes Visited, 1907, NA PNR, RG75, Tulalip Boxes 324-25 combined. In 1903 Buchanan estimated that 982 of the 1,445 Indians on his reservations could speak English, 478 were tilling their lands, and sixty-five percent of the children were in school. Buchanan to Estelle Reel, September 19, 1903, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 106. At the time of the 1910 census, 444 people were on Tulalip Reservation, 324 of them apparently "full-blood" Indians. Only ninety-six people lived at Port Madison, sixty-five of whom had some non-Indian ancestry. Indian Census Rolls, NA PNR M-595, Roll 583.

94. Suquamish Oral History Interviews, G.1.01 and G.1.06 (Martha George), W.1.10 and W.1.12 (Lawrence Webster); Nugent, Lummi Elders Speak, 83 (Marion Charles Nelson), 87 (Isadore Tom describing training to be shaman); Report of D.C. Govan, 1895, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip 311 (old Indians secretly clinging to superstitions); Report of C. Buchanan, 1906, Ibid. (estimating a dozen Indians at Tulalip are Shakers); ARCIA (1899), 359-60 (references to practicing Indian medicine men and Shaker meetings); Meeker Family Papers, Notebook III (Indians Jerry Meeker and Peter Stanup worked to convert Indians to Protestant Christianity); Report of Inspector John Lane, December 17, 1896, NA PNR M-1070, Roll 31 (growth of Shaker sect); H.H. Johnson to Commissioner, September 9, 1909, NA PNR RG75, Puyallup Box 2, Book 2; C.C. Thornton to Commissioner, October 14, 1892, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 25 (reference to Thomas Jefferson as devout Catholic); Edward Bristow to Edward Mills, July 11, 1900, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 98; Amelia Thomas to C. Buchanan, December 3, 1907, Ibid., Box 99; Bristow to Buchanan, February 10, 1903, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 104 (Swinomish judges resigning rather than prosecute two men for practicing Indian medicine for fear that men will kill the judges' children); Fetzer, "George Swanaset" (describing mother as a Christian [Protestant] and brother's receipt of a preaching license).

95. References to differences between generations appear in Lummi Elders Speak, 70, 80-81; P-I, January 2, 1897, 7; Ibid., September 17, 1899, 22; Suquamish Oral History Interview G.1.04 (Martha George saying that grandparents thought children did not need to learn white ways, but children liked the fact that they learned a lot at boarding school); Report of D.C. Govan, 1895, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 311; Folsom, "An Hour with a Queen," 503.

96. As of 1900 only about half the children counted as Indians were attending school. P-I, February 13, 1899, 5; ARCIA (1900), 397. A school census for Port Madison in 1912 shows eleven children in government agency schools, twenty-two not in any school, four at Cushman boarding school on the Puyallup Reservation, and fourteen in five different public schools. Notes from Book of Indian Offences, 1905-12, Suquamish Tribal Archives. That people of the same generation had contrasting childhood socializations can be seen in Suquamish Oral History Interviews J.3.03 (Celia Jackson's parents kept her out of school after second grade, arranged her marriage.), G.1.05 (Martha George's parents arranged her marriage but let her siblings choose mates.), W.1.07 (Lawrence Webster attended several kinds of schools, learned fishing and hunting from grandparents during summers but missed out on other Indian training because of boarding school.), W.1.10 (Elders excluded children from Indian doctoring ceremonies.); Nugent, Lummi Elders Speak, 68 (In some homes no one spoke English, and in some no one spoke Indian language.), 80-81 (Elders would not tell children the history they knew.), 87 (Isadore Tom's traditional training), 92 (girl who stayed five years at school in Carlisle, Pennsylvania), 95 (girl whose parents removed her from school as soon as she menstruated), 96 (girl whose father had only four years of school while father's sisters had full Carlisle education), 98 (man who met his wife, a Shoshone from Wyoming, at boarding school in Oregon), 103 (girl whose parents made them listen to stories every night).

97. Meeker Family Papers, Notebook III. In the 1850s the chiefs were themselves a departure from the ways of their parents -- a response to the demands of American officials for accountable leaders of aggregations larger than villages.

98. J.B. Boulet to Mr. Mills, June 20, 1900, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 115; William McCluskey to C.M. Buchanan, August 21, 1905, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 99. At least one of the men who advocated opening the Lummi reservation identified himself as a Duwamish Indian and had settled at Lummi only after marrying a woman of Nooksack-Lummi origin. However, if differences in tribal affiliations underlay this dispute or similar disputes of this era, the disputants did not say so for the record. A conflict between elderly Indians on the Port Madison Reservation in 1909 ostensibly turned on H.S. Alfred's charge that Charlie Yukton and William Rodgers had taken part in tamanous. According to agent Cyrus Pickrell, Alfred's supporters also hoped to get him appointed judge in Yukton's stead. But the possibility that Alfred or

his backers also resented Rodgers because he had come to Suquamish country from Duwamish territory apparently did not occur to Pickrell. C.B. Pickrell to Buchanan, February 10, 1909, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 103. The Duwamish affiliation and background of Peter James, sponsor of the petition for unrestricted titles at Lummi, is documented in the Duwamish Roll, Applications for Enrollment, NA PNR M-1343; Harrington Papers, Reel 15, p. 253; Hearings on H.R. 2694, 68th Congr., 1st sess. (1924), H.342-4, p. 28; Minutes of Duwamish Tribe, December 22, 1915, Indian Census Roll, 1911-15, NA PNR M-595, Roll 584. For William Rodgers's identification as Duwamish, see Harrington Papers, Reel 15, p. 253; Thomas G. Bishop, "An Appeal to the Government to Fulfill Sacred Promises Made 61 Years Ago" (1915), 35, pamphlet in Special Collections Library, University of Washington; Minutes of Duwamish Tribe, December 22, 1915.

99. "Tulalip Tribal Customs Prevail Against the White Man's Methods of Dealing Justice," P-I, July 7, 1901, 35.

100. This summary is based on documents labeled "Subject Series: Murder of David Teuse" in the Charles M. Buchanan Papers, University of Washington Manuscripts, Accession No. 3907. The material includes typed and handwritten notes of investigative interviews and of inquest testimony as well as the undated transcript of a hearing where Edward Mills took testimony under oath. The Post-Intelligencer report gives Teuse's age as 70. At the Mills hearing, presumably held in 1900, William Shelton said he was 30; but the census of 1900 lists his birth date as 1868. The P-I identified Shelton as the reservation farmer, but notes in the Buchanan Papers material indicate that he had been working in the sawmill until shortly before the shooting of Teuse. Several witnesses referred to Shelton's anger at being fired, but Buchanan's notes say that Shelton left in a huff when his salary was reduced. Witnesses did not give details about the alleged blood feud between the Shelton and Teuse families. Charlie Hook testified that at some time in the past Shelton's father and aunt had been killed "up the river;" but he claimed not to know who the killers were. Shelton, who was born at his father's village on Whidbey Island, identified himself to census takers in 1900 as Snohomish. The 1880 census for the Tulalip Reservation identifies Te-use or David, then approximately 33, as Skiwhomish -- that is, from the inland area now known as the Skykomish River Valley. Special Census, NA PNR RG29 Microfilm I-34, Roll 1. In the 1970s, when Shelton's daughter recalled her childhood years, she spoke of fearing that her father was in mortal danger from people she identified as Snoqualmies. She

also recalled her father and mother speaking bitterly about the judges' arbitrary use of their powers and accusing them of stealing to augment their wealth. Rygg, "The Continuation of Upper Class...Attitudes," 60-61, 63, 66.

101. Unable to pin Teuse's killing on Shelton or Hook, the Indian Department men turned the hearing into an attempt to discredit the shaman and shamanic power. They put Hook on the stand, where he said that for fear of the law he used his temaniwas [tamanous] only off the reservation. By threatening him with jail if he used his power anywhere, they wrung from Hook a public statement that his temaniwas had grown weak. They also told Catholic witnesses that they would burn in hell for telling lies.

102. ARCIA (1900), 400.

103. P-I, July 7, 1901, 35.

104. In a historical study of the Fort Belknap Reservation, Loretta Fowler shows that conflict among people there, who have different histories and culture-based proclivities, has been the principal force driving change in Indians' understanding of themselves. Shared Symbols, Contested Meanings.

105. By 1905, Shelton was again the Tulalip millwright. P-I, July 30, 1905, Magazine 13. His long later career as government-endorsed cultural representative of the Tulalip Indians is summarized in the Everett Herald, February 11, 1938, on the occasion of his death. Appendix G-13, Reply, Snohomish Tribe of Indians, Petition for Federal Acknowledgement. See also, Rygg, "The Continuation of Upper Class...Attitudes."

106. Chief George Nelson, Joe Snohomish, Bob James, Justin Joseph and Joe Billy to Buchanan, November 20, 1903, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 100 (all misspellings in original text). Like Indian courts, the regimes in reservation schools were common lightning rods for the energy of people who sought to unite community members in opposition to whites' agenda for Indians. In 1892 the Tulalip agent recommended sending Thomas Jefferson to military prison because he repeatedly interfered with the conduct of the Lummi Reservation school and court, entering the classroom to intimidate the teacher and daring officials before the assembled Indians to take his children away. Yet three years later Jefferson had enough influence to win appointment to the reservation judgeship. In 1902 a dozen men, styling themselves "the

Indians of the Port Madison Indian Reservation," complained to Buchanan that A.A. Bartow ran a slovenly school, convening class irregularly, feeding children green meat, and telling them that "'there were many white children who would be glad to get as good.'" Half or more of the men on reservation did not sign the complaint; and when Bartow chastised Charlie Keokuk for endorsing the protest, Keokuk not only denied signing but said that the petition's originator was not a member of the tribe and therefore had no right to act for him. C.C. Thornton to Commissioner, October 14, 1892, NA PNR RG75 Tulalip Box 25; D.C. Govan to Thomas Jefferson, November 4, 1895, Ibid.; "We the Indians" to Buchanan, January 14, 1902, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 102; A.A. Bartow to Buchanan, February 12, 1902, Ibid. See also Thornton to Commissioner, May 26, 1893, Ibid. (regarding H.S. Alfred's efforts to create a disturbance by rallying other Indians against Thornton and farmer); George Bremner to Buchanan, September 28, 1904, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 98 (denying charges by Peter James, Thomas Jefferson, and other former judges and police that school has been worthless under Bremner's direction).

107. Morris W. Foster, Being Comanche: A Social History of an American Indian Community (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1991), 14, 20, 28-30.

108. Agent to Mr. ----, May 25, 1899, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 26 (calling meeting of all men over 18 on Port Madison Reservation); P-I, May 24, 1898, 9 (Lummis holding annual feast on occasion of government distribution of rations); Ibid., September 10, 1899, 6 (1,200-1,500 Indians from western Washington and British Columbia gathering for White and Puyallup Valley hop harvest); Ibid., June 22, 1904, 9 (Indians going from potlatch at Puyallup to July 4 festivities at Nisqually); Ibid., December 30, 1904, 9 (Christmas gambling festival at Nisqually includes Puyallup and Oyster Bay Indians); Ibid., May 5, 1907, 9 (Indians arriving at Muckleshoot from Yakima, Puyallup, Tulalip for "potlatch" memorial); Ibid., August 11, 1907, 4 (Indians attending Nisqually potlatch from Puyallup, Chehalis, Mud Bay, all areas between Nisqually and Olympia); Ibid., August 23, 1907, 8 (Bellingham Indians planning old-time sing-gamble sponsored by Lummi and LaConner Indians); Tacoma Morning Union, December 30, 1896, 3 ("Indians at Sing Gamble/Puyallups Entertaining Their Visiting Players"); The Daily Ledger, May 4, 1898, 3 (Indians dancing for two weeks at prairie west of Eatonville); Fetzer, "George Swanaset," 9 ("All the Indians worked on the railroad at that time."), 11 (describing his family's practice of moving to help suffering persons in other communities), 12 (naming

tribal groups attending wife's funeral); Lummi Elders Speak, 107 (recalling annual Indian celebration, which drew Indians from all over and was held in Bellingham rather than on reservation); Suquamish Oral History Interviews W.1.20 (Lawrence Webster: Hop picking was more a chance to visit and have a good time than to earn money.); H.8.01 (Holmes Hyland describing celebrations in Suquamish); J.3.03 (Celia Jackson's parents always came from off the reservation for July 4 celebrations.); G.1.04 (Martha George saying that her off-reservation family held what they called potlatches for Indians from all over, also came to reservation for similar doings); Noel, Muckleshoot Indian History, 50-51 (elderly people recalling annual potlatches, feasts with guests from distant reservations).

109. Told by the Pioneers, vol. II, 180; Rygg, "The Continuation of Upper Class...Attitudes," 147; Suquamish Oral History interview J.4.06 (Clara Jones, September 23, 1982)(pointing out that all students at Cushman School were Indians or half-breeds and that students helped each other, the older girls taking care of the younger); list of mixed blood children living off reservations but attending federal boarding school at Puyallup, appended to report of Inspector McCormick, March 11, 1894, NA PNR M-1070, Roll 31. According to K. Tsianina Lomawaima, students at Indian boarding schools were fully aware that their presence at the schools and the schools' regimes were indissolubly linked to the same Indian identities the schools intended to destroy. "Domesticity in the Federal Indian Schools: The Power of Authority over Mind and Body," American Ethnologist 20 (May, 1993): 236.

110. P-I, May 11, 1898, 8; Barnett, Indian Shakers, 8; Gunther, "The Shaker Religion of the Northwest," 61.

111. Meeker, Pioneer Reminiscences, 209, 242, 255; P-I, November 15, 1903, 30; transcript, interview of Lawrence Webster by Joseph Waterhouse, March 25, 1982, Suquamish Oral History, W.1.11. See also, discussion of 1927 claims case in Chapter 6 and appurtenant citations.

112. Minutes of Convention at Yakima Reservation, October 18, 1912 and other Records of the Indian Shaker Church of Washington and the Northwest, 1892-1945, University of Washington Microfilm A-4547.

113. P-I, November 9, 1903, 7 (Squaxin case); Pioneer Reminiscences, 210. See also, the Meany articles cited above; references to Indian testimony in the Charles Kelley and Kitty Wilbur Follansbee lawsuits cited above. As discussed below, the several Indians who testified in

the Lummi fish trap trial of 1895 were called upon to reminisce about treaty negotiations at Point Elliott and about Lummi fishing traditions. United States et al. v. The Chicago Fishing Company and U.S., Crockett, and Captain Jack v. Alaska Packing Association et al., NA PNR RG21, Cases 481 and 482.

114. United States, et al. v. Alaska Packers' Association et al., 70 Federal Reporter 152, 155-56 (1897); "The Lummis Lose," P-I, March 13, 1897, 5. Testimony in the form of affidavits is in the records of Cases No. 481 and 482, NA PNR RG21, Box 82.

## CHAPTER 6

## WE ARE INDIANS: GIVING THE CATEGORY NEW MEANINGS

At the heart of national Indian policy in 1900 was a contradiction. Policy makers promised to eliminate the "Indian problem" by dismantling reservations and promoting Indians' absorption into the general population. However, they had seen a problem in the first place because they conceived of Indians as a distinct race -- a people whose culture was incompatible with American civilization. While they had varied explanations for the disparities between the races and varying degrees of optimism about erasing those disparities quickly, American leaders agreed that some laws and administrative arrangements peculiar to Indians were necessary until essential differences disappeared. Yet by their very existence such laws and arrangements tended to perpetuate the distinction they ostensibly aimed to eliminate.

The contradictory premises of assimilationist policy played themselves out in curious ways after the turn of the century. In order to rid the government of responsibility for Indians, policy makers and administrators augmented the government's role in Indians' affairs. Through the 1920s, while professing an abiding desire to make Indians indistinguishable from other Americans, federal officials reinforced the basis for classifying many people in a separate, subordinate group called Indians.

More than ever before, people who had some reason to be regarded as Indians had to define themselves by reference to the special legal and political scheme for Indians. In western Washington, this was often a puzzling task. Both the promised autonomy of full citizenship and the protection of federal guardianship had attractions for the diverse people who

considered themselves Indians. Rather than simply choosing from the models whites offered them, however, many self-identified Indians of the Puget Sound region collaborated in using the law to promote an alternate image of themselves and an alternate characterization of their relationship to the people around them. Inspired by nineteenth-century treaty promises, they turned congressional hearing rooms and courtrooms into forums where they recited a common history and began to claim a common identity.

Most assimilationist reformers of the 1880s and '90s -- evangelical Protestants who believed in humans' psychic unity and unilineal social evolution -- initially expected their program to elevate Indians from a savage or barbarian stage to a civilized stage of development within a generation or less. Although they favored a period of federal protection for Indians who accepted patents to allotted land, they agreed to a Dawes Act provision that conferred immediate citizenship on the new allottees. Citizenship, they hoped, would speed Indians' transformation by freeing them from the "tyranny of the reservation."[1]

After 1900, as Frederick Hoxie has shown, whites' faith and interest in the transformative power of allotment and citizenship waned. Most people responsible for implementing the reform program and even some of the original reformers concluded that Indians would require a lengthy apprenticeship before taking their place unsupervised in American society. Many influential whites predicted, too, that the place Indians took would be a humble one.[2]

Several convergent developments explain this loss of zeal for assimilating Indians. As an explanation of racial

differences, orthodox evolutionism lost ground to theories that fostered skepticism about Indians' ability to progress. Some theorists thought that early environment and social tradition stamped themselves indelibly on Indians' minds. Others posited that race or inherited culture retarded Indians' advancement to a higher plane, and this doctrine of racial determinism gained widespread acceptance in the U.S. by the end of the nineteenth century. At the same time, nostalgia about past American frontiers, a nativistic reaction to immigration, and the flowering of modern anthropology contributed to some whites' interest in conserving rather than destroying aboriginal cultural features.[3] By 1917, says Hoxie, "Optimism and a desire for rapid incorporation were pushed aside by racism, nostalgia, and disinterest. Total assimilation was no longer the central concern of policy makers and the public."[4]

Francis Leupp exemplified the trend. An energetic supporter of the assimilation program in the 1890s, Leupp argued after he became Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1905 that the government should tailor its program to stubbornly persistent Indian traits, such as an aversion to labor and discipline.[5] At the Tulalip Reservation in western Washington, Charles Buchanan's thinking seemed to evolve in the same direction. In 1900 he described the Indian as an edition of man bound in red, lacking only the acquired culture to which civilized men subsumed their primitive emotions. Fourteen years later, explaining his reluctance to give most Indians of his agency full responsibility for their property, Buchanan sounded a different note. Many Indians had proved unable to manage property wisely, he said, because of

conditions inherent and instinctive in the aborigine. Centuries of heredity as well as environment had forged a temperament that could not be uprooted in a single generation.[6]

Increasingly inclined to write off older Indians as set in their ways, Indian Office personnel recommended focusing on the young. In 1895, when Tulalip agent D.C. Govan noted that few Indians with patents actually lived on and improved their lands, he blamed the old Indian who "cherishe[d] secretly the old traditions and teachings of his savage ancestors" and fomented distrust and dissatisfaction in his children. At the turn of the century, ideas like Govan's justified a dramatic, nationwide expansion of federal schooling for Indians. In 1902 Buchanan predicted that a government boarding school would be needed on Puget Sound at least until it housed a generation whose parents had all been educated and civilized.[7]

Yet government officials' and educators' hopes for young Indians also sagged with the weight of the ideological baggage that most whites now brought to their dealings with people of other races. The assumption that race determines character increasingly tainted federal programs for Indians, including education. Rather than conceiving of Indians as born blank and easily molded in middle class Americans' image, many administrators and teachers expected inherited proclivities to prevent Indian children from shedding entirely the traits that marked them as inferior.[8]

Racist ideas took up uneasy residence in a legal-political structure still dedicated to promoting assimilation. Even as officials stepped up efforts to change Indians' environment by

allotting more land and opening reservations to whites, they also endorsed the idea that Indians' backwardness obliged the government to oversee many individuals indefinitely. Lawmakers and administrators simultaneously devised ways to remove people from the ranks of government-supervised Indians and increased their control over people who remained in those ranks.[9]

The Burke Act of 1906 embodied and furthered this double-edged stab at the Indian problem. Convinced that it had acted hastily when it granted citizenship to all allottees, Congress amended the Dawes Act, denying future allottees automatic citizenship and providing instead that they would remain wards of the government until the restrictions on their land expired. The statute also gave the President discretion to extend the trust period for allotments. At the same time, Congress encouraged the Indian Office to release many Indians from federal supervision: it authorized the Secretary of the Interior to issue patents in fee and thus grant citizenship to Indians judged competent to manage property.[10]

Subsequent acts of Congress enlarged administrators' responsibilities for Indians who remained under supervision. The new laws authorized the Indian Service to sell the lands of Indians classified as noncompetent, to lease trust allotments, to approve allottees' wills, and to probate and administer deceased allottees' estates. Largely as a result of these proliferating property management responsibilities, the number of employees in the Office of Indian Affairs doubled between 1900 and 1913.[11]

Meanwhile, executive branch officers persuaded judges that the government could retain special responsibilities even for

Indians who became citizens. In 1909 the Supreme Court held that citizenship did not by itself block federal authorities from punishing Indians for crimes. A federal court could try a citizen allottee for a murder on the Tulalip Reservation, the justices said, because both the defendant and the murder victim were "Indians by race." Five years later the Court squelched any lingering doubts that citizenship and wardship could co-exist, ruling explicitly in United States v. Nice that citizenship did not exempt Indians from federal regulations meant for their protection.[12]

Congress and the courts thus confirmed that the whites who had ostensibly set out to erase Indians' distinguishing traits had instead branded thousands of people as Indians by forging a distinct legal status for them. In theory, under the Burke Act and subsequent laws and regulations, only those persons unable to hold their own in the non-Indian dominated economy would retain the special status. The Omnibus Act of 1910, for example, specified that education and experience dealing with whites should determine whether an Indian was ready for emancipation from federal wardship. In practice, however, officials assumed that personal capabilities correlated with ancestry. In 1917 Commissioner Cato Sells declared it his aim to issue fee patents to all allottees and heirs of less than half "Indian blood."[13]

The legal scheme peculiar to Indians was bound to have significant impacts on many people's ideas about themselves, especially their sense of what made them Indians or non-Indians. In western Washington, the contradictory thrusts of policy and government practice exacerbated some long-standing uncertainties

about Indian identity, and many people who regarded themselves as Indians were still unsure in the 1920s whether their conception of their status coincided with the government's. On balance, however, government policies swelled the class of people known as Indian wards and marked them off more clearly from Puget Sound's other inhabitants.

The probability that citizenship would move so-called Indians into the same class as non-Indians shrank as Indians' citizenship lost value in Washington State. Local government contributed to the devaluation. The state legislature provided in 1901 "that Indians not taxed shall never be allowed the election franchise." Thirteen years later Buchanan blamed this law for the fact that fewer than ten percent of citizen Indians in his jurisdiction voted. Although the state attorney general subsequently advised against reading "Indians not taxed" restrictively, and some counties did not block Indian voting, Buchanan had good reason for saying in 1915, "Our Indians are not locally regarded as 'citizen Indians.'"[14] In 1909 Washington lawmakers again distinguished Indian citizens from other citizens when they prohibited liquor sales to all persons with one-eighth or more Indian ancestry.[15]

Local and federal officials, dismayed that Indians held up citizenship as a shield against attacks on their social and religious activities, welcomed court decisions and statutes that reaffirmed government authority over allottees. Even some Indians became disillusioned with citizenship. In 1903 the Seattle Post-Intelligencer reported with professed surprise that Puyallup Indians who had recently received patents were already

tired of citizenship and were asking the superintendent to restore their former "privileges and immunities" as wards.[16] During World War I, when citizens were subject to conscription, some young Indian men and their parents were eager to forego the prerogatives of citizenship for the privileges of federal wardship. For instance, eighteen men and women of the Muckleshoot Reservation petitioned the Cushman School superintendent to intercede with the military on behalf of their boys, arguing that they were not citizens.[17]

The national policy of identifying some Indians as "competent" and thus ending federal control over their property proved no more effective than citizenship in reducing the number of Puget Sound residents classed as government wards. Local agents bestowed relatively few certificates of competency. As late as 1933 only thirty-nine of 450 Tulalip Agency allottees had been certified "competent." Furthermore, the people who received certificates often continued in possession of some federally protected land and therefore remained wards in officials' eyes.[18]

Even though Buchanan thought that inherited traits disabled many Indians from managing property wisely, such thinking does not appear to be the principal reason for the low number of competency findings in western Washington. Buchanan and his colleagues were as likely to issue certificates to people of undiluted Indian ancestry, for example, as to "mixed bloods." Noting that two "full-blood" Indians of his area had become wealthy businessmen, Superintendent H.H. Johnson declared that lack of "white blood" did not make an Indian incompetent.[19] Although national policy supposed that old and "full-blood"

Indians needed guardians more than young and "mixed-blood" people, western Washington administrators gave competency certificates to several people they called Indians "of the old type," including some who were illiterate and culturally conservative. One certificate went to sixty-year-old John Fornsby, who had paid an Indian court fine a decade earlier for conjuring; another went to Billy Clams, whose resistance to the civilization program had landed him in jail during the 1880s. Meanwhile, the government continued to manage the lands of many young alumni of government schools.[20]

Competency certificates were probably rare in western Washington because there was little economic incentive to remove the restrictions on selling or leasing allotments. Few allottees had potential buyers or renters for their lands, particularly when regional economic growth slowed between 1909 and 1914. Aside from Puyallup allotments, some waterfront lots, and rare fertile bottomlands, lands on Puget Sound reservations were not especially attractive to non-Indians by the teens. Many had been logged over but were still worthless for farming.[21]

Perhaps local agents also lacked enthusiasm for shifting reservation land to unrestricted status because they expected, at least before the Supreme Court ruled otherwise in 1916, that they would thus lose control of activities on those lands. Shortly before the decision in Nice, Buchanan reported that allottees with competency certificates were giving refuge to "drunken characters" and to people previously ejected from the reservation. One certificate holder allegedly assaulted the reservation police who tried to arrest him; and a federal judge

dismissed the ensuing prosecution, ruling that the government no longer had jurisdiction on the defendant's land.[22]

The national drive to issue certificates of competency did not shrink the class of government wards in Washington for another reason: a certificate did not itself free an Indian from oversight. Although Buchanan encouraged reservation landholders to view the certificates as comments on their character and abilities, administrators and courts agreed that a competency finding attached to designated land rather than to the land's owner. Because agents often issued a certificate for only one of an Indian's multiple holdings or reserved a small trust homesite from the land covered by the certificate, a person could be "competent" with respect to one parcel of land and "noncompetent" with respect to another.[23]

In sum, the national campaign to push "competent" Indians out of the federal nest shooed very few Puget Sound Indians into the general, legally emancipated population. Instead, by allowing government employees to classify Indians in yet another respect, the campaign affirmed the peculiar status of the people being classified.[24] People relegated to ward status then became further isolated as bureaucrats made a growing number of decisions on their behalf. In addition to deciding whether to sell or lease Indians' lands, federal agents regulated their timber cutting, invested or disbursed money in their trust accounts, and probated and managed their estates when they died. Lyman Siddle of the Muckleshoot Reservation needed government approval just to spend $75.00 of his trust money on a piano.[25]

More than any other consequence of federal guardianship, the

need to administer allottees' property after their deaths caused the government to delineate and preserve a new class of patronized Indians. When an allottee died without a will, the Indian Service probated the land, which descended according to state rules. Numerous heirs -- not only the decedent's spouse and children but also siblings, cousins, in-laws, and more remote relations -- might thus acquire interest in federally supervised land and a firm place on the roll of government wards. In this respect, identification as an Indian ward depended not on participation in an Indian community but on white probate law and fate.

As a result of probates, many descendants of Puget Sound Indians found themselves in new relationships to government officials and to each other. Because exogamous marriages linked people from many scattered localities, Indians and non-Indians often inherited land on reservations where they did not live or maintain important ties. Skokomish Reservation records hold one of hundreds of examples. The heirs of allottee Andrew Johnson, as determined in 1915, were not just his son and daughter, who inherited 53/162 and 65/162 of the estate respectively, but also Johnson's widow's widower, who had an allotment on the Puyallup Reservation, and Johnson's daughter's widower, also from the Puyallup area.[26] Federal law and regulations prevented heirs from subdividing or using inherited land without the consent of all other heirs. When heirs could not agree, were out of communication, or were still undetermined, responsibility for trust estates defaulted to the government. (In western Washington, the Indian Service was so poorly equipped to assume

this role that hundreds of allotments remained unprobated, undivided, and unused for many years.)[27]

Local agents' increased responsibility for individuals' property reinforced their conviction that they were also Indians' social and moral guardians. Buchanan and his successor, for example, kept up attempts to discredit the Shakers, accusing them of perpetuating pagan practices in the guise of white man's religion. Although other Indian Bureau employees approved of the Shakers, they also acted on paternalistic motives. They encouraged the Shakers' abstinence from alcohol and gambling in the hope that believers would move toward conformity with other white middle class values as well.[28]

In the same period Buchanan reversed his decision to allow Treaty Day dances because he suspected that participants were going to unsanctioned lengths and engaging in "old forbidden practices." Exploiting dissension among Indians about the desirability of holding dances, Buchanan hauled dancers at the Swinomish Reservation into the Indian court for punishment. The commissioner backed Buchanan, telling Richard Squiqui that he would not grant permission for dances because dancing was inconsistent with government efforts to educate Indians and improve their "industrial condition." Rather than ritual representations of the Indians' past, Buchanan and his superiors now promoted Indian fairs and Indian displays at county fairs as a means "to put the Indians on a par with their white neighbors."[29] Harriet Shelton, who lived on the Tulalip Reservation from her birth in 1904 until the 1920s, recalled her childhood as a time when everyone was under the agent's thumb,

afraid to hold meetings of any kind without permission.[30]

Indian families around Puget Sound no doubt sensed the invigoration of the federal guardianship most keenly when agents shipped their children off to expanded government boarding schools.[31] In contrast to the nineteenth century, when meagerly funded schools on the Puyallup and Tulalip Reservations had accommodated only a tiny percentage of the area's Indian children, few Indian youth avoided boarding school during the early twentieth century. In 1901 the government took over the old Tulalip mission school. At the time, agent Edward Mills announced plans to emphasize reservation day schools rather than boarding schools; but five years later his agency opened a new, larger residential school at Tulalip. In 1910 the government also dedicated a new facility at Puyallup with capacity for more than three hundred boarders. By the teens, although day schools operated fitfully in several Indian communities and a few Indians attended public schools, most Indian children spent a few years at boarding school, isolated for months from their families and under tight government control.[32]

Buchanan told himself and Indians that by building a new Tulalip school the government was fulfilling Indian desires -- at last honoring the treaty promise to provide a central industrial school. He was not inclined, however, to honor the desires of Indians who did not want the service. The Indian Office did not declare school attendance compulsory until 1920, but before that agents used various coercive techniques to put and keep children in school. Clara Jones's parents told her they would be jailed if she did not go to Cushman School at Puyallup. Apprehended

runaways faced harsh punishment, and Buchanan regularly denied parents' requests that he send their children home to help with chores or to nurse sick relatives.[33]

School superintendents construed Indian status broadly, enrolling not only children from reservations but also "unattached Indians." Schools took some of the off-reservation children in response to requests from parents who claimed Indian identity. They actively recruited others, even though the government had previously provided no Indian services to the children's families.[34]

During the decade before World War I, federal guardians also tried, with considerable ambivalence, to extend their reach outside the reservations in matters besides education. In 1913 the national office informed Buchanan that he should consider all the scattered Indians in Whatcom, Skagit, and Snohomish counties as attached to his agency. Indians farther south would be the responsibility of Buchanan's counterpart at Puyallup. Buchanan's first response was to ask who would have responsibility for off-reservation Indians in San Juan, Island, Kitsap, and King Counties. Their ancestors were included in the Point Elliott Treaty, too, he noted. When the commissioner answered that the counties Buchanan named would also be in his bailiwick, the superintendent pleaded for more staff, emphasizing that the number of people never enumerated or included on government rolls could top two thousand.[35]

Buchanan tried, as instructed, to identify and locate Indians living outside the reservations in his assigned area. In the agency newsletter of November, 1917, he asked for his

readers' help under the title, "Where Are Our Indian People?" The government's original policy, he explained, had been to segregate Indians in communities of their own, each attached to an agency. As the years passed, the government had discovered Indians who were away from the reservations, often on homesteads or purchased lands. Although many got along nicely, Buchanan conceded, such people had nowhere to go in case of harassment, as reservation Indians did; and a desire to give all Indians the same opportunity for help now motivated him to get to know the missing people.[36]

This search for stray Indians was not a naked grab for greater power. It came about through give and take between self-identified Indians and officials who were ambivalent about adding people to the rolls of federal wards. In 1910, when the Puyallup superintendent learned of a proposal to allot additional lands to landless Indians, he recoiled at the prospect that it would induce some Indians in his area to leave the communities where they had become "further advanced in civilization than those of reservations." Officials also tended to disavow responsibility for off-reservation Indians when they anticipated a strain on federal finances.[37]

Some unattached Indians, however, were soliciting government attention. Besides seeking school berths for their children, these people commonly wanted to secure or preserve tax-exempt property. Robert Sulkanon, for instance, asked the Commissioner to extend the trust period for eighteen homesteads in the Nooksack River area, saying, "I have a hard time here....I know I am an Indian that God created and I am a decendent [sic] of other

Indians before, that is why I do not want to pay tax on my land. Some of my people are poor and cannot pay the tax." Thirty years after natives of the Upper Skagit River watershed chased surveyors away on grounds that they had not signed the treaty, their beleaguered children successfully petitioned the Tulalip Agency for help securing trust allotments there.[38]

One of the loudest voices insisting that the government had a duty to so-called unattached Indians belonged to Thomas Bishop. Bishop hailed from Chimacum on the Olympic Peninsula, where his white father and Snohomish Indian mother had a farm. Upon hearing that Indians of his vicinity might be eligible for allotments at the Quinault Reservation on Washington's Pacific coast, Bishop saw an opportunity to advance the interests of landless people in an even broader area.[39]

In May of 1916 Bishop sent Indian Commissioner Cato Sells a large batch of applications for enrollment and allotment at Quinault. The applicants' statements identified them with more than forty tribes, including some tribes assigned to existing reservations. Bishop warned Sells that there were two or three thousand people in circumstances similar to the applicants. A Quinault Indian council was initially willing to enroll <u>en masse</u> many of the people seeking allotments there, but the Interior Department solicitor recommended in September that Quinault lands go solely to Indians on the coast. Saying that his office desired a separate roll of those who could not be allotted at Quinault, Sells then instructed Charles E. Roblin to help such people prepare formal requests for enrollment.[40]

The result, just over two years later, was a list of more

than four thousand people, sorted into dozens of tribal groups whose original territories ranged from the Columbia River to the Canadian border. The vast majority of people listed had not appeared before on federal rolls of Indians. Applying guidelines that Sells gave him in 1916, Roblin said he included any applicant who might possibly be an Indian with a claim to treaty benefits. To be enrolled, according to Roblin, mere possession of "Indian blood" was not enough. Each person had to be acknowledged as a member of an Indian tribe or be descended from an acknowledged member.[41]

Roblin neither named eligible tribes nor explained how he would determine whether someone was a tribe member. For information regarding applicants' tribal affiliations Roblin often relied on Bishop, who referred many persons to Roblin for enrollment. Roblin noted, for example, that one woman did not know her family background, but Bishop knew all about it. In other instances Roblin or Bishop consulted with people whose Indian identity no one disputed -- usually elders or leading men -- asking them what they knew about an applicant's ancestry or connection to a tribe.[42]

The people Roblin identified could hardly have been more diverse if he had picked them at random. They shared only the belief that at least one ancestor was an Indian.[43] Many on the list had not previously proclaimed or emphasized their Indian identity, while others had no basis for claiming to be anything other than Indian. Some had grown up, married, and remained until old age in the aboriginal community where both parents were raised, while others had lived in several locations --

reservations as well as American towns -- never remaining long at any one.

Roblin divided these diverse people into three rough categories: there were clusters of people who had stayed in ancestral territory rather than settle on a reservation, allottees' children and grandchildren who did not receive allotments of their own, and descendants of women who married pioneers "and founded families of mixed-blood 'Indians.'" Of the latter group Roblin said, "In many cases these applicants and families have never associated or affiliated with any Indian tribe or tribes for several decades or even generations."[44]

The clusters of off-reservation hold-outs themselves came in several varieties. Nooksack and Skagit River groups, made up in large part of "full bloods," had some land and seemed to Roblin to be doing well; but the Clallams along Hood Canal and Juan de Fuca Strait, despite significant degrees of non-Indian ancestry in many cases, elicited Roblin's sympathy because most lived as squatters on sandspits and beaches. People scattered through the San Juan Islands called themselves the Mitchell Bay Tribe but identified many ancestors as Lummi, Clallam, Samish and other indigenous villagers. Those ancestors had mixed "inextricably" with Europeans and with Indians from the Columbia and Cowlitz Rivers, Canada, and Alaska.

A visiting member of the Board of Indian Commissioners sympathized with the landless people and thought that Bishop and others had set aside selfish interests to help them, but Roblin saw a mercenary intent behind people's new eagerness to identify themselves as Indians. A probable explanation for the "sudden

interest of persons of mixed Indian blood, in obtaining their 'rights' and 'what is justly due them,'" Roblin said, was a widespread belief that any person with Indian ancestry would be eligible to claim $6,000. Buchanan, inclined to blame people who had remained off reservation for their own predicament, also charged them and their advocates with intent to profit from claims against the government. An occasional claim would have "personal merit," Buchanan conceded; but such "[d]eserving, landless Indians with treaty guarantees of land" should get allotments only if they agreed to reside there.[45]

Because there was no land to allot, few if any people benefitted immediately from their inclusion on Roblin's list. In 1922, according to the Tulalip superintendent, the scattered, unattached Indians still did not appear on official agency rolls.[46] Despite some increased government attention to their conditions, off-reservation and landless people of aboriginal descent mostly continued to fend for themselves, their status with respect to programs for Indians uncertain, as it had been for decades.

In fending for themselves the unattached Indians were not much different from their on-reservation cousins, even those who were technically under federal protection. Virtually all western Washington Indians were remarkably self-sufficient through the 1920s, and their self-sufficiency complicated both government and Indian efforts to determine what the federal scheme for Indians meant for them. It was hard to make sense of statements that Indians were wards of the government when almost no supposed Indians were dependent on the government economically.

Officials frequently marveled at western Washington Indians' ability to support themselves. They generated abundant anecdotal evidence, for instance, that Indian men engaged in the same income-generating activities as many whites. A field inspector in 1890 came away with a strong impression of industriousness.

> These Indians are workers and not lazy or leading lives of idleness and dependency. Numbers of them are working in the woods, and at the various saw mills on the sound, and as they are good workers they receive the same compensation as white laborers. Those who do not work regularly in the mills farm to a limited extent and cut cord wood for sale to steamers on the Sound. Their greatest source of revenue is from fish which they obtain in large quantities, and utilize for home consumptions and sale to canneries as individuals. These Indians are apparently well to do. They dress well, have an abundance to eat, and the majority of them have more or less money....[47]

Roblin's report supplemented observations like these. Although his was not an economic survey, Roblin took note of how people subsisted. On his roll were loggers, stevedores, sawyers, farmers, fishers, clam diggers, general laborers, a cook, a farm labor contractor, a tailor, a blacksmith, a bridge builder, and a steamboat fireman. Jennie Harmon, born to two "full Duwamish" Indians in 1865, proudly listed for Roblin the occupations of her five children: George worked in the logging camps, Frank was a laborer, William had a job in a Seattle candy factory, Hattie was married and keeping house at Suquamish, and Henrietta worked at St. Joseph Hospital in Tacoma.[48]

In 1921 investigator Malcolm McDowell, too, portrayed Puget Sound Indians as self-supporting workers. "In every city and town," McDowell wrote, "I saw Indians at work and talked to a number, who told me that Indians, like white men, are leaving the rural districts in increasing numbers for the cities." McDowell

met Indians in the automobile industry, on city docks, in railroad yards, trucking for wholesalers, in logging camps, at sawmills, and in canneries. On steamers he saw Indian petty officers, engineers, firemen, and deck hands. While noting that Indians' mainstay was fishing, particularly on the coast, McDowell concluded that they were "of considerable importance in the manufacturing, commercial, and transportation industries of western Washington." Reports like McDowell's were too common to be dismissed as the puffery of people bent on proving the assimilation program successful. Moreover, observations to the opposite effect are non-existent.[49]

Asked to tell their life stories, Indians who reached their prime between the 1880s and the 1930s talked at length and with pride of the work they were paid for. In 1882, at the age of twenty-one, Jerry Meeker began farming at Puyallup. Over the next three decades he also worked as a carpenter and contractor, reservation policeman, school disciplinarian, and real estate broker. Meeker was a decade older than George Swanaset of the Nooksack Valley. Swanaset, along with many of his neighbors, found opportunities on both sides of the Canadian border to make money fishing for canneries, cutting wood, driving shingle bolts downriver, baling hay, working on steamboats, and raising stock. Still younger residents of the Lummi and Suquamish reservations had similar resumes. In 1911 ten-year-old Emma Tom Smith hired on at a cannery, where she and five other Indian girls earned ten cents an hour. By the time she retired in the 1970s she was a hand packer earning considerably more. When Lawrence Webster left Cushman School in 1916, he tried successive jobs in a

bakery, laundry, and hardware store. Realizing that he preferred outdoor work, he moved for most of the next decade from longshoring in Seattle to logging or fishing and back to longshoring. When no work was available Webster usually went home to the Port Madison Reservation, where he could dig clams and fish for food and for sale.[50] Nevertheless, his economic fortunes, like those of other Indians he knew, depended heavily on the fortunes of western Washington's principal industries, especially lumber production, agriculture, and fish processing.[51]

Most acknowledged Indians were far from wealthy. Very few, as Samuel Eliot said in 1915, rose above "the lower grades of an industrial society." Yet as long as businesses in the Puget Sound region needed large numbers of unskilled, semi-skilled, seasonal, and temporary laborers, there were opportunities during the good times for most Indians who wanted to work. According to government reports, opportunities persisted into the 1920s, at least in some industries and some locations. As late as 1927 the Tulalip superintendent remarked that he had never worked at an agency where employment was so plentiful.[52]

Fishing was integral to most Indians' self-sufficiency and therefore to their self-image. In their most common economic strategy, fishing complemented intermittent wage work. When non-Indians arrived, Puget Sound's aborigines were harvesting not only ample fish and shellfish for their own consumption but also a surplus for commercial trade; and despite the disruptions that accompanied American settlement, many of their descendants continued throughout the nineteenth century to feed themselves and to earn cash by fishing. After the 1890s, particularly in

the waters of north Puget Sound, fishing for businesses controlled by whites became an additional line of work for many Indian men, while canning the fish was a source of income for their wives and children.[53]

There were dangers, however, in an economic strategy whose main components were fishing and menial jobs. Buchanan worried about Indians' heavy reliance on industries where whites with capital and technology were displacing small entrepreneurs and laborers.

> Enlargement, concentration, development to larger and more economical scales, and so-called 'trust' methods in general have so centralized logging and the fisheries in the hands of men with capital, that it is difficult for the Indian to compete, or even to get his lumbering and fishing products to market for anything like what his white brother does. The introduction of steam assistance in logging and of the...trap methods into fishing has still further widened the gap.[54]

Buchanan's fears regarding Indians' dependence on fish were well founded. Although canneries initially gave Indians new sources of cash, whites' commercial interest in fish soon closed more opportunities for Indians than it had opened. State regulators followed the non-Indians into the fisheries, enforcing rules that limited Indian fishing. While insisting that Indians abide by licensing and conservation rules, the state allowed whites to build costly, efficient traps; and the traps preempted Indian fisheries.

With each passing year the obstacles to fishing in traditional Indian places and manners increased in number. For example, non-Indians built dams and undertook other ambitious engineering projects that eliminated fishing sites and jeopardized salmon survival. In 1916 a new canal from Lake

Washington to the sound lowered the lake's surface level and thus eliminated the Black River. As the new century matured, therefore, federal officials heard more frequent complaints from Indians who were surprised and dismayed that non-Indians were pushing them out of an economic sphere they had virtually monopolized until then.[55]

The peculiar status of their property added to many Indians' economic vulnerability. For most, land was not a significant economic asset. Along with paralyzing heirship snarls, restrictions on leasing and logging could thwart all use of allotments except for homesites and small gardens. Through World War I, local personnel mouthed Indian Bureau doctrine that Indians would be more secure if they farmed; but even for people who had clear title to reservation land, capital was not available, and farming was rarely practical. One official remarked that allottees who could earn cash by working off the reservations balked at spending one hundred dollars an acre to prepare poor, stump-studded fields for cultivation.[56]

It is likely, although difficult to document, that prejudice and institutionalized racism exacerbated the economic vulnerability of people regarded as Indians, at least after World War I. There is strong evidence of discrimination against Indians in the public schools, but indications of similar attitudes toward Indian workers are few and insubstantial.[57] H.H. Johnson claimed that Indians even received preference for some types of jobs. In 1909 he said, "Employers report to me that their Indian laborers are fully as satisfactory as the whites." Walter Dickens, on the other hand, concluded in the

1920s that white bigotry was rampant, both fomenting and feeding upon economic rivalries. There was more racial prejudice on the Pacific Coast than in any section of the United States, he said, because Indians were not isolated curiosities but players in the social life of every district. If an Indian had something of value, others wanted it and deemed him unworthy of such wealth; but if he lost his job or property and became a vagrant, prejudice against him increased. Citing a barber's refusal to serve the Indian principal of the Tulalip school, Dickens lamented, "The door of the lower round of the social ladder is easily opened to him, but they are pretty firmly closed a short way up and only thru the assistance of friends can he rise to the social level of decent society."[58]

When reminiscing about the 1930s and later years, Harriet Shelton Dover spoke bitterly of suffering discrimination in the labor market, but other Indians' accounts of seeking work in earlier decades are remarkably free of such complaints. Lawrence Webster attributed the cold shoulders he sometimes received as much to bias against loggers and Wobblies as to anti-Indian sentiment. He said in 1982 that he figured out quickly "how to deal with the non-Indian problem" and made his way unafraid in the working world.[59]

A few dozen interviews that lack references to discrimination do not prove the absence of discrimination. Nevertheless, it is probable that systemic racism troubled Indian workers less before the 1920s or '30s than after. According to Daniel Boxberger, the Carlisle cannery of Bellingham instituted a whites-only hiring policy in the 1920s. Certainly jobs for low-

skill workers grew scarcer then, and Indians had little power to prevent employers from squeezing them out in favor of whites. Moreover, the 1920s brought a well documented surge in other expressions of bigotry, regionally as well as nationwide.[60]

Abundant economic opportunity during the First World War temporarily obscured threats to Indians' self-sufficiency. As Puget Sound industries and agriculture profited from wartime demand for lumber, ships, and food, Indians shared in the prosperity. In 1918, according to the Puyallup superintendent, all Indians in his jurisdiction except the oldest men were gainfully employed. Jobs were so plentiful and so lucrative that students left the boarding schools in droves. While wages drew many Indians from their fields and fishing grounds, high prices for fish, timber, and produce also lured some back to fishing grounds and reservation lands. At Tulalip, Buchanan and the Fidalgo Island Packing Company found themselves pulling in opposing directions on Indians' arms. The cannery was desperate to hire Indian packers, while Buchanan was avid to wean them from fish-related pursuits and saw the wartime market for farm produce as his chance.[61]

One wartime employer, Uncle Sam, put people of Indian descent into situations that stimulated many to rethink the racial identity and legal status ascribed to them. Scores of Indians from Puget Sound -- non-citizens as well as citizens -- served in the military either voluntarily or involuntarily. The soldiers, particularly those who went to the east coast or France, returned with a new perspective on their communities and themselves. "The boys [sic] experience over abroad and at camps

are the frequent subject of our people," government farmer William McCluskey reported in 1919.[62]

What the people said when considering wartime experiences McCluskey did not reveal, but during the war several of them had not been reticent about voicing their views; for the draft and pro-war propaganda provoked a lively debate among Indians about wardship, citizenship, and Indians' proper relations to a government that expected young men to fight and perhaps die for it. Some residents of the Lummi, Swinomish, and Port Madison Reservations, said Buchanan, "were particularly contumacious" when officials came to register men for the draft. Three of the "contumacious" Indians went to a training camp near Tacoma to tell Indian recruits they had no right to be there, and Buchanan responded by pressing sedition charges.[63]

In defending his actions, one of the allegedly seditious men joined the ongoing public discourse about what it meant to be identified as an Indian ward of the government. Thomas Jefferson made the seemingly paradoxical argument that for Indians to serve in the military was inconsistent with their subordination to the U.S. The call for Lummi boys to take up arms, he said, was at odds with the role American leaders had earlier assigned to Indians -- a role Jefferson declared himself determined to play. At the treaty conference Governor Stevens had made Indians promise to stop fighting, both with whites and with Indians; and Jefferson would not renege on the promise his parents had made to Stevens. Instead, he declared, he would continue asking the government to fulfill its promise to the Indians.

> My Father acted for Peace and after he died his Brother Duke York acted in his place. that is what

> the white people calls Chiefs. And for all that work they did not receive one pennie or any kind of credit from the Goverment all died and burried with out any rappings from the Goverment not even a decent place to be burried. bones scattered every place the white people Tramping over them....[64]

Officials who had to drum up enthusiasm for war rejected Jefferson's model of government-Indian relations and his interpretation of Indians' role. Denying that whites had neglected Indians, they emphasized that Indians now enjoyed all the benefits of citizenship. In a newsletter for residents of Tulalip agency reservations, Buchanan eulogized a Suquamish man who died in France by comparing his willingness to help the French with Father Chirouse's selfless labors on local Indians' behalf. The Suquamish soldier, Buchanan wrote, "thus requited by service and sacrifice even unto death, the supreme debt of his people."[65]

Chief Charles Jules of the Tulalip Reservation agreed with Buchanan, whom he visited often in order to seek and give advice. Like Jefferson, Jules drew on memories of earlier times to arrive at his opinion about Indians' proper role, but Jules remembered Indians in a different role. In olden times, he said, Indians often had to war against hostile tribes to save their wives and children from slavery. Sometimes when a large, powerful tribe had overcome many tribes, others had to unite to save their people's liberties. The Germans, Jules argued, posed such a threat to Indian women and children.[66]

Jefferson and others who made similar, provocative arguments about the implications of Indians' special status grew quieter as the war stripped influence from the proponents of continued Indian wardship and lent it to the advocates of citizenship and

integration. The same conditions that enhanced Indians' economic leverage during the war weakened their official guardian, at least temporarily. In western Washington, employees as well as students at government boarding schools enlisted in the military or left for better paying employment. Staff vacancies, inflation and reduced funding, aggravated by successive epidemics of flu, measles, meningitis, scarlet fever, and smallpox, sent Cushman School into an irreversible tailspin.[67]

Inspired by Indians' integration into white military units and Indian civilians' well publicized support for the war, the champions of assimilation -- Indian and non-Indian -- rededicated themselves to their crusade. After prevailing on Congress in 1919 to offer citizenship to honorably discharged Indian veterans, they introduced a bill for universal Indian citizenship. Thomas Bishop was among those who lobbied for the measure. Brian Dippie calls the resulting Indian Citizenship Act of 1924 "the symbolic high point of the assimilationist era."[68] Typical of people who viewed the act as confirmation that Indians had adapted completely to American society was F.S. Hall, director the Washington State Museum. Hall said of western Washington Indians in 1924:

> All signs of the aboriginal inhabitants have disappeared except in certain allotted reservations and the occasional visits to our cities of the wrinkled-faced old basket sellers and of members of the younger generation, who are as much Americanized in dress and appearance as their white neighbors....Practically all the ancient tribal customs and observances have disappeared except in a few isolated cases.[69]

The federal wardship apparatus nevertheless survived and counteracted assimilationism's renewed momentum. Influential

people thought many Indians still needed government protection and supervision. For a decade after the war, therefore, government practice in western Washington was nearly indistinguishable from pre-war practice -- a seemingly capricious mix of paternalism and neglect.[70] In 1922, for example, Tulalip superintendent Walter Dickens reported that he had used the proceeds of recent timber sales to clear individual Indians' land, build homes for them, and buy them farm equipment. He also claimed he was giving increased attention to the needs of some off-reservation Indians. In the next breath, complaining that the Indians had "been paternalized to the extent that they are almost without character," Dickens said he was encouraging them to become taxpayers.[71]

One service many Indians especially wanted from a federal guardian -- protection of their opportunities to fish -- the government did not reliably provide. Before the war Buchanan at least had championed Indians' right under the treaties to fish for subsistence without interference. He had denounced state harassment, pleaded with the state legislature for special exemptions for Indians, and prevailed on federal lawyers to represent Indian fishers who resisted prosecution and non-Indian incursions into reservation waters.[72] Even before Buchanan's death in 1920, however, adverse court decisions prompted him to advise Indians that they would have to obey state fishing laws. His successors, claiming their hands were tied by the court rulings, offered harried fishers negligible aid.[73]

Understandably, many people fished for advantages from their status as federal wards and steered around the disadvantages

where possible. Federal inspector Flora Seymour was amused and encouraged by one man's reaction when the superintendent denied his request for permission to spend his trust funds on a car: the man contracted to do some logging and soon was able to buy a $1,500 automobile with money he controlled. Dickens, on the other hand, was unhappy when three educated citizen allottees realized that they could rely on federal law to keep state authorities from entering their lands to collect judgments. Like others here, Dickens said, one of the men "disregards and questions Federal authority and seeks its protection according to the personal desires of the moment."[74]

Dickens was almost comically ambivalent about whether Indians such as these needed a guardian's services. His conflicting feelings reflected more than the contradictions inherent in federal policy. They arose because he could not match the enterprising people of his area with the image of Indians that usually justified Indian wardship. In Dickens's view, Puget Sound Indians were at once the most progressive in the United States and maddeningly resistant to important civilizing influences. None of the twelve tribes he had worked with before coming to Puget Sound, he said, were so like non-Indians in important respects, including manner, dress, and a willingness to work hard. Young Washington Indians had constant contact with whites and conformed to whites' economic environment in order to live, even in the heart of large reservations. Yet no progressive, apparently civilized Indians in Dickens's experience retained "the traditional traits of the original

aborigne [sic] such as these...." (What those traditional traits were Dickens did not say.)[75]

Dickens's uncertainty whether the people under his charge were moving into white society or remaining Indians was understandable, for that and related questions also preoccupied many of those people themselves. In the course of their lifetimes, drastic changes in the region's demographics and economy and in national policy had revealed to them both the possibilities and limitations of being identified as Indians in an American-dominated world. During the second and third decades of this century, presumed Indians in western Washington considered and debated those possibilities and limitations more extensively and self-consciously than ever before. Within a surprisingly short time, most participants in the debate agreed on a strategy: they contended that the treaties of 1854 and 1855, more than either citizenship or wardship, must be the basis for relations with whites.

It is worth recalling that the people who forged this apparent consensus were far from homogeneous; they brought significant variations in perspective and experience to the discussion about what it meant to be Indian. The profiles of populations at different reservations in the late 1920s -- their occupations and economic conditions, their uses of land, the extent of their kinship ties to non-Indians, their habitual relations with outsiders and with government -- differed considerably. Off-reservation populations added to presumed Indians' diversity. Moreover, fifty years of change had produced different occupational, educational, social, and legal profiles for successive generations.[76]

The many differences among acknowledged Indians gave rise to tensions, but they also inspired efforts to transcend those differences, as an incident in 1928 demonstrated. Three men led by George Swanaset, billing himself as chief of the Nooksacks, complained that members of the Upper Skagit, Swinomish, Lummi, and Canadian tribes had recently held a two-day "war dance" in their area over their objections but with the protection of Tulalip agency police. Swanaset's protest read:

> The Nooksack tribe, as you know, have had their citizenship restored to them and are not living on a reservation and have always followed the more civilized way and desires to continue to advance themselves and keep progress with the white men's civilization and an affair of this nature conducted in our community leaves the wrong kind of an impression to the outside world....[77]

Based on his officers' observations and interviews with many of the Indians, Tulalip superintendent F.A. Gross concluded that the gathering Swanaset objected to was a social event rather than an effort to revive old-time dances. Sponsors of the meeting, he said, had acted on a felt need for events commemorating their Indian heritage. Other Indians of the sound regularly celebrated the making of the treaties and brought their old people joy by singing Indian songs, dancing, feasting, and listening to the speeches of Indian and white friends; but because the Nooksacks had not entered a treaty, they had not indulged in such celebrations. Gross thought Swanaset and his associates were miffed not by the gathering itself but by the younger people's decision to hold it without consulting them.[78]

The superintendent's explanation of the Nooksack dance and the chiefs' reaction may have been naive. Two ethnographers have noted a surge in the number of north sound people singing warrior

power after the turn of the century. If the sponsors of the 1928 meeting were in fact reviving aboriginal religious ceremonies rather than just offering an alternative to Swanaset's leadership, their plans could still have riled Swanaset, a devout Methodist.[79] Nevertheless, Gross's report does point out an important phenomenon: people who were acutely aware of their own diversity were consciously seeking commonalities. Just as Swanaset and the old chiefs hoped to unite Indians of the Nooksack area in endorsing values such as progress toward civilization, the dance organizers probably wanted to identify symbols that would have positive meanings both for Nooksack Indians and for outsiders.[80]

When Gross called a meeting the same year on the Swinomish Reservation and asked residents to decide whether to rebuild a burned community hall, he stimulated a similar discussion about bringing diverse Indians together. Several residents backed his contention that the hall would symbolize the desire of people who had formerly lived in separate small bands to unite for progress. An old chief and "leader of the 'smoke house' faction," however, spoke against the proposal. Other people told Gross that they did not want to choose between the factions favoring and opposing the hall.[81]

In some circumstances, people who wanted to avoid factional conflict could identify a heritage that all factions were proud of and could propose new symbols of that heritage. Ironically, ceremonies introduced by non-Indians sometimes afforded opportunities to do this. American holiday observances, for instance, did not invite repression or upset Indians who objected

to public displays of aboriginal ways, yet they could take on meanings peculiar to the various people classed as Indians. A speaker at 1925 Memorial Day services on the Swinomish Reservation explained, for example, "that while they celebrated the Memorial Day of the white man, they combined with it a much older Indian custom of tribute to their dead." American Indian Day ceremonies at the Tulalip boarding school were a similar mix of old and new. In 1924 the program featured speakers who urged pupils and their parents to strive for an equal share in the rewards of the civilization that whites had brought, but it also honored an older generation by allowing Charles Jules and William Shelton to describe hardships during the early days of the mission school.[82]

Older men such as Shelton and Jules had other incentives during the 1920s to describe a past that a variety of people could honor. Indians claiming knowledge of aboriginal customs were in demand for community celebrations and pageants, as they had been since the turn of the century. The first Boasian ethnographers were also appearing among them, eager to record their language and their memories of earlier generations' material and social culture.[83] Although local press interest in Indians apparently waned after World War I, a healthy market for Indian crafts and literature remained. Shelton carved cedar poles to represent several old people's spirit powers and made enough from the sale of one, his daughter said, to buy highway frontage where he built a gas station and house. Shelton also took credit for a book of folk tales, sanitized and punctuated

with morals that pointed out congruities in white and Indian values.[84]

In 1926, when white sponsors of a Northwest Indian Congress solicited nominations for delegates from the Tulalip agency, Dickens named Shelton. Conference organizers, who hoped to demonstrate the Indian race's ability to "take on culture and civilization," wanted also to forestall discontent by including some "old Indians" with the mostly well educated, young Indian delegates. Shelton was old; yet by naming Shelton, Dickens identified -- perhaps unwittingly -- a man who tried to represent more than old Indians. Shelton thought he knew which symbols would enable the diverse Indians of the sound -- young and old -- to respond proudly as a group to the contradictions of their times and status.[85]

Late nineteenth-century assimilationists would have considered Dickens's description of Shelton a contradiction in terms. William, he wrote, was "one of the outstanding characters of the Sound country, being an original aborigine, a maker of totem poles, the author of a number of Indian legend stories, progressive and one of the most honorable Indians I ever knew...." Shelton, however, could legitimately claim to be both an old Indian and progressive in assimilationist reformers' sense of the word. He was born in 1868 to parents who trained him in traditions of the Snohomish upper class and sponsored potlatches at their Whidbey Island home during his childhood. On the other hand, he entered the Tulalip mission school as an adolescent because he saw a need to learn white ways, and he worked many years as the agency millwright. According to his daughter,

Shelton advocated using whites' knowledge to elevate Indians, as Indians, to a status they could be proud of. In this respect Shelton was in tune with an assortment of his contemporaries, both around Puget Sound and nationwide. In western Washington it was this cohort of "progressive" older Indians which led organized responses to the confusing conditions of the teens and 1920s.[86]

The most important organized response was the Northwestern Federation of American Indians. The architect and first president of the federation was Thomas Bishop, the same man who urged the government to enroll and allot the scattered descendants of treaty Indians. (Indeed, Bishop and others established the NFAI shortly after the question of eligibility for allotments at Quinault arose.)[87] Bishop and the NFAI's other early leaders had reached adulthood during the years when the promise of full citizenship for Indians was new and largely untarnished by demeaning conditions. All had spent some time in schools, where they must have been exposed to hope-inspiring rhetoric about human progress and equality. Many also claimed to have heard their elders talk about Governor Stevens's offer to provide the homes, schools, doctors, and money that would make Indians as good as whites. From this youth seemingly full of promise, organizers of the NFAI arrived at middle age to find that Indians' status was problematic and their economic opportunities were eroding.[88]

A similar blend of hope and disappointment, of positive and negative feelings about being Indian, motivated Indians who initiated a national movement for Indian advancement during the

first decade of the century. Desiring the benefits of American prosperity and citizenship but also needing to take pride in their heritage and fearing that government programs condemned Indians to poverty and second-class citizenship, educated men and women from numerous tribes founded the Society of American Indians in 1911. The SAI was the hardiest of several pan-Indian organizations born during the same period. Pan-Indian activists aimed to resolve the tensions they felt by making a place in American society for a re-defined Indian -- one who combined the best of aboriginal and white American cultures.[89]

The emergence of this national Indian movement encouraged several people to organize Indians throughout western Washington. At the end of 1911 Chief Mason of the coastal Quinaults traveled to Washington, D.C., for a meeting of the Brotherhood of North American Indians, a short-lived alternative to the SAI. The Brotherhood's purposes, as summarized by the Seattle Post-Intelligencer, included perpetuating aboriginal traditions, unifying Indians, and teaching and securing personal rights and liberties "equal to all people and inferior to none." Chief Mason, professing intent to devote his life and fortune to the Brotherhood's goals, soon sent circulars to all Northwest tribes and set up meetings with Indians in Clallam and Whatcom counties. When Thomas Bishop joined the pan-tribal movement is uncertain; but about 1916 he moved to the nation's capital, and in 1920 he became secretary-treasurer of the Society of American Indians.[90]

The ideological debt that Bishop and his associates owed to the national pan-Indian movement and, through them, to nineteenth-century assimilationists is apparent from the

constitution the Northwestern Federation of American Indians adopted in 1914. Copying nearly word for word the objectives set out in the SAI's provisional constitution of 1912, the NFAI charter gave the federation the following mission:

> 1) To promote and co-operate with efforts looking to the advancement of the Indians in enlightment [sic] which leaves him free as a man to develope according to the natural laws of social evolution.
> 2) To provide, through our open conference, the means for a free discussion on all subjects bearing on the welfare of the race.
> 3) To present in a just light a true history of the race, to preserve its records and to emulate its distinguishing virtues.
> 4) To promote citizenship among Indians and obtain the rights thereof.

The honor of the race and good of the country, NFAI's constitution further declared, was paramount.[91]

The NFAI also adopted the same criteria of membership as SAI -- a move that underscored the founders' belief in a single Indian race and revealed some of their assumptions about the identifying characteristics of that race. Active membership was open to all adults "of Indian blood." "Indian associate" status was for Indians from countries of the Americas besides the United States and for persons of less than one-sixteenth Indian blood not on any tribal roll.[92]

The identical wording of their membership requirements masked an important difference between the Society of American Indians and the Northwestern Federation. Members participated in the SAI as individuals rather than as representatives of tribes, but the NFAI was both an organization of individuals and a loose federation of tribal groups. On the one hand, Indians joined or supported the NFAI individually.[93] On the other hand, the NFAI had active chapters at all Tulalip agency reservations and

several off-reservation communities; and by the 1920s the federation dealt with government officials principally through representatives of those chapters, which it equated with tribes.[94]

The NFAI's hybrid form reflects the organization's focus on clarifying and claiming members' rights under the treaties of 1854-55. Although NFAI spokesmen later gave differing statements regarding the group's original purpose, they all recalled that they determined early in the organization's history to investigate their rights under the old treaties and to get what the government owed them, either in land or in cash.[95] Since federal officials had conceived of the treaty parties as tribes or bands, they would consider individuals' claims only as they derived from the claims of tribes. Thus by the time Roblin was asking applicants for enrollment to give their tribal affiliations, the need for tribe-by-tribe organization of the NFAI was clear.

Across the sound several groups identifying themselves as treaty tribes responded to the new circumstances, holding councils and choosing men to represent them at regional meetings. Some Indians later described the resulting organizations as their communities' first formal governments. In the 1980s Lawrence Webster and Martha George referred to the men who went to NFAI meetings from Port Madison as the first Suquamish tribal council.[96]

NFAI affiliates did not represent only reservation residents. In 1916 seventy-five people calling themselves the Snoqualmie Indians met at Tolt, in the Cascade foothills.

Appended to minutes of the meeting is a list of 326 people identified as Snoqualmies. Several people on the list had addresses on reservations; but many others resided in such foothill towns as Enumclaw, Marble Mountain, Darrington, Snoqualmie, Monroe, Tolt, Fall City, Monahan, Sultan, Issaquah, and North Bend. Speakers at the gathering voiced a desire for land in the Snoqualmie Valley or for pay in lieu of land. People who attended a similar meeting in Tacoma in 1915 selected a board of directors for the Duwamish Tribe of Indians. The board included NFAI activists Peter James and Charles Alexis, who lived on and sometimes represented the Lummi and Port Madison Reservations respectively; but it also included Joseph Moses from the town of Renton and James Tobin of Olympia. The list of 320 names that the Duwamish organization sent federal officials contained a similar mix of people on reservation censuses and people previously beyond government view.[97]

Thus, like Roblin, the NFAI and new tribal councils attempted to sort potential individual treaty beneficiaries by tribe. The challenges they faced are exquisitely clear from the data Roblin collected. The seemingly simple criterion Roblin used for including individuals on his list -- membership in a tribe or descent from a tribe member -- was not simple to apply, because most persons had ancestral and social connections to several groups. A single Indian ancestor could have more than one possible tribal designation. The name for the village or extended community where the ancestor was born, the band with which she lived as an adult, and her parents' tribes might all be appropriate ascriptions. Thus Catherine McKinney, wife of a

Swinomish "half breed," did not call herself a Mud Bay or Squaxin Indian, even though her father was born at Mud Bay of Mud Bay parents and was eligible to live on the Squaxin Island Reservation. Instead McKinney sought enrollment with the Puyallups, saying that her mother (who had a Yakima father and Cowlitz mother) was born among them.[98]

Most of Roblin's applicants probably observed some general principles when they designated their own or their ancestors' tribes, but it is apparent that different applicants applied different principles. Peter Rogers, for example, determined his tribe by his father's community of origin -- Duwamish -- rather than by his mother's ascribed Suquamish and Skykomish parentage or by his residence among the Suquamish. Edward Davis claimed membership in the Snoqualmie Tribe through his mother's father, even though he identified both his parents and his birth community as Duwamish. Mary Wood enrolled as Snohomish, like her father, instead of with her mother's Samish relatives or with the Skagits among whom both Mary and her family had always lived. On the other hand, James Thomas chose the community of his birth and lifelong residence -- Snohomish -- rather than his parents' birth communities of Yakima and Duwamish. On Roblin's list there were people whose only link to a Puget Sound tribe was an ancestor who came to the region as an adult and joined a local community; but there were also people who claimed affiliation with the tribe of an ancestor's birth even though the ancestor had left that tribe for good at a tender age.[99]

Many persons who identified themselves to Roblin as Indians had vague concepts of tribal membership. Some, especially those

who had little or no involvement in the social life of an avowedly Indian community, were not sure what tribe they or their ancestors belonged to. One said he was from the "Flathead" tribe; a few only claimed that they were descendants of particular eminent persons. Some people named small bands -- Slo-slo-ose, LaQualah, Smalk-kamish, Nookachamps -- rather than the larger groups that Roblin and his colleagues called tribes. Family members did not always agree on each other's tribal affiliations. In fact, a measure of the ambivalence and flexibility with which people approached the question of tribal membership is the sizeable number of nuclear families whose various members claimed or accepted different ascriptions. For example, Ellen Gust's husband was allotted and enrolled at the Muckleshoot Reservation, while his parents were both enrolled and allotted at Tulalip. Julia Barkhousen, an unallotted Clallam, had one sister on the Tulalip roll and another on the Lummi roll.[100]

If the people who joined the NFAI, contacted Roblin, or asked to be included on government rolls during the 1920s expected to qualify for allotments or cash, they had a new incentive to identify themselves as Indians. They wanted to be counted because they wanted to share in whatever the government owed Indians of the treaty tribes.[101] However, if they believed that land or money would be awarded per capita in uniform amounts, as Roblin and others reported, they had no apparent material incentive to affiliate with one tribe rather than another.

The desire to produce tribal rolls got people thinking about the basis and significance of group affiliations; it encouraged many to proclaim pride in their lineage and ancestors' legacies; yet it did not force anyone to draw indelible lines separating Puget Sound's many interlinked Indian communities. Indeed, the call to divide people into tribes had a powerful counterweight in the treaties themselves. Except in their descriptions of land ceded and reserved, the three treaties with peoples around Puget Sound were virtually identical. It made sense to mount a coordinated, region-wide campaign to redeem the promises made in those treaties.

With encouragement from activists of the Northwestern Federation, people from different communities and generations thus came to pin their hopes for the future on the treaties. The early origins of their strategic decision probably lie in fireside tales told by Indians who attended the treaty conferences. According to one account, for instance, the native man who interpreted at the Point Elliott conference called Indians together shortly before his death in 1881 and exhorted them not to forget the unfulfilled treaty promises. In any case, when non-Indians displaced some Indian fishers and hunters during the 1890s, aged people in several locations did indeed remember and try to collect on the promises.[102]

The government helped the aggrieved fishers and hunters to invoke the treaties in a few lawsuits, such as the Lummi fish trap case of the 1890s and the Squaxin Island tidelands litigation of 1903.[103] After that non-Indians were as responsible as Indians for perpetuating public discussion about

the treaties. In the early twentieth century, federal officials helped to keep memories of the treaties alive by promoting Treaty Day celebrations and by describing the new Tulalip school as a belated fulfillment of treaty promises. When Samuel Eliot visited in 1915, he heard many Indians complain that treaty promises remained unfulfilled.[104]

By 1915 Bishop and the Northwestern Federation had begun cataloguing Indians' grievances -- recording elderly people's memories of officials' promises and comparing them to the text of the treaties. That year Bishop published An Appeal to the Government to Fulfill Sacred Promises Made 61 Years Ago. He reproduced there a copy of the Point No Point Treaty, a letter saying that he had interviewed "the few remaining Indians who were present at the signing of this treaty," and two affidavits from men who claimed to have heard Stevens promise the Duwamish Indians two buckets of gold and land enough for every person in the tribe. When Lawrence Webster recalled Bishop's activities during this period he said, "History could have died if Tommy Bishop did [not] start asking questions."[105]

Bishop's stated aim in 1915 was to educate government officials who had either forgotten the treaty promises or overlooked the troubles plaguing Indians sixty years after the treaties. In particular, he urged the commissioner to ask the courts, before all witnesses died, for a "humane and logical interpretation" of Stevens's promise to let Indians hunt and fish.[106] By the end of the decade, NFAI members had decided to go into court themselves with a comprehensive claim against the government. Under federal law they could not do so unless

Congress gave the Court of Claims jurisdiction, but in 1919 Washington representative Lindley Hadley obliged Bishop by introducing the required bill. It took six more years and the cooperation of the Indian Bureau to get the bill through Congress.

Local officials were initially hostile to the NFAI's efforts. Besides privately charging Bishop with mercenary intent, Buchanan openly criticized him for publishing false allegations that the government had neglected particular individuals. Buchanan's successor, Walter Dickens, belittled the NFAI, saying that the people Bishop purported to represent had conflicting claims and no unity of interest. Yet Dickens could neither deny nor dampen Indians' intense interest in the federation's agenda. Late in 1921 he acceded to NFAI officers' request that he call a meeting for Indians of the Point Elliott Treaty tribes, and five hundred people attended. They resolved to back legislation permitting them to sue the government, thanked Bishop for helping them to formulate and promote a bill for that purpose, and left responsibility for further lobbying in Bishop's hands.[107]

According to Dickens, the men who sponsored the vote of thanks also noted that Bishop was not infallible and had perhaps been overzealous. It is apparent from Dickens's notes that these junior NFAI officers qualified their support for Bishop because they wanted the Indian Bureau's help with their claims. They feared that Bishop's association with the Society of American Indians was an obstacle to getting that help, because some leaders of SAI advocated abolishing the bureau. In 1923 NFAI

representatives from the Swinomish and Tulalip Reservations told Dickens that they had given up hope of pushing their bill through Congress without Indian Office support. Once assured that the NFAI did not intend to call for an end to federal wardship, Dickens did provide help, principally by preserving in depositions the testimony of the oldest Indians who claimed knowledge of the treaty.[108]

Dickens argued that the Bureau's "position of technical guardianship, possible donor and 'Big Brother'" entitled it to attend NFAI meetings and to demand evidence that the organization actually represented a majority of the people it claimed as constituents, even if those people were unattached and unallotted Indians. After Congress authorized suit in the Court of Claims, Dickens's agency assumed an even greater role in the Indians' business, claiming (over the NFAI's objection) power as Indians' guardian to limit, direct, or dismiss the plaintiff tribes' lawyers. The irony of looking for help to the same government they intended to sue was not lost on some NFAI leaders. Harriet Shelton later said, "We were wards of the government kind of, they're supposed to take care of us..., and in the court our adversary is the same attorney."[109]

Unquestionably, government officials who offered to help the Indians present their grievances were able to affect to some degree the story those Indians eventually told, but the precise impact of Dickens's meddling and any corrupting effects of relying on his power and resources are difficult to discern. According to George Swanaset, Dickens "was the one to tell us that the Nooksacks weren't treaty Indians. He thought the treaty

Indians should form a separate case altogether."[110] Probably the government's most significant means of shaping the Indians' presentations, however, was to send them into the Court of Claims, where statutes and judicial precedent dictated that they should emphasize the parts of their story most likely to entitle them to compensation under U.S. law.

The grievances Bishop voiced early in his crusade were eclectic and recited with little regard for possible legal remedies: the state legislature had curtailed Indian hunting and fishing privileges, the government had given Indians fewer and cheaper presents than they expected, whites had razed Clallam homes and disturbed Indian burial grounds, the reservations did not encompass land enough for all the Indians who desired allotments, and red tape prevented Indians from using their trust lands and moneys. As late as 1922 Dickens said that there existed among the Indians "a hodge podge of ideas as to the promises of the government." By that time, however, NFAI leaders were articulating goals consistent with the Claims Court's historic, limited function: awarding monetary damages.[111]

When Congress finally gave the green light for a lawsuit, the road it opened seemed broad. It permitted the court to hear "all claims of whatsoever nature" from Indians named in four western Washington treaties and from several tribes "with whom no treaty has been made." It excepted only the Clallams, who had arranged both separate legal counsel and a separate statute awarding them $400,000. However, the claims that retired judge Arthur Griffin ultimately litigated as the lawyer for nineteen tribes, including seventeen from Puget Sound, isolated a mere

handful of issues. Five groups who claimed not to have endorsed a treaty -- the Muckleshoot, Nooksack, Chinook, and Upper Chehalis tribes and the San Juan Islands Indians -- petitioned for the value of their original lands.[112] The other plaintiff tribes, with minor variations, joined in complaining of specific treaty violations. They charged that the government did not pay all it had pledged for Indians' lands, did not compensate Indians for off-reservation property they had to abandon, did not reserve all the land it had promised, did not finance the clearing and fencing of the reservations, did not promptly build an industrial school or provide a farmer and a physician, and did not consolidate the Indians on a central reservation. In other words, they emphasized those treaty provisions -- especially provisions for small agricultural land holdings -- that embodied the government's stated desire to make the Indians like whites.[113]

By the time the tribes presented testimony in the Court of Claims, Indians had lost some other court cases in which they asserted a treaty-guaranteed right to fish unhampered by state regulation. In one state prosecution of two Lummi fishers, Indians who remembered the Point Elliott conference had stressed that their elders signed the treaty solely because Isaac Stevens promised to protect them and to leave them all their usual foods. Perhaps because the Lummi fishers lost their case, Griffin and many Indians apparently thought it prudent in the Court of Claims to stress treaty provisions besides the fishing clause.[114] At least promises of land, schools, and annuities could be assigned monetary values and charged to the federal purse.

Preparing for and prosecuting claims based on the treaties involved scores of Indians in publicly recreating their history. First, Indians testified in two congressional hearings on the jurisdictional bill. Only Bishop appeared at the 1922 hearing, a year before his death; but at the hearing in 1924 there were five witnesses -- Wilfred Steve from a town near the Tulalip Reservation, Peter James of the Duwamish Tribe and Lummi Reservation, Charles Wilbur of the Skagit Tribe and Swinomish Reservation, Charles Alexis from the Port Madison Reservation, and George Swanaset on behalf of the Nooksacks. In 1923, with the help of interpreters William Shelton and Henry Steve, Dickens took sworn statements from seven old men. Finally, for the Court of Claims itself in 1927, 113 additional men and women from around the Puget Sound region gave depositions.

The questions these witnesses responded to forced them to present their history not as a complex drama but as a skit with a simple moral. Both Dickens and Griffin wanted only minimalist vignettes of a few subjects. Dickens focused on land, asking whether the old men had received allotments or knew people who had not received allotments and asking about Indians who had tried to keep their land on the Sauk River rather than coming to reservations. For the court case Griffin guided his witnesses through descriptions of cedar houses destroyed by settlers or abandoned when occupants relocated to reservations. He prompted the oldest people to delineate their tribes' territories, and he invited general statements that Indians' numbers had declined steeply since treaty time.

Such questioning may have forced people to caricature their history, but it did not merely induce them to recite a standardized text composed with judges' taste in mind. In fact, the stories witnesses told in the three kinds of hearings were hardly uniform. People from the different communities took pains to distinguish themselves. Indians of the Nooksack Valley, Muckleshoot Reservation, San Juan Islands, and Sauk River explained in varying ways why their ancestors did not sign the treaty. Witnesses routinely said that their knowledge was limited to their own families' traditions and suggested that other people's territories and customs were for those people to describe.

Furthermore, not everyone gave testimony advancing the plot sketched out by NFAI spokesmen and lawyers. Many people did declare that they had received little or nothing from the government, but others spoke of regular agency issues of tools and supplies. At the hearing where Dickens presided in 1923, Jack Wheeler accused American officials of lying -- promising the Indians houses, cows, sheep, and the lands they "hollered out" but leaving most Indians landless. Snoqualmie Jim, on the other hand, thought the Indians had received what they were promised. "It isn't the white man's fault," he said, "It is the Indians [sic] fault that they didn't get land." Even in the Court of Claims, where Griffin tried to orchestrate testimony, occasional witnesses failed to follow the suggested score. Instead of portraying Indians waiting for the government to create large reservations and set them up on individual farms, a few people

said they had left the treaty without even knowing that the government planned to apportion lands to individuals.[115]

Most significantly, many persons used their appearance at a legal proceeding as an opportunity to state what they considered important about their history. For William Shelton it was the potlatch house where everyone was welcome and the tribe's leading members gave things away to the poor. Shelton also retold stories of white men raping old Indian clam diggers and of chiefs warning that parents must no longer teach their children "what Indians teach" because the old ways would prevent good relations with their white brothers. For Jerry Meeker, testifying was a chance to mention that Leschi refused to approve a reservation with insufficient pasture for his horses. When asked what else he had to say, Josie Celestine remarked simply:

> My grandfather was one of the signers and he was so nice to the white people and he did all he could on his side of it and stay with his promises, and that is what makes it so hard for all of us, that the old folks, the old chiefs, back their promise and the Government didn't.[116]

Many people wanted especially to talk about the treaty clause reserving Indians' right to hunt and fish as accustomed. When Griffin asked witnesses whether they had anything to add to their testimony, and sometimes even when he did not ask, they often volunteered that Governor Stevens had promised them their Indian foods, and they lamented that whites were driving them out of their "natural grounds." Eighty-seven-year-old William Kanim recreated at length his uncle's response to Isaac Stevens:

> "I want all the game, such as elk and deer, ducks, clams, fish, berries; until you agree to grant us all these I have just named where we make our livelihood, then I will answer to your proposition of buying our land. I want the dry cedar which I could use to make

> canoes and to make lumber; I want the dry fir for its bark. I am telling you what I want and then I will answer what you want." Then Governor Stevens answered that it would be all right, that he could have all he wanted to reserve.[117]

Yet even with respect to fish and game, these diverse people told stories with different twists. Kanim was intent on preserving access to a stretch of the Snoqualmie River and the place where his people dried fish they caught. Annie Lyons was upset to be driven away from the shellfish beds near her Samish village and obliged to labor in canneries at Anacortes. William Rosler, a San Juan Island farmer, was concerned that trapmen and canneries were depleting salmon runs. August Martin wanted to brag about the time that a judge had listened to Henry Kwina describe the treaty fishing clause, then "opened the book and he find this was correct...."[118]

By taking action in the Court of Claims, descendants of Puget Sound's indigenous peoples attempted to convert national laws and their colonizers' ideology to their own uses, especially to recast their legal relationship to non-Indians in a more positive mold than wardship.[119] As it turned out, the most important uses they made of the law and courts were not those they ostensibly intended when they sued. They sought money that would put them in the position they would have occupied if the government had honored its own laws and treaties, but in 1934 the Court of Claims dashed their hopes. Although it did not wholly repudiate either the history the Indians told or their lawyer's argument that certain government lapses were violations of the treaty, the court decided that the government owed the tribes nothing. The bases for this judgment were several technical

interpretations of the law, a refusal to assign monetary value to some admitted treaty violations, and a finding that government appropriations on the Indians' behalf had far exceeded any losses the Indians could quantify.[120]

In the long run Puget Sound Indians' most significant use of American laws and courts in the 1920s was not to prosecute a lawsuit for damages but to begin constructing a common identity based on a common history. In public forums many individuals from many communities had the opportunity to describe for each other who they had been and who they had become during eighty years of interaction with Americans. As Harriet Shelton said, the Indians lost, but at least there were a lot of meetings. Organizing and prosecuting a case in the Claims Court meant putting people who asserted an Indian identity on display and allowing them to articulate, especially in terms of their history, what made them Indians. The various hearings thus became what anthropologist Barbara Myerhoff calls "definitional ceremonies" in which people could "show themselves to themselves."[121]

The "definitional ceremonies" did not collectively produce a single picture so much as a crudely assembled collage of images, but all who contributed to the collage believed that they were entitled to do so because they shared with the others a history of disappointing relations with non-Indian Americans. Moreover, most believed that treaties made seventy years earlier symbolized their hope of better relations. To Lawrence Webster in 1982, this was the primary significance of the pan-tribal movement that Thomas Bishop galvanized. "The tribes up here didn't have

nothin' going' for 'em where they could get together, except their treaty," Webster said.[122] Even people who claimed that their ancestors had not signed treaties defined themselves as Indians by asserting the negative: they implied that their ancestors deserved and would have accepted a fair treaty acknowledging their status as distinct peoples.

Even though the claims litigation engaged people in a region-wide discourse about the nature of Indian identity, and even though the participants seemed to agree on some fundamental elements of that identity, the end result was not a comprehensive consensus about how to characterize Indians. Rather, the hearings provided podiums from which speakers could show different pictures of Indians and suggest competing symbols around which Indians should rally. For some people land -- the land Indians had lost and the land they thought they had reserved -- had taken on great symbolic value; for others the more meaningful emblems of Indianness were the foods they now had so much trouble obtaining.

Many who took the stand displayed Indian identity in unmistakable ways. These "old Indians" testified through an interpreter. Several stated explicitly what made them "real" Indians: they could not give dates, or they could not read or write, they said, because they were Indians. Asked how he knew about the methods used to build houses he had never seen, Charley Blowl [Belole] said, "The Indian is not like you white men; you write down what your fathers used to do a long time ago. The Indian, his father takes his son and he tells him all the history of the tribe...."[123]

Other witnesses -- in effect identifying themselves as Indians by participating in the claim against the government -- referred to Indians in the third person, as if even to them Indians were from another culture or time. Many of these people were young and educated, but even some elderly people spoke of Indians as if the young were not included in that category. Skookum George was blunt. "What the Government ought to do," he said, "is to fulfil [sic] their promises that they made to the Indians because the Indians will soon all be gone."[124]

There was disagreement about whether to characterize the original Indians as naive victims of American duplicity or shrewd and foresighted people who exacted from Stevens a respectful acknowledgement of their abilities and needs. In 1923 Snoqualmie Jim said of the treaty, "I believe the bargain was a good one for the Indians because the old Indians were smart and knew what they were doing." Many other witnesses, like August Martin, were eager to tell the court how dignified and knowledgeable their parents and grandparents had been. In contrast, Bishop and other NFAI leaders depicted the native people at the treaties as ignorant of white ways and so weak that they had no choice but to sign. This picture of early nineteenth-century Indians as vulnerable to white manipulation became an element of plaintiffs' case in the Court of Claims. William Wilton, born in 1862, testified to the court, "I pity those old people. If Mr. Stevens had written 'In 75 years your offspring will be exterminated,' they would have signed that, with all the knowledge they had about transacting business."[125]

Wilton and Snoqualmie Jim may not have agreed that Indians were wise in 1855, but they could agree that survivors of treaty times needed pity and help in the modern age. Whatever the witnesses' assessment of their parents' and ancestors' acumen, most differentiated at least implicitly between old Indians and Indians of the future; and many depicted themselves as merely trying to secure what the government had promised so that people of the treaty generation would not live their last days in poverty. Said Charles Wilbur, "The Government made the treaty and changed the way of living and take all their land, and the Indians never received their education as promised by the Government....[T]he white pioneers are dying rich with land the Indians owned at one time, and the Indians are dying poor, without land."[126]

For young Sam Kadim, secretary of the Swinomish Tribe, the government's failure was "very embarrassing for the Indians." If the government had lived up to its promises, he said, "the Indians would have been far more progressive today than they are." With a settlement, Kadim believed, his people could catch up with their white brothers.[127] Thus, by prompting diverse descendants of Puget Sound's aborigines to begin constructing a collective history -- a history of old Indians and new, of broken promises and efforts to redeem promises -- organizers of the claims case hoped both to acknowledge their forebears' world and to help people like Sam Kadim leave that world behind them.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 6

1. Hoxie, A Final Promise; Francis Paul Prucha, American Indian Policy in Crisis: Christian Reformers and the Indian, 1865-1900 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976); Helen M. Bannan, "The Idea of Civilization and American Indian Policy Reformers in the 1880s," Journal of American Culture 1 (Winter, 1978): 787-799; Bannan, "Reformers and the 'Indian Problem.'"

2. Herbert Welsh, a staunch friend of the assimilationist reformers, said as early as 1892 that Indians would have a humble place in American society. Welsh, How to Bring the Indian to Citizenship and Citizenship to the Indian (Philadelphia: Indian Rights Association, 1892), 5-6.

3. Dippie, The Vanishing American, 94, 200; Hoxie, A Final Promise, 85. See Chapter 5 for discussion of nostalgia for pioneers and Indians.

4. Hoxie, A Final Promise, 113, 85, 95-98, 108, 116-144; Thomas N. Holm, "Indians and Progressives: From Vanishing Policy to the Indian New Deal" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Oklahoma, 1978), 153-54, 176. In 1901 the Sunday Portland Oregonian carried an editorial agreeing with Commissioner Jones that Indians' environment had to be changed before they could be civilized and asserting that the "fish Indian" of western Oregon and Washington had risen in the scale of living when thrown from childhood among whites. However, the paper said, if students were allowed to go back to the reservation after boarding school, the environment could call up features of the students' long-dead ancestors. November 24, 1901, p. 4.

5. Francis Ellington Leupp, The Indian and His Problem (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910), 46, 43-44, 50-51, 53; F.E. Leupp, "Outlines of an Indian Policy," Outlook 79 (1905): 946. See also Report of Hon. Theodore Roosevelt Made to the United States Civil Service Commission upon a Visit to Certain Indian Reservations and Indian Schools in South Dakota, Nebraska, and Kansas (Philadelphia: Indian Rights Association, 1893), 11-12.

6. Buchanan, "The Indian: His Origin and Legendary Lore," 122; Annual Report, 1915, NA RG75 CCF, Tulalip File 89946-033; Annual Report for 1914, NA PNR RG75, Microfilm M-1011, Roll 153, 137-38.

7. ARCIA (1895), 318-19; ARCIA (1902), 359; Dippie, The Vanishing American, 185-86; Prucha, The Great Father, 717.

8. Reginald Horsman, Race and Manifest Destiny: The Origins of American Racial Anglo-Saxonism (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981), 156-7; Hoxie, A Final Promise, 95-96, 98, 106, 124-26, 164, 193; Holm, "Indians and Progressives," 153-54, 176; Michael Banton, The Idea of Race (London: Tavistock Publications, 1977), 27; Thomas F. Gossett, Race, The History of an Idea in America (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1963), 244, 155.

9. Hoxie, A Final Promise, 160-238; Dippie, The Vanishing American, 190-91.

10. 34 United States Statutes 182; Felix S. Cohen's Handbook of Federal Indian Law, 168; Prucha, The Great Father, 875-77.

11. 34 United States Statutes 1015; 36 United States Statutes 855, sections 1, 2, 4. Prucha, The Great Father, 671-73, 759; Cohen's Handbook of Federal Indian Law, 212-214, 229-236; Holm, "Indians and Progressives," 166.

12. United States v. Celestine, 215 United States Reports 278, 290 (1909), citing Eells v. Ross, the appellate ruling that upheld continuing federal restrictions on Puyallup allottees' lands; United States v. Nice, 241 United States Reports 591 (1916); Superintendent of Tulalip Reservation to Roy A. Darling, November 25, 1922, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 503; Cohen's Handbook of Federal Indian Law, 156-157; Hoxie, A Final Promise, 229, 238; Dippie, The Vanishing American, 178-79, 192-196. An 1897 congressional act prohibiting Indians from acquiring liquor extended to all Indians with trust lands or under federal protection. The Supreme Court first ruled that an Indian's citizenship protected him from prosecution under this statute, but U.S. v. Nice reversed that holding. 29 United States Statutes 506-07; Prucha, The Great Father, 655.

13. 36 United States Statutes 855; ARCIA (1917), 3-4; Cohen's Handbook of Federal Indian Law, 25-26; Hoxie, A Final Promise, 176-181; Prucha, The Great Father, 881-82. The flip side of Sells's racially based presumption was providing forty-acre homesteads for persons with more than half Indian ancestry. Sells also proposed patents for adults who had graduated from government schools and could demonstrate their competence. Other statutes of the era reflecting the presumption that admixtures of

"white blood" tended to make Indians competent include 34 United States Statutes 1015, 1034, and 35 United States Statutes 312. A federal court agreed that varying degrees of blood were appropriate ways to demarcate the competent from noncompetent Indians. United States v. Shock, 187 Federal Reporter 862, 870 (Eastern District, Oklahoma, 1911).

14. Laws of Washington (1901), Chapter CXXXV, Sec. 1, 284; Laws of Washington (1911), Chapter 89, Sec. 4960; Annual Report (1914), p. 155, Tulalip Agency, NA PNR RG75, Microfilm M-1011, Roll 153; W.V. Tanner, Attorney General, to R.A. Lathrop, June 15, 1916, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 503; Annual Report (1916), 4, NA RG75 CCF, Tulalip File 39946-033; Lewis H. St. John, "The Present Status and Probable Future of the Indians of Puget Sound," Washington Historical Quarterly 5 (1914): 12-13. Awareness of their citizenship's limited value may have been one reason the third Wanamaker expedition, which came through Seattle in 1913 carrying the U.S. flag and promises of citizenship to Indians, made no recorded impression on Indians of Puget Sound. Joseph Kossuth Dixon, The Vanishing Race, The Last Great Indian Council (Philadelphia: National American Indian Memorial Association Press, 1925), xxiv, xxxix; Dippie, The Vanishing American, 211-15.

The legal category "Indians not taxed" derived from a provision of the Washington State constitution in which the state, as required by Congress at statehood, disclaimed taxing power and other jurisdiction over lands owned and held by Indians unless the Indians had severed tribal relations and taken unrestricted patents. Washington State Constitution Article 26, Section 2. Not all Indian Service officials agreed that the state denied Indians the privileges of citizenship. In 1912 the superintendent of Cushman School at Puyallup said he could see no white prejudices that interfered with the equal enforcement of state laws for and against citizen Indians. H.H. Johnson to Commissioner, April 15, 1912, NA PNR RG75, Puyallup Box 3, Book 6. Seattle Argus reported May 28, 1939, at page 8, that the state attorney general had ruled invalid the prohibition on voting by "Indians not taxed." According to that report the attorney general saw his ruling as an affirmation of the opinion letter of 1916.

15. Laws of Washington (1909), Chapter 140, Sec. 1, 537; Norman H. Clark, The Dry Years: Prohibition and Social Change in Washington (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1965), 91; Report of William J. Egbert (1914), NA PNR RG75, M-1011, Roll 153. The state law prohibiting liquor sales to people of one-eighth or more Indian

ancestry came during a period of reaction to the spread of saloons into rural areas along new rail lines but before a general prohibition on liquor sales. Clark, The Dry Years, 3, 58, 61.

16. P-I, April 21, 1903, 9; Meeker Family Papers, Notebook III; The Daily Ledger, August 1, 1889, 5; Ibid., 4.

17. E.H. Hammond to Local Board of Pierce County, January 16, 1918, Ibid.; Daniel Howell to Hammond, March 20, 1918, Ibid. (citizen Indian appealing to superintendent to prevent draft board from forcing him to work as logger rather than letting him farm his father's ranch).

18. Annual Report (1914), 129, NA PNR RG75, M-1011, Roll 153; Survey of Conditions of the Indians in the United States, Senate Subcommittee on Indian Affairs, 72nd Cong., 1st sess., 1934, part 32, pp. 17196-17213; Nugent, "Regulation of the Lummi Indians," 12. The small number of competency certificates, most of which preceded land sales, is not a measure of the amount of Indian trust land transferred to non-Indians during this period. Pursuant to the power to sell the lands of so-called noncompetents, agents oversaw the alienation of 7,853.48 out of 52,870.11 acres in Tulalip Agency jurisdiction by 1934. Attrition of allotted lands around Puget Sound was nonetheless slower before allotment ended in 1934 than elsewhere in the country. Survey of Conditions of the Indians, supra, 17196-17201.

19. H.H. Johnson to Commissioner, July 14, 1911, NA PNR RG75, Puyallup Box 3, Book 5.

20. Annual Report, Tulalip (1914), 129, NA PNR RG75, M-1011; Edward Bristow to Charles Buchanan, February 10, 1903, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 104; Nugent, "Regulation of the Lummi Indians," 13; H.H. Johnson to Commissioner, July 14, 1911, NA PNR RG75, Puyallup Box 3, Book 5 (letters on behalf of Henry Allen, David, McKinney Pulsifer, Joseph M. Sparr); Johnson to Commissioner, October 13, 1908, NA PNR RG75, Puyallup Box 2, Book 1 (recommending competency certificates for Skokomish allottees Sow-u-mith or Tyee Dick, age 56; Squeets-ti-du or Billy Clams, age 54; Henry Allen, age 46; Schiv-am-look-tin or David, age 62; Quivets or Billy Waterman, age 56; Wha-le-ah or Squakson Bill, age 66; Hai-too-as or Tenas Charley, age 56; Eap-yip or Chehalis Jack, age 74; and Andrew Peter; age estimates based on Tribal Census Rolls, Twana Indians, 1880, NA PNR RG75, Puyallup Box 70, and Indian Census Rolls, Skokomish Indians, 1885, NA PNR, M-595, Roll 302).

21. Johansen and Gates, Empire of the Columbia, 528-29. As of 1914, according to Buchanan, no land had been leased on the Tulalip Reservation, the largest of the five northern reservations under his supervision. Annual Report (1914), 86, NA PNR RG75, M-1011. The Tulalip Annual Report for 1922 in the same source states that few whites were locating on alienated allotments. An earlier comment that most allotted lands at the Tulalip reservation were of no value, either because they had been stripped of timber or because they were inaccessible without substantial expenditures, appears in Report of Inspector McConnell, October 15, 1897, NA PNR RG75, M-1070, Roll 53.

22. Annual Report, Tulalip (1916), 1, NA PNR RG75, M-1011; Superintendent to United States Attorney, January 19, 1917, NA PNR RG75, Puyallup Box 17. In 1942 Solicitor Felix Cohen considered the question of the federal goverment's jurisdiction over people on fee allotments still unanswered. Cohen's Handbook of Federal Indian Law, 8.

23. Tulalip Bulletin (May 1916): 2, NA PNR M-1011, Roll 153 (A competent Indian makes an effort to work, pay debts, provide for a family, send children to school, improve a home, keep land, forego liquor, care for property, and tend to business.); Annual Report, Tulalip (1916), Sec. VII, 1, NA PNR RG75, M-1011, Roll 153; Superintendent to Commissioner, September 4, 1918, NA PNR RG75, Puyallup Box 5 (recommending against Henry Allen's request to sell the tract remaining to him after he sold that portion of his lands for which he received a certificate of competency); Cohen's Handbook of Federal Indian Law, 226.

24. Conscription in World War I also required determination of Indians' status and revealed the arbitrary nature of that status. According to Indian Service guidelines for draft boards, wardship did not depend on a man's actual relationship to federal authorities but on accidents of timing. Men who had received allotments before the Burke Act were citizens whether or not the government controlled the disposition of their property. Their sons' status followed theirs unless the sons had received Burke Act allotments. Most other Indians, the government concluded, were non-citizens. Under this reading of the law, officials approved the conscription of some reservation residents who had never exercised their citizenship rights, but they protected from the draft other men who had never been under the government's wing. For instance, a superintendent concluded that one youth on the Puyallup roll was a non-citizen -- despite the fact that U.S. guardianship of tribe members had ceased

in 1903 -- because neither the youth nor his father had taken an allotment. Circular to all Indians from Cushman School, December 19, 1917, NA PNR RG 75, Puyallup Box 17; Superintendent to Commissioner, November 28, 1917, NA PNR RG75, Puyallup Box 5. Also, letters of November 26 and December 28, 1917. Ibid.; Correspondence Regarding Indians in Military Service, NA PNR RG75, Puyallup Box 17; Lummi Annual Report, Law and Order Narrative (1918), NA PNR RG75, M-1011, Roll 153. According to Barsh, the Indian Office acknowledged that there was no clear test for determining Indians' status, repeatedly revising its guidelines. Early in the war the Commissioner advised superintendents to resolve any doubts about individual Indians' status by classifying them as non-citizens. Russel L. Barsh, "American Indians in the Great War," Ethnohistory 38 (1991): 280-81.

25. The superintendent thought that granting the request was inconsistent with policy, but Siddle eventually got his money. Superintendent to Chas. A. Reynolds, February 14, 1917, NA PNR RG75, Puyallup Box 17; Reynolds to T.B. Wilson, Superintendent, January 3, 1915, NA PNR RG75, Puyallup Box 15 (recommending the discontinuance of a man's "allowance" because he used it to buy intoxicants). The latter box also contains correspondence regarding Indians' requests for permits to cut wood on their own land. In 1909, a Skokomish Reservation allottee -- the teacher at the day school there -- asked rhetorically why so much "'red tape'" surrounded the property of people who were supposedly full-fledged citizens. Andrew P. Peterson to H.H. Johnson, May 18, 1909, May 18, 1909, NA PNR RG75, Puyallup Box 2, Book 2 (also citing government guardianship as evidence that the Treaty of Point No Point was still in effect and should protect an Indian hunter who shot a deer on the reservation). See also, Nugent, "Regulation of the Lummi Indians," 1, 12-21.

26. ARCIA (1890), 230; Superintendent to Commissioner, June 19, 1915, NA PNR RG75, Puyallup Box 5; Barsh census materials; Superintendent to Commissioner, April 24, 1918, Ibid. (asking whether white man who inherited an interest in the estate of his Nisqually father-in-law needs a certificate of competency).

27. Cohen's Handbook of Federal Indian Law, 229-230; Annual Report, Puyallup, NA PNR RG75, Puyallup Box 4, Book 8 (at least 150 heirships waiting for processing); H.H. Johnson to Commissioner, March 21, 1912, NA PNR RG75, Puyallup Box 3, Book 6; Johnson to Commissioner, January 16, 1912, Ibid. (reporting inability to locate one heir of a Nisqually allottee because she moves around to work in fish canneries); Annual Report, Tulalip (1917), Sales, NA

PNR RG75 M-1011 (no heirship determinations during the year); Annual Report, Tulalip (1920), 18 Ibid. (reporting that 75-80 percent of original allottees have died, and complicated heirships make it impossible to give people satisfactory title; pleading for more clerical help); Annual Report, Tulalip (1919), Sales, Ibid. (despite hearings by Examiner of Inheritance conducted April through June of 1918, not more than six of 57 cases submitted adjudicated a year later); Eliot, Report upon the Conditions and Needs of the Indians, 19. Later references to differences among owners of undivided allotments appear in Report of Earl Y. Henderson, January 25, 1929, NA RG75 CCF, Entry 121, Taholah File 7962-1929-150 (Squaxin Island Reservation); Annual Report, Tulalip (1927), NA PNR RG75 M-1011, Roll 155.

28. Annual Report, Tulalip (1914), 23-33, NA PNR RG75 M-1011; Tulalip Bulletin (July 1917), Ibid.; Annual Report, Tulalip (1922), Narrative, Ibid.; Superintendent to Commissioner, August 18, 1918, NA PNR RG75, Puyallup Box 5 (recommending rejection of Shaker missionary's request to visit other reservations and arguing that permit would nullify superintendents' efforts to restrain emotional excesses). Pro-Shaker comments appear in H.H. Johnson to Commissioner, September 9, 1909, NA PNR RG75, Puyallup Box 2, Book 2; Quimby, "Puget Sound Shakers," 189.

29. Buchanan to Commissioner, April 18, 1917, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 94, File 1H-12H; N.B. Merritt to Richard Squiqui, May 18, 1917, Ibid.; C.F. Hauke to Mr. Hadley, March 19, 1918, Ibid.; William McCluskey to Superintendent, November 22, 1917, Ibid. (Lummis begging for approval of dancing and threatening McCluskey for refusing to violate his orders); J.B. Boulet to Buchanan, February 5, 1918, Ibid.; Dan North to Hon. Lin. M. Hadley, February 28, 1918, Ibid. (non-Indian arguing that Lummi dances are analogous to white parties and should be continued for the amusement of the old people; also arguing that Indians subject to the draft should have greater voice in managing their affairs). During part of this era, lack of money forced the government to disband the reservation courts, which had been an important form of community self-governance. Annual Report, Tulalip (1916), 1, NA PNR RG75 M-1011, Roll 153; Annual Report, Tulalip (1917), 8-9, and Swinomish narrative, Ibid. Annual Tulalip Indian Fairs began in 1915. The program for the 1922 fair announced that its purpose was to show friends of Indians what Indians were able to do "not only along their own line of work, but also along the lines of work as taught and followed by the white people. Many relics of the old times are on hand to bring back

memories of the past...," including the old Indian Potlatch House. NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 492.

30. The Tulalip agent also reported breaking up an attempted custom marriage and keeping the parties apart until a priest married them. Annual Report, Tulalip (1922), Narrative, NA PNR RG75, M-1011; Rygg, "The Continuation of Upper Class Snohomish...Attitudes," 143, 62, 13-14, 117.

31. Government boarding schools usurped the functions of Indian parents in order to implant values the parents presumably failed to teach. The curricula and regimes of the schools in western Washington embodied values promoted throughout the federal system. Puyallup agency matron Lida Quimby, for example, recommended training Indian children to see the beauty in order and neatness. The schools, she said, had to discipline the children's animal nature by emphasizing industrial and physical culture and military drill. The schools filled most of what might otherwise have been free time with exercises intended to inculcate efficiency, respect for superiors, and patriotism. The Cushman regime included a daily assembly and flag salute, religious instruction, and study hour plus special programs for Thanksgiving, Christmas, Temperance Day, Lincoln's birthday, Washington's birthday, Arbor Day, Baby Week, Memorial Day, and Independence Day. The schools put students in academic classes only half the day, using them as labor in the institutions' upkeep during the other half day. Boys thus learned some carpentry, stock raising and gardening, machine shop skills, blacksmithing, engineering, masonry, and plumbing. Except for nursing, the girls' activities were nothing more than domestic chores
-- cooking, sewing, laundry, housekeeping, and caring for poultry. Lida W. Quimby, "Indian Education," The State (March, 1900), 79; Cushman School Calendar for 1917-18, NA PNR RG75, Puyallup Box 50; H.H. Johnson to Commissioner, March 21, 1910, NA PNR RG75, Puyallup Box 2, Book 3 (admitting that Cushman school not yet properly equipped for industrial training and that "[g]irls are simply learing [sic] what they can as they do the productive work of the school"); Diary, Tulalip Agency (1909-13), NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 310; Charles Roberts, "The Cushman Indian Trades School and World War I," American Indian Quarterly 11 (1987): 222.

32. Speech on History of Cushman School, June 16, 1910, Edwin Eells Papers, Box 3, Folder 12; Sister Mary Louise, "Eugene Casimir Chirouse," 43, 49, 62, 68-69; Seattle P-I, April 5, 1901, 9; P-I, February 17, 1903, 8

(predicting Puyallup boarding school would close due to poor attendance); Annual Report of Charles Buchanan, August 6, 1906, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip 311 (school opened January 22, 1906); Hunt and Kaylor, Washington West of the Cascades, 502 (giving opening date of new Tulalip school as January 23, 1905); Report of Fred A. Baker, December 6, 1910, NA RG75 CCF, Entry 121, Tulalip File 100544-1910-150; Superintendent to Archie M. Taylor, September 13, 1918, NA PNR RG75, Puyallup Box 50 (desired average attendance at Cushman is 325); Roberts, "The Cushman Indian Trades School and World War I," 222; Edward Bristow to Buchanan, December 24, 1901, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 98 (regretting that the school is too crowded for more students); ARCIA (1902), 359 (saying new boarding school should be large, since 373 children are school age but day schools can take only 120); H.H. Johnson to Commissioner, April 15, 1912, NA PNR RG75, Puyallup Box 3, Book 6; St. John, "The Present Status and Probable Future of the Indians of Puget Sound," 15-16. In Rygg's "Continuation of Upper Class...Attitudes," Lummi Elders Speak, and the Suquamish Oral History interviews, virtually all of the people born in the early years of this century recall their experiences at one of the two regional boarding schools. For the administrative and financial history of the Tulalip and Cushman schools, see Duwamish et al. v United States, 79 Court of Claims 542, 547, 564, 585-87 (1934). In 1914 Buchanan estimated that 74.5 percent of the school-age population in his bailiwick actually attended school -- a proportion significantly exceeding school attendance for all children (56 percent) and for Indians (42 percent) nationwide. Annual Report (1914), NA PNR RG75, Tulalip M-1011.

33. Regulations adopted in 1893 permitted agents to deny rations and allowances to parents who withheld their children from on-reservation schools; but a congressional act the next year prohibited agents from using such techniques to force children into off-reservation schools. Prucha, The Great Father, 833-34; C.F. Hauke to all superintendents, March 15, 1924, Records of Tulalip Court of Indian Offenses, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 503; Statement of Louis and Lucy Napoleon, October 18, 1902, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 102 (withdrawing from reservation rather than obey order to enroll children in school); Suquamish Museum, The Eyes of Chief Seattle (Suquamish, Washington, 1985), 40-41; Suquamish Oral History Interview J.4.06 (Clara Jones, September 23, 1982); Report of Chas. L. Davis, 1908, NA RG75 CCF, Entry 121, Tulalip File 24323-1908-150 (harsh corporal punishment in school); Rygg, "The Continuation of Upper Class...Attitudes," 118, 141; correspondence between

Buchanan and parents or reservation employees on behalf of parents, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 99; Nugent, "Regulation of the Lummi Indians," 3.

34. James Moore to Superintendent, October 30, 1901, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 115; Mrs. Addie Caldwell to Commissioner, October 20, 1917, NA PNR RG75, Puyallup Box 50 (Port Townsend resident asking for admission of children of less than one-fourth Indian ancestry); Mrs. H. Anderson to Chushman [sic] school, March 27, 1918, Ibid. (Port Ludlow resident hoping to enroll son); Superintendent to Archie M. Taylor, Sequim, September 13, 1918, Ibid.; Roberts, "The Cushman Indian Trades School and World War I," 226.

35. Annual Report, Tulalip (1914), 125, NA PNR RG75 M-1011; Annual Report, Puyallup (1913), NA PNR RG75, Puyallup Box 4, Book 8. Two years later an investigator for the Board of Indian Commissioners thought the most serious problem for Puget Sound Indians was widespread "vagrancy" -- as many as 1,000 to 3,000 people landless and homeless. Samuel Eliot, Report upon the Conditions and Needs, 21.

36. Tulalip Bulletin (November 1917): 4, NA PNR RG75 M-1011. Government agents had taken cognizance of and provided some services to scattered off-reservation bands in Klallam territory since the 1870s. At the beginning of this century the government still paid the salaries of day school teachers at Jamestown and the Port Gamble (Little Boston) settlements. ARCIA (1881), 171, ARCIA (1895), 399; ARCIA (1900), 397; Eells, "Census of the Clallam and Twana Indians;" Correspondence, Edwin Eells Papers; Indian Census Rolls, 1916+, NA PNR M-595, Roll 93; Report of John Lane, December 13 and 17, 1896, NA PNR RG75 M-1070, Roll 31. Yet in 1918 the Puyallup agency superintendent said, "The Clallam tribe no longer exists except in name. The Indians consider themselves citizens....Only the old or indigent Indians seek aid in any way from our Bureau." Superintendent to Commissioner, January 26, 1918, NA PNR RG75, Puyallup Box 50.

37. H.H. Johnson to Commissioner, March 21, 1910, NA PNR RG75, Puyallup Box 2, Book 3 (probably referring to the Omnibus Act of that year, 36 United States Statutes 855); Eliot, Report upon the Conditions and Needs, 20. Because the Puyallup superintendent's investigation disclosed in 1918 that the Indians at Jamestown and Port Gamble were citizens living apart from tribal control, he saw no reason to pay for their attendance at nearby public schools. Superintendent to Commissioner, March 19, 1918, NA PNR RG75, Puyallup Box 5.

38. Annual Report, Tulalip (1914), 124, NA PNR RG75 M-1011; Malcolm McDowell, Fifty-Second Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1921), Appendix K, 81. The government dealt in the last decades of the nineteenth century with John Campbell. John's son Joe identified him as the son of Slababutkid, a chief of the Upper Skagits, and grandson of Pateus, who signed the Point Elliott Treaty for the Noowhaha band. Applications for Enrollment, NA M-1343, Skagit Roll.

39. Applications for Enrollment, NA M-1343, Roll 5 (application of Thomas G. Bishop showing his mother Sally as Snohomish and his father as white but his brother as Chimacum; large family residing at Chimacum); Barsh, Census of 1900, Jefferson County; Norton, "Social, Marital, Economic and Political Relationships of the Snohomish Tribe," 39 (identifying Thomas Bishop's brother William as half Indian and the first Indian elected to the state legislature).

40. Sells to Roblin, November 27, 1916, Applications for Enrollment, NA M-1343.

41. Sells to Roblin, November 27, 1916,; form letter in Applications for Enrollment, NA M-1343, Roll 1; Charles E. Roblin, Schedule of Unenrolled Indians, 1919, National Archives, PNR, Reading Room. Roblin's list includes people who wished to be enrolled with tribes not included in this study -- Cowlitz, Chinook, and Chehalis, for example.

42. For Roblin's reliance on Bishop, see Applications for Enrollment, NA M-1343, Roll 1 (applications of William Price, Mary Edwards, Kate Stevens Grady Johnson). Reliance on the word of other elderly Indians is evident at Roll 1 (applications of S.J. Mason, Richard Adams, Edward J. Colemire, Mrs. Arthur Newman, Josephine Woodbury) and Roll 5 (application of Ellen Short). When John Howard Anderson applied for enrollment with the Tulalip tribe in 1916, Buchanan's superiors instructed him to require affidavits from relatives and others who knew whether Anderson's parents had been recognized by the tribe as members and then to ask for the views of tribal representatives or a business committee. C.F. Hauke to Buchanan, November 15, 1916. NA RG75 CCF Entry 121, Tulalip File 117342-1916-053. Charles McChesney, who had Roblin's assignment for a short while before Roblin got it, thought that general councils of the Indians were the best method of gathering information about individuals' status. McChesney to Commissioner, March 6, 1914, NA PNR RG75, Puyallup Box 4, Book 9;

Roblin to Dickens, May 10, 1926, in Schedule of Unenrolled Indians.

43. Roblin told one applicant that a white person with no Indian blood could have the same right as a full-blood Indian if he could show that he was a recognized tribe member. However, I did not find any applications from people who fit this description. Roblin to Julia Barkhausen, May 2, 1918, NA M-1343, Roll 1.

44. Report of agent, Roblin's Schedule of Unenrolled Indians. Elderly people who stayed near their ancestral homesites included George Bill and Big John of the Duwamish roll, Friday Consauk, Charley Snatlum, and Charlie and Mary Jim of the Skagit roll, and the parents of Charles Satiacum on the Suquamish roll. Examples of people who moved around during their lifetimes include Margaret Gardner, Elizabeth Treen (Clallam); Jane Garrison (Duwamish); descendants of Cublaud and Ace Fowler (Snoqualmie); Mary Eva Allen (Spusum-Tulalip). Families in which most or all descendants of a white man and an Indian woman married whites include Barkhousen, Gardner, Plaster, Treen (Clallam roll); Rehberger (Nooksack roll); Barnes (Puyallup roll); Beck (Skagit roll); and several families on the Nisqually roll whose ancestors were Hudson's Bay Company servants. Applications for Enrollment and Allotment.

45. Roblin, Schedule of Unenrolled Indians (report); Eliot, Report upon the Conditions and Needs of the Indians, 21; Buchanan to Sells, February 10, 1916, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 71. In 1921 Malcolm McDowell also reported that Indians applying for allotments at Quinault believed they would receive $6,000 apiece if there was not enough land for all to share. Some Nooksacks claimed $8,000 in lieu of allotments. Fifty-Second Annual Report, Appendix K, 78, 82

46. Buchanan to Sells, February 10, 1916, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 71; Annual Report, Tulalip (1922), NA PNR RG75, M-1011, Roll 154. It is difficult to tell from government records what effect Roblin's work had on local agents' oversight of previously disregarded Indians. In 1921, possibly oblivious to the existence of Roblin's roll, McDowell saw the need for a special canvas of non-reservation Indians aimed at getting all the children into school and providing aid for the indigent. Fifty-Second Annual Report, Appendix K, 77. McDowell noted that the Indian Bureau's count of Indians under federal jurisdiction in western Washington grew between 1910 and 1919 by one thousand. Either the government had taken more people under control, he reasoned, or it had counted

more accurately, or the mixed-blood population had grown. Ibid., 78.

47. Report of Inspector Gardner, September 22, 1890, NA PNR RG75, M-1070, Roll 53.

48. Applications for Enrollment and Allotment, Dwamish, Roll 3. After surveying newspapers and censuses for information on Snohomish Indians' employment during the late 1800s and early 1900s, Norton produced a list of occupations very similar to that culled from Roblin's report. Her list also includes engineers, businessmen, dairymen, shinglemakers, and teachers. "Social, Marital, Economic and Political Relationships of the Snohomish Tribe," 37.

49. McDowell, Fifty-second Annual Report, Appendix K, 82-83; H.H. Johnson to Commissioner, October 28, 1909, NA PNR RG75, Puyallup Box 2, Book 2; Johnson to Commissioner, September 28, 1910, Ibid., Book 3; Annual Report, Puyallup (1913), Ibid., Box 4, Book 8; ARCIA (1883), 151; ARCIA (1898), 303; Report of Inspector Lane, December 17, 1896, NA PNR RG75, M-1070, Roll 31; Chas. A. Reynolds to Buchanan, July 22 1904, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 311 (Indians having no difficulty obtaining work at good wages); St. John, "The Present Status and Probable Future of the Indians," 15; Eugene Hill to Commissioner, November 19, 1920, NA RG75 CCF, Entry 121, Taholah File 86457-1920-150 (Skokomish Indians earning such high wages in logging camps that they have ceased farming); Mathew Fleming to Commissioner, January 7, 1922, NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Box 259; Quimby, "Indian Education," 80 (Indians' services in great demand; loggers, woodcutters, cooks, oystermen, fishermen, cannery workers commanding high wages); Sampson, Indians of Skagit County, 37. When he took the 1880 census of off-reservation Klallams, Myron Eells counted 34 sawmill workers, 22 farmers, 80 fishers, 23 general laborers, 40 mat and basket makers, 17 sealers, three police, 15 medicine men and women, one carpenter, two wood choppers, and one blacksmith. Among the 242 Twana were 42 farmers, four carpenters, two blacksmiths, four laborers, seven hunters, 20 fishers, 21 lumbermen and loggers, one interpreter, one policeman, six medicine men, seven washerwomen, six mat and basket makers, and one assistant matron. In the 1890 census for Tulalip agency reservations enumerators estimated that nine-tenths of the Indians followed "civilized pursuits." (Fishing and hunting were not considered civilized.) Eells, "Census of the Clallam and Twana Indians," 36-37; Census rolls, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 474.

50. Meeker Family Papers, Notebook III; Fetzer, "George Swanaset," 9, 11-15, 22; Nugent, Lummi Elders Speak, 19-20, 37, 38-40; Suquamish Oral History Interview W.1.04 (Webster).

51. As early as 1878 Edwin Eells explained the reported distress among Indians of his agency by saying, "[T]hey are so far advanced in the arts of civilized life that they earn their living as whites do by their labor, and when that is scarce or wages are low, their condition is affected as really as any other class of people." ARCIA (1878), 137; ARCIA (1898), 303 (active demand for Indian labor upon return of prosperity in the West); Annual Report, Tulalip (1917), NA PNR RG75, M-1011, Roll 153 (Indians handicapped in preceding six years by scarcity of fish, low lumber prices); Eliot, Report upon the Conditions and Needs of the Indians, 17; Suquamish Oral History Interviews W.1.04, W.1.20 (Webster); Johansen and Gates, Empire of the Columbia, 527-29.

52. Roberts, "A History of the Swinomish Tribal Community," 238-242; Report of Eugene Hill (1920), NA RG75 CCF, Entry 121, Taholah File 86457-1920-150; Annual Report, Tulalip (1921), NA PNR RG75, M-1011, Roll 154; Annual Report, Tulalip (1920), Ibid. (statistics); Annual Report, Tulalip (1927), Ibid.; Hauke to Buchanan, June 13, 1917, NA RG75 CCF, Entry 121, Tulalip File 59910-1917-920; Report of Flora Warren Seymour, July 11, 1925, Ibid., File 50598-1925-150. There are no statistics before 1929 that permit a comparison of Puget Sound Indians' incomes with those of their non-Indian neighbors; and even the later statistics are principally for reservation Indians. But Tulalip agency estimates in 1920 show each of the principal cash-generating activities bringing the average Indian between $100 and $500 a year. It is likely that most Indians engaged in more than one such activity. The same report indicates that a small handful of Indians had incomes of $1,000 or more. Annual Report, Tulalip (1920), NA PNR RG75, M-1011, Roll 154. Harriet Shelton recalled many poor people on the Tulalip reservation in her childhood who lived in tents and whose only cash income came from picking hops. Rygg, "The Continuation of Upper Class...Attitudes," 18. The annual Tulalip report for 1918 states that all in the reservation population had theretofore been poor. M-1011, Roll 153.

53. Tulalip Agent to Fidalgo Island Cannery Company, July 3, 1897, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 26 (Cannery seeking Indian workers will need to come to recruit them, since most men are already working in logging camps.); Edward Bristow to Buchanan, December 2, 1905, and August 31, 1907, NA PNR

RG75, Tulalip Box 105; Boxberger, To Fish in Common, 36, 44-45, 56.

54. Report of Charles Buchanan, August 6, 1906, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 311; Annual Report, Tulalip (1914), 73, NA PNR RG75, M-1011, Roll 153; ARCIA (1902), 358; Norton, "Social, Marital, Economic and Political Relationships of the Snohomish Tribe," 37 (Irondale smelter and Hadlock mill closings in 1919). Lewis St. John restated Buchanan's concerns in terms that reflected the era's focus on race. "The ignorant Indian, without capital," he wrote, "cannot compete successfully with the superior intelligence and greater wealth of his white neighbor. This makes the matter of employment and subsistence extremely precarious...." And indeed, wage work was a resource for Indians which could vanish faster than a run of salmon whose spawning beds dried up. St. John, "The Present Status and Probable Future of the Indians of Puget Sound," 15.

55. ARCIA (1895), 318 (Lummis complaining about cannery's traps excluding them from fishing grounds); testimony of Henry Kwina and Tom Squiqui in State v. Alexis (1915); ARCIA (1896), 315 (old Indians' dependence on "the never-failing food supply of Puget Sound"); Charles M. Buchanan, "Rights of the Puget Sound Indians to Game and Fish," Washington Historical Quarterly 6 (1915), 110-113; Annual Report, Tulalip (1914), 11-13, NA PNR RG75 M-1011; Annual Report, Tulalip (1915), 2, Ibid. (state officers arresting Indian fishers despite promise to desist); Annual Report, Tulalip (1917), 8, and Port Madison Industries Narrative, Ibid.; Tulalip Bulletin (September 1916): 2 (Recent court decisions require Indians who fish off reservations to get state licenses.); Eliot, Report upon the Conditions and Needs of the Indians, 17; Lummi Elders Speak, 23, 26-8; Superintendent to Chas. Reynolds, November 4, 1919, NA PNR RG75, Puyallup Box 17; Boxberger, To Fish in Common, 40, 55; Noel, Muckleshoot Indian History, 71-72; Building a State, 91 (hydroelectric project at Snoqualmie Falls in 1898; first state game wardens in 1899), 94 (regrading Seattle hills and filling the bay in 1903; Puget Sound Power and Light's project on Puyallup River); ARCIA (1901), 391 (white fish trap men at Tulalip Reservation boundary); Reynolds to Buchanan, September 26, 1903, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 100 (power company claiming riparian rights to White River; Indians protesting); affidavit of Chas. Reynolds, February 25, 1905, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 101; Edward Bristow to Buchanan, October 17, 1905, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 105; Andrew Peterson to H.H. Johnson, May 18, 1909, NA PNR RG75, Puyallup Box 2, Book 2 (prosecution of Archie Adams for hunting in violation of

state regulations); Fay G. Cohen, Treaties on Trial: The Continuing Controversy over Northwest Indian Fishing Rights (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1986), 42. In 1916 four men billing themselves the Committee for Muckleshoot Indians protested the state's decision to forbid them from spearing salmon in the Green River, saying they had long depended on the fish for part of their food supply and claiming they were within their rights under the Treaty of Medicine Creek. Bob James et al. to Honorable Commissioner of Indian Affairs, May 15, 1916, NA PNR RG75, Puyallup Box 15. Harriet Shelton recalled that her parents bought their salmon from white fishers "because we didn't have those kinds of nets a long time ago." Rygg, "The Continuation of Upper Class...Attitudes," 37.

56. ARCIA (1902), 358; Report of Charles Buchanan (1906), NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 311; Superintendent to Commissioner, June 10, 1915, NA PNR RG75, Puyallup Box 5; telegram from Hauke to Buchanan and reply, June 13, 1917, NA RG75 CCF, Entry 121, Tulalip File 59910-1917-920; Cato Sells to Mr. Hadley, June 23, 1917, Ibid.; Eliot, Report upon the Conditions and Needs of the Indians, 17; Acting Commissioner to Superintendent, Puyallup Indian School, January 12, 1907, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Agency Decimal Files 053; George Vaux, Jr., Forty-ninth Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1918), Appendix P, 75.

57. Annual Report, Tulalip (1914), 52, NA PNR RG75 M-1011 ("Among the white children the Indian children are constant targets of contumely and contempt."); Annual Report (1917), Swinomish Narrative Regarding Schools, Ibid. (Schools admit brighter children from clean, progressive homes but maintain unreasonable prejudice against enrolling Indian children as a whole; there is decided attitude against intermingling of races.); Annual Report, Tulalip (1932), Ibid., Roll 155 (white protests in reservation border towns of Marysville, Auburn, and LaConner when Tulalip boarding school close and Indians try to enroll in local schools); Superintendent to Commissioner, August 15, 1918, NA PNR RG75, Puyallup Box 5 (Skokomish Indians complaining that government farmer is too proud to send his children to school with "'dirty Indians'"); Acting Commissioner to Superintendent, January 12, 1907, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Decimal File 053; Suquamish Oral History Interviews G.6.01 (Ben George, Jr., March 10, 1982), J.4.06 (Clara Jones, September 23, 1982).

58. H.H. Johnson to Commissioner, October 28, 1909, NA PNR RG75, Puyallup Box 2, Book 2; Johnson to Commissioner, September 28, 1910, Ibid., Book 3; Annual Report, Puyallup (1913), NA PNR RG75, Puyallup Box 4, Book 8 (There is "no discrimination against the Indians in this section of the country on the mere grounds that they are of a different race."); Annual Report, Tulalip (1916), Lummi Schools, NA PNR RG75 M-1011 (There is a "kind, neighborly feeling...between this people and the white people of the vicinity."), Lummi Industries (absence of discrimination in market and trade facilities); W.F. Dickens to Commissioner, February 20, 1923, NA RG75 CCF, Entry 121, Tulalip File 88710-1922-150; Report of Flora Warren Seymour, July 11, 1925, Ibid., File 50598-1925-150 (saying race prejudice exists but not in virulent form, attributing its manifestations to "social standards rather than racial antipathy"); Annual Report, Tulalip (1924); NA PNR RG75 M-1011, Roll 155.

59. Rygg, "The Continuation of Upper Class...Attitudes," 105, 143, 278; Suquamish Oral History Interview W.1.07 (Webster, March 15, 1982); Ibid., A.4.03 (Bernard Adams, April 13, 1982).

60. Boxberger, To Fish in Common, 60; Annual Report, Tulalip (1924), M-1011, Roll 155. Among the manifestations of racism during this era was the Japanese Exclusion Act. Sperlin, Building a State, 105. For discussion of the 1920s as an era of increasing race-based economic and other discriminations, see Anderson, Vancouver's Chinatown, 109.

61. Roberts, "The Cushman Indian Trades School and World War I," 221, 224; Superintendent to Commissioner, May 21, 1918, NA PNR RG75, Puyallup Box 5 ("Industrial conditions existing in this jurisdiction are such that no able-bodied Indian male need request assistance in obtaining employment."); Hauke to Buchanan and reply, June 13, 1917, NA RG75 CCF, Tulalip File 59910-1917-920; Sells to Mr. Hadley, June 23, 1917, Ibid.; Annual Report, Tulalip (1917), Port Madison Industries Narrative, NA PNR RG75 M-1011, Roll 153; Annual Report, Tulalip (1918), Industries at Port Madison, Ibid.; Annual Report, Tulalip (1919), Tulalip Industries, Swinomish Narrative, 11, Ibid.; Report of E.M. Sweet, Jr., March 26, 1918, NA RG75 CCF, Entry 121, Tulalip File 29966-1918-150 (in reference to timber sales: "The Indian will never again have as much money as now."); Daniel Howell to E.H. Hammond, March 20, 1918, NA PNR RG75, Puyallup Box 17. General descriptions of the region's wartime prosperity and the boom in ship-building jobs appear in Johansen and Gates, Empire of the Columbia, 543-48; Mapes, "A Map Interpretation of

Population Growth," 14 (jobs in ship-building go from 1,444 in 1914 to 34,576 in 1919).

62. Annual Report, Tulalip (1918), 6, 8; Roberts, "The Cushman Indian Trades School," 224; Superintendent to Commissioner, December 28, 1917, NA PNR RG75, Puyallup Box 5; Superintendent to Commissioner, June 28, 1918, Ibid.; Superintendent to Commissioner, August 8, 1918, Ibid. Not all students at Cushman were from the Puget Sound; some came from Alaska, eastern Washington, and Montana. It is not possible to calculate precisely how many Indians served in the military, either from the Puget Sound area or nationally. The War Department estimated that it drafted 6,509 Indians -- roughly 13% of adult Indian males. According to Barsh, BIA data showed that about half the men who served were volunteers. Based on this information Barsh concludes that 20% to 30% of Indian men nationwide were in uniform during World War I. "American Indians in the Great War," 277.

63. Vaux, Forty-ninth Annual Report, 80.

64. Nugent, "Regulation of the Lummi Indians," 17-18; Annual Report, Tulalip (1918), Lummi Law and Order Narrative, NA PNR RG75 M-1011, Roll 153 (noting that many older people initially thought the treaty prohibited their young men from taking up arms). The 1900 census gives Thomas Jefferson's birthdate as 1856, making him too old for military service in World War I.

65. Tulalip Bulletin (September, 1918), NA PNR RG75 M-1011, Roll 153; Charles M. Buchanan, "The Evolution of an Indian Hero in France," Washington Historical Quarterly 9 (July 1918): 163-168; Superintendent to Local Board, October 6, 1917, NA PNR RG75, Puyallup Box 17. According to Barsh, hyperbole like Buchanan's in was common in wartime propaganda about Indians' military service. "American Indians in the Great War," 286-88. Local agents also put Indians under great pressure to buy war bonds. Superintendent to Commissioner, October 9, 1917, NA PNR RG75, Puyallup Box 5. In the 1920s William Shelton pronounced himself proud to have helped with a successful liberty loan drive on the Tulalip reservation. Chief William Shelton, The Story of the Totem Pole or Indian Legends (Everett: Kane and Harcus, 1935), 6.

66. Tulalip Bulletin (September, 1917): 2, NA PNR RG75 M-1011, Roll 153. For samples of similar patriotic reasoning from Indians see Barsh, "American Indians in the Great War," 288-89.

67. Vaux, Forty-ninth Annual Report, 73; Roberts, "The Cushman Indian Trades School," 221, 225-26, 229-30.

68. 43 United States Statutes 253; Prucha, The Great Father, 793; Dippie, The Vanishing American, 194-96; Barsh, "American Indians in the Great War," 295.

69. F.S. Hall, "The Vanishing Race," The Seattle Woman 1 (1924): 12.

70. On the reservations, Dickens disposed of lands he deemed useless to the owners, particularly allotments tied up in multiple inherited interests. At the same time he strengthened reservation institutions such as the Indian court. The principal change in policy during the 1920s was a decision to let the state educate all Indian children except those remote from public schools or in need of firm discipline. Yet even children in public schools, according to Dickens, continued to need federal guardians. Annual Report, Tulalip (1924), NA PNR RG75 M-1011, Roll 155; Annual Report, Tulalip (1927), Ibid.; Annual Report, Tulalip (1928), Ibid.; W.F. Dickens to Loomis W. Baldrey, May 5, 1922, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 503; Report of Inspector Hill, November 19, 1920, NA RG75 CCF, Entry 121, Taholah File 86457-1920-150; Report of Earl Y. Henderson, January 25, 1929, Ibid., File 7962-1929-150. In 1929 an inspector termed the government's relations with people on the Skokomish Reservation "nominal" except for allotment and heirship matters. Ibid.

71. Annual Report, Tulalip (1922), NA PNR RG75 M-1011, Roll 154; Annual Report, Tulalip (1924), Ibid., Roll 155; Dickens to Commissioner, February 20, 1923, NA RG75 CCF, Entry 121, Tulalip File 88710-1922-150. In 1918 Vaux cited the comfortable homes and apparent wealth of former Puyallup tribe members as a reason to be optimistic about "throwing Indians on their own resources," yet he advocated that the Indian Bureau lease Tulalip reservation lands and repress the Shakers and squehealous dances. Forty-ninth Annual Report, 74-79. Also, petition from members of Stillaguamish Tribe, August 12, 1929, NA RG75 CCF, Entry 121, Tulalip File 41499-1929-059 (requesting investigation of status of allotted lands along Stillaguamish River, claiming that a fifteen-year effort to get Indian agents' attention has yielded little relief or encouragement); F.F. Duclos to Commissioner, August 15, 1929, Ibid. (indicating continuing confusion in Tulalip agency about whether Stillaguamish or Skagit and Suiattle Indians have homesteads the agency is supposed to supervise).

72. Buchanan, "Rights of the Puget Sound Indians to Game and Fish;" Annual Report, Tulalip (1915), 2, NA PNR RG75 M-1011; Annual Report, Tulalip (1917), Ibid.

73. Jerry Kanim to F.A. Gross, April 21, 1927, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Decimal File 920 (saying that government has duty to protect rights of off-reservation Indians, who are under the same treaty as others); Tulalip Bulletin (September, 1916): 2, NA PNR RG75 M-1011 (advising that two recent cases require all Indians to get state licenses for off-reservation fishing); E.B. Merritt to W.F. Dickens, May 26, 1926, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Decimal File 920 (directing him to advise an allotted public domain Indian that the treaty reserved no special or exclusive rights; that Indians are not entitled to hunt or fish in state territory in violation of state laws); Superintendent to Jerry Kanim, April 26, 1927, Ibid. (suggesting that Kanim fight in court for what he feels is his right but offering no tangible support); Superintendent to Chas. A. Reynolds, October 5, 1926, Ibid.; Report of Earl Henderson, January 25, 1929 (fishing in the Skokomish River now closed to Indians of the reservation; government attorneys contested state arrests but lost the case).

74. Report of Flora Warren Seymour, July 11, 1925; Superintendent to Commissioner, May 4, 1926, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Decimal File 173.1. A former Puyallup reservation resident pressed the government to let him help determine who should share in the community's remaining common assets, stressing that he was a full citizen whom whites were beginning to regard as their equal. Henry Sicade to Charles Burke, February 18, 1928, NA PNR RG75, Puyallup Box 276.

75. Annual Report, Tulalip (1922), NA PNR RG75 M-1011, Roll 154; Annual Report, Tulalip (1924), Ibid., Roll 155; Annual Report (1926), Ibid. Flora Warren Seymour similarly described Indians of the Tulalip agency as having made "a nearer approach to the white man's attitude toward life and labor than in any tribe I have observed. There is an intelligent grasp of every day English, and a comprehension of business methods that show how far the assimilating process has already gone." Seymour explained this apparent progress toward assimilation as the result of the Indians' habit of self-support, yet she thought they lacked foresight and noted the ways they had combined Indian and white usages in their daily lives. Report of July 11, 1925, NA RG75 CCF, Entry 121, Tulalip File 50598-1925-150.

76. Report of Earl Y. Henderson, March 7, 1929, NA RG75 CCF, Entry 121, Tulalip File 13931-1929-150 (30 or 40 fishers at Swinomish Reservation earning $1,000 or more in a season but Tulalip fishing no longer yielding much); Report of Henderson, January 25, 1929, NA RG75 CCF, Entry 121, Taholah File 7962-1929-150 (comparing conditions on the Skokomish, Squaxin Island, and Nisqually Reservations; saying the area contains both the richest and the poorest Indians in western Washington); Annual Report, Tulalip (1926), 13, NA PNR RG75 M-1011, Roll 155; Annual Report, Tulalip (1928), Census, Ibid. (showing mixed-bloods in the following proportions: 27% of the reservation Tulalips, 79% of the unattached, 53% of the Lummis, 36% of the Nooksacks, 35% of the Muckleshoots, 12% of the Skagit-Suiattle, 21% of the Swinomish, 31% of the Suquamish, 73% of the Clallam, 57% of the Puyallup); Report of Seymour, July 11, 1925, NA RG75 CCF, Entry 121, Tulalip File 50598-1925-150 (noting aged Indians living in "filthy hovels," the elongated forehead of elderly Chief Kwina). Comparison of Indian and general personal income figures based on U.S. Department of Commerce, State Personal Income: 1929-1982 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1984), 258.

77. Chief George Swamaset [sic], Louis George, William Hunt to Charley H. Burk [sic], n.d., NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Decimal File 060.

78. Superintendent to Commissioner, March 9, 1928, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Decimal File 072-3.

79. Joyce Annabel Wike, "Modern Spirit Dancing of Northern Puget Sound" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington, 1941), 58, 69, 37; Collins, Valley of the Spirits, 118. In his life history, as recorded by Fetzer, George Swanaset describes his education in a Protestant mission school and his mother's and brother's piety. When the Tulalip superintendent attended a meeting of Nooksacks in 1925, Swanaset asked local Methodist missionaries to open proceedings with a prayer. Superintendent to Commissioner, June 27, 1925, NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Box 259.

80. William McCluskey secured permission for dances at the Swinomish Reservation in 1926 by saying the purpose was to entertain young people and whites, show younger people "how far off they were from the present civilized practice," and allow people to see and hear from good respectable men "from whom good advise [sic] and instructions are given for the betterment of Indians in general." McCluskey to Gross, December 21, 1926, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Decimal File 045.

81. Minutes of meeting on the Swinomish Reservation, February 21, 1928, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Decimal File 072-73.

82. Report of Seymour, July 11, 1925; Annual Report, Tulalip (1924), NA PNR RG75 M-1011, Roll 155; Annual Report, Tulalip (1926), Narrative, 10, Ibid. (Indians observing same holidays as whites).

83. J.P. Harrington did field work in western Washington between 1910 and 1942. The notes of his interviews are not dated. Elaine Mills, ed. A Guide to the Field Notes of John Peabody Harrington (Washington, D.C. Smithsonian Institution, 1981), xxv, with Papers of J.P. Harrington. Swanaset recalled that a Columbia University professor sent Thelma Adamson to take down the Indian language at Nooksack. Fetzer, "George Swanaset," 22. Ethnographers and collectors of folk tales who interviewed Puget Sound Indians during the late teens and 1920s include Adamson, "Folk-Tales of the Coast Salish," Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society 27 (1934); Arthur C. Ballard, "Some Tales of the Southern Puget Sound Salish," University of Washington Publications in Anthropology 2 (1927): 57-81; Ballard, "Mythology of Southern Puget Sound," University of Washington Publications in Anthropology 3 (1929); Bruseth, Indian Stories and Legends of the Stillaguamish; Gunther, "Klallam Ethnography;" Gunther, "Klallam Folk Tales," University of Washington Publications in Anthropology 1 (1924): 113-170; Gunther Field Notes; Hermann Haeberlin, "Mythology of Puget Sound," Journal of American Folklore 37 (1924): 371-438; Haeberlin and Gunther, "Indians of Puget Sound;" Waterman, "Notes on the Ethnology of the Indians of Puget Sound."

84. Annual Report, Tulalip (1926), NA PNR RG75 M-1011; H.W. Shipe to W.F. Dickens, July 12, 1926, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Decimal File 045 (Shelton's totem pole in Indian Bureau's exhibit at the Philadelphia Sesquicentennial Exposition); Rygg, "The Continuation of Upper Class...Attitudes," 110, 59, 81; W.J. Henry to Dickens, March 27, 1925 (organizer of Seattle Sportsmen's Association's third annual show asking for help reproducing a "real camp of Puget Sound Natives with their big war canoes, making totem poles and baskets"); Shelton, The Story of the Totem Pole. Thelma Adamson and Arthur Ballard recorded legends with plots similar to Shelton's, but they are rife with scatological, sexual, and violent motifs not included in the sweet, polished stories attributed to Shelton. For two earlier examples of educated Indians receiving positive reinforcement for explicating their people's histories and ancient customs, see Henry Sicade, "The Indians' Side of the Story," Building a State, 490-503 (paper read at meeting of the

Research Club of Tacoma, April 10, 1917); Johnson Williams, "Black Tamanous, the Secret Society of the Clallam Indians," Washington Historical Quarterly 7 (1916), 296-300.

85. Superintendent to Secretary, Spokane Betterment Organization, April 6, 1926, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Decimal File 047; District Superintendent, Lapwai, to Dickens, June 4, 1926, Ibid.; Superintendent to V.H. Johnson, June 23, 1926, Ibid.

86. In 1913 the Seattle P-I quoted Shelton as saying, "'Do not poke fun at our ways....We are growing to do things in your way as fast as we can. We know that is best. We accept your laws, your customs. We wish to be citizens. But we must have a little time.'" "Scenes at Potlatch at Tulalip Held to Celebrate Making of Mukilteo Treaty," P-I, January 23, 1913, 1. Upon William Shelton's death in 1938, the local newspaper eulogized him as a "leader of his race," noting that he and his family had frequently appeared at fairs and community celebrations "in full Indian regalia to revive Indian lore for the benefit of the children." The photo accompanying this obituary showed Shelton in a Plains-style full feather bonnet and beaded vest depicting a horse. Everett Herald, February 11, 1938, in Petition for Acknowledgement of Snohomish Tribe of Indians, Reply Appendix G-13. Among Indians the term "progressive" had come by the turn of the century to mean people who believed in education, hard work, and adapting their attitudes, values, and habits to those of the larger American society. Hazel W. Hertzberg, The Search for an American Indian Identity: Modern Pan-Indian Movements (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1971), 31.

87. Both Buchanan and H.H. Johnson mentioned people besides Bishop who agitated before 1914 for federal help for Indians in Klallam territory, where Bishop's family lived. Johnson to Commissioner, July 16, 1912, NA PNR RG75, Puyallup Box 4, Book 7; Buchanan to Cato Sells, February 10, 1916, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 71. However, both George Swanaset and Lawrence Webster identified Bishop as the organizer of the NFAI; and federal officials described him as the "leading spirit" of the movement that ripened into the organization of the NFAI. Webster thought Bishop had begun organizing even before Webster met him in 1913. Fetzer, "George Swanaset," 17; Suquamish Oral History Interview W.1.07; Roblin to Commissioner, January 31, 1919, Schedule of Unenrolled Indians. Government records confirm Bishop's role, as first president of the NFAI, in giving officials specific information about the unallotted people who claimed

Indian identity. Ibid.; Cato Sells to Roblin, November 27, 1916, NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Box 259, file labeled "Indian Claims Commissioners Suiattle & Other Tribes 1922-23." The existence and plight of Puget Sound's landless Indians came to Eliot's attention in 1915 when he met with representatives of the Northwestern Federation of American Indians. Eliot thought the group a valuable asset in focusing public opinion. Report upon the Conditions and Needs of the Indians, 21.

88. Thomas Bishop's name and birthdate do not appear on the census of 1900; but that census give the birthdates of his brothers William and Alfred as 1861 and 1869 respectively. The census gives the dates of birth for the following men who are named in BIA correspondence and congressional records as early representatives of the NFAI: Charles Alexis, 1872; Peter James, 1868; Charles Wilbur, 1876; Henry Steve, 1867, and his son Wilfred Steve, 1893; Martin Sampson, 1887. William Shelton, whose daughter said that he played a leading role in NFAI activities during the 1920s, was born in 1868. George Swanaset, who cooperated with NFAI from the outset, told Paul Fetzer that he was born in 1871.

89. Hertzberg, The Search for an American Indian Identity, 19, 26-27, 59, 65, 67, 103; Charles A. Eastman, The Soul of the Indian (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1911); Charles A. Eastman, The Indian Today (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday Page, 1915).

90. P-I, November 20, 1911, Sec. 2, p. 2; Ibid., January 12, 1912, 2; Hertzberg, The Search for an American Indian Identity, 190, 193.

91. Constitution of NFAI, NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Box 259; Hertzberg, The Search for an American Indian Identity, 80.

92. Hertzberg, Search for American Indian Identity, 72, 81; NFAI Constitution.

93. In 1916 Bishop distributed a form letter addressed to "Dear Friend," asking for personal data from each recipient similar to the data Roblin would later collect. He also requested a two-dollar contribution toward the cost of getting him to Washington, D.C., where he planned to lobby Congress on behalf of all the region's treaty Indians. Thomas Bishop to Dear Friend, February 26, 1916, William DeShaw Papers, University of Washington Manuscripts No. 387, Box 1A, File 3, Miscellany.

94. Hertzberg, The Search for an American Indian Identity, 96; Annual Report, Tulalip (1918), Swinomish Narrative, NA PNR RG75 M-1011; Annual Report, Tulalip (1924), Ibid., Roll 155; Superintendent to Commissioner, June 27, 1925, NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Box 259 (referring to the Lummi, Port Madison, and San Juan Indians' affiliation with NFAI); Superintendent to Commissioner, January 29, 1923, Ibid.; Superintendent to Commissioner, February 15, 1922, Ibid. (Members of the NFAI say it is composed of various councils representing several reservations.). The archival record does not make clear whether there were enduring NFAI chapters at communities outside the Point Elliott Treaty area. In the last-cited letter the Tulalip superintendent said that Clallams meeting at Jamestown told him they had their own branch of the NFAI, but the Clallams shortly thereafter decided to pursue claims under the Point No Point Treaty independently of efforts orchestrated by Point Elliott area NFAI chapters. In the same letter the superintendent referred to a Puyallup man as "purported" secretary of NFAI but indicated that that man did not believe the Puyallups had claims against the government such as other NFAI chapters were pressing. Indian Bureau personnel noted in the 1930s that several people at the Skokomish Reservation belonged to the NFAI but saw their membership as individual rather than tribal. They contrasted low-level Skokomish support for the NFAI with the situation in the Tulalip area, where practically all the Indians belonged. Questionnaire regarding tribal organization, Indian Reorganization Act Records, NA RG75, Entry 1012, Taholah 068, File 9748-A.

95. Superintendent to Commissioner, February 15, 1922, NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Box 259 (Peter James of Lummi, Charles Wilbur of Swinomish and Henry Steve of Tulalip say the NFAI organized at Tacoma February 22, 1913.); Constitution, NFAI (February 23, 1914), Ibid.; Minutes of meeting at Tulalip, December 10, 1921, Ibid.; Testimony of Wilfred Steve and Peter James, Indian Tribes of Washington, House Committee on Indian Affairs, 68th Cong., 1st sess., 1924, H.342-4, pp. 19, 21, 28. The transcript of Bishop's testimony to Congress says the NFAI was organized in 1904; but this is probably a typographical error, since the group's constitution is dated 1914, and no other sources date the NFAI's establishment before 1913. Indian Tribes of Washington, House Subcommittee on Indian Affairs, 67th Cong., 2d sess., 1922, H.320-7, p. 21.

96. Suquamish Oral History Interview W.1.11 (Lawrence Webster, March 25, 1982); Ibid.. G.1.05 (Martha George, November 4, 1982); Fetzer, "George Swanaset," 17, 27

("When Bishop started to organize the Northwest Federation, the tribe had to have someone to represent it."). In 1914 Buchanan claimed there were no business councils or committees on reservations under his supervision; but the Port Madison Reservation farmer reported forming an "improvement club" the same year; and by 1916 the Lummi farmer reported that business councils or committees had met there several times during the year. Annual Report, Tulalip (1914), 127, (1916), NA PNR RG75 M-1011. The DeShaw Papers contain a memorandum of February 12, 1916, which reads, "The Suquamish tribe held a meeting at Suquamish for the purpose of orgnizing [sic] a club. Ths orgnization is orgnized by the tribe. to be run by the tribe for the benefit of the people belonging to the Suquamish tribe." Officers listed there include Chas. Alexis, president, who was also active in the NFAI. Later BIA records date the organization of tribal councils to the 1920s, when Bureau personnel sought tribes' formal approval of contracts with the attorneys who prosecuted claims in the Court of Claims. Questionnaires regarding tribal organization, Indian Reorganization Act Records, NA RG75. However, it is clear from Dickens's letter to the Commissioner of June 27, 1925, that many groups were already well organized when he met with them for that purpose. NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Box 259.

97. "The Meeting of the Snoqualmie Indians held at Tolt, on the 2d. of June 1916," NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 474; Memorandum, December 22, 1915, in Indian Census Rolls, NA PNR M-595, Roll 584.

98. Applications for Enrollment and Allotment, NA M-1343, Roll 4. In 1922 C.S. Webster went over the Port Madison Indian census with reservation residents Sam Wilson and C.J. Thompson. They were reportedly of the opinion that several others should be on the rolls, but Webster could not wait for them "to think matters up." Webster to Dickens, July 18, 1922, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 473. In 1930 the enumerator for Baker Township in Whatcom County asked what "agency of enrollment" he should enter for people there who claimed to be members of the Nooksack, Skagit, Sumas, and Chiliwack tribes. Ve Van Hounten to Mr. Duclos, April 29, 1930, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Decimal File 054. See also the list submitted by Muckleshoot council. Ibid. Numerous people who applied for enrollment with the Puyallups in 1929 had applied for enrollment with other tribes when Roblin conducted his survey. Others applied at Puyallup after being rejected for inclusion with different tribes. Virtually all produced evidence of connections to tribal communities besides Puyallup. NA RG75 Entry 615, Puyallup Boxes 1-5.

99. Applications of William Price, Clallam Roll; Mary Edwards, Clallam; Hawkins Family, Clallam; S.J. Mason, Clallam; Clara Marquette Rouleau, Nisqually Roll; Charles Cline, Nooksack Roll; Family of Julia Gobin, Skagit Roll; Emma McFarland, Suquamish Roll. Probably Roblin, rather than the applicant, decided to list most persons with their fathers' tribes, thus applying federal law as he understood it. However, he apparently recognized Indians' right to take exception to the law. Letter to son of Kate Stevens Grady Johnson, May 29, 1918, Clallam Roll, NA M-1343.

100. People uncertain of their tribe included George Sloan (Nisqually roll); Frank Anderson (Skagit); Charley Satiacum's grandson (Suquamish). People unsure of their ancestors' tribes included descendants of Julia Whatulach (Duwamish); Lillian Tower (Suquamish); Emma McFarland (Suquamish). Those mentioning small bands rather than larger tribes were Mary Toney Wooten (Clallam); David Tom (Lummi); Annie Beck (Skagit); Edwin Buck (Skagit). Family members who could not agree on parents' ascriptions included Dan Silalis and Hattie Jack (Duwamish); Francis and George Beale (Skagit); Neil and Duncan Spithill (Stillaguamish). Additional siblings enrolled or allotted with different tribes included Josephine Woodbury (Clallam) and her brothers (Skokomish); Peter (Lummi) and Joseph James (Duwamish); Charlie Moses and his sister (Duwamish and Suquamish); Nicholas Lewis (Nisqually); Emily Cotter and brother (Nooksack and Lummi); James Barr and siblings (Puyallup, Quinault, and Warm Springs); Leo, William, and Alfred Lawrence (Snohomish and unidentified); William Allen and sister (Snoqualmie and Tulalip); Watson Martin (Snoqualmie) and sisters (Tulalip). Other divided families appear in applications of Major Hamilton (Duwamish); Edwin Buck (Skagit); Margaret Crooks (Snohomish). Different members of families centered on the San Juan Islands appear on Clallam, Lummi, San Juan or Mitchell Bay rolls.

101. Bishop to Dear Friend, February 26, 1916, DeShaw Papers. Correspondence in the 1920s to and from people seeking enrollment or a share in tribal funds can be found in NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Decimal File 060, and NA RG75 CCF, Entry 121, Tulalip Files 62204-1923-053, 53155-1927-053, 52780-1927-053. A congressional act of June 30, 1919, 41 United States Statutes 3, 9, authorized the Interior Secretary to prepare a final roll of any tribe's members for purposes of segregating tribal funds. Officials in western Washington invoked this act at the end of the 1920s to assemble a list of Puyallup Indians entitled to share in the division of assets remaining from the

Puyallup Reservation. Records and Evidence concerning Puyallup Enrollment, NA RG75, Entry 615, Puyallup Boxes 1-5; Files of Tribal Operations Branch, NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Box 276.

102. Testimony of John Sam, Duwamish v. United States, 203. See Chapter 5 for the public debate about the treaties. In addition to Claims Court and congressional testimony cited herein, sources regarding Indians sharing their memories of the treaty conferences or of elders talking about the treaties include Nugent, Lummi Elders Speak, 83, 116; Rygg, "The Continuation of Upper Class...Attitudes," 85; Suquamish Oral History Interview W.1.11 (Lawrence Webster); Testimony, United States v. Alaska Packers' Association; Testimony of Henry Kwina and Tom Squiqui, State v. John Alexis; United States v. Romaine, 255 Federal Reporter 256 (Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals, 1919). However, Dora Solomon, in Lummi Elders Speak, 80-81, said the old people never talked to her about what happened a long time ago.

103. See Chapter 5.

104. Eliot dismissed most of the Indians' complaints as misunderstandings or "old grievances which have really been adjusted but which are handed down in families as counts against the government." Eliot, Report upon the Conditions and Needs of the Indians, 19. According to one witness, during the first Treaty Day celebration at Tulalip in 1911 Dr. Buchanan asked the old people to talk about the treaty. Testimony of William Bagley, Duwamish v. United States, 197.

105. Suquamish Oral History Interview W.1.18 (Lawrence Webster, July 1, 1982).

106. Bishop's 1916 letter to Dear Friend promised to press for final settlement of unresolved claims, which he predicted would take the form either of full payment or of some money and some land.

107. Buchanan objected to Bishop's using the affidavit of a Duwamish chief, who said he was landless even though Buchanan had allotted the chief and his children at Port Madison. Buchanan to Cato Sells, February 10, 1916, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 71; Buchanan to Bishop, February 1916, Ibid.; Dickens to Commissioner, July 30, 1921, NA RG75 CCF, Entry 121, Tulalip File 62672-1921-054; Superintendent to Commissioner, February 15, 1922, Ibid.; Superintendent to Commissioner, February 15, 1922, NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Box 259.

108. Minutes, meeting of December 10, 1921, and executive committee meeting of December 12, 1921, NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Box 259; Superintendent to Commissioner, January 29, 1923, Ibid.; Hearing "In the Matter of the Claims of Indian Tribes and Individual Indians against the Government Arising out of the Treaty of Point Elliott, Dated January 22, 1855," NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 96, Folder 60.

109. Telegram, Dickens to Commissioner, July 29, 1921, and Dickens to Commissioner, July 30, 1921, NA RG75 CCF, Tulalip File 62672-1921-054; Superintendent to Commissioner, June 27, 1925, NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Box 259; Proceedings of NFAI Advisory Board, October 3, 1925, Ibid.; Rygg, "The Continuation of Upper Class...Attitudes," 90.

110. Fetzer, "George Swanaset," 18. When Swanaset spoke to Congress in support of the claims bill, he said the Nooksacks sent a chief named Humclalim to the treaty, but the chief took a Frenchman's advice not to sign. Indian Tribes of Washington. H.342-4, p. 54. At trial three years later, a Nooksack witness testified that no Nooksacks went down to the treaty. Transcript of Testimony, Duwamish et al. v. U.S., 504.

111. In support of the pending jurisdictional bill, the NFAI said that losses of Indian lands, game, and fish were reasons for prompt action "in order that the Indians now living may obtain a living, and a position of independence to which they are entitled in the community in which they live." Memorandum, n.d., and resolution appended to Minutes of meeting at Tulalip Reservation, December 10, 1921, NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Box 259; Minutes of same meeting, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 96, File 60.

112. The authorizing statute named a fourth group which had supposedly signed no treaty -- the Suattle [sic] Indians. The Suattle tribe did not file suit with the others, however. According to Tulalip agency records, "The Suiattles submitted a written statement in which they said that they did not want money but they wanted their land back." Superintendent to Commissioner, June 27, 1925, NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Box 259.

113. 43 United States Statutes 886; 43 United States Statutes 1102.

114. Testimony of Henry Kwina and Richard Squi-qui, State v. Alexis.

115. Hearing transcript, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 96, Folder 60; testimony of Johnnie Scalopine, Duwamish v. U.S., 218; Lucy Gurand, Ibid., 646; Tom Milroy, Ibid., 674 (displaying little interest in answering questions about land and wanting to talk instead about the reserved right to take fish).

116. Transcript, Duwamish v. United States, 252-257, 627, 244. See also, testimony of Joe Campbell, 402 (Upper Skagit Indians' negotiations in the 1880s for land above Rockport); Nancy Sigo, 407-08 (describing delegation to Olympia led by Chief Seattle).

117. Ibid., 189.

118. Ibid., 291-92, 431, 500.

119. For an analysis of how Andean Indians in the 1970s used "national laws and hegemonic ideology for purposes other than those for which they were intended...," see Linda Seligmann, "The Burden of Visions amidst Reform: Peasant Relations to Law in the Peruvian Andes," American Ethnologist 20 (February 1993): 25.

120. The Duwamish, Lummi, Whidby Island Skagit, Upper Skagit, Swinomish, Kikiallus, Snohomish, Snoqualmie, Stillaquamish, Suquamish, Samish, Puyallup, Squaxin, Skokomish, Upper Chehalis, Muckelshoot, Nooksack, Chinook, and San Juan Islands Tribes of Indians v. the United States, 79 Court of Claims (1934), 530-613.

121. Barbara Myerhoff, "'Life Not Death in Venice': Its Second Life, in The Anthropology of Experience, Victor Turner and Edward Bruner, eds. (1986), 261-268; Rygg, "The Continuation of Upper Class...Attitudes," 89-90.

122. Suquamish Oral History Interview W.1.07 (Lawrence Webster, March 15, 1982).

123. Transcript, Duwamish v. United States, 345, 183 (Jerry Dominick), 229 (William Hicks), 266 (Jimmy Dorsey), 327 (Richard Squi-Qui), 351 (John Davis), 377 (Jimmy Jones), 472 (John Andrew Wilson saying "I am an Indian, and of course I know what I am talking about, and you are a white man and you don't understand our customs.").

124. Deposition of Skookum George, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 96, Folder 60; Transcript, Duwamish v. United States, 320, 493. Frank Allen, old enough to be unsure of his age but describing himself as a farmer and logger, said, "I getting [sic] old. I am second growth to them old people. There is a son of the chief [indicating]. You

that fellow, son of Frank -- white head now, no school, no education. That hurts my mind....Poor Indians, they don't know nothing." Ibid., 620.

125. Testimony of Snoqualmie Jim, p. 5, of Skookum George, p. 3, In the Matter of the Claims of Indian Tribes, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 96, Folder 60; Indian Tribes of Washington, H.320-7, 24; Indian Tribes of Washington, H.342-4, 43; Petition, Duwamish v. United States, 6; Transcript, Ibid., 670 (Wilton), 348, 356, 391, 620, 641.

126. Ibid., 342.

127. Ibid., 354.

# CHAPTER 7

## NEW DEAL AND TERMINATION FOR DIFFERENT KINDS OF TRIBES

Between 1930 and 1960 national economic and political trends affecting Indians reversed course at least twice. First the Great Depression motivated Congress to abandon the policy of breaking up tribes and tribal lands; then World War II and post-war prosperity provided a rationale for recanting the deviation of the 1930s. In the 1950s, therefore, Congress tried again to end Indians' legal and political insulation.

General histories of Indians for this period, which are still scarce, usually focus on policy, analyzing its relation to economic conditions and its intended impacts on Indian communities. Scholars have been especially interested in debating the goals and effects of the Indian New Deal. Because many enduring Indian organizations had their origins in laws and policies of the New Deal and the post-war period, most historians assume that federal policy has determined Indians' status and affiliations since mid-century.[1]

Events in the Puget Sound region show that it is a mistake to assume a direct correspondence between twentieth-century government policies and the ways Indians have defined and grouped themselves. Neither the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 nor the termination policy of the 1950s did much to change or to clarify the status and affiliations of Indians in western Washington. The people who thought of themselves as Indians remained diverse and dispersed, and they reacted in varied ways to shifts in policy. New government programs had little practical consequence, in most cases, because few Indians had routine contacts with federal officials.

Again, Indians' descendants around Puget Sound would not fit readily into the molds that federal law and policy provided. Some people, however, borrowed parts of the proferred molds for projects of their own, forming or refashioning tribal and intertribal organizations according to a variety of plans. In doing this, they perpetuated the diversity and ambiguity that had long characterized Indian identity in their region, and they ensured that dialogue abcut the defining marks of that identity would continue unabated.

The economic ground shifted treacherously under Indians' feet during the early 1930s, while the Court of Claims was still deliberating the merits of Washington tribes' petitions. Even so, when a Senate committee came to Tacoma in 1931 for hearings about Indians' circumstances, it was not economic dislocation that most Indian witnesses wanted to discuss. The issues that seven Indian speakers and three sets of correspondents brought to Senators Burton Wheeler and Lynn Frazier are remarkable both for their diversity and for their preoccupation with matters besides hard times. Witnesses from different reservations complained variously of delays in the probate and partition of allottees' estates, outmoded and non-existent health care for Indians, inadequate educational facilities, limitations on self-governance, and the BIA's failure to identify and enroll all Indians. Thirty-seven "members of the Squaxon Tribe" signed a letter claiming that refuse from a pulp mill had ruined clam beds which had long afforded them a decent living. Frank Wrolson, employed for ten years in Tacoma as a door finisher, charged the Puyallup Indian agency with discriminating against

Indians who wanted work.

Three additional speakers claimed to represent Indians the government had not accounted for and placed on reserved lands. A man from the Upper Skagit River was there to protest state repression of his people's fishing and to insist on their right to sell the fish they caught. His position was contrary to that of Peter James, a Duwamish spokesman who said that local treaties protected only non-commercial fishing. A woman from the San Juan Islands conceded under questioning that the people she represented may have been better off than Indians living under the government's wing.[2]

No Indian testimony except a letter from the Port Madison Reservation mentioned the depresssion or requested government relief. However, Indians' evident economic jeopardy was on the mind of Tulalip agent August Duclos. After telling the senators that farming was not an option for most Indians of the area, Duclos said that nearly half the families belonging on some reservations were absent, scattered to cities and logging camps all over the sound in search of work. For the two years preceding the hearing, the financial condition of the itinerant people had not been good because work had grown scarce. "The present generation are untrained," Duclos noted, and "there are a great many more laborers than there is labor."[3]

Although the depression had reduced thousands of American Indians to beggary elsewhere by 1931, there is no evidence that the same was true in Puget Sound country. However, shrinking demand for fish and wood did force canneries, logging camps, and sawmills in western Washington to curtail or shut down their

operations. As Duclos observed, many Indians were among those hurt by the consequent reduction in opportunities for seasonal and unskilled work.[4]

It is unclear whether the depression impoverished Indians appreciably more or in greater proportion than others in western Washington's laboring class. Available statistics will not support a comparative analysis. For 1929 the BIA estimated that the three thousand Indians of its Tulalip agency had income totaling $302,990 -- approximately $100 per person. The next year's estimates yield a per capita figure of $63. Even if these figures are close to accurate, neither includes money -- usually the proceeds of land or timber sales and leases -- in individuals' trust accounts. In 1930 trust funds totaled $321,046 for Tulalip agency Indians and thus should have brought the cash available to the average Indian up at least to $180. This amount looks pathetically small next to figures for all residents of Washington State, who had personal incomes of $739 and $657 for 1929 and 1930 respectively. However, the comparison does not take into account the relatively low cost of rural living or the value of fish, game, berries, and farm produce that Indian families ate or bartered. In 1934, for instance, federal employees concluded that a Puget Sound reservation dweller needed only $210 to $240 annually "to attain the same approximate standard of livelihood that his or her white neighbors attained about 1926."[5]

When Duclos spoke of economic troubles in 1931, he said they had affected Indian families about the same as others. The prosperity of the preceding decade, he claimed, had enabled many

people on the Lummi Reservation to buy as many luxury items as middle class whites; and even poorer Indians had preserved salmon and a good crop of potatoes to keep them from hunger. In 1934, however, Duclos's successor observed that widespread unemployment had "wrought a particular hardship" on those Indians -- the majority -- who had long lived by day labor for whites. During the first year of the depression, O.C. Upchurch noted, "with marked resourcefulness, they turned to individual fishing, wood cutting, both for fuel and pulp wood, and with a minimum of gratuitous assistance subsisted themselves and their families." The second year a $90,000 road fund enabled the agency to employ all who had no other means to earn cash. The third year some Indians had to go on relief.[6]

Lawrence Webster, like others who were young adults during the depression, remembered 1930 as the first of three hard years, especially for men who had worked in the woods and on the docks. Jobs were so scarce and wages so low that he depended on fishing and clam digging for food and cash. In one low tide, Webster could bag two hundred pounds of clams, which he sold to a Seattle company for three or four dollars. "So we managed to stay alive," he said. Yet in Webster's opinion Indians weathered the depression better than non-Indians and were even in a position to help non-Indians, because they knew how to exploit natural resources. Bernard Adams, whose family dug clams and sold bait herring to halibut boats, agreed: "[R]eally here...we didn't suffer like some places durin' the Depression."[7]

In 1934 the Civil Works Administration sent interviewers

to the homes of hundreds of families in the Tulalip agency's jurisdiction, off the reservations as well as on. Their surveys, plus data collected by extension workers for three south sound reservations, confirm Webster's and Adams's impression that most Indian families provided for themselves during the depression's early years. Annual family incomes ranged from $20 to $2,250 but in a majority of cases were between $150 and $300. Most households had at least one person who worked for part of the year in private enterprises, often logging or processing lumber. Still, Indians' well-being varied significantly from family to family and from place to place. While many employable adults at the Muckleshoot Reservation needed aid and most adult Squaxin Island men were unemployed by 1934, a large contingent of Indian men in Kitsap County had high-paying jobs at McCormick Lumber Company, a navy munitions plant, or a shipyard. No one at the Swinomish Reservation was on state relief rolls, because the men could log or cut stove wood during the winter and make up to forty dollars a week fishing during the summer. By contrast, six families inland along the Skagit River, where fish were less abundant, received local relief.[8]

At the national level, depression more extreme than Americans had ever known soon catalyzed changes in federal policies. For Indians, as for other suffering populations, Congress was willing to try a new tack. People who believed that forced detribalization had been a recipe for Indian poverty argued successfully for ending that strategy. Reasoning that the depression revealed the vulnerability of unorganized

individuals, they resolved instead to protect and even strengthen Indian communities. The Indian New Deal -- a combination of reservation-centered work programs and federally-promoted tribal incorporation -- was born. John Collier, the new Commissioner of Indian Affairs, was its midwife.

The work programs appeared first. In 1933, thanks to Collier's efforts, the Roosevelt Administration earmarked a portion of national emergency relief funds for Indians. In western Washington, as elsewhere, the Bureau of Indian Affairs used such funds to give Indians temporary jobs.[9] Many of the jobs offered to residents of Puget Sound were on the west side of the Olympic Peninsula, where Emergency Conservation Work crews built fire lines and trails in forests of the Quinault and Neah Bay Reservations.[10] Between 1934 and 1941 the Works Progress Administration and other New Deal agencies also funded some smaller projects at reservations around the Sound. Enrolling in such programs meant working a few weeks in a year at most.[11]

For people accustomed to supporting themselves in part as short-term wage laborers, the opportunities afforded by relief work programs were familiar as well as welcome. Hundreds of men and a few women from Puget Sound reservations tapped into the programs during the 1930s. Lawrence Webster got work on WPA projects at Port Madison in 1935, cleaning up a cemetery and baseball field and building a dock. Bernard Adams spent more than a year in a CCC-ID unit that planted trees and cleared ground for a community center on the new Port Gamble Clallam Reservation.[12] Some people not previously known to the BIA

convinced officials of their aboriginal ancestry and garnered Indian work relief slots, while other acknowledged Indians found jobs in state-administered programs off the reservations.[13]

Around the United States, emergency work programs did not reverse the factors that made Indians poor, but they gave Indians reason to think differently about themselves, their communities, and their future. Outside western Washington the programs educated many Indians about wage work, particularly on the large, isolated reservations where few people had previously held jobs. In some instances Indians also acquired marketable training. Just as importantly, many New Deal relief programs put a new light on reservations. By involving Indians in conserving and improving the resources of their reservations, Collier aimed to focus their hopes for economic advancement on those resources and to encourage collective resource management. In 1933, for example, Senator Wheeler justified the lower wages paid to Indian relief workers by claiming that they benefitted doubly, since they made improvements on their own reservations.[14] Some reservation-based programs of the ECW or CCC-ID, WPA, and AAA -- those designed to enhance large forests and rangeland, for example -- were consistent with Wheeler's thinking. They clued Indians into the income-producing potential of their common estates.[15]

To Indians in the Puget Sound region, however, New Deal work relief programs did not clearly impart their intended lessons. Certainly work relief did not introduce Indians there to the world of wage work. Moreover, few programs in the region showcased enrollees' own reservations as places with significant

economic potential. Except for timber conservation at Quinault and Neah Bay, most western Washington relief projects involved small-scale improvements to facilities such as roads and government buildings. Workers dug drainage ditches or wells, took surveys, and rehabilitated clinics rather than developing income-generating resources. In addition, although many Indians of Puget Sound worked at some point in their own communities, most also worked on other reservations or outside reservations altogether.[16]

Tulalip superintendent O.C. Upchurch several times expressed apprehension that federal relief would encourage a dependency the people of his jurisdiction had theretofore avoided. In his view "communistic" whites had planted the idea that the government owed Indians support.[17] Contrary to Upchurch's fears, however, able-bodied people on all reservations continued throughout the 1930s to support themselves with little or no aid. Most transfer payments were Old Age Assistance checks. Harriet Shelton Dover remembered the Roosevelt Administration not for subsidizing penniless families or putting people to work but for finally addressing Indians' need for health care.[18]

Health care issues were uppermost in the minds of several people who testified when Senator Wheeler came to western Washington a second time in 1933. For people whose elders had judged someone's competence in part by the state of his or her health, it was humiliating that so many family members and friends were sick and dying of diseases such as tuberculosis. It was doubly galling that the government provided only one

doctor for more than 3,400 Indians in an area one hundred miles square -- a doctor, moreover, who pointed guns and swore at his patients. Four of six witnesses at the 1933 hearing therefore urged the Senate subcommittee to make medical care a priority.[19]

The four witnesses' unanimity may reflect their involvement in the Northwestern Federation of American Indians, which had emphasized health care at its convention that year. The first speaker, Don McDowell, identified himself as president of the NFAI, which he described as a group of thirteen Puget Sound tribes. McDowell's three colleagues -- Martin Sampson, Victor Johnson, and Wilfred Steve -- spoke for NFAI councils on the Swinomish, Lummi, and Tulalip reservations respectively. These NFAI delegates depicted themselves as willing and qualified to deal cooperatively with the federal government, both as representatives of their communities and on behalf of Indians in general. Johnson told Wheeler that members of the Lummi council were outstanding men and women, interested in their reservation and hoping the government would recognize them by calling them together more often.[20]

Johnson and other NFAI leaders may not have been aware in October of 1933 that Roosevelt's new Indian Commissioner approved of aspirations like the Lummi council's and planned to encourage them. If Wheeler was aware then of Collier's plans, he did not speak of them either. A few months later, however, Wheeler received from Collier's staff a proposal for legislation that would allow the Lummis and other Indians to take over the management of their reservations, and by June of 1934 Wheeler's name headed a new statute that incorporated variants of

Collier's idea.[21]

The Wheeler-Howard or Indian Reorganization Act -- the second major component of the Indian New Deal -- permitted tribes to establish formal governments with limited powers. It also authorized the Interior Secretary to charter tribal corporations that could manage common assets. In order to secure passage of the act, Collier retreated from some of his most radical proposals and watched Congress lop off and rewrite other provisions dear to his heart. In part because of Wheeler's opposition, for instance, the final bill did not endorse Collier's plan to relinquish federal functions to organized tribes. Nevertheless, Collier rightfully claimed that the Reorganization Act represented and gave further momentum to a significant shift in federal policy. Instead of destroying tribal formations in order to force Indians' assimilation, the government now pledged to preserve tribal assets and permit tribal organizations.[22]

With help from the White House and other allies, Collier persuaded Congress to change directions primarily because he had convincing evidence that the allotment policy, far from eliminating Indians' dependency on the federal government, had increased it. Collier disclaimed any intent to abandon the long-range goal of assimilating Indians into American society, but he argued that the government should give those people who chose to retain tribal ways the means to live decently. His personal agenda, however, was more ambitious and radical than the one he got Congress to endorse. He was in fact bent on preserving or reviving Indian culture and communal life.[23]

Collier's fascination with Indians was the flip side of his disgust with the effects of nineteenth-century industrialization and urbanization. Hope for reforming Americans' chaotic economic and social life, he believed, lay in community organizations. On the basis of visits to New Mexico Pueblos in the 1920s, Collier pictured Indian communities as having a cohesion and spiritual strength that put Americans' individualism and materialism to shame. This image of Indians inspired not only the bill he proposed in early 1934 but also his implementation of the less utopian legislation that emerged from Congress four months later. In Collier's opinion, Indians had shown little inclination to settle and work in cities because they held values antithetical to those of a competitive capitalist society. The future for most of them, therefore, would be on their own lands among their own kind. During almost a decade at the BIA, Collier tenaciously promoted the idea that Indians' prospects would be brighter if they established governments capable of planning collectively for the conservation and management of reservation resources.[24]

Collier pitched his plan in the Northwest, as elsewhere, even before he unveiled the proposed Indian Reorganization Act. In January, 1934, he sent agency heads, tribal councils, and some individual Indians a circular entitled "Indian Self-Government." There he stressed the need to change the land tenure system so as to "'assure all Indians born on the reservation a fair share of land'," advocated the transfer of individual property to tribal corporations, and suggested that tribal governments might control the expenditure of tribal

funds, engage in cooperative marketing and purchasing, and require community labor. Local BIA personnel, under instructions to promote Collier's ideas enthusiastically, began circulating to the reservations to discuss the memo with assembled residents.[25]

With an eye to mustering support in his battle with Congress, and with the unprecedented intent of proposing legislation that Indians favored, Collier also convened a series of regional congresses where he explained his proposal and invited Indians to comment.[26] The Northwest congress took place in Oregon March 8, 1934, at the Chemawa boarding school. In his stead the exhausted Collier sent Assistant Commissioner William Zimmerman, Solicitor Felix Cohen, and other high level officers. At BIA expense, Indian delegates -- a few per tribe or reservation -- came from Oregon, Washington, Idaho, and western Montana. Other interested Indians attended as well. In the general assembly five men spoke for people around Puget Sound: George Adams from the Skokomish Reservation, Joe Campbell from the Upper Skagit district, and three stalwarts of the NFAI -- Peter James, Don McDowell, and Wilfred Steve.[27]

Whether advocating or reacting to the proposed new program, all speakers judged it by its conformity with their views of Indians' conditions and character. Collier's staff described modern Indians primarily as victims, impoverished and infantilized by the implementation of wicked laws. "Indians have been taught," Zimmerman said, "that they had to choose between remaining like so many slaves, being taken care of by the Indian bureau or else thrown to the wolves." The proposal

he had come to discuss would teach Indians instead that they could have freedom as individuals through the power inherent in organization. Later in the program Henry Roe Cloud, introduced as "a man of your own race...who is 100% American," promised that Collier's program would "relight the spiritual fire that burned in the hearts of the Indian people in ancient times," empowering Indians in their dealings with whites by bringing the old culture back to life.[28]

The images of Indians that tribal delegates in turn projected at Collier's men were varied. Some speakers highlighted the poor, backward Indian image. A Kootenai chief stressed that his people had just started going to school and did not have college degrees; hence they still needed government guidance. A man from Fort Hall, speaking through an interpreter, said, "You know things. We, as Indians, do not seem to know anything." Other speakers developed the motif of victimization, warning fellow delegates that their past mistreatment was reason to be suspicious of claims about a new government program's power to lift them out of poverty. Two delegates from the Yakima Tribe, although they came to different conclusions about the desirability of the proposed legislation, framed their remarks in allusions to their people's glorious past. Other speakers depicted their tribes not as the cohesive communities that Collier imagined but as diverse people divided along generational and racial lines.

In this context, the delegates from western Washington were distinctive. All specifically differentiated themselves from the generic Indians they had heard men at the podium

describe. They pointed out that their people depended on fish and forests rather than farmland and pasture, or they stressed that they had no land at all. More remarkably, most were eager to appear competent, self-confident, and ready to assume responsibility for their own economic and political affairs. Moments after Bob Marshall opened the meeting, George Adams interrupted him to ask whether Marshall knew what it cost to initiate a successful logging enterprise. His question answered, Adams said, "I just wanted to satisfy myself if you were really acquainted with the amount of money. I am from Puget Sound and I was raised in the lumbering communities and I feel that you can go ahead and continue successfully your speech on logging operations."

Later Adams declared that Indians of his region would have no trouble running profitable salmon and timber businesses on their own. "So the State of Washington," he said, "can take care of itself if the Indians were given a chance." Chief Henry Shale of the Quinault Reservation announced that his people had decided not to accept the self-government provision of the proposed IRA because they were already self-governing. Wilfred Steve also wanted the Commissioner to know that Puget Sound Indians were a competent breed. He followed a description of the NFAI and its history with the observation that self-government was not new to the people he represented: they had been working on it for over twenty years.[29]

As Indians around Puget Sound responded to New Deal policy -- first to Collier's proposal for legislation and later to the legislation enacted -- this image of themselves as people who

had long been self-sufficient and self-directed was an important influence. When fifty residents of the Skokomish Reservation discussed Collier's memo in January, 1934, their self-confidence prompted them to support Collier's plan. They had worked hard to clear and improve their own lands, several of them told the superintendent, and they did not want to lose the benefit of their labor. Recalling that they had once administered law and order effectively with their own police and judges, they felt they could do so again.[30]

A tradition of autonomy was also the rationale for the Muckleshoot Business Council's initial negative comments on Collier's bill. We have been, the council wrote, "rather independent and self-supporting for years and it has been only the last two years that the government really gave us help. We feel that instead of making us independent we would be more dependent on the government than ever." Similarly, members of the Tulalip council worried at first that Collier's plan was a step away from consciously cultivated independence. According to them, opportunities for individual gain had motivated many Indians to advance in education and status to a point where they could imagine that future generations "would see little distinction among our people and white neighbors; that instead of being called Indians they would be called Mr. Steve, Mr. Williams, etc., just folks'." Tulalip respondents feared that pooling their economic interests would slow this progress, although they liked the idea of "social and political union." Only at the Nisqually Reservation did Indians reportedly lack confidence in their ability manage their own affairs. There it

was the superintendent who promoted the image of self-governing Indians by pointing out that residents had had their own organization for years, "particularly in so far as the fishing industry was concerned."[31]

The Indian Reorganization Act departed from past practices most dramatically by permitting Indians to vote on whether its provisions should apply to them.[32] When people in the Puget Sound area had the opportunity to vote, many did not take it; but of those who voted, a convincing majority voted affirmatively. In rapid succession during 1934 and 1935 Indians of the Skokomish, Nisqually, Squaxin Island, Tulalip, Port Madison, Puyallup, Muckleshoot, and Swinomish reservations and the Skagit-Suiattle and Nooksack districts approved by referendum the IRA's application to their communities. At only one reservation -- Lummi -- did the vote go against the IRA.[33]

Perhaps Collier's program won early acceptance in western Washington because most voters did not expect it to work a radical change in their social and political associations. Unfortunately, there is little evidence for testing this speculation. If referenda on the IRA provoked sharp controversy in Puget Sound communities, as they did elsewhere in the U.S., the controversies did not generate written records that survive in federal archives. The motivations of most opponents and proponents of Collier's reforms are therefore lost to historical view.

It is likely that Indians of Puget Sound who voted against the IRA did so for reasons voiced elsewhere by Indian critics of the act: they feared it would force individuals to relinquish

lands to a tribal corporation, doubted their own management skills, resisted any movement away from integration into non-Indian society, or mistrusted schemes hatched by whites.[34] A sentiment that some western Washington Indians did put on the record was reluctance to consider new federal proposals until old scores were settled. When the government paid for lands already taken, several councils declared, then they would listen to new professions of good will.[35]

From referendum tallies it appears that many early doubters, including the Muckleshoot council and Nisqually residents, soon learned things about the IRA that they liked. The act promised continued tax exemptions for Indian lands, offered the hope that Indians could control funds then in the BIA's keeping, authorized the government to acquire more land for Indians, and provided for educational and development loans -- all features that must have appealed to many people in western Washington. NFAI activists and others who had long contended that the government owed Puget Sound Indians more land undoubtedly welcomed IRA provisions for acquiring, consolidating, and preserving reserved lands.[36]

Two decades of NFAI agitation also disposed some people around Puget Sound to approve of the statute's plan for self-government, as Wilfred Steve noted at the Chemawa congress. Those NFAI members who campaigned for the IRA apparently saw it as confirmation that they were already on the right path. Joe Hillaire, for example, believed that the IRA offered the equality and emancipation many Indians wanted. When he sent Collier detailed suggestions for rewording several sections of

the original bill, Hillaire wrote: "Personally, it is the very thing, I have been hoping for, in the last few years...."[37]

The NFAI and BIA alike expected NFAI leaders and chapter organizations to play a central role as Puget Sound Indians responded to the IRA. Even before Collier took office, NFAI activists' desire for government recognition complemented the government's interest in dealing with tribal groups through representatives who appeared able to influence and relay the opinion of a majority of Indians. Shortly after Collier's appointment, the NFAI fired off demands that he attend to their concerns about health care and education. A cover letter let him know that the resolutions came out of a convention attended by more than five hundred people. Once the IRA was on the table, NFAI leaders treated it as an opportunity to continue demanding respect from federal officials.[38]

The NFAI did not monopolize discussions about self-government, however. It did not have a strong presence in every Indian community, particularly in the south Sound area; and other organizations were also available to serve as discussion forums. For several years the BIA had promoted or approved local councils, courts, and community improvement associations. In addition, Indians on their own had convened to discuss and take action on common concerns. Self-government had a variety of precursors in the region besides the NFAI.[39]

Experience in the NFAI and local organizations may have helped people make sense of Collier's proposal for self-government, but it could not fully prepare them for the way the Indian Reorganization Act was supposed to apply to their

communities. The IRA embodied simplistic and rigid notions about Indians, Indian tribes, and tribal membership -- notions that had little relevance to the diverse, scattered, and interconnected people around Puget Sound who considered themselves Indians.

Conceiving of Indian identity as rooted in the lands that the federal government administered, Congress aimed the IRA at reservation residents. Under Section 18, the question whether to invoke the act was addressed to Indians on reservations only: the IRA would not apply where a majority of them voted it down. The statute defined such Indians -- that is, eligible voters -- as persons of Indian descent who were members of a recognized tribe under federal jurisdiction, descendants of tribe members who lived on a reservation as of June 1, 1934, and persons of half or more Indian blood. It further defined a tribe, in circular fashion, as "any Indian tribe, organized band, pueblo, or the Indians residing on one reservation."[40]

Collier anticipated problems applying the IRA's definitions. Early in 1934 he circulated a memorandum noting that the BIA had various rolls of Indians -- allotment, annuity, per capita, census, and final rolls -- and asking superintendents to describe the difficulties they expected to have when drawing up lists of eligible voters. He also advised administrators to construe terms such as "reservation" liberally in order to maximize the number of Indians who had a right to vote.[41]

For federal officers construing the IRA in western Washington, there were tough questions regarding Indian and

tribal identity that Collier may not have foreseen. By the 1930s the local BIA regarded as Indians an assortment of people who did not fall cleanly either into or outside of the IRA categories. In 1929, for example, August Duclos sent state officials a list of 180 scattered people -- none of them on reservation rolls -- whom he identified as Indians entitled to "special fishing privileges." In 1933 Duclos's successor at Tulalip told Congress that he was aware of 113 Indian allotments on the public domain. He also took some responsibility for the welfare of numerous off-reservation Indians who had no land or insignificant inherited interests in land. In the Nooksack District alone, he said, there were 126 such people. In order to hold referenda on the IRA, BIA officials in western Washington had to determine whether the act applied to people like the scattered fishers, off-reservation allottees, and landless Nooksacks.[42]

Bureau records do not explain why the agency allowed some off-reservation groups in Washington to vote on the IRA while denying others the chance. Perhaps BIA personnel decided that interpreting the act liberally meant allowing referenda where Indians had some clustered trust lands, even if those lands had not been designated as reservations. In any event, Indians in the Nooksack and Upper Skagit districts, some of whom still had or once had had trust allotments, did vote on the IRA. The BIA also arranged for members of the dissolved Puyallup Tribe to vote because sixty acres of their former reserve -- the site of the former Cushman school -- remained in federal trust.[43] Many other people whom local agency personnel acknowledged as Indians

did not have the same opportunity. Left out were people who called themselves Snohomish, Stillaguamish, Snoqualmie, and San Juan Indians, plus hundreds of Clallams who had accepted reparations for broken treaty promises in 1928 and thereby foresworn further government supervision. It may be that federal officials excluded these groups from the IRA process because their members lacked land or had high numbers of non-Indian ancestors or both.[44]

Difficult questions about Indian identity arose at the reservations as well. Holding a referendum was not a simple matter of giving a ballot to each adult resident. According to William Zimmerman, to qualify as voters Indians had to show a "demonstrable legal interest in the property or other affairs of the tribe;" they had to "'belong' on the reservation...." On each western Washington reservation, however, were Indian residents who did not belong there, in BIA officials' opinion. Some reservation residents were on the rolls for other reservations, in most cases because they or their ancestors had allotments at the other location, and they were supposed to vote where enrolled. Conversely, every reservation roster included the names of people who were absent for extended periods or had never lived there. When compared against tribal censuses, the sheer number of people declared eligible to vote at each Puget Sound community suggests that BIA personnel pared few, if any, absentees from the voter lists, choosing instead to consider them constructive residents. Some potential voters, however, must have been lost to BIA view altogether.[45]

Once the IRA applied to several western Washington

reservations and communities, members of those communities could vote to organize a government. This option raised new questions about the make-up and status of so-called tribes. Section 16 of the Wheeler-Howard Act provided, "Any Indian tribe or tribes, residing on the same reservation, shall have the right to organize for its common welfare...." Again, because Indian organizations in the region were diverse in nature, because members of the different organizations were interrelated, and because the BIA responded erratically to differences among the groups, implementing Section 16 was a more capricious process than its succinct phrases predicted.

Around Puget Sound, reservation-based governments were not the only organizations Indians employed to pursue common political goals in the 1930s. Most significantly, there were also Indian groups with governing councils and membership lists but no reservations. Constituencies of the latter groups and the reservation councils overlapped but did not coincide. In several instances, a tribe that had organized to sue in the Court of Claims used the same name as a reservation council but had a membership based on family lineages rather than connection to the reservation community. Many Indian groups in the Puget Sound area -- some of them relatively cohesive -- thus did not fit the model for IRA governments. Other groups that appeared to fit the model did not command their members' sole or principal loyalties.

Given the challenges that officials faced when construing the IRA in the Puget Sound area, it is understandable that they did not distinguish themselves by their consistency. They

applied the act differently to apparently comparable groups. At Tulalip, as on several other reservations, Bureau officials had for several years referred questions regarding common property and issues of general interest to a small council elected by adult residents in annual assembly. The Tulalip council members ostensibly represented two bands -- Snohomish and Snoqualmie -- which had contributed the bulk of the reservation's population. In the BIA's view, by approving the IRA and later by approving a constitutional government, band members who had made the reservation their home transferred their political loyalty to a new entity called the Tulalip Tribes. However, the Snohomish and Snoqualmie tribes, which claimed additional members outside the Tulalip Reservation, had organized separately to press claims against the U.S. during the teens and 1920s; and they did not disband after 1934. Indeed, Snoqualmie chief Jerry Kenum informed the government that his tribe, which regarded the Tolt River area as home territory, also wished to organize under the IRA.[46]

The BIA acknowledged Kenum's request but said the IRA barred it from assisting the off-reservation Snoqualmies to organize unless and until they had a reservation. When asked to prepare a plan for future land acquisitions, the Tulalip Agency identified a large tract it wanted to purchase for the Snoqualmies, adding the curious observation that the land could be "designated for all homeless Washington Coast Indians not otherwise provided for, but to be governed by the unalloted Snoqualmie band." However, the BIA did not follow through on this recommendation; and the Snoqualmie organization, like

several others in similar circumstances, remained in political-legal limbo.[47]

Two Clallam bands seemed to present the same question as the Snoqualmies did, but the BIA took a different tack in the Clallam case. Even though the Clallams also lacked a reservation and had not had official relations with the government since 1928, bureau staff promoted their organization under the IRA. Responding to county officials' desire to clear Indian squatter villages from waterfront sandspits, the Tulalip agency pressed Collier to put the Port Gamble and Elwha Clallams on reservations of their own. Collier in turn urged Upchurch to set up Clallam governments first. "[I]n addition to Swinomish and Port Gamble," Collier wrote in 1935, "we would like to undertake immediately the organization and rehabilitation of the Clallam Tribe as well. Will you let us know whether it will be feasible to organize the Clallam Tribe at high speed?"[48]

Although the BIA bought land for Indians at Elwha and Port Gamble in 1936, achieving the organization Collier desired took several more years because his advisors doubted that Indians who had not voted on the IRA were eligible to organize under it, especially in the absence of a formally proclaimed reservation. On the other hand, superintendent Upchurch and field agent George LaVatta did help Nooksack Valley Indians to draft a constitution as provided in the IRA, even though they also lacked a reservation. "These Indians are organizing," LaVatta reported, "as a recognized tribe living within Whatcom County...."[49]

People who called themselves Steilacoom Indians, hoping to

secure a reservation on the salt water, presented not just the BIA but other Indians with equally difficult questions about whether and how to apply the IRA. Although some of the Steilacooms appeared on BIA rolls "as being Nisqually Indians," most were unenrolled residents of towns in the vicinity of the Nisqually and Puyallup Reservations. Many, their lawyer said, had sent their children to Indian schools and received services at Indian medical facilities. However, when local BIA personnel informed them that they could reap benefits from the IRA only if they had half or more "Indian blood," the Steilacooms apparently concluded that few of them would qualify. Instead of pursuing plans for a separate government, they then met with Indians of the Nisqually Reservation to talk about the possibility of establishing a single government for the two groups.

The Nisquallies could have brought the Steilacooms into the IRA tent by adopting a constitution that made their paler cousins eligible for membership in a new Nisqually tribal organization. Some Nisquallies reportedly seemed interested in doing so. According to the Steilacooms' attorney, the strategy foundered because old, uneducated Nisqually leaders could not "grasp the significance of the new Act." According to BIA officials, the Nisquallies did not so much frustrate the Steilacooms' plans as the Steilacooms stymied efforts to get the Nisquallies organized by injecting "disturbing claims" into the discussion about how to constitute a tribal government.[50]

By itself the Steilacoom issue does not explain why Nisqually Indians remained unorganized for many years after accepting the IRA, but the Steilacooms' claims and other vexing

questions about tribal membership must have helped to deter formal Nisqually organization. In 1937 negotiations with the Steilacooms took a back seat to developments that raised the membership issue for Nisquallies in a different way. Some Indians determined to stop state game officers from interfering with treaty-reserved fishing on the Nisqually River. When they won a temporary restraining order in federal court, their victory posed questions to which reservation residents gave conflicting responses. What made someone eligible to exercise the right to fish mentioned in the Treaty of Medicine Creek? Were spouses of Nisqually Indians eligible? Were Indians from other Medicine Creek Treaty bands eligible? Did people on the reservation have a say about who fished downstream and how?

A BIA agent told fifteen people at a meeting in 1940 that they could form an IRA government with power to answer some of these questions, but their answers would apply only to the reservation. A Nisqually government would lack power to regulate fishing outside reservation boundaries. Moreover, in order to organize a government, the Indians would have to wade into a thicket of issues as thorny as those surrounding individuals' eligibility to fish. They would have to decide who was a Nisqually Indian entitled to help charter a government. According to the BIA, the basis for this decision would be a roll of Nisqually Indians prepared in 1905. However, some people on that roll disputed the identification of others on the list as Nisquallies.[51] Apparently unable to move toward formal government either with or without the participation of the doubtful Nisquallies, and perhaps convinced that no government

could deal with the fishing issues that mattered most, Indians at Nisqually did nothing.[52]

As the Tulalip and Nisqually cases suggest, the conception of tribes embodied in the IRA did not allow for the multiplicity of loyalties and interests that shaped western Washington Indians' relationships with each other. In particular, it disregarded kinship ties that crossed the geographical and political boundaries of the reservations. Because the kinds of associations the IRA promoted were tangential to many Indians' most important affiliations, and because Indians had few incentives to emphasize the IRA's kind of association, the act sat ignored on the shelf in most Puget Sound communities for many years.

To many people there seemed no compelling reasons to set up formal governments. Common resources were few and low in value, people with a legal interest in those resources were scattered, and there was little of importance for a government to do. To individuals intent on surviving the Depression, tribal governments were inconsequential unless they could organize the use of wealth-generating resources, as the Swinomish council did when it built a tidelands fish trap. The Nisquallies were therefore not the only people who approved the Reorganization Act but declined for several years to organize further. The same was true for various reasons at the Port Madison, Squaxin Island, and Muckleshoot Reservations, among Nooksack and Skagit-Suiattle public domain allottees, and for the Elwha Clallams.[53]

Those Indians who did organize IRA governments usually

adopted boiler-plate constitutions that field agent George LaVatta or local BIA personnel presented to tribal committees. For the most part the constitutions reflected officials' belief that small tribes with little or no land had few powers to wield. For instance, the national office disapproved the first constitution the Nooksacks submitted, explaining in part: "The article on powers is...needlessly complicated and might actually lead some of the Indians to believe that they might exercise powers which, as a matter of fact, are non-existent at the present time." The IRA itself, Fred Daiker wrote, precluded a Nooksack government from asserting any jurisdiction over its members' public domain allotments. Lawyers and officers in Washington, D.C., sent other proposed constitutions back with instructions to change the political bodies' names, membership provisions, and forms of organization.[54]

On two reservations -- Swinomish and Tulalip -- residents did promptly establish constitutional governments that took an active interest in managing common property and in conserving and regulating the use of reservation fish and game. They were unusual. In contrast, the dominant concern of the Puyallup IRA government was to dispose of remaining tribal lands and disburse all tribal funds to individual members. In the words of superintendent Upchurch, the Puyallup tribe was "a very loosely integrated body" which had lost "the initiative for collective action...in their scattered individual fight for existence."[55]

Even written constitutions could not forestall ubiquitous and intractable questions about tribal affiliations. Constitutions spelled out qualifications for membership or

citizenship in the tribal organizations, but people both inside and outside the tribal governments found such membership provisions hard to implement. As late as 1960 BIA officers in western Washington reported that most of the organized tribes under their supervision had not prepared rolls of members. One factor inhibiting progress on the rolls was the multiplicity of individuals' affiliations. On the Tulalip Reservation, for instance, the BIA noted the active presence of at least four tribal groups besides the Tulalip Tribes, Inc. In other words, years after most Indians in the Puget Sound region had officially endorsed the Indian Reorganization Act, many were still likely to identify themselves as members of tribes other than the reservation groups organized pursuant to the IRA.[56]

The continuing ambiguity of some presumed Indians' status is apparent from the different ways the BIA classified Clallam Indians as of 1940. People with a claim to Clallam identity lived in bands on non-reservation trust lands at Lower Elwha, on a reservation near Port Gamble, and on fee lands at Jamestown. Groups of them also lived scattered among non-Indians in Clallam, Jefferson, San Juan, and Kitsap Counties; and they lived individually or as families on other reservations. In 1929 the Tulalip superintendent had noted that these widely dispersed people fell into at least four overlapping but distinct categories: persons on special censuses of Clallam Indians, persons who had applied for enrollment as Clallams, persons approved for enrollment by community committees, and persons included on the final Clallam distribution roll. By 1940 there were at least two more classes of Clallams -- those

qualified for membership in the organized Port Gamble band and those eligible to organize a government at Lower Elwha. The new classes, however, did not eliminate the old. Similar statements applied to Indians throughout the Puget Sound area.[57]

Rather than settling questions of Indian and tribal status, the Indian New Deal thus generated new questions. Organizing a reservation government did not make it easier to draw bright lines around groups of people who continued to have intimate and complex relations with Indians beyond their reservations. Indicative of the uncertainties was Victor Johnson's answer when a congressman asked him in 1944 how many Lummi Indians there were. He replied, "About 700; 1,000 counting Nooksack and local scattered families." The IRA did not clarify the status of groups such as the Nooksacks or Snoqualmies, which had bases for existence besides the members' residence on the same reservation. Nor did it clarify the status of many scattered families, such as those near Lummi, who believed they were Indians.[58]

The IRA and the tribal organizations it authorized had negligible impact on the lives of most western Washington Indians through the 1940s. The governments remained weak in part because John Collier's critics gained power and frustrated his plans. Accusing him of the high-handedness he had criticized in his predecessors, Collier's opponents in Congress choked off funding for his programs, kept him under constant siege, and even introduced legislation to repeal the IRA.[59] Finally, recognizing that forces favoring Indian detribalization had immobilized him, Collier resigned in 1945.

One force that seemed to favor detribalization was the Second World War. The war's effects on Indians' economic and social roles reprised those of World War I. Again a high demand for labor and raw materials created opportunities that Indians were quick to seize, in western Washington as much as anywhere. Around Puget Sound Indians not only streamed back into the logging and fishing industries but also leaped at the chance to earn high pay at naval shipyards, the Boeing airplane company, and many other jobs that wartime economic and military mobilization opened up. Again, too, the military took Indian men -- a higher proportion than in the earlier war -- and some women away from the reservations to serve alongside non-Indians on bases and fronts around the world. After the war F.A. Gross estimated that 297 Indians in the Tulalip agency area had been in the armed forces.[60]

Wartime conditions focused Indians' aspirations more than ever on the world beyond their reservations. Most defense production jobs, like military service, were off the reservations and brought Indians into new or increased contact with non-Indians. Harriet Shelton (then Williams), who worked at Boeing from 1942 to 1945, found the experience "fascinating" in large part because she worked with people from places as distant as Texas and Kansas -- people with exotic accents who likewise considered Indians exotic. A member of the Lummi business council, himself a veteran of overseas combat, noticed changes in Indians who had been "outside." They began to want what everyone else had, he said.[61]

Meanwhile the nascent reservation governments labored

under formidable handicaps. Both the BIA and tribal members expected the new councils to serve as conduits for communications between Indians and the federal government, but neither the Bureau nor Indians could supply the councils with vital financial or technical support. War-related demands on members' time and gas rationing also made it hard for tribal councils to get quorums. In 1944, when the House Subcommittee on Indian Affairs held a hearing at LaConner, the Puyallup tribe's elected leaders could not attend because they worked long hours in the defense industry.[62]

The congressional subcommittee came to LaConner in the course of a national investigation whose purpose was to determine "whether the changed status of the Indian requires a revision of the laws and regulations affecting the American Indian." As a Senate subcommittee had already done, the House committee answered this query in the affirmative. It found that federal policy and programs operated "too much in the direction of perpetuating the Indian as a special-status individual rather than preparing him for independent citizenship." Lawmakers and administrators who agreed with this assessment and saw it as reason to reverse the New Deal set the direction of Indian policy from the mid 1940s into the 1960s.[63] As a result, the outlook of the new IRA governments and their constituencies remained cloudy.

The word "termination" now stands for U.S. Indian policy during the 1940s and '50s, because policy makers' professed long-range goal was to terminate federal responsibility for Indians. At the time, many Indians decried measures consistent

with that goal, and virtually all Indians have since viewed the termination policy as a symbol of federal perfidy. However, the diverse laws and administrative actions of the termination era proceeded from varied motivations, including some that Collier and his Indian supporters approved. As Francis Paul Prucha observes, Congress repudiated several of Collier's most cherished aims; but it also passed legislation that Collier and Indians had campaigned for, such as the act creating an Indian Claims Commission. Moreover, advocates of termination policy appealed to ideals that resonated with many Indians' values. They talked of freeing Indians from oppressive paternalism, of granting Indians equality with other citizens, and of repealing discriminatory legislation. For these reasons many Indians, at least in western Washington, were not sure initially whether the post-war political wind was an ill one or even a new one.[64]

Lawrence Webster said in 1982 that it seemed as if he had been hearing about termination since at least the 1930s. By the time Webster appeared before the House subcommittee in 1944, voices in favor of abolishing the Bureau of Indian Affairs were loud enough for all to hear, although members of the subcommittee did not make such a radical recommendation. It was 1953 before the Executive and Congress went on record favoring total federal withdrawal from Indians' affairs. On instructions from the Secretary of the Interior early that year, BIA personnel compiled reports summarizing the conditions of Indians under their supervision and factors indicating whether those Indians were prepared to survive without supervision. The reports described western Washington Indians as competent people

who had long managed their own affairs. By the end of 1953 Commissioner Glenn Emmons was soliciting comments on a draft bill to terminate the federal guardianship of twenty-one Puget Sound tribes.[65]

Three times -- in 1953, 1955, and 1956 -- Emmons met with Indians in the region to talk up new federal policies, especially termination. On those occasions and at many other meetings during the period spanned by Emmons's visits, as at the Chemawa conference of 1934, discussion revolved around competing characterizations of Indians. Just as federal officials appealed to selected images of Indians in order to explain and justify the withdrawal policy, Indians evaluated the policy and explained their reactions by presenting alternate images of themselves. Historically determined self-images influenced Indians' reactions to termination, but the prospect of termination also prompted them to emphasize some images more than others.

Advocates of termination could make sense of their plan to end federal tutelage and protection only by displacing a common presumption that Indians were unsuited for participation in American economic life. Much like earlier prophets of rapid assimilation, officials such as Emmons therefore stressed Indians' fundamental likeness to other, competent Americans. On his visit in 1956, Emmons told assembled tribal delegates, "I want to see our Indian children...be inspired with the thought that just because I am an Indian, it doesn't mean that I can't have ambition." Skeptics, Emmons added, "don't think that the Indians have the ability to do things or they think it will take

one hundred years for an Indian to reach a point of development the same as any other people. Those people have never seen Indians."[66]

Many of the Puget Sound Indians who had responded to Collier's proposal for self-government by portraying themselves as historically autonomous and competent still had leadership roles during Emmons's administration, and they played a prominent part in deliberations regarding termination. Even when they realized the implications of the talk about Indian competence, most did not change their tune, but they did add verses to the song celebrating their own powers. The new verses emphasized that Indians came in more than one type. Some types had the power to deal with non-Indian society on its terms; others did not.

In 1952, when Wilfred Steve first heard that Congress was pressuring the BIA to terminate control of tribes, he remarked that the Tulalip council had already submitted a proposal to take over BIA functions about fifteen years earlier. Later Steve told a gathering of tribal representatives that assimilation of Indian boys and girls into Washington society had long been Tulalip leaders' goal. Arguing that Indians must prove their competence, he said, "I don't want to be classed and you don't want to be classed as a degraded Indian."[67]

George Adams, by 1954 a member of the Washington state legislature, was even more inclined than Steve to depict termination as the logical consequence of some Indians' proven ability to take care of themselves. However, Adams argued that Indians fell into two classes, one of which consisted of people

who needed continuing protection. He called upon "white Indians" to relinquish their protected status and leave declining federal aid for "poor Lo" -- the Indian who was ill-prepared to manage economic matters. Adams's willingness to write off people with less than half Indian ancestry -- the ones he called white Indians -- and his insistence that Indians could trust federal officials to do the right thing infuriated spokesmen for other tribes. Nevertheless, many of his critics echoed Adams's argument that certain Indians, especially the young ones, were more competent than others.[68]

Some Indians, Joe Hillaire declared, were powerless to deal successfully with non-Indian society; and for that the government should blame its own stinginess. After telling a panel of congressman that the Lummi Reservation was far smaller than required to fulfill Stevens's promise of allotments for every Indian, Hillaire said:

> Knowing this condition, we zealously guard what little land is left to our people. We feel that we have been so badly abused, that we would be entitled to ask the great government of our country to forever leave the remaining land of the Indian tax-exempt; that it might be a haven, a refuge, for the less fortunate of our people. For the moment the Indian land title is merged into the common economy of our country, the Indian will be disbursed, and in many cases maybe, land in the slums of the big cities, and elsewhere, to suffer more than they have suffered before.[69]

Bennie George, on the other hand, told Emmons privately that laziness, fondness for alcohol, and a reluctance to mingle with whites were primarily to blame for many Indians' backwardness. The delegate from the Port Gamble Clallam band so impressed Emmons by reciting his own work history that the commissioner said, "If you were an example of your people on the

reservation, you would be a wonderful group of people." George insisted, however, that he was different from most of the people he represented and that they were still unfit for life without federal assistance.[70]

Images of old, culturally handicapped, or habitually dependent Indians were useful elements of an argument against rapid termination; but in one-on-one encounters with federal officials representatives of Puget Sound tribes, like Bennie George, were wont to dissociate themselves from such images and stress their individual or even their group strengths.[71] When Martin Hopie's turn came to meet individually with Emmons the Lower Elwha band chairman said, "We are different from a lot of the Indians. We all went to school in the public schools, We have been paying taxes. We have had experience in every which way." The day Emmons met Hopie he held separate brief conferences with delegates from eight tribes, most of whom also indicated that termination did not frighten them because they were different from other Indians.[72]

To 264 people in Seattle on October 9, 1953, Emmons said that meetings with major Indian groups around the country had already alerted him to the great differences among Indians. Because the tribes had different customs, problems, histories, and ideas, he noted, they would need different plans for terminating their federal guardianship. The diversity of the responses Emmons heard from tribes around Puget Sound, however, may have exceeded what he expected. Initially, at least, each tribal group reacted to the policy of termination based on perceptions of its peculiar situation.[73]

When first informed of the government's new policy, representatives of the Duwamish Tribe, which had no reserved land in aboriginal Duwamish territory and almost no services from the federal government, opposed termination as contrary to the relationship established in the Treaty of Point Elliott. On the other hand, the Lower Elwha Clallams, who had only recently obtained the trust lands and recognition they expected after the Point No Point Treaty, announced that they were already prepared to dispense with federal protection. Squaxin Island and Nisqually councils, both speaking for tiny communities that the BIA had long neglected, came to opposite conclusions about the new policy. Squaxins found it acceptable so long as they could continue to hunt and fish, while Nisquallies adamantly opposed it because they feared they would lose their lands and fishery. Lummi and Tulalip leaders complained that the BIA stifled progress, but they also balked at the prospect of assuming most BIA functions.[74]

After numerous joint meetings of tribal representatives and further separate meetings with federal officials, the different tribes developed some common responses to termination policy. By 1955, for example, all of them imposed two conditions on their willingness to contemplate termination: preservation of some treaty-guaranteed rights and payment for rights already violated. The Lummi, Swinomish, and Tulalip councils, probably because their members played leading roles in intertribal forums, soon took virtually identical stands against termination. Still, throughout the 1950s there remained considerable diversity in the positions that prominent

individuals and governing councils adopted when asked whether and when their tribes could be terminated.[75]

The most positive responses to termination came from communities that were small, poor, unorganized, and thus presumably most vulnerable if deprived of federal tax exemptions and property protections. Their responses were not irrational, however. People who had barely felt the BIA's hand in their daily affairs did not expect to miss the agency. In 1958, when the Lower Elwha Clallams resolved to convert their trust lands to fee and dispense with federal guardianship, they noted that they had had almost no services from the government for generations. Other Indians who reacted with mild favor or indifference to the prospect of termination also said they were used to fending for themselves.[76]

Lawrence Webster told the House subcommittee in 1944 that there was no federal activity at all on his reservation at Port Madison. Residents of most other small Puget Sound reservations could have said the same thing, both that year and a decade later. In 1945, when the national office instructed local agencies to help returning veterans, F.A. Gross responded that his agency had all it could do to carry out its basic trust responsibilities to four thousand Indians in a very large geographical area. In fact, the BIA in western Washington was so short-handed that it did not even discharge its trust responsibilities properly: by the 1950s it had a huge backlog of probates and other real estate transactions to process. Services such as law enforcement and health care were beyond the agency's capability. Asked for a report on juvenile

delinquency, the western Washington superintendent excused his lack of information by saying that his employees were not in close touch with the Indians. They dealt mainly with people who came in or wrote.[77] No wonder plans to end the BIA's presence rang few alarm bells in the smallest, most remote Indian communities.

On the other hand, strong negative reactions to termination were the norm in communities with active corporate governments and some economic development on the IRA model, even though such communities arguably had more basis for self-confidently facing a future without the BIA than the small ones. The tribal councils, which had to submit to BIA review of all their decisions regarding property, did chafe at the Bureau's heavy hand on their reins. Yet council members did not rejoice at the prospect of shedding the federal bridle completely. They understood that common trust property, which would be divided among tribe members in the event of termination, was the principal reason for their governments' existence. They also knew that their economic base would not support them if they assumed the functions the BIA proposed to relinquish.[78]

Tandy Wilbur candidly and eloquently rejected termination because he believed it would privatize resources that were the raison d'etre for the Swinomish community government he headed. At a 1953 congressional hearing, he declared that his people drew their pride and even their ability to conform to American values from their federally protected assets. Swinomish Reservation Indians were a small tribe, Wilbur said, not rich in resources like some neighboring tribes; but by chartering a

corporation and borrowing from the government they had developed enterprises on the tribal tidelands which had made a number of them "independent citizens."

> They have made them people that can go around, because of public relations, with the outside world; they are able to go around with their heads up instead of hanging down as they used to in the past....I am not crazy about Federal supervision any more than any other citizen in the United States, when they have stopped us in every turn because of their bureau call it 'hard-headedness', it becomes very disgusting....I'm just like another human being in this country, when we want to do something we want to develop something; we want to progress....[But] [w]e can't have anything as a corporation, as a tribe, or as an independent, or as an individual, if those tribal assets of ours are liquidated such as it has been proposed in certain bills in Congress.[79]

Led by people who thought as Wilbur did, the Swinomish, Tulalip, and Lummi councils nominally endorsed the termination bill's long-range goal but raised several specific, sophisticated objections to rapid BIA withdrawal. One important objection arose from the state of land management under the BIA. Joe Hillaire, writing on behalf of the Lummi council, did not reject the ideals or the vision of Indians' future embodied in the proposed legislation but insisted that the BIA itself had complicated the task of realizing those ideals. "Indians have always been very proud of their heritage of FREEDOM," Hillaire declared. In fact, the Lummis had long had all the privileges and liabilities of other free citizens, and the only services connecting them with the BIA were those pertaining to land. Land services, however, were "in a most deplorable state of entanglements." Hillaire predicted that only a twenty-five-year effort to straighten out titles and a generous award from the Indian Claims Commission would enable the Lummis to manage their

lands better than the BIA.[80]

Whether comments such as Hillaire's were sincere or merely a clever stalling tactic, they identified legitimate reasons for the BIA to be slow about turning the Puget Sound tribes loose. BIA staff did not concede that they would need twenty-five years to sort out land ownerships and bring property records current, but they knew they could not liquidate and distribute the assets of Puget Sound Indians without first completing this forbidding task. A closely related obstacle to quick termination was the need for rosters of tribe members who would be eligible to share in terminated assets. Again and again during hearings and meetings regarding the new federal policy, both Indians and BIA personnel pointed out that no tribes had complete membership rolls, while many persons appeared on more than one roll.[81]

Virtually all tribal groups expressed concern that the government would relinquish its responsibilities before it paid off obligations incurred in the past. BIA agents hoped to allay this fear by inserting in the proposed termination bill a proviso that preserved the tribes' claims against the United States. Their hopes were vain, however, partly for reasons related to the delay in preparing tribal rolls. Many persons considered themselves both members of a historic tribe that had appeared in the Indian Claims Commission and members of an organized reservation community. These people were reluctant to choose membership in one group over membership in the other.[82]

The Indian Claims Commission Act of 1946, ostensibly intended to afford mistreated Indians a measure of justice, gained the support of assimilationist lawmakers because paying

off outstanding obligations to Indians was arguably a prerequisite to terminating them.[83] In western Washington, where memories of the ill-fated Court of Claims suit were still fresh, the act revived Indians' hopes that the government would at last acknowledge its failure to fulfill century-old promises. However, the ICC's first decisions, which came in the late 1950s, were not encouraging and may have turned more people against termination. Because the commission defined tribal territories restrictively and assigned those territories a paltry value, its awards in western Washington were too small to enable Indians to move from wardship to full citizenship in comfort.[84]

In 1954 superintendent Raymond Bitney of the western Washington BIA speculated that Indians in his jurisdiction were trying to talk the termination bill to death.[85] If Bitney was correct, the strategy appears to have worked. Even though early BIA reports characterized western Washington Indians as nearly ready for termination, and even though most Indians in the region declared themselves willing to work toward eventual emancipation from supervision, no bill to terminate tribes around Puget Sound passed Congress.

Nevertheless, BIA officials continued to assume well into the 1960s that preparing Indians to leave the federal fold was their principal mission. As late as 1963 the assistant director of the BIA's Portland area office asked local superintendents to "[m]ake suggestions for 'guided acculturation' -- action which you think would be valuable in helping your Indian people move from their present culture to major culture (either as

individuals or as groups)." In response he received a report on the Lummi tribe that concluded:

> [I]t is reasonable to predict that the reservation population will be absorbed into the advancing and aggresive [sic] non-Indian dominated community within 20 years. Our job is to accelerate and expand our services in preparing Indian people for successful and graceful assimilation into the changing community.[86]

Much as assimilationists had done at the turn of the century, Commissioner Emmons proposed to prepare Indians for full citizenship by providing them with more BIA services rather than fewer. In 1956 his plans included economic development aimed at helping Indians support the maximum possible number of people on their land and resources.[87] At the same time, however -- from 1957 to 1963 in the Puget Sound area -- the BIA was also trying to remove Indians from their reservations. The Bureau's primary programmatic means of speeding Indians' assimilation during that period became known as relocation.

Locally, as nationally, the relocation program offered reservation residents subsidies for vocational training and incentives to move to distant urban areas, where their opportunities for employment (and reasons to conform to non-Indian norms) would presumably increase. However, because the program's budget and staff in western Washington were severely limited, and because off-reservation employment was a long-standing tradition for Indians of the region, relocation had negligible impact there on tribal communities' and on individual Indians' self-definitions.[88]

The BIA opened a relocation assistance office for western Washington at Olympia in 1957, not long after tribal

representatives asked Commissioner Emmons why they did not have access to a program that Indians in eastern Washington already enjoyed. Shortly afterward a national recession reduced demands for workers. Administrators attributed the small number of western Washington residents relocated to the Indians' awareness of the adverse economic conditions, but they also complained of inadequate funding and the difficulty of publicizing the program to thousands of scattered, loosely organized people. Interest was highest when fishing, sawmills, and logging closed for the season. Yet each year in the program's five-year life, Bureau employees aided only a couple dozen families to move to cities in California or to Denver, Dallas, or Cleveland; and a substantial proportion of the relocated workers returned to Washington after a few months.

When many of the returning people took jobs off the reservations in the Puget Sound area, program staff implied that their services had had the desired effect. More likely the people who availed themselves of relocation and employment training services recognized them as resources that made it possible to follow a venerable local tradition of seeking wealth in short-term, extra-community activities. Jimmy Cook of Port Angeles, who praised the new program in a letter to the Post-Intelligencer, did not see relocation as an ill-conceived effort to detribalize him but as an opportunity for an enterprising person "to start on his own" toward proving his worth.[89]

Even though termination programs and policies reflected nationwide pressures for cultural and political conformity and rode a tide of rhetoric about the races' common humanity, they

had the ironic effect of heightening many Indians' consciousness of what distinguished them from other Americans. No matter how people heard themselves characterized or chose to characterize themselves at the many meetings they attended during the 1950s, they knew they were meeting as Indians. Families who left for distant cities at BIA expense also knew they were receiving services because they were Indians. Moreover, by consulting with delegates and council members from each tribe, the commissioner and his subordinates reinforced groupings and institutions that everyone regarded as Indian.

Intertribal organizations were among the groups invigorated. In June of 1945 Wilfred Steve notified tribal councils of an effort to form a central organization of Washington Indians. He urged them to send delegates to a meeting on the Swinomish reservation in July. With each letter he enclosed a copy of the constitution of the Northwestern Federation of American Indians and asked recipients to suggest changes. "At various times," Steve acknowledged, "like all organizations, the Federation fell by the wayside...;" numerous people saw a need to revive and update it, because "[n]early all the problems dealing with the Indians are somewhat in common." The Tulalip agency superintendent linked such renewed interest in intertribal activity to the visibility of a recently established organization, the National Congress of American Indians.[90]

The meeting Steve announced drew representatives from ten tribes -- Quinault, Skokomish, Clallam, Lummi, Port Gamble, Tulalip, Duwamish, Nooksack, Snoqualmie, and Swinomish. They

raised but could not resolve the question whether dues for a reorganized federation should be assessed at a flat rate per tribe or in proportion to tribal populations, and by 1949 NFAI had disappeared from the scene. The difficulty of reaching agreement about dues and membership -- a problem that had plagued the NFAI at least since the late 1930s -- may have thwarted Steve's attempt to use the federation as a forum for addressing Indians' common problems during the 1950s; but it did not stop him and others from pursuing their end under another name.[91]

At Emmons's first conference with delegates from western Washington tribes, which was carefully structured to preclude comments from the floor, Steve commandeered the microphone long enough to call for a gathering where all Indians could discuss the proposed termination legislation. By 1954 Steve, Joe Hillaire, and other former NFAI members were billing themselves as spokesmen for the Inter-tribal Council of Western Washington Indians. The purpose of the new organization, Hillaire said, was to respond to the Bureau's draft bill to terminate all western Washington agency tribes.

Probably because the new group's second resolution called for superintendent Bitney's ouster, Bitney told his superiors that the "so-called Intertribal Council" opposed all federal policy and aspired to force the BIA to do Indians' bidding. At the same time, he claimed to see signs that Indians' interest in the organization was low. Yet agency staff considered the Inter-tribal Council important enough that they attended its

meetings, which continued into the 1960s, and often brought general questions of policy to the council for discussion.[92]

In response to pressures and incentives of the termination policy era, Indians also revitalized the separate tribal organizations they had founded during the teens and twenties. The call to form the Inter-tribal Council, for example, went to all tribes that had participated in the Northwestern Federation and sued in the Court of Claims. The new council's membership therefore included not only reservation governments but also tribes without reservations. At the same table with directors of the Tulalip Reservation's federally chartered corporation sat delegates of the Snohomish and Samish Tribes, for example, whose members' common attribute was not interest in reservation resources but descent from Indians of nineteenth-century bands with the same names. Any Indians could be members of the Inter-tribal Council, Joe Hillaire said, if they functioned as a group and traced their origins to some original tribe.[93]

Except in 1956, when Emmons came to talk about reservation development, the BIA also routinely solicited comments about federal policy and programs from non-reservation groups. The local agency further assumed that it should prepare termination plans not just for people with interests in reservation resources but also for the Snoqualmie, Duwamish, Samish, and other non-reservation Indians who claimed treaty rights. Thus when Wilfred Steve seized the microphone to address those assembled for Emmons's speech, he was addressing people who represented both kinds of western Washington tribal organizations.[94]

Even as federal policy brought Indians from two types of tribal organizations together to plot joint responses, however, it highlighted the difference between them. To be sure, representatives of the landless tribes spoke at Inter-tribal Council meetings of their support for the reservation tribes' efforts to keep their lands; and all tribes insisted in unison that a proviso preserving treaty-guaranteed rights -- particularly rights to hunt and fish -- must be part of any withdrawal legislation. Nevertheless, the relevance of termination legislation to people with no confirmed, material interest in reservation resources was difficult to see. At the same meeting where delegates resolved to promote a single, supratribal organization, a Lummi representative suggested that there should be two bills, one for reservation and one for non-reservation tribes. Lyman Kavanaugh ventured that the proposed bill and the meeting seemed more pertinent to reservation Indians than to the Samish Indians he represented. While reservation Indians wanted a chance to control their own land without BIA supervision, Kavanaugh said, the Samish were merely fighting for a cash settlement.[95]

BIA personnel likewise saw that termination of the landless tribes involved different considerations than termination of the reservations. Noting the varied conditions and divergent interests of groups in western Washington, the area director counseled against an omnibus bill to terminate all tribes there. Having heard from BIA staff that the sole basis for the landless tribes' cohesion was members' desire to share in treaty benefits, a congressional committee expressed the hope

that a mutual termination of the treaties would easily eliminate such tribes.[96]

Reservation-based tribes and so-called aboriginal tribes continued to participate as equivalents in the Inter-tribal Council. However, even though (or perhaps because) their memberships overlapped and family ties linked many of the tribes' members to each other, relations between leaders of the two kinds of tribes were often awkward and eventually strained. At the 1944 House subcommittee hearing Tandy Wilbur, who chaired the Swinomish community senate, commented that reservation Indians' problems were different from those of Indians "on the public domain." The existence and concerns of Indian groups outside the reservation communities had hurt the tribal councils' programs, he said. For that reason, he advocated federal programs to help the landless Indians secure the land and services they desired.[97] By the 1950s the discomfort of people in Wilbur's position was more acute, because Indians who had not affiliated with the reservation governments -- backed by the BIA -- were challenging the right of those governments to control resources reserved by treaty.[98]

The superintendent of the Tulalip Reservation contributed generously to the tension rising between the different kinds of tribes by encouraging people who identified solely with aboriginal tribes to claim a share of reservation assets. When the Tulalip corporation's directors demanded an opportunity to lease out land that had long been part of the agency reserve, Bitney -- reluctant to grant their request -- advanced a theory that the land belonged not to the Tulalip Tribes, Inc., but to

the successors of all Indians who agreed to the Treaty of Point Elliott. The Tulalip tribal corporation was a post-treaty formation, Bitney reasoned, and had no right to arrogate to itself the proceeds of land set aside for all aboriginal treaty bands, including the Duwamish, Snohomish, Snoqualmie, Suquamish, and so on.[99]

Bitney thus called into question the very economic incentives which had made IRA organization attractive to some Tulalip reservation residents, and in so doing he reduced their incentive to relinquish their troublesome membership in the aboriginal bands. Indeed, his stance emboldened the Snoqualmie Tribe to ask for a share of the rent from Tulalip common lands. When Martin Sampson submitted a similar bid on behalf of the aboriginal Swinomish Tribe, exasperated Tulalip corporate directors countered with a challenge to Sampson's claim that he was chief of the Swinomish.[100]

By paying attention both to reservation-based and to descent-based tribal organizations, federal officials thus breathed new life into them without making them strong. Poisoning the tribal governments' air were not only uncertainties about their membership but also unhealthy financial and jurisdictional conditions. Only two governments -- Tulalip and Swinomish -- had sources of revenue sufficient to fund modest public services. Thanks to fish traps, oyster culture, and a sawmill, the Swinomish Community had $113,555 in income in 1953. The Tulalip corporation's take from land leases and a resort was $50,506. Besides employing business managers, both tribes supported tiny police forces and part-time courts

and provided tribe members with occasional aid. Elsewhere, however, tribal governments presided over empty treasuries.[101]

None of the governing councils could exert much control over their citizens or over activities within their territories. Besides financial constraints, the councils had to contend with the fact that the Indians they were supposed to govern were scattered "from here to breakfast," as one Suquamish council member said. At the same time, the number of people on the reservations who did not believe themselves subject to tribal government regulation was increasing. The automobile culture and Americans' migration to the suburbs had stimulated developers' interest in reservation lands; and within the boundaries of several reservations, on fee lands and leased trust lands, non-Indian residential subdivisions and businesses were springing up.[102]

Some tribes admitted and further assured their governments' weakness by inviting state political subdivisions to assume jurisdiction on the reservations. Transfer of jurisdiction from the federal government to the state, permitted by a new federal statute, was on the terminationists' agenda; and some tribal leaders feared it would mean even greater neglect of their needs. Nevertheless, several councils, citing the vacuum created by the BIA's inaction and their own impotence, thought the arrangement worth a try.[103]

It is not surprising, given the tribal governments' lack of resources and limited functions, that few Indians took an active interest in them. Elections attracted considerably less than half the eligible voters in all tribes except Swinomish. A

1956 Stanford Research Institute study concluded, "Many tribes are loosely organized. In some cases the Tribal Council represents only the resident part of the tribe. These factors make it difficult to deal with some tribal groups in matters pertaining to tribes as a whole."[104]

For a century federal laws and policy had encouraged thousands of people to identify themselves as Indians and as members of particular tribes on the basis of two sometimes overlapping, sometimes conflicting criteria: descent from particular ancestors and membership in a reservation community. Contrary to the intent of policy makers, policy shifts of the 1930s, '40s, and '50s did not reduce or clarify the grounds for claiming Indian identity in the Puget Sound region. By the early 1960s there remained many ways for individuals and groups to identify themselves or be identified as Indians. Each organized tribe had a different set of criteria for admitting individuals to membership, but none of the organized tribes had employed those criteria to compile definitive rolls of their members. Applying the criteria of membership remained difficult for all kinds of tribes as well as for government agencies. Furthermore, some people who claimed to be Indians were not organized as such.[105]

National Indian policy of the 1950s, even as it prompted many people in the Puget Sound to reassert their Indian identity, thus ensured that the political organizations with which Indians might identify remained weak. As a means to its announced end -- eliminating the need for any tribal organizations -- the federal government enacted laws and

followed procedures that prompted some people to shore up and identify with tribal organizations. At the same time, it withheld the means by which those organizations, however defined, could command either strong loyalty from rank and file members or respect from powerful non-Indians.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 7

1. Larry Burt, Tribalism in Crisis: Federal Indian Policy, 1953-1961 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982); Donald Fixico, Termination and Relocation: Federal Indian Policy, 1945-1966 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1986); Larry J. Hasse, "Termination and Assimilation" (Ph.D. dissertation, Washington State University, 1974); Alvin M. Josephy, Jr., "Modern America and the Indian," in Indians in American History, Frederick E. Hoxie, ed. (Arlington Heights, Illinois: Harlan Davidson, Inc., 1988), 251-272; Lawrence C. Kelly, "The Indian Reorganization Act: the Dream and the Reality," Pacific Historical Review 44 (January 1975): 291-312; Lawrence C. Kelly, "John Collier and the Indian New Deal: An Assessment," in Indian-White Relations: A Persistent Paradox, Jane F. Smith and Robert M. Kvasnicka, eds. (Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1981), 227-241; Clayton R. Koppes, "From New Deal to Termination: Liberalism and Indian Policy, 1933-1953,'" Pacific Historical Review 46 (November 1977): 543-566; Gary Orfield, A Study of Termination Policy (National Congress of American Indians, 1966); Kenneth R. Philp, John Collier's Crusade for Indian Reform, 1920-1934 (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1977); Graham D. Taylor, The New Deal and American Indian Tribalism (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1980); Charles Wilkinson and Eric Biggs, "The Evolution of Termination Policy," American Indian Law Review 5 (1977): 139-184. Several studies of particular tribes are also vehicles for examining the impacts of federal policy: Thomas Biolsi, Organizing the Lakota (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1992); Laurence M. Hauptman, The Iroquois and the New Deal (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1981); Donald L. Parman, The Navajos and the New Deal (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976); Nicholas C. Peroff, Menominee Drums: Tribal Termination and Restoration, 1954-1974 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1982); Theodore Stern, The Klamath Tribe: A People and Their Reservation (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1965).

2. Survey of Conditions of the Indians in the United States, 71st Cong., 3d sess., S.545-8-A, 11759-11874.

3. Ibid., 11776-11783.

4. R. Douglas Hurt, Indian Agriculture in America (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1987), 159, 164, 172; Richard Lowitt, The New Deal and the West (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984), 123; Johansen and Gates, Empire of the Columbia, 555; Narrative, Annual Report, Tulalip (1931), NA PNR RG75, M-1011, Roll 155. In 1926 97% of Indians nationwide earned less than $200 per year. Taylor, The New Deal and American Indian Tribalism, 7.

5. Statistics (1929), Tulalip Agency, NA PNR RG75, M-1011, Roll 155; Statistics (1930); Department of Commerce, State Personal Income: 1929-1982, 258; Economic Land Surveys (1934-35), Tulalip and Taholah Agencies, NA RG75, Entry 793. In 1934 extension workers estimated annual family income on the Squaxin Island Reservation at $100, on the Nisqually Reservation at $400, and on the Skokomish Reservation at $380. Three years later the same figures for Nisqually and Skokomish were $625 and $239 respectively. Annual Reports of Extension Workers, NA PNR RG75, Taholah Decimal File 052.2, Box 75. See also, Suquamish Oral History Interview J.04.09 (Clara Jones, March 30, 1985) (saying her large family got along on a modest paycheck because it did not cost much to live, since they gathered a lot of food, including fish and clams).

6. Narrative, Annual Report, Tulalip (1931), NA PNR RG75, M-1011, Roll 155; Ibid. (1934), Roll 156.0

7. Suquamish Oral History Interviews W.1.04 (Webster, September 30, 1981); W.1.20 (Webster, July 29, 1982); J.4.02 (Clara Jones); A.4.02, A.4.03 (Bernard Adams, March 24, 1982) (fishing, picking berries); A.1.01 (Margaret Adams, April 4, 1982); G.6.01 (Ben George, Jr., March 10, 1982); Rygg, "The Continuation of Upper Class...Attitudes," 218-22, 256; O.C. Upchurch to Commissioner, December 16, 1936, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 509 (estimating that 60 Indians in jurisdiction derive principal income for their families from sale of fish and that 75 additional families get their chief supply of food from fishing).

8. Economic and Social Surveys (1933-34), NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Boxes 498-499; Narrative and Statistics, Annual Report (1934), NA PNR RG75, M-1011, Roll 156; Narrative, Annual Report (1935), Ibid.; Annual Report of Gladys McIlveen for December 1, 1933, to December 31, 1934, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Decimal File 904; Reports of Extension Workers (1934), NA PNR RG75, Taholah Decimal File 052.2; George P. LaVatta to Commissioner, March 16, 1937, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 486 (60 Port Gamble Indians employed at McCormick Lumber); Narrative, Annual Report, Tulalip (1931), NA PNR RG75, M-1011, Roll 155. Completed CWA interview forms show Lawrence Webster living on the Port Madison Reservation with his mother, whose income for the year was $40, and having nothing of his own; Bernard Adams living with his parents and five siblings on an income of $310, all but $10 of it from fishing; Ben George, Jr., living with his parents and seven siblings on $1,680 in wages and $570 other income. The poorest person surveyed was Jennie Davis, 92, whose cash income was reportedly $18. One of the most prosperous was William Shelton, earning $300 as chief of the reservation police and having several thousand dollars in proceeds from the sales of totem poles and canoes he made. Harriet Shelton Williams, whose husband earned $1,252 as engineer on a steamer, lived with her father William. A number of the people surveyed lived upriver from the Tulalip Reservation

on occasional logging wages, while several off-reservation families listed with the Port Madison and Clallam Indians survived by digging clams. Ethel Sam found work in a hospital in 1935, then was a shipscaler for five years. Suquamish Oral History Interview S.7.02 (June 22, 1982). Port Madison and Clallam men who worked at McCormick Lumber earned $600 or more. A comparison of Clallam and Port Madison census rolls with employment records of the McCormick Lumber and Pope and Talbot Lumber Companies reveals at least two dozen Indian men employed between 1930 and 1935 as firemen, chainmen, setters, doggers, boommen, yard laborers, slingers, trimmers, sawmen, etc. Their wages in those positions were the same as non-Indians with the same titles. McCormick Lumber Company Papers, University of Washington Manuscripts Accession No. 4286; Pope and Talbot Payroll Records, University of Washington Manuscripts Accession No. 1130; Indian Census Rolls (1930), NA PNR M-595, Roll 589. By 1938, however, the McCormick mill was operating only two days a week. Walter J. Rue, Board of County Commissioners, to Homer T. Bone, April 13, 1938, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 486. In 1938 George LaVatta reported that quite a few Nooksack Indians were working in lumber camps and mills, many "holding preferred positions with the various companies with whom they are employed...." LaVatta to Commissioner, March 19, 1938, Petition for Acknowledgement of Snohomish Tribe of Indians, Reply Appendix J-3 (copy furnished by tribe).

9. John Collier, From Every Zenith (Denver: Sage Books, 1963), 187; Department of the Interior, Annual Report (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1933), 69-70 (hereafter abbreviated as DIAR); Donald H. Parman, "The Indian and the Civilian Conservation Corps," Pacific Historical Review 40 (February 1971): 41, 45-46.

10. Emergency Conservation Work Authorizations (1933), NA PNR RG75, Taholah Decimal File 980, Box 173; ECW and CCC Employee Cards (1937-43), NA PNR RG75, Taholah Box 339; Narrative, Annual Report, Tulalip (1933), NA PNR RG75, M-1011, Roll 155; Testimony of Sam George and O.C. Upchurch, Survey of Conditions of the Indians in the United States, 72nd Congr., 1st sess., 1933, part 32, 17179-80 (25 Nooksacks to camps at Makah/Neah Bay Reservation); N.O. Nicholson to Mr. Daiker, January 14, 1935, NA RG75 CCF, Entry 121, Taholah File 9283-1935-150.

11. Works Progress Administration Project Files (1935-40), NA PNR RG75, Taholah Box 342; O.C. Upchurch to Commissioner, May 4, 1934, Economic and Social Surveys (1933-34), NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 498; Records of CCC (1934-41), NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 467 and Box 468; Social and Economic Survey (1934), NA RG75, Entry 792, Taholah Agency (Eighteen Skokomish males worked 1 to 9 days on emergency relief, 9 worked 10 to 29 days, 11 worked 30 to 59 days, 3 worked 60-80 days, and one worked more, all of them earning $3320.18 total.); Annual Report, Tulalip (1934), NA PNR RG75, M-1011, Roll 156 (road work funds dropping from $90,000 in second

year of depression to $25,000 in third); Annual Report (1935), Ibid. (agency work program limited mostly to road work done by machines); Annual Report (1936), Ibid. (Indian labor for "rehabilitation village" at LaConner); William Hunt to Collier, January 14, 1934, Social and Economic Surveys, NA RG75 (asking why there are 20 CWA workers at Tulalip, 6 at Lummi, 3 at Swinomish, and only one for Nooksacks); Upchurch to Commissioner, February 6, 1934, Ibid. (in answer to preceding, explaining that there are no CWA projects among the Nooksacks, but a road program employs all); N.O. Nicholson to O.C. Upchurch, November 17, 1936, NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Box 257; Resolution of Tulalip Indian Protective Association, June 12, 1935, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Decimal File 052.1 (protesting that relief workers are allowed only ten days' work a month at $15 to $22.50 per day); Upchurch to Commissioner, May 9, 1934, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Decimal File 921; Robert Lane Sicade to Taholah Agency, January 23, 1940, NA PNR RG75, Taholah Decimal File 980, Box 174; Noel, Muckleshoot Indian History, 133.

12. NA PNR M-1011, Roll 155, 156; Suquamish Oral History Interviews W.1.06 (Webster, 1982), A.4.03 (Adams, April 13, 1982), and B.4.01 (Floyd Buber, August 4, 1982); Noel, Muckleshoot Indian History, 133. The Indian Emergency Conservation Work program was renamed the Civilian Conservation Corps-Indian Division in 1937, the same year that Congress halved the program's funding. Parman, "The Indian and the Civilian Conservation Corps," 41, 45-46; Taylor, The New Deal and American Indian Tribalism, 132.

13. ECW and CCC Employee Cards (1937-1943), NA PNR RG75, Taholah Box 339; Resolution of Lummi Tribal Council, Records Relating to Tribal Reorganization, February 18, 1938, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 478-79 (petitioning for early action on Lummi road project because lack of WPA work on the reservation has prompted many Indians to register for WPA in Bellingham); Sam Ulmer to John Collier, March 1938, NA RG75 CCF, Entry 121, Tulalip File 18916-1938-931 (most Lower Elwha Clallam "boys" working on WPA jobs in the town of Port Angeles). When George Swanaset thought back to the New Deal, he mentioned only that the government distributed livestock to Indians at the Lummi and Swinomish Reservations and to a few Nooksacks. Fetzer, "George Swanaset," 25. A BIA social worker's report confirms that some reservation families received steers from the government and implies that they used them for food. Report of Gladys McIlveen, December 1, 1933, to December 31, 1934, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Decimal File 904.

14. Collier, From Every Zenith, 187; DIAR (1933), 69-70; Indians at Work 2 (December 1, 1934): 34; Parman, "The Indian and the Civilian Conservation Corps," 41, 44; Survey of Conditions of the Indians (1933), 17182. A government forester said of IECW projects that they increased Indians' interest in the possibilities of their reservations. William H. Zeh, Indians at Work (July 1, 1936): 39.

15. Lowitt, The New Deal and the West, 124-25, 130, 132-34; Taylor, The New Deal and American Indian Tribalism, 131, 150; Parman, "The Indian and the Civilian Conservation Corps," 47-49; Richard White, The Roots of Dependency: Subsistence, Environment, and Social Change among the Choctaws, Pawnees, and Navajos (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983), 256.

16. Civil Works Administration Project Files (1933-34), NA PNR RG75, Taholah Box 341; Works Progress Administration Project Files (1935-40), NA PNR RG75, Taholah Box 342. Natalie Roberts, describing the same kinds of projects at the Swinomish Reservation, argues that WPA projects did strengthen ties among members of that community. "A History of the Swinomish Tribal Community," 309-11. Residents of a few Puget Sound reservations undertook collective protection or exploitation of their resources later in the 1930s, but their inspiration was the Indian Reorganization Act and non-Indian encroachment on subsistence resources more than federal work programs. At the Tulalip superintendent's urging a community council on the Swinomish Reservation set up a fish trap on reservation tidelands. Upchurch to Commissioner, July 18, 1936, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 509; Upchurch to Commissioner, May 9, 1934, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Decimal File 921; Upchurch to Commissioner, July 21, 1937 (tribes organized pursuant to the Indian Reorganization Act discussing possible enterprises including fisheries, oyster beds, and logging; also imposing conservation regulations on themselves); Martin J. Sampson to Lewis B. Schwellenbach, August 2, 1937. The same box contains numerous complaints in 1937 from members of the Washington State Sportsmen's Council to the effect that Upchurch induced Indians at Swinomish and Tulalip to operate commercial fish traps; for example, C.J. Keating to Senator Lewis Schellenbach [sic], June 18, 1937; Ken McLeod to Senator Schwellenbach, June 24, 1937.

17. Annual Report, Tulalip (1933), NA PNR RG75, M-1011 (small group of whites "making a steady business of every form of county relief and communistic agitation," telling Indian pulp wood cutters that it is better to loaf and beg than work, inducing Indians to ask whether BIA could match county relief); Annual Report (1934), Ibid. (Indians can get ECW work but see less deserving whites getting relief, hear "communistic emissaries" protesting Indians' low wages and pointing out how government has abused them.); Annual Report (1935) (Indians imitating whites whose morale has broken down).

18. Annual Report, Tulalip (1936), NA PNR RG75, M-1011, Roll 156 (65% of Tulalip elders getting OAA; only five families on AFDC); Economic and Social Surveys (1933-34), NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 498 (more people employed than on relief, more income from regular employment than from relief work); Annual Statistical Report (1939), NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Decimal File 052.1; Suquamish Oral History Interview W.1.20 (Lawrence

Webster, July 29, 1982) (saying government transfer payments to reservation residents did not begin in earnest until the 1950s or '60s); Rygg, "The Continuation of Upper Class...Attitudes," 159.

19. Survey of Conditions (1934), 17158-17186.

20. Ibid., 17150 (McDowell), 17171 (Sampson), 17175 (Chief Sam George), 17185 (Steve), 17188-89 (Chief August Martin), 17183 (Johnson); Resolutions of June 14, 1933, NA RG75 CCF, Tulalip File 34035-1934-059.

21. Before John Collier became Commissioner of Indian Affairs he worked closely with Burton Wheeler for several years, lining up witnesses who documented the failures and abuses of federal policy. According to Lawrence Kelly, however, Collier concentrated on attacking the Bureau of Indian Affairs and did not reveal to Wheeler his dream of reversing the assimilation policy. Not until Collier's staff unveiled their proposed Indian Reorganization Act in 1934, Kelly says, did Wheeler know what Collier hoped to do. "John Collier and The Indian New Deal," 232-33.

22. 48 United States Statutes 984; Prucha, The Great Father, 957-963; Kelly, "John Collier and The Indian New Deal," 233-38; Dippie, The Vanishing American, 315. Movement toward the changes enacted in 1934 was evident in the 1920s. Dippie, 299-302. Whether the IRA fundamentally departed from the assimilationist tradition is an issue scholars still debate. Dippie, 319; cf. Kelly, "John Collier and the Indian New Deal," 240, and Prucha, The Great Father, 917; D'Arcy McNickle, Native American Tribalism: Indian Survivals and Renewals (New York and London: Oxford University Press, 1973), 93.

23. Prucha, The Great Father, 954-55; Philp, "John Collier and the Controversy," 173, 192-93; Dippie, The Vanishing American, 307-08, 312-13. Collier's boss, Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes, was an original member of the American Indian Defense Association. Kelly, "John Collier and the Indian New Deal," 232. Taylor summarizes the evidence that allotment had prevented rather than promoted assimilation by depriving Indians of institutions which could give their communities economic stability. The New Deal and American Indian Tribalism, 7. That evidence included a study commissioned by Interior Secretary Hubert Work in 1926. Institute for Government Research (Lewis Meriam, et al.), The Problem of Indian Administration (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1928). Collier emphasized land when lobbying for his bill. Taylor, 22-23. Regarding Collier's hope that his legislative proposal would create utopian models, see Philp, "John Collier and the Controversy," 171, 179, 194.

24. Graham, The New Deal and American Indian Tribalism, 13, 23, 30, 40; Philp, "John Collier and the Controversy," 172-73; Philp, John Collier's Crusade for Indian Reform, 97, 161;

Kelly, "John Collier and the Indian New Deal," 228; DIAR (1941), 408; DIAR (1938), 210; Collier, From Every Zenith, 114, 119, 123, 126.

25. Philp, "John Collier and the Controversy," 174; Prucha, The Great Father, 955.

26. Prucha, The Great Father, 958-59; "John Collier and the Controversy," 182. Collier held the regional meetings in part because he had already received negative responses to his proposal from Indians who labeled it socialistic or communistic, and he hoped to win over potential critics.

27. Minutes of the Northwest Indian Congress, March 8, 1934, NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Box 257. Memos in Taholah Agency files indicate that three men were elected to go to Chemawa from the Skokomish Reservation -- Adams, Ted Pulsifer, and Charles Miller -- and two men were delegates from the Nisqually Reservation -- Pete Kalama and Louis Bobb. Presumably other reservations also sent representatives whose names do not appear in the minutes of the Chemawa conference or in correspondence in federal archives.

28. Ibid.

29. Later still Adams expressed surpise that a man of Peter James's education and intelligence asked for clarification of a clause in Collier's bill whose meaning Adams found "self-evident." Tulalip Agency delegates at Chemawa wrote down questions that do not appear in the meeting minutes. They included: What effect will the bill have on landless non-reservation Indians and on Indians living on public domain lands? What effect will the bill have on pending treaty claims? Will the bill cancel our treaty rights? Does the department intend to do anything for Indians who have been forced from reservations for economic reasons and may now be dependent on local charity? What effect will the bill have on Indian suffrage? NA RG75, Reactions to the Indian Reorganization Act, 066-4894-1934, Box 3.

30. N.O. Nicholson to Commissioner, March 6, 1934, NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Box 257a.

31. Memorandum of Muckleshoot Business Council, received at Tulalip May 18, 1934, NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Box 257a; Tulalip Chair and Tribal Committee to Commissioner, February 1, 1934, Ibid.; Minutes of Meeting at Nisqually March 1, enclosed with N.O. Nicholson to Commissioner, March 6, 1934, Ibid. Five people who signed for the "Suquamish Tribe of Indians in council assembled" approved of the proposed IRA but wanted to be sure they would have the right to lease or sell individual or tribal lands. NA RG75, Reaction to the IRA, Box 4.

32. Dippie, The Vanishing American, 317.

33. In the Tulalip agency's jurisdiction, votes on the IRA were as follows. Of 282 eligible Lummi voters, 72 voted for and 110 voted against the act; of 133 Nooksacks, 55 voted yes and 13 voted no; of 215 Tulalips, 143 voted yes and 68 voted no; of 110 Port Madison voters, 30 voted yes and 0 voted no; of 123 Skagit-Suiattle, 84 voted yes and 3 voted no; of 97 Muckleshoots, 58 voted yes and 7 voted no; of 190 Puyallups, 94 voted yes and 36 no; of 129 Swinomish, 122 voted yes and 1 no. O.C. Upchurch to N.O. Nicholson, April 19, 1935, NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Box 277. In the Taholah agency's jurisdiction, votes were as follows: of 107 eligible to vote at Skokomish, 35 voted for and 10 voted against the act; of 40 at Nisqually, 19 voted yes and 2 voted no; of 32 Squaxin Islanders, 10 voted yes and 6 voted no. Final Results of IRA Referenda, NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Box 258. Voters at Lummi turned the IRA down despite the fact that the tribal council in May, 1934, endorsed the bill then pending in Congress. Resolution of Lummi Tribal Council, May 13, 1934, NA PNR RG75, Western Washington, Box 257a.

34. Taylor, The New Deal and American Indian Tribalism, 52, 60; Philp, "John Collier and the Controversy," 175, 177, 185 and ff.; Dan McDowell to Collier, March 27, 1934, NA RG75, Reactions to the IRA, Box 5 (describing older people and some younger ones as afraid the bill would promote squandering of their birthright); Rygg, "The Continuation of Upper Class...Attitudes," 232 (older Indians suspicious of IRA because acts of Congress had not had good effects before). According to Joe Hillaire, as of March 1934 many people on the Lummi reservation were opposed to Collier's bill because they believed it was communistic. Hillaire to Collier, March 15, 1934, NA RG75, Reactions to the IRA, Box 5. The paucity of recorded debate about the IRA is puzzling, particularly since a letter from N.O. Nicholson to the Collier on April 26, 1935, indicates that BIA officials held meetings about the act with each of the Tulalip Agency tribes between March 20 and 23, 1935, and met six times each with people at the Skokomish and Nisqually reservations plus three times with Squaxin Island residents. NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Box 257. See also, Narrative, Annual Report, Tulalip (1935), NA PNR RG75 M-1011, Roll 156, where the superintendent declares, "Since the first announcement of the Indian Reorganization Act...., the Indians of this jurisdiction have been kept vitally interested and alive to the possibilities of benefits to be derived from the legislation."

35. Memo of Muckleshoot Business Council received at Tulalip Agency, May 18, 1934, NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Box 257a; John Collier to Peter James, n.d., Reactions to the Indian Reorganization Act, NA RG75, 066-4894-1934, Box 2; Chester M. Williams to Collier, received April 20, 1934, and Jerry Kenum to Collier, n.d., and Record of Tribal Council of Duwamish Tribe of Indians, in NA RG75, Reactions to IRA.

36. George LaVatta to Commissioner, November 8, 1938, NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Box 277 (reporting most Puyallups in favor of IRA because they wanted to control their funds). Jerry Meeker and Silas Cross, who attended the Chemawa conference as delegates of the Puyallup Tribe, told Collier they endorsed his bill "as we believe the Bill fully covers the feature of Indian education and will give them better schools." Meeker and Cross to Collier, April 16, 1934, NA RG75, Reactions to the IRA, Box 4. In answer to Jerry Kenum's letter asking whether the IRA would enable Snoqualmies to get a reservation along the Tolt River, Collier answered that he expected the bill's provision for $2 million a year to benefit a large number of Indians. Kenum to Collier, May 4, 1934, and Collier to Kenum, May 31, 1934, NA RG75, Reactions to the IRA, Box 7.

37. On April 9, 1934, Upchurch wrote Collier that the Northwest [sic] Federation of Indians had met the previous day to talk about the proposed bill. "Such objections as have been urged have been concerning the land title of the bill and the tribes that have objections are planning to submit suggestive changes in this title. None of the tribes of this jurisdiction are at present opposing the legislation as a whole and their attitude is improving generally with discussion and information." NA RG75, Reactions to the IRA, Box 3. Roberts attributes overwhelming support for the IRA on the Swinomish Reservation to the Indians' previous involvement in regional and national political organizations. "A History of the Swinomish Tribal Community," 307. The fact that the IRA passed in the same month as the Court of Claims rendered judgment against the Puget Sound tribes seems significant, but there is no indication in the record how the adverse ruling affected voters' views on the IRA. Some, like the Muckleshoot and other councils, may have voted against the IRA out of anger at what they perceived as the government's general bad faith; but some may have voted for the IRA in the belief that it was the only remaining hope for conserving and expanding Indian lands or getting money from the federal government.

38. Resolutions of June 14, 1933, NA RG75 CCF, Tulalip File 34035-1934-059; Memorandum of O.C. Upchurch, July 14, 1934, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Decimal File 072-3 (saying it is important for superintendents to attend upcoming NFAI meeting; Martin Sampson to members of NFAI, April 28, 1933, Ibid. (reporting recent personal meeting with governor and governor's desire to meet with NFAI); Don McDowell to J.C. Cavill, November 13, 1933, Ibid.; Resolution endorsing Wheeler-Howard Act, May 8, 1934, Ibid.

39. Indian Reorganization Act General Records, NA RG75, Entry 1012, Tulalip and Taholah. For information on councils formed during the NFAI's early years, see Chapter 6. In 1934 the Tulalip Agency superintendent reported that some reservations and off-reservation tribes in his jurisdiction dealt with matters of general interest through general

councils, while some had small elected business councils. He traced most of these governing institutions to the tribes' interest during the 1920s in pursuing claims against the U.S. Questionnaires on Tribal Organization, NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Box 257a. Other evidence of and references to tribal organizations and Indian experience in government during the teens and '20s include: Andrew Joe to August Duclos, April 5, 1929, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Decimal File 064-69 (Swinomish Tribe business committee known as the Northwest American Society); Duclos to Commissioner, March 26, 1930, Ibid. (Swinomish committee of five represents all bands on the Swinomish Reservation in matters such as fish trap leases, fairs); Farmer to Duclos, April 6, 1929, Ibid. (committee to represent Snohomish living on Tulalip Reservation and business council for Snoqualmie Tribe on Tulalip Reservation); Minutes of meeting at Suquamish, February 12, 1916, DeShaw Papers; Minutes, Committee of Five, Puyallup Tribe, February 12, 1929, NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Box 276; Henry C. Sicade to F.A. Gross, May 2, 1927, Ibid. (describing transition from chiefs to council of trustees); correspondence between Skokomish Reservation policemen and superintendent of Taholah Agency, 1922-24, NA PNR RG75, Taholah Decimal File 173.04; Narrative, Annual Report, Tulalip (1928), NA PNR RG75 M-1011; F.A. Gross to Commissioner, February 28, 1928, NA RG75 CCF, Tulalip File 52780-1927-053; W.F. Dickens to Commissioner, July 30, 1921, Ibid., File 62672-1921-054; Eugene Hill to Commissioner, November 19, 1920, NA RG75 CCF, Entry 121, Taholah File 86457-1920-150 (Skokomish Reservation school incorporated into county system with a board that is wholly Indian). When George Swanaset was young, he said, one Nooksack man "was regarded as the chief of the whole tribe [except the Lyndens] in all serious matters...." Fetzer, "George Swanaset," 16. Later a small group purported to choose a new chief; but when Thomas Bishop came for a big tribal meeting, the group elected George chief of the Nooksack tribe. Ibid., 17. In the 1970s Lummi elder Jim McKay claimed that his grandfather Henry Kwina was chief of the Lummis from about 1875 to 1926 but that after that the tribe was governed on "the council concept." Nugent, Lummi Elders Speak, 111. Regarding strikes by Indian workers, see Suquamish Oral History Interview J.4.04 (Clara Jones, July 27, 1982) and W.1.04 (Lawrence Webster, September 30, 1981); The Real American, April 27, 1922, in Meany Papers.

40. 48 United States Statutes 984.

41. Memorandum, enclosed with letter from John Collier to N.O. Nicholson, September 29, 1934, NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Box 257. "Final rolls" refers to rolls, prepared pursuant to a 1919 statute, of persons entitled to share in the final distribution of a disbanding tribe's assets. 41 United States Statutes 3, 9. In 1934 two tribes in the Puget Sound region had such final rolls -- Puyallup and Clallam. See records in NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Box 276, and Records and Evidence Concerning Puyallup Enrollment, NA RG75,

Entry 615, Boxes 1-5; correspondence between O.C. Upchurch and Mrs. Arthur Newman, May and June, 1934, NA RG75 CCF Entry 121, Tulalip File 23543-1934-053.

42. Survey of Conditions (1934), 17216-18; Aug. F. Duclos to William Dunstan, January 29, 1929, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Decimal File 920, Box 302. According to the Indian Claims Commission, during the 1930s the BIA treated as Indians anyone who "through wardship, treaty, or inheritance" had rights the BIA ostensibly protected. Coast Salish and Western Washington Indians, 511. Superintendent Duclos was not certain how to respond when he received a petition in 1929 from seventeen people identifying themselves as members of the Stillaguamish Tribe and asking for an investigation of their claim that tribe members had once had allotted lands along the Stillaguamish River but had lost them through white men's fraud and trickery. Assistant Commissioner Scattergood replied that Indians could still obtain homesteads under the Act of 1884 but that any homesteads Indians established under general laws were not the BIA's responsibility. Petition, August 12, 1929; Duclos to Commissioner, August 15, 1929; and Scattergood to Duclos, September 10, 1929, in NA RG75, Tulalip File 41499-1929-059. In the 1920s, when superintendent Dickens met with tribes interested in pursuing Claims Court suits, the groups he convened included the non-reservation Nooksack, Upper Skagit, Kikiallus, Suiattle, San Juan Island, Puyallup, and Steilacoom Tribes. Superintendent to Commissioner, June 27, 1925, NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Box 259. See also, Narrative, Tulalip Annual Report (1922), NA PNR RG75 M-1011, Narrative, Tulalip Annual Report (1931), Ibid.; Narrative, Tulalip Annual Report (1934), 1-3.

43. William Zimmerman to Silas Meeker, December 14, 1934, NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Box 257a.

44. "Land Acquisition Program for the Tulalip Jurisdiction," September 5, 1934, Tulalip Reorganization Files, 1934-40, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 293; Narrative, Tulalip Annual Report (1934), NA PNR RG75, M-1011, Roll 156; Memorandum attached to letter, Joe Jennings to O.C. Upchurch, December 9, 1937, Ibid. (noting Jamestown Clallam Day School property of two acres, widely scattered Indian allotments on public domain in Whatcom County [Nooksack District], Snohomish and Skagit Counties totaling 8,897.3 acres; commenting that agency's jurisdiction over these allotments "may be questioned" but will be asserted "until contrary appears"); O.C. Upchurch to Foster Jones, Sr., October 9, 1935, NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Decimal File 103.3, Box 15 (saying Jones and other Clallams gave up status as wards in 1926).

45. Zimmerman to Nicholson, October 26, 1934, NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Box 257, File 105.1; Frank D. Beaulieu to N.O. Nicholson, October 29, 1934, NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Box 286; Collier to Edward Percival, March 27, 1935, Petition for Acknowledgement of Snohomish Tribe, Reply

Appendix H-8. CWA surveys in 1933-34 recorded individuals' tribal affiliations and the number of persons at each reservation who were enrolled there and the number not enrolled there. The profiles for the reservations are all different. Two examples: At the Muckleshoot Reservation surveyors found 165 persons enrolled and 86 not enrolled; 145 people identified themselves as Muckleshoot but 28 were Snoqualmie, 11 Duwamish, 25 Puyallup, 17 Yakima, one Quilcene, one Siletz, one Sioux, two Arapaho, one Bella Coola, two Wenatchee, two Swinomish, three Clallam, eight Snohomish, one Skagit, one Nooksack, one Chehalis, and one Taholah. On the Swinomish Reservation, 274 of 283 persons were enrolled at the jurisdiction (possibly a reference to all Tulalip agency tribes), but only 67 identified themselves as Swinomish, while 13 were Snohomish, 126 Skagit, 9 Nooksack, one Puyallup, 47 Samish, 1 Nisqually, 9 Kikiallus, one Snoqualmie, one Duwamish, one Stillaguamish, one Alaskan, one Chinook, one Clallam, one Lummi, two Canadian, and one Skykomish. Tabulations of Surveys, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 498.

In 1934 the Tulalip agency estimated the number of families -- that is, households headed by at least one adult -- as follows: 180 at Tulalip, 200 at Lummi, 70 at Muckleshoot, 69 at Nooksack, 69 at Port Madison, 90 at Swinomish, and 129 at Puyallup. Ibid. The number of persons declared eligible to vote on the IRA was 215 at Tulalip, 282 at Lummi, 97 at Muckleshoot, 133 at Nooksack, 110 at Port Madison, 129 at Swinomish, and 190 at Puyallup. See also, Upchurch to Commissioner, January 29, 1937, Indian Reorganization Act General Records, NA RG75, Entry 1012, Tulalip 066, File 9691 (Port Madison Indians wondering whether they can go over the list of voters and remove those not living on the reservation); Daiker to LaVatta, August 6, 1940, Ibid. (noting that only about 20 of 116 voters actually live on Port Madison reservation).

46. Questionnaire on Tribal Organization, Tulalip (1934), NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Box 257a; Upchurch to Commissioner of Internal Revenue, December 2, 1937, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 293; Frank W. Porter III, "Without Reservation: Federal Indian Policy and the Landless Tribes of Washington," in State and Reservation, George P. Castile and Robert L. Bee, eds. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1992), 121-22. The Indian Claims Commission found that the Skykomish band had merged with and been subsumed in the Snoqualmie group. In 1938 Upchurch told the Commissioner of Internal Revenue that the pre-IRA Snohomish Tribe "was largely a social organization" and had not been active for two or three years. Upchurch to Commissioner, October 6, 1938, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 293. At Swinomish, too, organizing pursuant to the IRA meant confederating the various pre-reservation bands with which residents identified. BIA advisors were aware that the IRA government at Swinomish was not the same as the Swinomish Tribe -- one of the reservation community's constituent bands. Charlot Westwood to Mr. Heacock, September 9, 1935, Indian Reorganization Act General Records,

Tulalip 068, File 9764-A; Questionnaire on Tribal Organization. See also, Roberts, "A History of the Swinomish Community," 333-35.

47. Upchurch recommended that the BIA buy white-owned land interspersed with Nooksack allotments to make a reservation there, establish a new reservation for Clallams in the Elwha River Valley, acquire 200 acres in the Puyallup Valley for Puyallups with no homes, set up a new reservation on the Suiattle and Sauk Rivers, and acquire more than a township for the Snoqualmie in the Tolt River area. O.C. Upchurch to Sacramento Land Field Agent, March 31, 1936, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 486; George LaVatta to E.M. Johnston, March 16, 1937, in Questionnaires on Tribal Organization (1953), NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Box 16. See also, Porter, "Without Reservation," 121-22. In 1938 Upchurch told Fred Daiker in the commissioner's office about 200-300 persons "of less than one-half Indian blood" living in the San Juan Islands. His concern was not the IRA's applicability to such persons but the applicability of the liquor act of January 30, 1897 (29 United States Statutes 506). "It seems that I should either take steps to enroll and organize these Indians of the San Juan tribe," Upchurch wrote, "or that they should be dismissed as white citizens. I would favor the latter procedure." Upchurch to Fred H. Daiker, April 30, 1938, replying to an inquiry of April 25, 1938, NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Box 257.

48. Narrative, Tulalip Annual Report (1934) and (1936), NA PNR RG75 M-1011; "Land Acquisition Program for the Tulalip Jurisdiction," September 5, 1934, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 293; LaVatta to Upchurch, August 29, 1935, Ibid.; Upchurch to Commissioner, December 3, 1934, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 486; Collier to Upchurch, August 3, 1935, Ibid.; Walter J. Rue to Homer T. Bone, April 13, 1938, Ibid.; Data on "Clallam Free State," March 26, 1934, Indian Reorganization Act General Records, NA RG75, Entry 1012, Tulalip 068, File 9548-A (Port Gamble).

49. La Vatta to Commissioner, March 17, 1937, Indian Reorganization Act General Records, NA RG75, Entry 1012, Tulalip 068, File 9548-A; LaVatta to Commissioner, March 21, 1938, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 486; LaVatta to Commissioner, September 9, 1938, Ibid. (forwarding proposed constitution for Port Gamble Clallam band after their land was declared a reservation on June 16, 1938); Memorandum of Kenneth Meiklejohn, n.d. Indian Reorganization Act Records, NA RG75, Tulalip 068, File 9568-A; LaVatta to Commissioner, March 19, 1938, Petition for Acknowledgement of Snohomish Tribe of Indians, Reply Appendix J-3. When Daiker responded to a proposed constitution for the Nooksacks, he did not raise their lack of a reservation as a bar. Daiker to LaVatta, September 28, 1940, Ibid., Appendix J-4. The propriety of the BIA's conclusion that the IRA permitted it to purchase lands in trust for the two Clallam bands was still in doubt, as far as some officials were concerned, almost two decades

later. Since many of the Clallams on the 1928 roll had less than half Indian blood, one officer argued in 1953 that they were not Indians as defined in the IRA and the government's acquisition of their lands was invalid. This officer bolstered his argument with data showing that four of sixteen people who received assignments of land on the Port Gamble Clallam lands were less than half blood Indians and one was Suquamish. Recommendations of Program Office, June 24, 1953, "Government Withdrawal Program 1953," Lower Elwha report, NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Decimal File 103.3, Box 15.

50. Ray Gruhlke to Nicholson, July 26, 1936; George LaVatta to Gruhlke, October 13, 1936; Gruhlke to Nicholson, September 28, 1936; Daiker to LaVatta, April 23, 1937; Nicholson to Commissioner, June 10, 1937, all in NA PNR RG75, Taholah Decimal File 064, Box 85. See also, Porter, "Without Reservation," 122-23. Peter Kalama, identifying himself as elected secretary of the Nisqually Indian Tribe, claimed in 1935 that there was support in the Nisqually council for including in the tribe "Indians of varying degrees of Indian blood who had never been enrolled as members...." According to Kalama and superintendent Nicholson, the enrolled Nisquallies had first submitted a list of the unenrolled Indians in the 1920s, when they were assembling evidence of people they considered entitled to share in allotments at Quinault or an award from the Court of Claims. Kalama to Nicholson, January 5, 1931, Ibid.; Nicholson to Commissioner, August 15, 1935, Ibid.

51. Minutes of Nisqually Tribal Meeting, July 20, 1940, NA PNR RG75, Taholah Decimal File 064, Box 85 (voting 9 to 7 to give non-Nisqually spouses a voice in the meeting and discussing the fact that some "members of the Nisqually Indians" object to "certain portion of us" fishing in the river; Paul Leshi questioning where the Wells family comes from and asking whether they have "the right to speak before the originals"); Floyd H. Phillips to Commissioner, October 7, 1944, NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Box 257 (asking whether council can decide to enroll someone with Yakima father and Nisqually mother, reporting Indian challenges to enrollment of man arrested for fishing off reservation); Correspondence in file entitled "Chief Peter Kalama v. B.M. Brennan et al." in NA PNR RG75, Taholah Decimal File 173.04, Box 113. Several letters in the latter file deal with allegations that Kalama was enrolled at the Warm Springs reservation in Oregon rather than at Nisqually. A letter March 4, 1937, from the Taholah agency superintendent to the Commissioner indicates that Kalama and his wife were on a 1934 Nisqually roll but also on a 1933 Puyallup roll. Eight of his children had allotments at Warm Springs, where his wife was from; eleven other children were at Nisqually. On July 21, 1937, Kalama informed the superintendent that he would retain his Warm Springs enrollment; but in November, 1938, after some success in his lawsuit for fishing rights, he changed his mind, saying he wanted to stay where all his people were buried. Kalama to Nicholson, November 5, 1938. On December 12, 1939,

Judge Cushman refused the state's motion to dismiss the lawsuit. Shortly thereafter the judge became ill and resigned without trying or otherwise terminating the suit.

52. The Nisqually Tribe finally adopted a constitution, which the Secretary of the Interior approved September 9, 1946. That document specified that members would include all persons on a BIA census roll of 1945 and children of those members if born on the reservation. American Friends Service Committee, Uncommon Controversy: Fishing Rights of the Muckleshoot, Puyallup and Nisqually Indians (Seattle: University of Washington, 1970), 57. The BIA may have prepared the 1945 census, as it did for other groups which it considered successors to treaty tribes, after the Supreme Court ruled in 1942 that Indian beneficiaries of nineteenth-century treaties could not be required to obtain state licenses in order to exercise their right to fish. Boxberger, To Fish in Common, 109.

53. As of May, 1940, only the following Puget Sound groups had adopted constitutions pursuant to the IRA: the Tulalip Tribes, January 24, 1936; Swinomish Tribal Community, January 27, 1936; Puyallup Tribe, May 13, 1936; Skokomish Indian Tribe of the Skokomish Reservation, May 3, 1938; Port Gamble Indian Community, September 7, 1939; Cohen's Handbook of Federal Indian Law, 129. Also, Suquamish Oral History Interview W.1.06 (Lawrence Webster, 1982) (calling the government he served in during the 1940s and '50s "very lax" and saying that real tribal government began when the Suquamish tribe adopted a constitution and by-laws in the 1960s); Frank Beaulieu to Nicholson, February 21, 1938, NA PNR RG75, Taholah Decimal File 064 (describing Indians at Skokomish and Nisqually as indifferent to efforts to draft constitutions); memorandum of O.C. Upchurch, November 18, 1938, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 477.

The Nisqually Reservation is a good example of a place where it was hard to imagine a tribal government's making a positive difference. During World War I the U.S. Army had acquired two-thirds of the reservation lands. Allottees there, some of whom received in lieu allotments at Quinault and elsewhere, scattered. By 1929 government officials believed the tribe's membership had shrunk to 66. A Board of Indian Affairs Commissioner described Nisqually that year as "a picture of an Indian reservation in the last stages of abandonment," with poor soil, a few shacks, and few jobs in the surrounding area. Report of Earl Henderson, January 25, 1929, NA RG75 CCF, Taholah File 7962-1929-150.

Tribes in western Washington were not alone in gearing up slowly to take advantage of the IRA's self-government provisions. Taylor, The New Deal and American Indian Tribalism, 85. Even where BIA staff sincerely wished to encourage organization, financial constraints limited their ability to aid Indian leaders or provide the new governments with incentives. Aside from emergency New Deal programs, the BIA had no more money between 1933 and 1945 than it had spent

in four years under Collier's predecessor. Ibid., 106-07, 141.

54. Daiker to LaVatta, September 28, 1940, Petition for Acknowledgement of the Snohomish Tribe, Reply Appendix J-4; Lester Jackson to LaVatta, November 22, 1938, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 486; Zimmerman to LaVatta, January 13, 1939, Ibid.; Meiklejohn memo, Indian Reorganization Act Records, NA RG75, Tulalip 068, File 9548-A (criticism of proposed Clallam constitution); memorandum of Felix Cohen, November 18, 1935, Ibid., File 9567-A (criticisms of Muckleshoot constitution); Daiker to LaVatta, August 6, 1940, Ibid., File 9691 (Port Madison or Suquamish constitution); memorandum, n.d., suggesting revisions to Puyallup constitution, Ibid., File 9698-A; As of 1953 the Nooksack Tribe still had no BIA-approved written constitution. Questionnaire on Tribal Organization, submitted to Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, May 15, 1953, NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Box 16.

55. Upchurch to Commissioner, February 8, 1936, NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Box 277; Frank Wrolson to Collier, October 5, 1937, Ibid.; Upchurch to Commissioner, July 7, 1937, Ibid.; Puyallup Tribal Council to John M. Coffee, April 20, 1940, Ibid.; LaVatta to Commissioner, November 8, 1938, Ibid.; Indian Reorganization Act Records, NA RG75, Tulalip 068, File 9698-A (Puyallup). LaVatta and Upchurch reported enthusiasm about organizing a constitutional government at Tulalip. Upchurch and LaVatta to Commmissioner, August 15, 1935, NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Box 293; Upchurch to Commissioner, November 25, 1935, Ibid. Records of the Tulalip Board of Directors for the late 1930s and early 1940s show that they approved loans to individuals, issued fishing permits, voted on proposed leases of reservation tidelands, oversaw construction of a water system, directed care of the reservation cemetery, discussed proposals to join the NFAI, and expressed their dissatisfaction with health care available. NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 477, File 105.1; Minutes of Tulalip Board of Directors, December, 1936, through March 11, 1939, NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Box 293.

56. Folder entitled "Report on W.W. Reservation Statistical Data for Informational Bulletin - 2/11-60," NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Decimal File 050.1. While the terms of the IRA determined who was eligible to vote in referenda on whether to accept that statute, proposed tribal constitutions determined who was eligible to vote to ratify the constitutions; and the constitutions could extend the franchise to people off reservations. Thus the proposed Skokomish constitution specified that all tribe members could vote, regardless of their places of residence, so long as they had not abandoned tribal relations. Clearly, the application of such a provision would depend on judgments, sometimes subjective, of people who had assumed leadership in the reservation community. Folder entitled "Skokomish

Correspondence & Minutes, 1931-45," NA PNR RG75, Tribal Operations Branch Files, Western Washington Box 286.

57. CWA Survey forms for Clallams, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 499; Indian Census Rolls, Clallam (1934), NA PNR M-595, Roll 592; A. Duclos to Commissioner, July 27, 1929, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Decimal File 060.

58. Investigate Indian Affairs, Hearing of House Subcommittee on Indian Affairs, 78th Cong., 2d sess., 1944, H.1051-0, 686. In the same hearing the Nooksack Tribe's representative said his people were non-reservation Indians "known as the public-domain Indians." They had voted on the IRA but then concluded that it could not be applied to them. Testimony of Thomas Williams, Ibid., 691-92. Anger or disappointment about losing the Court of Claims case contributed to the Nooksacks' decision to remove George Swanaset as chief during the 1930s. According to Swanaset's autobiographical narrative, the reason his opponents gave for turning him out was his not being "an offspring of the tribe." He had been born in Canada to parents who identified with bands there but had come to the Nooksack Valley as a boy when his mother married a Nooksack man. Fetzer, "George Swanaset," 21.

59. Kelly, "John Collier and the Indian New Deal," 238-40; Prucha, The Great Father, 993-1005.

60. Gross to Commissioner, March 19, 1946, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Decimal File 620 (figure based on data solicited from someone at each reservation or in each tribal organization); "Swinomish Tribe Is Proud of Part It Plays in War," Seattle Times, September 17, 1944, 10 (30 Indians working in shipyard on reservation; 30 in military); "Northwest Indians on Warpath Again: Contributions to War Effort," Seattle Times, September 5, 1943, Magazine, 3. For summaries of World War II's effect on Indians nationwide, see Alison R. Bernstein, American Indians and World War II: Towards a New Era in Indian Affairs (University of Oklahoma Press, 1991); Prucha, The Great Father, 1005-09; Taylor, The New Deal and American Indian Tribalism, 139.

61. F.A. Gross to H.D. McCullough, May 18, 1945, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Decimal File 922; memorandum on Swinomish Indian Tribal Community letterhead, n.d., NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Decimal 620 (listing Swinomish community efforts in support of war); Suquamish Oral History interviews W.1.11 (Webster, March 25, 1982), S.7.02 (Ethel Sam, June 22, 1982), A.4.02 (Bernard Adams, March 24, 1982), A.4.03 (Adams, April 13, 1982) (recalling that housing at Port Madison Reservation was crowded during war because many people came from Tulalip to work at naval installation), A.1.01 (Margaret Adams, April 4, 1982), A.7.01 (Evelyn Armstrong, August 2, 1982), G.1.03 (Martha George, January 27, 1982); Rygg, "The Continuation of Upper Class...Attitudes," 262-264, 271; Bellingham Herald, November 23, 1959, 1.

62. Investigate Indian Affairs, H. 1051-0, 702. Representatives of the Lummi, Tulalip, and Muckleshoot tribes noted their need for funding for reservation police, who were too few in number, poorly compensated, and poorly equipped. Ibid., 685, 687, 690.

63. Prucha, The Great Father, 1000-02; Burt, Tribalism in Crisis, 5-6, 19-20.

64. Prucha, The Great Father, 1013-16; Burt, Tribalism in Crisis, 5. Burt credits early Indian opposition, organized by the National Congress of American Indians, with limiting the number of tribes terminated before federal policy shifted again. Tribalism in Crisis, 46.

65. Suquamish Oral History Interview W.1.11 (Webster, March 25, 1982); "Government Withdrawal Program 1953," NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Decimal File 103.3, Box 15; letters from Emmons to Snoqualmie Tribe, et al., January 21, 1954, Ibid.; draft termination bill, September 15, 1953, NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Box 32; Prucha, The Great Father, 1041-44; Burt, Tribalism in Crisis, 22-25. On February 7, 1944, the superintendents of agencies in the Northwest recommended to the Commissioner that he seek a law limiting future enrollment of Indians to those of half or more "Indian blood," justifying their position in part with the statement that they expected Government expenditures for Indians to decrease steadily. Resolution of Northwest Superintendents' Council, NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Box 257. In September, 1953, Representative Wesley D'Ewart told Indians attending a hearing of the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs that sentiment in Congress favored "freeing all these tribes." Washington State Indian Problems, unpublished U.S. House of Representatives Committee Hearings, 83d Cong., 1953, HIni-t-549. BIA-drafted termination legislation had several standard provisions: each tribal member was to receive an interest in tribal assets; the government would prepare a final roll of people entitled to share; members could choose whether to sell everything, organize a state corporation, or install a private trustee in the BIA's stead; allotments would go out of trust status; and the Secretary of Interior could sell or partition heirship lands. Burt, Tribalism in Crisis, 30.

66. "Minutes of Tribal Meetings with Commissioner Emmons 9/13-14/56," NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Decimal File 109. When the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs held hearings in Everett, Washington, in 1953, Congressman A.L. Miller lectured a witness about the need to think positively of Indians' abilities, telling Charlie Peterson of the Makah Tribe that he and his people had good land and good brains and should be able to handle tribal funds better than the BIA. Washington State Indian Problems, HIni-T-549.

67. Minutes, Tulalip Planning Committee, June 28, 1952, NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Decimal File 103.3, Box 15; "Intertribal Council WW Indians, Minutes 1-15/16-54," Ibid., File 103.31. At the 1953 House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee hearing, Steve said, "We are trying to encourage our young men and our young women to go out into the world and battle side by side with the rest of the citizens of the country. We want them to go out and make a place for themselves." Washington State Indian Problems, Hini-T-549. Frank Wrolson of the Puyallup Tribe said in 1956 that members of his group had gone wherever the economy beckoned for more than fifty years and thus had sharpened their wits in competition with more experienced people. As a result, Wrolson concluded, the Puyallups were "about as ready as anybody" for termination. "Intertribal Council WW Indians, Minutes 1-15/16-54," NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Decimal File 103.31. In BIA records the word "Intertribal" sometimes appears as "Inter-tribal."

68. Adams's comment about "white Indians" related to a bill in Congress which would have barred future enrollment of persons with less than half Indian ancestry. Raymond H. Bitney to Morgan Pryse, February 9, 1954, describing proceedings of Intertribal Council on February 6, NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Decimal File 060, Box 260; Minutes, meeting of Intertribal Council, January 12, 1957, Ibid. (Tandy Wilbur praising congressman who urged extension of federal protection for older Indians); Questionnaires on Tribal Organization, May 15, 1953, NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Box 16 (reporting that younger people at Muckleshoot and Port Gamble favor termination but older people want continuing BIA supervision); Martin Hopie to Emmons, January 19, 1955, NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Decimal File 109, Box 17; "Intertribal Council WW Indians, Minutes 1-15/16-54, NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Decimal File 103.31 (Squaxin delegate Florence Sigo commenting that old people would suffer hardship off the reservation); Eva Greenslit Anderson, George Adams, Indian Legislator (Olympia: n.p., 1955?), booklet in Special Collections, University of Washington Library.

69. Washington State Indian Problems, HIni-T-549.

70. "Minutes of Tribal Meetings with Commissioner Emmons 9/13-14/56," NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Decimal File 109.

71. Harriet Shelton Dover implied that some people who assumed the lead in dealing with non-Indian officials during the fifties were indeed more capable than other Indians of being effective in a non-Indian cultural context. She described Wilfred Steve as a fine, mannerly, kind man -- thus praising him for traits her father had taught her to look for in a well-bred Indian leader. However, she noted that Steve's voice got big and loud when he got angry; and she recalled a time when Steve got so angry at the BIA that he caused the agent to stalk out of a Tulalip directors' meeting. Rygg,

"The Continuation of Upper Class...Attitudes," 241-43. Rygg credits Dover with similarly effective adaptations of her behavior. She dealt with non-Indians as if they were upper class Salish, Rygg says, until they showed behavior that was not upper class. Then she acted as she thought necessary to achieve her ends in her dealings with an outsider. Rygg, 383.

72. "Minutes of Tribal Meetings with Commissioner Emmons 9/13-14/56," NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Decimal File 109.

73. "Notes of Meeting with Commissioner Emmons and Delegates of Various Tribes," October 9, 1953, NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Decimal File 103.3, Box 15.

74. Questionnaires on Tribal Organization, May 15, 1953, NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Box 16. Testimony before the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs in 1953 also showshow diverse were tribal groups' concerns when talk of termination first began dominating dialogues between federal officials and tribal leaders. The Tulalip Tribes' spokesmen and lawyers focused on a dispute with BIA personnel about control of former agency lands; Wilfred Steve's principal concern was health care; Joe Hillaire argued for total Indian control and staffing of the BIA; the Swinomish community representative inveighed against liquidating tribal assets; but the Nooksack witness wanted to talk about getting Indian children into the school hot lunch program, speeding up BIA probate proceedings, and state interference with hunting and fishing. Washington State Indian Problems, HIni-T-549.

75. Early in the process of soliciting Indians' comments on a proposed termination bill the BIA offered to include a proviso that the legislation would not affect petitions pending in the Indian Claims Commission or treaty-guaranteed fishing and hunting. The Lower Elwha Clallam council eventually reversed its position on termination, adopting a resolution in 1960 asking that their lands be left in trust and thereby killing a bill pending in Congress to terminate the band. Secretary to Mr. Aspinall, April 13, 1960, and Hopie to Sam Reyburn [sic], April 27, 1960, NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Decimal File 103.3, Box 15.

76. Resolution of Lower Elwha Tribe Council, February 12, 1958, in "Government Withdrawal Program 1953," NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Decimal File 103.3, Box 15.

77. Investigate Indian Affairs, H.1051-1, 700; F.A. Gross to Commissioner, October 23, 1945, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Decimal File 610; Raymond H. Bitney to Morgan Pryse, February 9, 1954, letter furnished by Snohomish Tribe; statement on juvenile delinquency, in file of surveys dated 1956, NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Decimal File 024, Box 6. As of 1952 Gross's jurisdiction was part of an even larger agency. The consolidated Western Washington Agency maintained rolls showing 7,185 Indians in thirty-two tribes, although it

refused to take responsibility for two thousand of those people. Its jurisdiction included eighteen reservations and 107 public domain allotments in sixteen counties. According to Gross's successor, agency staff were occupied fully with managing land, forests, roads, credit services, and individual trust funds. They provided no welfare, education, or vital statistics services. "Report of Eric Stork -- Mgt Planning Withdrawal Program 1952," NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Decimal File 103.3, Box 15; Bitney to Pryse, September 10, 1952, Ibid. Periodic reports of this agency show how little information BIA personnel had on the people they supposedly supervised. See, for example, "Report on W.W. Reservation Statistical Data for Informational Bulletin - 2/11/60," NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Decimal File 050.1, Box 8; Superintendent to R.D. Holtz, July 20, 1965, NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Decimal File 052.9, Box 260 (complaining again of difficulty getting economic data for populations on seventeen reservations plus public domain groups).

78. Statements of Swinomish Tribal Community, n.d., and November 7 and 9, 1955 in "Government Withdrawal Program 1953," NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Decimal File 103.3, Box 15; Statement of Tulalip Tribes, January 20, 1955, Ibid.

79. Washington State Indian Problems, HIni-T-549.

80. Joseph Hillaire to members, House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, February 10, 1954, Ibid.

81. Bitney to Edith Riley, January 19, 1954, NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Decimal File 052.9, Box 260; "Report on Meeting Held with Tulalip Tribes, Inc., etc. and Representatives of 18 other Tribes, Bands or Groups, November 14, 1953, for the Purpose of Discussing Proposed Government Withdrawal Legislation, Western Washington Agency," 2, copy furnished by Snohomish Tribe (meeting participant asks how bill will affect him, because he is enrolled with Snoqualmie and also with Tulalip Tribe); Bitney to Pryse, February 9, 1954, NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Decimal File 060, Box 260 (Lummi delegate to intertribal council pointing out that termination bill would exacerbate land problems); "Report on W.W. Reservation Statistical Data," NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Decimal File 050.1 (reporting lack of membership rolls for several tribes); report on Duwamish tribal organization, May 15, 1953, NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Box 16 (describing as a major problem the effort to prepare a roll for the tribe); clipping from Everett Daily Herald, February, 1956, furnished by Snohomish Tribe (reporting that employee from Portland Area Office of the BIA told representatives of various tribes that the tribes' rolls were incomplete and would have to be finalized).

82. Bitney to Pryse, October 13, 1950, furnished to the Snohomish Tribe by Barbara Lane and to me by the tribe; Bitney to Pryse, February 9, 1954, Ibid. (reporting a meeting of an

intertribal council at which Tandy Wilbur claimed to represent both the Swinomish Tribal Community and the Lower Skagit Tribe, while his wife claimed to represent the Swinomish Tribe); Indian Claims Commission, Coast Salish and Western Washington Indians, 518 (testimony of Snoqualmie witness about leaving the tribe's enrollment open to Indians who also have to register where they live).

83. Prucha, The Great Father, 1017-19.

84. Wilfred Steve to Dear Friend, June 21, 1945, NA PNR RG75, Records of Portland Area Office Tribal Operations Branch, Series 56, Box 1503 (soliciting suggestions for revitalizing the NFAI and suggesting that claims cases may be the solution to many Indian problems); "Report on Meeting Held With Tulalip Tribes, etc...November 14, 1953," 3 (comments of claims attorney Frederick Post); Seattle Times, July 23, 1958, 22 (Post condemning puny awards to Nooksack, Muckleshoot tribes); Seattle Argus, September 12, 1958, 1 (editorial criticizing stingy ICC award to Nooksacks).

Nineteen tribal groups asserting aboriginal title to lands in the vicinity of the Puget Sound and Hood Canal filed petitions in the Indian Claims Commission: Duwamish, Kikiallus, Lummi, Muckleshoot, Nisqually, Nooksack, Puyallup, Samish, Skagit, Upper Skagit, S'Klallam, Skokomish, Snohomish, Snoqualmie, Squaxin, Steilacoom, Stillaguamish, Suquamish, and Swinomish. The commission's earliest findings and opinions, which described tribal territories but did not include calculations of awards, came in 1955, '56, and '57. In determining how much land each tribe had aboriginally used and occupied to the exclusion of others, the commission usually estimated the tribe's population at the time of white settlement and presumed that the resulting small numbers of people would have been able to draw adequate subsistence from territories close to their villages. Noting that members of western Washington tribes mingled with the people of other tribes at jointly used fishing and gathering areas, the commission excluded such areas from all the territories claimed by petitioners. Coast Salish and Western Washington Indians, 67, 70, 116, 128, etc.

In 1944 Snoqualmie chief Jerry Kenim told the House subcommittee that he had waited since childhood for the government to fulfill its promises to his tribe, that he was still waiting, and that the government could be of most use to his people by giving them money in lieu of the land it had promised. Peter James also emphasized the loss in the Court of Claims and asked for action on a bill which would have appropriated more than four million dollars for the Duwamish Tribe. Investigate Indian Affairs, H.1051-0. 695-97, 706-07.

85. Bitney to Pryse, January 27, 1954, NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Decimal File 103.3.

86. "Acculturation Reports, May 1, 1963," memorandum of Richard Balsiger, March 9, 1963, NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Decimal File 024.1, Box 6; Lummi Study, Ibid.

87. BIA press release, January 12, 1955, NA PNR RG75 Western Washington Decimal File 109, Box 17; memorandum of Melvin Robertson to all tribes, January 4, 1955, Ibid.; Portland Area Office to Superintendent, August 24, 1956, NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Decimal File 109, Box 18; clipping from Seattle Times, September 13, 1956, Ibid. Burt explains this move on Emmons's part as an effort to preempt his opponents' increasingly popular proposals for economic development. Tribalism in Crisis, 75.

88. Commissioner Emmons, saying that Indians could not all be farmers, described relocation to delegates from western Washington tribes as an effort to relieve reservations of their surplus populations. For interested Indians, he said, the BIA would find jobs and provide health care for a year. "Minutes of Tribal Meetings with Commissioner Emmons 9/13-14/56," NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Decimal File 109, Box 18. In 1959 relocated Indians received the cost of transportation to their new home, financial aid until the first pay check came, health insurance for six months, and offers of help finding jobs and housing. Bellingham Herald, November 23, 1959, 1. Burt notes that underfunding was a nationwide problem for the BIA's efforts to relocate Indians. Tribalism in Crisis, 56-58.

89. Employment Assistance Case Files (1957-1961), NA PNR RG75, Western Washington, Box 186, including: Report to Area Director, December 17, 1959; "Relocation 1957;" Fiscal Year 1962 Evaluations; Statistical and Narrative Report, November 9, 1960; and clipping from Seattle P-I, April 27, 1959.

90. Wilfred Steve to Dear Friend, June 21, 1945, NA PNR RG75, Portland Area Series 56, Box 1503.

91. Minutes, NFAI meeting, July 3, 1945, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Decimal File 090. In the same file are minutes of an NFAI meeting July 15, 1939, at which there was controversy about whether to reorganize so that NFAI members would be tribes, represented by their governing councils, rather than individuals. The vote was 20 to 15 against the proposed change. It is apparent from these minutes that the organization had not collected dues from anyone for several years. See also, F.A. Gross to several BIA offices, June 19, 1945, Ibid., with a newspaper clipping and minutes of the meeting of June 15, which indicate that NFAI had not held a recorded meeting since 1941; Porter, "Without Reservation," 126.

92. Notes of Meeting with Commissioner Emmons, October 9, 1953, NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Decimal File 103.3; Joseph Hillaire to members, House Committee, Interior and Insular Affairs, February 10, 1954, NA PNR RG75, Western Washington, Box 15; Bitney to Pryse, February 9, 1954, NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Decimal File 103.31; "Sebastian Williams Named President of Intertribal Group at Renton Sessions," Everett Daily Herald, February, 1956, copy of clipping

supplied by Snohomish Tribe. Inter-tribal Council of Western Washington Indians Resolution No. 1, November 14, 1953, begins, "WHEREAS, we Indians of Western Washington Area have problems so much alike and that we can be more effective as an official organized group...." It then asks all local councils to authorize delegates to attend a meeting at which they can effect an organization with authority to act on behalf of tribes and Indians of the Northwest. NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Decimal File 060, Box 260. Other minutes, memos, and letters concerning Inter-tribal Council business are in the same file. Also, Bitney to Pryse, January 27, 1954, NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Decimal File 103.3; Porter, "Without Reservation," 129.

93. "Intertribal Council WW Indians, Minutes 1-15/16-54," NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Decimal File 103.31. In 1978 members of a state Indian Affairs Task Force wrote that the charter members of the Inter-tribal Council included the Snohomish, Steilacoom, Samish, and Stillaguamish Tribes -- all landless -- and that landless tribes participated during the 1950s in the National Congress of American Indians. Indian Affairs Task Force, The People Speak, Will You Listen? (Olympia: State of Washington, 1978), 85.

94. Attendance list for meeting with Commissioner, January 20, 1955, NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Box 17, Folder 109; list of tribal delegates appointed to meet with Commissioner, attached to Notes on Meeting with Commissioner Emmons, November 7, 1953, copy furnished by Barbara Lane via Snohomish Tribe; Bitney to Pryse, September 30, 1953, Ibid.; Bitney to Chairman of Snohomish Tribal Council, April 2, 1951, Petition for Acknowledgement of Snohomish Tribe of Indians, Reply Appendix G-14; Bitney to Forrest Elwell, Ibid., Appendix G-15; Bitney to Dessie McDermott, November 19, 1951, Ibid., Appendix G-16. A draft termination bill dated September 15, 1953, defines "tribe" to mean the following "tribes, bands, comunities, organization or groups: Chehalis, Chinook, Clallam, Cowlitz, Dwamish, Hoh, Humptulips, Jamestown Tribal Organization, Kikiallus Tribe, Lower Elwha Tribal Community, Lower Skagit, Lummi, Makah, Muckelshoot [sic], Nisqually, Nooksak [sic], Ozette Tribes, Port Gamble Community, Puyallup, Quileute, Quinault, Samish, San Juan Island, Satsop, Shoalwater Bay and Georgetown, Skagit, Skokomish, Snohomish, Snoqualmie, Squaxin, Steilacoom, Stillaguamish, Suiattle, Suquamish, Swinomish Tribe and Tulalip Tribes, Inc." NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Box 32. BIA personnel also maintained records showing the officers of organized tribes without regard to whether those tribes had reservations. File of tribal council rosters, 1946-1949, NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Box 257 (including Duwamish, Jamestown Clallam, Skagit, Snoqualmie, and Suiattle).

95. Minutes of meeting of Inter-tribal Council of Western Washington Indians, November 14, 1953, NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Decimal File 060; Resolutions of Snoqualmie,

Skagit, and Snohomish Tribes, 1955, NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Decimal File 109, Box 17.

96. House Report 2680, 83d Cong., 2d sess., September 20, 1954, cited in Coast Salish and Western Washington Indians, 512 (describing Snoqualmie membership as opposed to release from wardship because government had not lived up to treaty; concluding that mutual termination of the treaty would pave the way for the band's emancipation); Questionnaire on Tribal Organization in report for Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, May 15, 1953, NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Agency, Box 16; Porter, "Without Reservation," 126. In BIA Tribal Operations Branch Files for the Western Washington Agency, NA PNR RG75, Box 286, are minutes of the Samish Tribe of Indians for July 15, August 12, September 2, September 30, 1951, and October 28, 1951, all of which focus on determining who and where the Samish were historically and in 1951. At the last meeting the participants unanimously rejected a proposal to join the Lummi and Nooksack tribes' Indian Claims Commission petition. See also Bitney to Mary McDowell Hansen, August 28, 1953, Ibid. (asking for copy of minutes of Samish constitution and by-laws so that members of tribe may receive services at Tacoma Indian Hospital); Hansen to Bitney, October 3, 1953, Ibid. (enclosing constitution and minutes of meeting "at the time of our revitalization," giving names of tribal officers from 1918-19 and 1926-30). See also, Minutes, San Juan Islands Indian Tribe, April 14, 1951, NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Decimal File 064.23, Box 11.

97. Investigate Indian Affairs, H.1051-0, 713. Ten years after giving this testimony Wilbur appeared at a meeting of the Inter-tribal Council as both a representative of the Swinomish Tribal Community government and of the Lower Skagit Tribe -- one of several alleged aboriginal treaty bands with members on the Swinomish Reservation and elsewhere. Bitney to Pryse, February 9, 1954, NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Decimal File 103.31.

98. Porter, "Without Reservation," 127-31.

99. Bitney to Pryse, October 17, 1950, copy supplied by Barbara Lane via the Snohomish Tribe; Bitney to Commissioner, September 30, 1953, "Congressional Hearing...Sept. 25, 1953," NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Decimal File 024.1, Box 6; Washington State Indian Problems, Hini-T-549; Bitney to Commissioner, November 28, 1953, furnished by Snohomish Tribe.

100. Bitney to Pryse, February 9, 1954, NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Decimal File 060, Box 260; Washington State Indian Problems, HIni-T-549; "Intertribal Council WW Indians, Minutes 1-15/16-54," NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Decimal 103.31; Porter, "Without Reservations," 129-30. It is also possible that Indians such as Sampson originated the argument that the Swinomish and all other Point Elliott treaty parties

had interests in Tulalip reservation agency lands. In 1937 Sampson applied to the Tulalip Board of Directors for a permit to operate a fish trap on Tulalip reservation tidelands. His request was denied. Minutes of Tulalip Board of Directors, June 18, 1937, NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Box 293.

101. Questionnaires on Tribal Organization, May 15, 1953, NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Decimal Files, Box 16 (covering Duwamish, Lower Elwah, Jamestown Clallam, Lummi, Muckleshoot, Nooksack, Nisqually, Port Gamble, Puyallup, Snoqualmie, Skagit, Skokomish, Suquamish, Suiattle, Swinomish, and Tulalip Indians); "Government Withdrawal Program 1953," NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Decimal File 103.3, Box 16 (Lummi tribal council's trouble getting quorum); Surveys of Lower Elwha, Lummi, Muckleshoot, Nisqually, Port Gamble, Port Madison, Puyallup, Skokomish, Squaxin, Swinomish, and Tulalip Tribes in Report for Committee on Interior & Insular Affairs, 1956, NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Decimal File 024, Box 6; Minutes of individual tribal delegates' meetings with Emmons, 1956, NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Decimal File 109, Box 18; "Acculturation Reports, May 1, 1963," NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Decimal File 024.1; "Indians in the Real-Estate Business," Seattle Times, November 28, 1954, Magazine 10 (Tulalip Tribes' leasing and resort ventures, loans and assistance to members).

102. Minutes of individual tribal delegates' meetings with Emmons, 1956, NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Decimal File 109, Box 18; Agency statement regarding juvenile delinquency on reservations, 1956, NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Decimal File 024, Box 6; "Acculturation Reports, May 1, 1963," NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Decimal File 024.1 (reporting more non-Indians than Indians on Lummi Reservation); Seattle Times, November 13, 1949, Magazine (entire section describing growth of Marysville, a town on the border of the Tulalip Reservation). According to Burt, federal officials reasoned that they could reduce BIA expenditures and activities by reducing the corpus of trust and restricted land which the agency managed. The BIA therefore stepped up sales and leases of Indian lands dramatically during the 1950s. Tribalism in Crisis, 59-61. Figures for western Washington do not show a dramatic decrease in Indian-owned lands between 1933 and 1956 -- a few hundred acres at most on each reservation. Cf. Survey of Conditions of Indians in the United States, 72d Cong., 1st sess., part 32, 17196-17203, and Report for Committee on Interior & Insular Affairs, NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Decimal File 024, Box 6. Comparable statistics on leasing are not available. However, in the 1950s Congress did approve long-term leases of lands on Washington reservations; and leases of common lands at Tulalip and Port Madison made possible the development of housing for numerous new non-Indians. Minutes of individual tribal delegates' meetings with Emmons, 1956, NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Decimal File 109, Box 18 (Squaxin Island delegates complain that because of land sales white people

run all over the island, tribe is unable to protect lands and clams; Suquamish delegates report whites buying tidelands, complain that former village site acquired by military was never returned to Indians and instead has been developed for exclusively white housing; Tulalip delegate says tribe leases 400 summer homes). For a summary of national trends which contributed to the growth of suburbs and highway-dependent businesses, see Richard Polenberg, One National Divisible: Class, Race, and Ethnicity in the United States since 1938 (New York: Penguin Books, 1960), 127-135; Michael Schaller, Virginia Scharff, Robert D. Schulzinger, Present Tense: The United States since 1945 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1992), 125-29.

103. 67 United States Statutes 588-90; Prucha, The Great Father, 1044-46; Agency statement regarding juvenile delinquency, 1956, NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Decimal File 024, Box 6; Bellingham Herald, July 12, 1959, 1; "Government Withdrawal Program 1953," NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Decimal File 103.3, Box 15 (reporting Suquamish approval of state jurisdiction over law and order and Nisqually fears that state does not want to serve Indians); "Intertribal Council WW Indians, Minutes 1-15/16-54," NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Decimal File 103.31 (Tandy Wilbur remarking that the state cannot adequately serve Indians because it does not understand their problems); "State to Rule Muckleshoots," Seattle Times, August 27, 1957; "Tulalips Put Under State Jurisdiction," Seattle Times, May 8, 1958; "Civil-Court Jurisdiction Over Indians Is Problem for State," Seattle Times, November 11, 1959, 3 (indicating nine western Washington tribes have chosen to accept state civil jurisdiction); "Law Enforcement Problems Plague Pacific N.W. Reservation Indians," Seattle Times, March 20, 1960, Magazine 7. Complaining that some of their people would not obey the tribe's rules, some members of the Puyallup governing council in 1958 even wanted to ask state agencies to enforce state fishing regulations inside the reservation. The Seattle Times, October 5, 1958, 47.

104. Minutes of individual tribal delegates' meetings with Emmons, 1956, NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Decimal File 109, Box 18; "Stanford Research Institute Report June 1, 1956," NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Decimal File 052.9, Box 9.

105. Questionnaires on Tribal Organization, 1953, NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Decimal Files, Box 16 (describing Duwamish enrollment as major problem that is constantly being worked on; saying that no member of the Nisqually council is a member of the tribe); Memorandum of Raymond Bitney to Edith Riley, January 19, 1954, NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Decimal File 060 (Sebastian Williams's comment that a lot of Indians eligible for membership in IRA corporations such as Tulalip were also eligible by descent for membership in other tribes); Minutes of tribal delegates' meetings with Emmons, 1956, NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Decimal File 109, Box 18 (Suquamish delegate expressing uncertainty about whether

the criteria of membership her tribe arrived at are consistent with the government's criteria of Indian identity). Based on an interview with Tulalip tribal manager Sebastian Williams, Roger Patrick Karrigan concluded that reservation residents did not determine whether someone was Indian by reference to treaties, statutes, or tribal constitutions. "On the Reservation," he wrote, "there has been no official yardstick. An Indian...has been determined, probably, by appearance and his acceptance in the community as being Indian." "A Study of the Scholastic Peformance of the Indian Pupils in the Marysville (Washington) School District" (Master's thesis, University of Washington, 1961), 7. See also, "When Is an Indian Not an Indian?" Seattle Times, July 22, 1956, Magazine 10 (reporting debate among state officials triggered by recent meeting of Chinook tribe, which had no reservation, no ratified treaty, and an "admixture of white blood probably longer than any other tribe in the state;" noting that courts and agencies interested in having persons descended from Indians establish their ancestry).

# CHAPTER 8

## TREATY FISHING RIGHTS: AN EMBLEM UNFURLED

During the 1950s and 1960s treaty clauses that mention fishing became the most often and the most passionately waved, saluted, and disputed emblems of identity for Indians in western Washington. To say this is not to deny that fishing or treaties were previously important to large numbers of aborigines' descendants. Only in the middle of the twentieth century, however, did most people who identified themselves as local Indians focus with nearly single-minded purpose on the treaty-reserved right to fish as symbolic of their relations with others and hence the defining feature of Indian identity.

After World War II, and particularly by the end of the 1950s, Indians could often see themselves reflected in non-Indians' eyes as poor, isolated, and left out of America's progress. They responded in typically varied ways to their marginalization. Many sought spiritual and cultural validation of their worth. Many instead or also promoted the formulation of Indian identity that tribal organizations had presented in the Court of Claims, portraying themselves as people once honored with solemn government promises. After the Claims Court's adverse judgment in 1934, the promise that Indians most often cited was a clause included in every treaty Isaac Stevens negotiated: "The right of taking fish at usual and accustomed grounds and stations is further secured to said Indians in common with all citizens of the Territory...."[1] Not until the 1960s, however, did converging pressures spur many diverse people to rally around this clause as the leading standard of Indian identity.

During the 1940s the fishing issue simmered but did not boil over. Roused by recent disputes about tribal fish traps and by state prosecutions of Indian fishers, Northwest BIA superintendents put the issue on the agenda for their regional meeting in 1940. There they expressed concerns that moved John Collier to commission a thorough study of Washington and Oregon tribes' treaty fishing, hunting, and gathering rights. The report that attorney Edward Swindell produced two years later merely gave the BIA an excuse to shove the kettle of fish onto the back burner. Although Swindell concluded that whites had curtailed Indian fishing in ways the native treaty negotiators did not anticipate, he also noted that the courts had upheld the whites' actions. In his view, Indians and their federal guardian had little recourse left but to plead with state legislatures to take pity on Indians and grant them limited special fishing privileges. However, observing that Indians' "heritage of the past and its freedom from man-made restrictions is both fresh and uppermost in their minds," Swindell predicted that it would be hard to make Indians see just how narrow their rights now were.[2]

According to Donald Parman, Swindell's report had no impact on the administration of Indian affairs. Certainly the BIA did not make effective appeals to the Washington State legislature on Indians' behalf. Instead, like Swindell, key federal officials assumed for many years that a 1942 Supreme Court ruling -- Tulee v. Washington -- was the last and best attainable word on Indians' fishing rights. The opinion in Tulee, which construed Stevens's agreement with the Yakimas,

cautioned that treaty language must be read liberally to give Indians the benefit of any doubt and to prohibit all state restrictions on Indian fishing except those which were "indispensable" for conserving the fish. However, the holding in Tulee was limited: state licensing requirements were not indispensable to conservation. BIA personnel consequently advised Indians that the decision, while relieving them of the need to buy licenses, obliged them to abide by other state regulations when fishing outside their reservations.[3]

The partial victory in Tulee, peace overtures from state officials, and the departure of many non-Indian commercial fishers during World War II temporarily improved conditions for most Indians who wanted to fish; but neither state officials nor Indians pretended that all issues between them had been resolved.[4] In 1946, state fisheries managers indicated a desire to negotiate with tribal governments for coordinated conservation measures. More specifically, however, they pressed the tribes to make Indians follow state rules when fishing on the reservations, where the state government itself had no jurisdiction to apply its laws. A further reduction in the Indian catch was necessary, they argued, in order to conserve salmon that migrated through the reservations to spawning grounds.[5]

While tribal spokesmen were pleased that state officials acknowledged them and their interest in fish, they were irritated that the state permitted off-shore commercial fishers to intercept most migrating salmon before the fish reached reservation waters. At a meeting of Indian leaders with

fisheries director Milo Moore, George Adams protested that Moore was asking them to close their fisheries because whites outside Puget Sound had already caught all but the fish needed for reproduction. It was not Indian fishing that threatened the salmon's survival, Adams argued, but state-licensed fishing and enterprises that despoiled salmon habitat, especially dams and the lumber industry.[6]

Adams's analysis had a solid basis in fact. A state ban on fixed gear such as set nets and traps had ensured that Washington's commercial fishers would go after the salmon on the open water, well before they arrived at the rivers to spawn, pursuing them with equipment that required greater investment than most Indians could afford or borrow. For this reason, Indians' proportion of the state's total fish harvest was very low -- below ten percent for all species of salmon.[7]

As Swindell had predicted, some Indian fishers continued to act on an understanding of their rights that differed from interpretations they heard from state and BIA officials. Indians who had no reservations, for instance, tried to fish and ran afoul of state authorities. In 1946 the arrest of three men who set nets in the Nooksack River roused Tandy Wilbur and Sebastian Williams, on behalf of the Northwestern Federation of American Indians, to demand that the federal government work to alleviate tensions surrounding state enforcement of hunting and fishing laws.[8] For two decades, however, federal action consisted of little more than occasionally reminding state officials that Indians had special rights deserving of respect. Whether and how to assert those

rights was left to Indians, usually individuals, to decide.

Galling as it was, the suppression of their fishing had not goaded many Indians into concerted resistance by the late 1940s, primarily because they did not yet realize that the other crucial component of their most common subsistence strategy -- wage work -- was also failing them. Indeed, at the end of the war many Indians, enjoying a newly expanded place in the workforce, had reason for optimism about their economic future. In 1944, when the House Subcommittee on Indian Affairs asked tribal leaders to summarize the conditions they faced, the Muckleshoot reservation council responded: "The Muckleshoot people live principally by wage economy and their principal problem is, in general, to maintain working operations. This, for the past few years, has been no difficulty." The federal government could be of most help to Indians, the council concluded, "by maintaining a condition of prosperity which will demand our labor."[9]

While general conditions of prosperity did continue in the region, Indians lost income immediately after the war when soldiers returned to civilian life and defense contractors laid workers off.[10] Nevertheless, as late as 1953 personnel at the BIA's Western Washington Agency were still officially upbeat about Indians' economic prospects. (Perhaps a desire to see the people of their jurisdiction as good candidates for emancipation from federal guardianship gave their glasses this rosy tint.) The non-reservation Duwamish, they claimed, had earnings comparable to non-Indians. Living standards of Indians on the Muckleshoot, Suquamish, Swinomish, and Tulalip

reservations and in the Puyallup area had improved since 1934. Even where there was no overall improvement to report, most Indians continued to support themselves, as their non-Indian neighbors did, by wage work. Only in the tiny Nisqually community had economic conditions deteriorated "due to the reduction in the fish run." Reports such as this evidently made Commissioner Emmons feel justified three years later in describing western Washington Indians as "comparatively well off." "'I know of no cases of poverty...,'" Emmons told a Seattle newspaper, "'There is a good labor market here and many of them are finding jobs in industry or other places.'"[11]

In reality, by the end of the 1950s Puget Sound Indians were nearing the base of the slippery economic slope they had been negotiating since early in the century. Their heavy reliance on unskilled and seasonal wage work had become a liability. By the mid 1960s, employment sufficient for year-round self-support was the exception in most Indian communities around the sound. In these circumstances, the concurrent loss of fishing opportunities was frightening and maddening.

In 1963, when the BIA studied three Puget Sound reservations with the announced aim of determining how quickly Indian residents would be able to move into mainstream American culture, officials saw a discouraging picture. The Lummi, Muckleshoot, and Swinomish reservations all had consistently high rates of unemployment and dependence on public assistance. Ten to forty percent of people at Lummi and up to sixty percent at Muckleshoot were unemployed at a time. Between one quarter and three quarters of the Indians received welfare payments at

least part of the year. On the Tulalip reservation during the same year, according to a newspaper report, 52 of 92 families lived through the winter on some kind of state assistance, and the annual income of family groups averaged only $1,428 -- drastically less than the national median family income of approximately $5,700. In 1970 the Bureau estimated that two-thirds of employable adults in the Muckleshoot, Puyallup, and Tulalip tribes were either unemployed or holding temporary jobs.[12]

These and other data assembled during the 1960s convinced many people that poverty was endemic in Indian communities. Whether the data measured an actual decline in Indians' material well-being after 1950 is hard to determine. BIA statistics, which were nothing more than estimates in any case, profiled different features in different decades, thus frustrating a comparative analysis. Furthermore, the negative emphasis of the BIA's 1963 report could reflect the spirit of the times -- the rediscovery of poverty in America -- more than a real deterioration of Indians' economic situation. The number of Indian welfare recipients does indicate that a low standard of living was the norm on reservations, yet welfare statistics are less compelling evidence of an increase in poverty than they seem at first glance. State public assistance for unemployed Indians, unknown before the war, provided a convenient way to measure poverty that may have existed previously, unacknowledged or undocumented.[13]

Whether Indians grew poorer during the 1950s and '60s does not matter so much here as the fact that virtually everyone

believed they did. Indians as well as non-Indians contributed to perceptions of the decline, purveying images of forlorn reservation dwellers, isolated in economic backwaters, ashamed of their poverty, and discouraged from striving for better. "The Plight of Our Indians: Tribes See Little Hope for Future," announced a Post-Intelligencer headline in 1964. A few years later the Seattle Times carried stories entitled "Poverty on Indian Reservations Is Evident at Port Gamble" and "State Indians Worse off Than Negroes...." In response to a Times article of 1958, which declared the integration of Indians into public schools a success, the editor of Northwest Indian News argued that Indians could not hope for equality as long as their children began school with material as well as physical and emotional handicaps and quickly became convinced of their inferiority. According to a Times reporter, Muckleshoot leader Annie Garrison complained about a newspaper story characterizing her people as poor; but moments earlier she had remarked that hers was one of the poorest tribes in the state.[14]

The confirmation of Indians' poverty was all the more demoralizing for coming on the heels of wartime employment and the post-war boom, which had raised Indians' hopes of joining other Americans on the path to prosperity. As fingers of suburban development touched the Muckleshoot reservation, a BIA study noted, "there is the incongruous vista of modern housing in the $15,000 to $25,000 range adjacent to very substandard wooden shacks without adedquate water or sanitation."[15] What had gone wrong? Had the benighted Indians been pushed off the

path to prosperity, voluntarily turned back, or unknowingly taken the wrong fork? Each of these explanations had its adherents. In many explanations, lost fishing opportunities merited barely a mention, if that.

In reporter Robert Browning's opinion, Indians had made the choices that doomed them to poverty, particularly the choice to slake their "incurable thirst" for alcohol and not to instill in their children a desire to compete with whites in school or workplaces. A Stanford Research Institute survey of 1956 came to a similar conclusion.

> Problems of employment center principally around Indian attitudes and education. While there is no reported general opposition of employers to hiring Indians, the Indians themselves feel that they are not acceptable, and for this reason do not seek employment as aggressively as non-Indians. Where there is discrimination, it is usually based on poor work habits of the individual involved.

Indians of the Muckleshoot Reservation, SRI added more caustically, "are generally unwilling to work, show little responsibility, and apparently prefer to subsist on welfare....The local employment agency is reluctant to recommend Indians for jobs other than common labor for fear that employers will discontinue use of the service."[16]

Some commentators believed that reservation Indians represented the least enterprising of the race, left behind when their more ambitious and capable relatives abandoned the isolated, resource-poor reservations for urban areas. This theory may have been flattering to Indians in the cities, but it did not explain why many of them, too, faced discouraging conditions. Indians in Seattle, surveyed by two sociologists in 1971, fared poorly compared to their non-Indian neighbors.

Their unemployment rate was twice and their median income was half that of whites.[17]

A high proportion of Indians in the Seattle study, many other Indians, and some sympathetic non-Indians laid much of the blame for Indian poverty on prejudiced whites.[18] Annie Garrison told Emmons that the taunts of whites contributed to Muckleshoot children's propensity to drop out of school. Tandy Wilbur said in 1954 that some people were leaving the reservations "to feel their own way around but there are still Indians on reservations today that can not go out and find those kinds of jobs because those jobs are not...open to them."[19] Other analysts added that Indians' response to actual or anticipated discrimination reinforced the impact of prejudice, helping to power a vicious cycle made up of inadequate education, reliance on unskilled labor, poor health, lack of capital, and aversion to competition with whites.[20]

The desire to explain and ameliorate Indians' dismal conditions brought special laws and institutions for Indians, especially reservations, under public scrutiny once again. Commentators argued about whether reservations kept the vicious cycle spinning or promised to break it. Some saw them as infantilizing institutions and favored pushing residents out into new geographical and occupational territory, where they could presumably learn what it took to survive in the real world. A Seattle Times reporter, describing the Port Gamble reservation community as an eyesore and Hooverville West, suggested in 1967 that rehabilitating the reservation would just make it harder to give up the "voluntary segregation" that

kept Indians poor. Other observers argued for greater investment in the reservations on the theory that Indians who managed and worked in their own, healthier institutions would gain confidence to deal with the world outside. Sebastian Williams, manager of the Tulalip Tribes' businesses, said he opposed Indians' segregation from non-Indians; yet he wanted to see the reservations "industrialized" for the sake of residents who were stranded by the collapse of what he identified as their traditional mainstays -- fishing and lumbering.[21]

Indians' poverty was humiliating for Indian community representatives who dealt with non-Indian officials and organizations. In the nineteenth century, well-bred native men had commonly referred to themselves rhetorically at intervillage gatherings as poor and pitiful, but most had demonstrated their power to be other than poor by lavishing wealth on their listeners. In the middle of the twentieth century, self-denigrating rhetoric was still or again a common feature of Indian leaders' formal relations with important outsiders, but it was no longer the rhetoric of people who were confident of their powers to attract wealth and win the outsiders' respect. Indeed, the modern speakers typically hoped by their words to stimulate listeners to give Indians money rather than to receive gifts from them.

By the 1950s, then, if the descendants of nineteenth-century aboriginal villagers were to take pride in the Indian identity that whites ascribed to most of them, it would have to be based on something other than the ability to amass wealth or even to maintain independence through the adroit use of

resources and opportunities. The right to redeem Governor Stevens's pledges, including the right to fish, had long been a basis of Indian self-assertion and pride, but its potential must have seemed to many Indians to be waning. Therefore, during this period as in previous eras, Indians also tried to prove themselves worthy of esteem in other ways.

In the post-war period many people, particularly in the northernmost counties of western Washington, found an important source of self-esteem in religious activities. Anthropologist June Collins observed that the religious life of Upper Skagits was especially strong during the period 1942 to 1969. Not only did the Shakers remain active, but the Pentecostals also made converts among the Skagits, and some people took part in aboriginal-style spirit dancing. Many Indians participated in the ceremonies of all three faiths, each of which gave worshippers opportunities to demonstrate that they, like their nineteenth-century ancestors, had supernatural assistance. Rather than ensuring proficiency in exploits that enriched the actor and impressed outsiders, however, the spiritual devotions of mid-twentieth-century Indians more often brought good health, power to avoid or survive hardship, and the support and admiration of close friends and kin.[22]

Religious displays did have the effect of elevating Indians in others' eyes, but those eyes were usually Indian. To participate in spirit dancing, for example, individuals had to belong to a local Indian group; and their participation in turn confirmed that the group accepted them.[23] Outside observers had differing impressions of the dancers' objectives.

Joyce Wike, who studied spirit dancing on the Swinomish Reservation in the late 1930s, and Pamela Amoss, who wrote about dances in the Nooksack Valley during the 1970s, concluded that the dancers' aim was not so much to boost their status in traditional ways as to express their individuality in a supportive context. On the other hand, John Kew argued that the principal purpose of spirit dances at a British Columbia reserve in the 1960s -- dances that people from Tulalip, Swinomish, Lummi, and Nooksack attended -- was indeed status enhancement. Despite their differing perceptions, the three scholars ultimately agreed that dance ceremonies enabled participants to meet a need for positive evaluations of their worth -- evaluations they did not often receive in contacts with non-Indians.[24]

By successfully hosting a dance, the people of a community -- even those who did not dance -- also expressed and contributed to local pride. According to Wike, Swinomish Reservation residents were gratified that their smoke house ceremonies on Treaty Day attracted Indians from all the Puget Salish groups. Kew and Wayne Suttles remarked that the main themes of speeches at large ceremonials of the 1960s -- themes such as kinship ties and shared dedication to maintaining Indian traditions -- reflected the participants' desire to be recognized outside their immediate locale, both as individuals and as members of their respective communities.[25]

For some dancers it was apparently a source of pride to know that white people were interested in and amazed by their performances. Indians were wary, however, of spectators whose

respect they could not be sure of. In 1957, when David Richardson furnished the Tacoma News Tribune/ Sunday Ledger with a detailed account of spirit dances at north sound reservations, he reported that white visitors received pairs of cedar sticks to use in beating an accompaniment but were also expected to leave after the chief thanked them for coming. "If the whites don't take the hint," Richardson wrote, "there may be a filibuster until they do. There is no great objection to a small number of white visitors if they are genuinely interested in the dances, but large groups of curiosity seekers are definitely discouraged from staying."[26]

Spirit dances and Shaker meetings were not the only Indian gatherings that could boost participants' morale and validate positive aspects of their ethnic identity. Being recognized at other ceremonial occasions -- funerals and naming ceremonies, for instance -- likewise affirmed an individual's place in an estimable group. Harriet Shelton Dover remembered with pleasure being asked to sing her song at a naming on the Lummi Reservation. Implying that the recognition was proof of her family tree's noble breadth, she said, "There were people there from all over but we all came from the same family."[27]

Summer festivals, revived on some reservations after the war, also fed Indians' sense of belonging to a self-respecting group. The festivals drew Indians from a wide area for activities such as secular dancing, canoe racing, craft sales, and sports competitions.[28] There were new arenas, too, where strangers could celebrate their shared Indian identity. In 1960, for instance, Indians opened a service center in Seattle.

Five years later two of the center's top staffers disclosed to a journalist their hope that such an institution would help Indians to realize the best of both the cultures they had to live in.[29]

As the Seattle Indian Center example suggests, the bigotry and indifference of some whites did not discourage all Indians from trying to project a better image of themselves to whites. While looking to each other to validate the positive features of their racial identity, Indians also made or took advantage of opportunities to display for non-Indians what made them proud to be Indians. The lively interest of many Indians from western Washington communities in mounting such outward displays belied the prevalent stereoptype of them as self-isolating and uncommunicative. Indeed, anthropologist John Dewhirst characterized Coast Salish summer festivals or powwows of the 1960s as "the direct expression of an Indian identity to large numbers of assembled whites."[30]

Summer festival sponsors advertised their celebrations to whites, involved white dignitaries as special guests, and promoted dances and regalia such as feather bonnets that met white expectations about Indians. The sponsors, Dewhirst noted, were usually Indians who had had frequent interaction with whites, thus becoming familiar with whites' stereotypes of Indians and even internalizing many white middle class values. At Lummi after the war, the annual Stommish (warrior festival) was a project of the American Legion chapter on the reservation. By appealing to images of Indians that whites as well as Indians considered positive, especially romantic ideals

of Indians in the past, festival leaders sought to "upgrade" their identity as Indians, Dewhirst argued. For example, a speaker at the 1968 Stommish opened his explanation of a public naming ceremony by saying, "The day is upon us when the lowly Indian has to prove his identity."[31]

As had been the case in various circles since the turn of the century, the ability to describe Indians of a bygone, presumably prouder era brought some individuals positive attention from whites in the post-war years. During the late 1940s and 1950s students of Erna Gunther and other anthropologists -- June Collins, Wayne Suttles, William Elmendorf, and Sally Snyder -- sought out geriatric Indians willing to talk about the past, recorded the lore they knew, and used it to assemble images of Indian culture before its alleged disintegration.[32] Self-identified authorities on Indian legends and ancient ceremonial life continued to find broader audiences as well. A few popular books -- Murray Morgan's Skid Road, and Betty McDonald's novel The Egg and I, for example -- eschewed romantic depictions of local Indians.[33] However, there remained a market for tales and performances that cast Indians as heirs to an attractive, other-worldly culture.[34]

William Shelton's daughter Harriet catered to the market, becoming a teacher of Indian language, arts, and crafts during this period. For twenty years she held classes, attended mostly by white children, in her home. A 1958 photographic feature in the Seattle Times Sunday magazine showed her surrounded by her father's collection of artifacts from many

different Indian cultures -- beaded buckskin as well as cedar carvings. Joe Hillaire, who credited Harriet's father with teaching him to carve totems, also continued his energetic efforts to give non-Indians a positive view of Indians' past culture. In 1965 a Seattle Times reporter found Hillaire, now paralyzed, living on the Suquamish Reservation and teaching songs to Explorer Scouts, who performed them at a nearby tourist attraction.[35]

Hillaire also wanted to convince whites that Indians brought an honorable history to contemporary dealings between the races. In 1954 he promoted a plan to have the Inter-tribal Council and the Washington Department of Parks jointly sponsor a centennial commemoration of the Point Elliott Treaty. He proposed to erect at the treaty conference site in Mukilteo a longhouse representing "concepts of primitive life which have seeded themselves fondly in the minds of the American people." While assuring a Seattle Times reporter that the pageant would be one of the big tourist attractions of the year, Hillaire expounded a version of history that lent Indians' humble modern circumstances some dignity and implied there was reason for hope. The treaty legacy was central to his analysis. The longhouse at Mukilteo, he said, would symbolize the wisdom of the chiefs in choosing a peaceful settlement over bloodshed when white settlers overran their homeland. The treaty generation, he continued, knew it was "'the course of human events'" rather than the acts of individuals that had changed Indians' world and made further change necessary. Without bitterness they moved onto reservations and waited, believing

the Great White Father would take care of them. While waiting, they adjusted to a new way of life, accepted American citizenship, and aided the country in wartime. In conclusion, Hillaire expressed a wish that the treaty centennial would prompt everyone to look beyond Indians' immediate problems, take an inventory of the past, and plan for the next hundred years of inevitable change.[36]

If the centennial celebration proceeded as Hillaire envisioned, it did not leave a well marked paper trail. I could find no reference to a treaty commemoration in western Washington except in 1961, when Hillaire reportedly played the role of Lummi signer Chowitshoot at ground-breaking ceremonies for a commercial Indian theme park on Blake Island, west of Seattle.[37] Nevertheless, as the treaties' hundredth anniversary approached, other events were precipitating a re-evaluation of Indians' circumstances much like the one Hillaire hoped for. Many people were talking about the treaties, and that talk was pushing more and more residents of western Washington to take inventory of developments since 1855, to consider Indians' modern status, and to think about effecting change in the future. The most common focus of discussion was the fishing rights clause.

Although the treaties had given indigenous people a way to understand their relations with white Americans since 1855, Indians had never understood the treaties or the relations they symbolized in the same way. To the people who met with Felix Brunot in 1871 the treaties were a pledge to take care of them, so that they might become as well-to-do and worthy of respect

as whites.[38] To Thomas Bishop and leaders of the Northwestern Federation of Indians in 1922, the treaties' most important feature was a promise to put Indians on the road to full citizenship by providing each one with eighty acres of land or their cash equivalent.[39] At a summer festival in the 1960s, Indian speakers were likely to emphasize that the treaties symbolized mutual respect between two races. For example, Dewhirst heard the leader of a Lummi dance troupe say to the crowd at one Stommish:

> "We here in Lummi still exercise the Treaty Day, when the Great White Father sent to our lands a man speaking on his behalf to the Indian people. While our people were meeting with that man, they put on the feathers and wore them proud with honor and dignity, that the marks they placed on this paper that was sent from Washington was gonna be honored and respected among the people...."[40]

Whenever the treaties' bearing on relations between Indians and non-Indians was at issue in the 1960s, discussion was also likely to turn quickly to fishing rights. The topic was hardly a new one; beginning at least with the Lummi fishers' lawsuit against the Point Roberts cannery in the 1890s, Indians had repeatedly complained about whites' interference with their piscatory endeavors. After 1950, however, conflict about fishing escalated sharply; and by the '60s fishing rights had nearly preempted other issues dividing Indians and non-Indians.

A statement that Tandy Wilbur read to a congressional panel in 1961 shows the enlarged significance attributed by then to the treaties' fishing clause. To Wilbur the clause had become Indians' most important claim on non-Indians, and non-Indians' refusal to honor it stood out as a major reason for

Indians' modern plight.

> We the Indians feel that we have paid dearly for this one privilege from which we can earn a living. We have ceded over a vast rich territory which has contributed much to the economy of our country. The only and only [sic] concession reserved for us was this right of taking fish which has been a godsend at times to a people in near destitution.[41]

The fact that the subject of the hearing was Indian fishing does not by itself explain Wilbur's emphasis; for it was Indian insistence on a generous reading of the treaty that had spurred the joint committee on fisheries to devote an entire day to Indian concerns.

Several converging developments account for Indians' growing preoccupation with fishing in the 1950s and '60s.[42] Non-Indian fishing expanded, and salmon populations declined noticeably during these years -- the very time when Indians' economic marginalization tended to magnify salmon's importance as a source of food and supplemental income. State fisheries managers responded to a need for conservation measures by enacting regulations that discriminated against those Indians who fished at their accustomed places along rivers and shorelines. Especially after their experience of economic well-being and their exposure to anti-fascist propaganda during World War II, many Indians resented the discrepancy between America's egalitarian ideals and their actual opportunities.[43] Those who wanted to resist state limitations on their fishing found encouragement in the victories of the civil rights movement and in a general surge of ethnic pride during the 1960s.[44] They also took heart when some courts allowed Indians

to raise the treaties as a defense against charges of illegal fishing.

By the late 1940s the Supreme Court and Washington courts had said more than once that the state could expect treaty Indians, like non-Indians, to abide by restrictions needed for conservation when they fished off the reservations. State regulators consequently claimed that virtually all the limits they imposed on times, locations, and methods of fishing were conservation measures. Inevitably, they met with objections from some Indian fishers. Washington's Department of Fisheries contended, for example, that conserving Hoko River salmon depended on requiring fishers to use hook and line rather than the nets that Indians preferred. The Makah Tribe, representing the descendants of coastal villagers who had signed a Stevens treaty, disputed the state's contention. When a federal appeals court agreed with the Makahs in 1951, it inspired some Indians to set nets in the Puyallup River for the first time in modern memory; and when the state could not make charges against the Puyallup fishers stick in its own courts, more Indians dared to defy the net ban openly.[45]

Several publications have chronicled the twenty-year spiral of action and reaction that followed the Makah Tribe's successful suit. Uncommon Controversy, a 1970 report of the American Friends Service Committee, Fay Cohen's Treaties on Trial, and the 1981 findings of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights recount that Indians, especially in the south sound area, mounted increasingly militant and visible challenges to state restrictions on their fishing. They both responded to

and provoked further state crackdowns.[46]

The courts -- rather, the piecemeal nature of the American juridical process -- must assume a share of the blame for perpetuating conflict about treaty fishing. Opinions in Tulee and the Makah case, for instance, left state fisheries managers to decide for themselves which regulations to designate as conservation measures and enforce against Indians. The Washington supreme court then split down the middle in the Puyallup fishers' case, thus prolonging the period when the Departments of Fisheries and Game could claim to lack clear guidelines concerning their obligations under the treaties.[47] Even as some Indians celebrated the dismissal of charges against the Makahs and Puyallups by fishing in open defiance of state laws, the state stepped up enforcement of regulations that put the brunt of conserving the salmon on Indians.

In 1963, six years after the inconclusive Puyallup decision, Washington's high court unequivocally approved the fisheries agencies' broad interpretation of their powers. A solid majority of the justices upheld a Swinomish man's conviction for fishing in waters that were closed by state regulation. Adopting the state's argument that the treaty clause was merely a stop-gap means of letting Indians procure food until they learned to farm, the court concluded that modern Indians had no basis for expecting treatment different from that accorded to other fishers.[48] Triumphant state authorities then closed all of south Puget Sound to off-reservation Indian fishing. This action triggered spontaneous protests centered at Frank's Landing, an Indian settlement

downriver from the Nisqually Reservation. Game and Fisheries directors in turn asked a county court to uphold their regulations.

That request wended its way slowly up the legal ladder, yielding rulings in the state's favor at each level and culminating in a 1968 U.S. Supreme Court holding that seemed to sustain the state's position. In Puyallup Tribe v. Department of Game the Court said that Washington officials could indeed force Indians to obey regulations "reasonable and necessary" for conservation. The next prescribed step was to send the case back to the lower state courts for a determination whether the regulations at issue met the Supreme Court's broad standard. Meanwhile, on the Nisqually River angry Indians and their allies staged more demonstrations that met with more paramilitary repression by state officers. Judges and juries again refused to convict some of the fishers who cited the treaties as a defense.[49]

In 1969 the ball bounced into a federal court in Oregon, which served up an opinion that revived Indians' hopes of avoiding many state regulations. In the case of a decorated Yakima war veteran, the Oregon judge observed that state regulators' failure to treat Indian fishers as a distinct group with special federal rights effectively discriminated against them by allowing others to take the fish before Indians had a chance to try. States could restrict treaty fishing, said the judge in Sohappy v. Smith, only if not doing so would imperil the fish's existence. Shortly thereafter the Washington Department of Fisheries agreed to permit a special Indian net

fishing season on the Puyallup River; but the Department of Game, which had responsibility for fisheries targeting steelhead trout, refused to lift its categorical ban on Indian netting.[50]

The federal government then entered the fray on the Indians' side -- a move that opened what proved to be the last round of the legal contest and enabled Indians to prevail. It was Sohappy's victory, plus the specter of possible liability for failing to protect Indian treaty beneficiaries, that finally galvanized the government. In 1970, with the professed hope of getting a judge to apply the strict Sohappy test to Washington's regulations, the Justice Department sued the Departments of Game and Fisheries in the U.S. District Court at Tacoma. The case was therefore entitled United States v. Washington. The government declared that it was acting as trustee for seven tribes, but those tribes and seven more promptly appeared in the litigation to advocate a more expansive reading of their rights than U.S. attorneys planned to argue for.[51] The judgment they won in February of 1974, although it triggered controversy and violence lasting five more years, represented the confirmation and renewal of the special relationship with non-Indians that many Indians had long desired.

The opinion in U.S. v. Washington merely construed one treaty clause as it applied to salmon and steelhead fisheries in northwest Washington, yet it had profound significance for Indians' self-definition. In part its impact derived from the litigation's ambitious scope. At Judge George Boldt's behest,

the parties cooperated in framing the issues broadly so that the case would settle all outstanding disputes about the meaning of the treaty language and the extent of state power over off-reservation Indian fishers. By presenting exhaustive evidence, especially historical evidence, the litigants achieved their objective and more. Once the Supreme Court approved Boldt's judgment in 1979, U.S. v. Washington not only became the basis for peace between the state and Indian fishers; it also provided a sturdy, permanent foundation for the kind of self-representation that many western Washington Indians had come to favor in the course of the fishing rights controversy.[52]

The judge affirmed Indians' contention that treaty fishing rights were a vital basis of their identity, first, by reciting the long history of Indian efforts to exercise those rights. While conceding that the Supreme Court had allowed states to police treaty fishers outside reservation, he also emphasized that no court decision or act of Congress had annulled what the treaties had preserved for Indians -- rights distinct from and superior to the privileges that other citizens derived through their state governments.

After paying his respects to his predecessors, Boldt broke new legal ground; and in doing so he implied that the treaty fishing clause amounted to recognition of the autonomy and eminence of the plaintiffs' Indian ancestors. When the tribes agreed to fish "in common with" citizens, Judge Boldt declared, they did not acquire a right from non-Indians but instead granted non-Indians a share of Indians' most important

resource. The tribes reserved not just access to fishing sites but also a share of the fish at least equal to the one they had ceded. In the judge's opinion, this history constrained the modern state to regulate its citizens so that half the harvestable fish would reach places where Indians could take them. Moreover, the judge validated the plaintiffs' depiction of modern Indians as heirs to a legacy that the state had usurped. The state's history of discriminatory regulation, Boldt said, justified an order forbidding it from regulating Indian fishing unless it first demonstrated to the court that no other measures would preserve the fish from extinction.[53]

The decision in U.S. v. Washington had momentous implications for Indians' status, too, because long before trial the parties and much of the public had focused on the case a multitude of hopes and fears regarding Indians' relations with non-Indians. Many people attributed to the treaty fishing clause, to the controversy about its meaning, and to the anticipated resolution of the controversy an import far broader than the words in question. To various Indians and their supporters the fishing rights dispute was a reminder of Indians' need for recognition and respect as a distinct people, the sanctity of promises, the need to conserve America's natural resources or cultures or history, the importance of America's honor, Americans' imperialistic subordination of the Third World, and the value or indestructibility of cultural differences. The author of the introduction to Uncommon Controversy, for example, asked whether American Indians were victims of the same "deficient cultural understanding" that

underlay the United States' resort to violence in Vietnam. He also argued that sympathy for Indians' identification with fish might elicit from non-Indian Americans "a more respectful, Indian-like attitude toward nature...."[54]

Uncommon Controversy reflected and contributed to a widespread perception that the fishing rights conflict was an allegory for America's treatment of its native peoples and minority groups. Other national organizations such the American Civil Liberties Union and the National Indian Youth Council weighed in on the Indians' side for similar reasons. In 1968 some Indians involved in the Puget Sound "fish wars" participated in the national Poor People's Campaign and, according to Cohen, "brought home an increased consciousness of the national scope of the human rights struggle." The heightened consciousness of one local man, Sid Mills, was apparent a few months later when he issued a public declaration of his intent to leave the Army, saying he could no longer risk his life for a country that was prepared to trample Indians' rights. "I owe and swear first allegiance to Indian People in the sovereign rights of our many Tribes," he said.[55]

When Indians prevailed in Judge Boldt's court, idealistic interpretations of the battle for treaty fishing rights gained credibility. A correspondingly positive image of Indians gained credibility as well. Harrison Sachse, an attorney who aided the plaintiffs, told Cohen afterward that the fishers' struggle showed "the lengths that the Indians will go to to preserve their culture. It is the opposite of the myths regarding Indians -- that they are lazy and don't want to

work." Andy Fernando of the Upper Skagit Community also thought Indians had seen themselves in a more positive light as a result of U.S. v. Washington. "To our elders," he said, "the court decision is a tribute to the resiliency and tenacity of their ancestors....For young Indian boys and girls, the Boldt decision shapes a new image of self."[56]

While the judge's decision appeared in retrospect to vindicate Indian tenaciousness, it would be an oversimplification to say that it came about through the united efforts of people who were self-consciously demanding recognition of their Indian identity. Certainly the litigation that yielded a generous definition of Indians' treaty entitlement was a carefully planned undertaking; but it was not the culmination of a long, concerted campaign orchestrated by organized tribes. Instead, it came in the course of events that revealed -- in fact, the trial in United States v. Washington itself revealed -- western Washington Indians' diversity, internal divisions, and uncertainty about the bases for the identity they claimed.

Many Indians helped to make the federal litigation a necessity by stubbornly asserting their right to fish in the face of discouraging conditions. However, such people often acted spontaneously, without tribal government sponsorship or sanction; or they did not enlist tribal council support until after they had clashed with state officials. Some people who asserted treaty rights, particularly those at Frank's Landing, fished not only in defiance of state regulations but also against the wishes or regulations of tribes' governing bodies.

After 1963 many of the loudest voices demanding broad rights to fish came from members of Survival of American Indians Association, an organization that acted independently of and sometimes in opposition to tribal councils. Indeed, in 1971 SAIA's founder and two associates sued the Puyallup tribal council in federal court, charging that the tribe's fishing regulations were inconsistent with its own constitution.[57]

A loosely coordinated collection of maverick fishers and pan-Indian activists was able to command state, tribal, and federal officials' attention and thus force the lingering fishing rights issue to a resolution by adopting tactics reminiscent of black Americans' struggle for equal civil rights. Rather than hoping to avoid arrest when they fished, many of them courted arrests as well as publicity for their deliberate flouting of state law. According to Cohen, when Robert Satiacum, James Young, and others decided to set their nets in the Puyallup River in the early 1950s, they notified the state of their intent to start a test case. Nevertheless, they did not provoke state officers to arrest them until they had "fished the river repeatedly in full view of city traffic coursing over bridges above." By the 1960s the tactical repertoire of some militant treaty rights champions included fish-ins, demonstrations at courthouses and the state capitol, and participation in national protest marches. A state court judge reviewing the convictions of several Indian gill netters said in 1971:

> This was no crime of stealth, for the Muckelshoot [sic] Indians had announced days in advance that members of their tribe would drop their gill nets in the upper reaches of the Green River, and thus force

> an arrest by which means the Muckelshoots could test their claimed right....Representatives of the newspapers, television stations and the State Game Department were present to record the event.[58]

Thanks in part to such tactics and in part to the violence with which state authorities and other non-Indians reacted to the Indians' actions, the press considered the treaty rights conflict newsworthy and thus provided protesters with a highly visible platform on which to stage their drama. Before long the spotlight attracted nationally prominent sympathizers, including entertainers such as Marlon Brando and Dick Gregory, who appeared on the rivers to fish and occasionally be arrested with the Indians. Politicized Indian and non-Indian youth, less illustrious but equally willing to join demonstrations or risk arrest, also offered support.[59]

On the other hand, some leading local Indians shrank from confrontations and publicly disavowed militant would-be allies. Two women on the Muckleshoot tribal council said in 1961 that they were reluctant even to sue people who had severely damaged their fisheries for fear of the animosity such a suit would provoke. We "must live compatibly with our white neighbors," they explained, "who possess many legal and financial advantages denied us...." When members of the Survival of American Indians Association announced that they would participate in the national Poor People's March of 1968, leaders of the Clallam, Quinault, and Quileute Tribes issued a strong statement condemning the plan and dissociating themselves from Hank Adams, its most visible advocate. One member of the Lummi Tribe told a Seattle Times reporter in 1968 that he disagreed with the actions of those who battled for

fishing rights, even though he considered the right to fish sacred. "'The Indian is known for his patience,'" Joe Washington said. "'We were told to wait and the promises of the Great Father would come true.'"[60]

People who asserted a treaty-reserved right to fish disagreed not only about tactics but also about the extent of the right they should claim. Some insisted that no regulation of their fishing, even tribal regulation, was consistent with the understanding of Indians at the treaty conferences. Others, like the Tulalip Tribes' governing council, said they saw no reason to contest the state's power over Indians who ventured off reservation. The two Muckleshoot councilwomen complained that salmon were disappearing from the river on their reservation in part because of one Puyallup Indian's unrestricted netting downstream; and members of the Puyallup tribal council wanted to work with state authorities to curtail fishing by such notorious Puyallups. For reasons such as these, the American Friends Service Committee attributed the persistent uncertainty about Indians' rights partly to "the small number of any tribes willing to put energy into the effort" of resolving the issue and "the inability of Washington tribes to unite to save fishing rights."[61]

Some of the people identified in the press as champions of fishing rights provoked controversy among Indians by purporting to speak for tribal groups listed in the treaties. Hank Adams, founder and frequent spokesman for the Survival of American Indians, was an Assiniboin-Sioux who spent much of his childhood on the Quinault Reservation. By his own account, he

took up the fishing rights cause only after he accompanied Marlon Brando to Frank's Landing and befriended people there. Other militants who attracted media attention included Sid Mills, who identified his ancestors as Yakima and Cherokee, and Frank's Landing resident Al Bridges, who claimed Puyallup-Nisqually-Duwamish ancestry but could not convince the Nisqually Tribe to enroll him. The Seattle Times labeled Bridges "A Prototype of the Outspoken Activist" but also called him a renegade and a man without a country. Bridges, Mills, and Adams all claimed that marriage to Nisqually women gave them a basis to assert Medicine Creek Treaty rights. Their militance, however, may have been in part a reaction to the opposition their claim generated among members of the Nisqually Tribe.[62]

Understandably, many officers of tribal governments hoped or expected that they, rather than independent militants, would be recognized as the legitimate spokesmen for Indians with treaty rights. To this end, some tribal councils made efforts to cooperate in pressing for fairer treatment from state and federal authorities. In the early sixties the Inter-tribal Council of Western Washington Indians announced that it had formed an Indian Fisheries and Game Commission with seven members, each representing a treaty area, and an advisory committee composed of two members from each tribe. The commission called for tribal enforcement of regulations to preserve fish resources and for scientific studies of the fish and their habitats. Predictably, it was politicians from tribal governments and the Inter-tribal Council who appeared

before Congress when lawmakers investigated and proposed solutions to the fishing controversy during the early 1960s.[63]

Attempts at intertribal coordination, however, did not move the fishing rights dispute appreciably closer to a resolution. Deference to individual and local differences was a long-standing habit among western Washington Indians, and the differences in tribes' situations and interests relating to fish remained considerable. After Tandy Wilbur recited his grievances to a Senate subcommittee in 1961, he added that his remarks referred only to fishing in the Skagit River and Bay. There might be other areas where Indians had suffered similarly, he said, "but I cannot speak for them."[64]

When the fishing rights issue finally went to trial in Judge Boldt's courtroom, the diversity of the people and tribes who lined up behind the treaty banner was apparent even from the few Indians who testified. Rather than presenting scores of witnesses, as the tribes had done in the Court of Claims in 1927, the plaintiffs called only one or two people per tribe. For the nine tribes from the Medicine Creek, Point Elliott, and Point No Point treaty areas, sixteen people took the stand to be cross-examined regarding testimony that their lawyers had reduced to writing and submitted to the court in advance of trial.[65] Nevertheless, those sixteen people were diverse not only in age, gender, ancestry, and economic status but also in their experience and knowledge of fishing and Indian practices. The tribes they described also varied greatly in degrees of organization, in their past responses to state interference with their fishing, and in the objectives they hoped to

achieve through the litigation.

Benjamin Wright of the Puyallup Tribe labeled himself a "registered four-fourths Indian," while the Squaxin Island Tribe's witness, Calvin Peters, claimed no more than one-eighth degree of Indian ancestry. Both Wright and Peters had fished commercially, presumably under state licenses, well outside their ancestors' territories and even outside Washington State waters. Most of the witnesses who fished did so to supplement their incomes; they had assorted other occupations. Wright was trained as a paralegal and had worked several years for the state Employment Security Department, while Skokomish witness Joe Andrews was a surveyor. Louis Starr of the Muckleshoot Tribe said he had endured arrest and prosecution for fishing as his parents and grandparents had done on the Green River, their ancestral territory. In contrast, Lena Patrick Smith had lived for thirty-six years on her husband's reservation, far from her Stillaguamish birthplace, and said she never fished, even when she went home to visit, "because we ain't supposed to."[66]

Witnesses revealed, too, how varied the tribal organizations were. Peters testified that he had been an enrolled member of the Squaxin Island Tribe for only fifteen years because the tribe's formal structure was no older than that. "The tribe has always been a tribe," he elaborated. "It's just that they weren't set up as a council or a group. They had been trying to set up this way for the last thirty years to bring their people together." On the other hand, Esther Ross swore that she had served as secretary of the landless Stillaguamish Tribe for forty-six years, taking

minutes at councils convened annually since 1927. Bill Frank, Jr., feared that the Nisqually tribe, which had only forty-eight living official members, would be terminated if it did not enroll additional people. Meanwhile, Frank testified, many other Indians whose tribal affiliations he did not know were fishing at the Nisqually Tribe's traditional grounds. According to Forrest Kinley, the Lummi Tribe maintained a court system and police to enforce regularly enacted fishing regulations. By contrast, the Puyallup Tribe's method of ensuring conservation, as described by Benjamin Wright, was to send groups of other fishers to talk with anyone who engaged in unwise practices.[67]

The witnesses also had different visions of the opportunities that might follow from a ruling in their favor. Peters hoped to see Squaxin Tribe members fishing commercially without hindrance anywhere in western Washington, but the Stillaguamish and Sauk-Suiattle witnesses requested only the chance to fish for food in their immediate neighborhoods. Wright said that a lot of Puyallups just wanted to make a little extra money from fishing, but Kinley maintained that the Lummi people would not have justice unless they could develop fishing into an "economic base" equivalent to that enjoyed by non-Indians. While Kinley insisted on his tribe's ability to manage the fisheries more wisely than non-Indian authorities, James Enick thought it would be acceptable to have the state regulate Sauk-Suiattle fishing so long as the regulations acknowledged the treaty right.[68]

Even though the trial in Judge Boldt's courtroom exposed differences among the people who called themselves treaty Indians, it also represented and promoted a reconciliation of those differences. Much as the Court of Claims in the 1920s became a forum where Indians of disparate orientations could fashion a collective history, U.S. v. Washington and antecedent events obliged or allowed a wide array of people in western Washington to consider and claim a common Indian heritage. Like the aging Jews Barbara Myerhoff studied, presumed Indians turned the fishing rights controversy into an opportunity to "show themselves to themselves" and to non-Indians, thereby continuing the effort to make sense of the single identity ascribed to all of them.[69] Such public rituals as congressional hearings, demonstrations, and the trial became occasions for retelling Indians' history and for dramatizing what Indians were and could be.

This process, like the claims litigation fifty years earlier, did not yield a completely integrated, universally endorsed representation of Indians in the Puget Sound region. Nevertheless, from the aggregate of presentations that Indians, their allies, and their lawyers made to the press, to lawmakers, and to Judge Boldt, there emerged an image of Indians with some clearly discernible features. All events together, but particularly the trial and the victory in court, confirmed for many people of Indian descent that if they shared nothing else, they at least shared a love of fish and a special status -- a unique relationship to America's center of power -- that was defined by the treaties.

By the account of several witnesses at the federal trial, Indians were people with a carefully cultivated consciousness of their own history. Joe Hillaire's wife Lena, saying that all the Indians knew her as Grandma, took the stand wearing regalia that would have marked her as an Indian anywhere: moccasins, beads, and a headband with a feather. "I am talking of the olden days," she volunteered. "I am almost eighty-four years old, and I still know my language and I still know the back history of my people." Fifty-nine-year-old Forrest Kinley had never spoken with anyone who was at the treaty conference, but he was confident nonetheless that he knew what had happened there. "[T]he duty of our old people," he said, "was to inform us about our family and about our rights. I think that this is a tradition that has been as accurate as your history books." According to people who thought as Kinley did, Indians' ancestors had instilled in them a reverence for the treaties as a defining moment in their history.[70]

As had been true in the Court of Claims, the characterization of Indians as proud heirs to a bargain between equals vied for influence with a depiction of the treaty Indians as untutored, weakened people who had meekly allowed non-Indians to appropriate their vast territory and assume sweeping powers over them. Focusing on the fishing issue made it possible to reconcile these divergent images in a way that was not unflattering to Indians. To support an argument that a non-Indian court must construe the words of the treaties in Indians' favor, according to the probable understanding of

native treaty negotiators, advocates for the Indians said that Indians at the treaty grounds were indeed ignorant innocents in the sense that they were disadvantaged in dealing with literate, calculating whites. Nevertheless, the argument continued, the old Indians were knowing, self-respecting, and brave enough to exact from the whites the one condition necessary to ensure their survival -- access to their foods. Because they and their descendants had never lost their love for those foods, and because the promise of access to their foods was the most cherished (some said the only) legacy their ancestors had bequeathed, Indians of the 1970s were justified in insisting that the promise be fulfilled.[71]

Getting non-Indians to agree that modern Indian fishers had a continuing right to special treatment involved judicious appeals to other contrasting images of Indians. On one hand, stressing that twentieth-century Indians were poor, mistreated, powerless, and isolated from other Americans sometimes helped to disarm opponents and enlist allies. Frank Wright elicited reassuring remarks from listening Senators when he testified in 1961 that Indians had little chance of making their side known to the public. An attorney for the Makah Tribe criticized a proposal to buy out treaty rights, saying that Congress should not take from impoverished Indians the sole economic resource they had. And Muckleshoot witness Bernice White said in federal court, "[Y]ou are more or less degraded by being on welfare. But there is no other choice for our people, they lack education and there is no employment. We have no natural

resource, the only thing that we can look towards is the fish."[72]

On the other hand, media coverage and the trial also allowed Indians to claim and to use to their advantage more positive characteristics that Americans had often associated with Indians. Judge Boldt made plain his interest and delight when elderly people such as Lena Hillaire spoke of Indians in the "olden days" living simply and sharing their food. The fishing case also encouraged, indeed required, Indians to portray themselves as wise conservationists, expert in principles of ecology. "We have always lived with nature...," Forest Kinley testified. "We can deal with the fishing problems."[73] The judge appeared to agree, at one point inviting Kinley to expound at length about possible ways to allocate fish resources and later remarking that he doubted anyone's ability to fool Kinley with trick questions. There were other opportunities for Indians to cite sources of pride. Kinley, like other witnesses at the trial, exulted that Indians were not only skilled fishermen but also top-notch loggers. Seemingly opening to the warm light of the judge's and the public's gaze, Kinley added, "Up until five or six years ago..., if you was an Indian, you were something bad. But now, it's something that the attitude of the general public is beginning to look up at the Indian."[74]

Describing and defining Indians, particularly Indians of western Washington, was an integral part of mounting and winning the case for broad treaty fishing rights. Indeed, the authenticity of fishers' asserted Indian identity was an issue

throughout the years of most intense controversy. When "outsiders" such as Hank Adams and Sid Mills claimed that treaty protections were available to any Indian in the state on invitation of the descendants of treaty signers, they joined a broader debate that had been going for several decades.[75]

Before the decision in U.S. v. Washington, individuals charged under state law with illegal fishing could sometimes defend themselves successfully by arguing that they were exercising a treaty-reserved right; but they had to prove their link to a treaty party. Lower state courts therefore considered various evidence of fishers' ancestry and affiliations. In some cases they accepted genealogies; in others they relied on evidence that the defendants were regarded as members of a modern tribe. Evidence of the latter kind persuaded a King County Superior Court judge to dub a member of the Puyallup Tribe a "constructive Muckleshoot Indian" because he had lived on the Muckleshoot Reservation since he was five.[76]

State officials, particularly in the Department of Game, persistently characterized Indian identity as a vague and arbitrary phenomenon. They echoed and fostered the fears of many non-Indians that a liberal reading of the treaties would give thousands of people a material incentive to claim an Indian identity they had previously denied or downplayed. In 1961 the Game Department's Chief of Enforcement told members of a congressional investigating committee:

> Enforcement becomes extremely complex when one considers that here in the Northwest there are Indian tribes who have treaties and reservations, other tribes have treaties but no reservation, other

> tribes with reservations but no treaties and still other tribes with no treaties or reservations. The next factor to add to this confusion is that many of these Indians have intermarried with other groups of Indians whose tribes may not enjoy a treaty or may be located elsewhere in the United States, Canada, or Mexico. Commonly they marry persons of other races -- until the degree of Indian ancestry in some of their members is diluted beyond recognition. The U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs is unable to inform us who the members of various tribes may be.[77]

Three years later a state lawyer said, "[W]e simply do not know who a treaty Indian is. We do not have any way of knowing."[78]

The state raised questions about tribes' authenticity as well. For instance, the Game Department sought to defeat Indians' claim that they could net steelhead on the Puyallup River by arguing that the Puyallup Tribe named in the treaty had ceased to exist -- a ploy that succeeded at the lower state court level. This argument was especially appropos in the Puyallup fishers' case because of the federal government's turn-of-the-century efforts to disband the tribe and because many Puyallups had publicly proclaimed pride in their successful assimilation. However, the contention that Indians had abandoned the culture of their nineteenth-century ancestors for mainstream American culture was one that state lawyers could and did extend to most other people who asserted treaty fishing rights. By portraying local Indians as thoroughly adapted to life in a non-Indian society, the state's advocates apparently hoped to undermine arguments that the treaties had to be interpreted as Indians in 1855 understood them. Special Indian rights would seem anachronistic in the 1970s if the state could show that "real" Indians had disappeared.[79]

In response to this strategy, those people who claimed that Stevens's promises were as important to Indians in 1970 as in 1854-55 had to articulate what continued to set Indians apart. Even before the trial in U.S. v. Washington the Friends Service Committee undertook to do this, describing both "old Indian ways" and habits "not themselves derived from a specific tradition" that nevertheless linked Indians to each other and distinguished them from others in the late twentieth century. "Above all," the report concluded, "attitudes survive" -- a different set of values and a stronger orientation to the group than non-Indians had. Uncommon Controversy argued further that fishing itself remained "a solid point of identification" for Puget Sound Indians.[80]

In Judge Boldt's courtroom, state lawyers attempted to demonstrate that the plaintiffs were little different from non-Indians who wanted to fish. They repeatedly asked Indian witnesses to describe any traditional ceremonies their people practiced. Several people conceded under cross-examination that members of their tribes had forsaken the old ways almost entirely, as Calvin Peters said, "because of white orientation, involvement, take-over of the Indian people." Elderly witnesses such as Lena Hillaire spoke of Indian ceremonies in the past tense. Peters, Wright, and Joe Andrews agreed with state lawyers that younger Indians had an American outlook on life.[81]

Andrews added, however, that the young people still could not lose their identities as Indians; and Wright insisted that the Puyallup Tribe was more than a mere social organization

like the Sons of Norway. When pressed to explain their sense that they remained different from other Americans, some witnesses hesitated; but none -- even those who acknowledged that events since the treaties had drastically changed Indian culture -- were at a complete loss for words. Asked whether the Upper Skagit Tribe practiced traditional ceremonies, Lawrence Boome replied, "We have a Shaker Church...."[82]

Most often witnesses responded to this line of questioning by mentioning large social gatherings, salmon feasts, and time-honored methods of cooking fish. Joseph Andrews said simply, "[F]ish is pretty sacred to Indians as a whole." The first time Bill Frank, Jr., answered a state attorney's question about the persistence of traditional ceremonies, he said, "We just have a lot of dinners...and a lot of get-togethers. That's a ceremony in itself." The second time a lawyer asked the question, Frank thought of his father living in a longhouse as a youth, sweat baths, weddings, and berry-picking expeditions to the mountains. "[W]e have got some four generations living on Frank's Landing of our family," he said finally, "and I think that is a ceremony in itself."[83]

Testimony that most descendants of Puget Sound aborigines no longer observed their ancestors' religious rituals and that many had the same aspirations as their non-Indian neighbors did not deter Judge Boldt from declaring that the people whose suit he had heard were Indians. All the intervenor plaintiffs had established their status as Indian tribes to his satisfaction, he said. Even though "employment acculturation" and the enforcement of state laws had drastically reduced the number of

Indians engaged in fishing, Boldt added, most Indians were distinguished by the fact that the right to fish remained their "single most highly cherished interest and concern."[84]

To settle issues of Indian and tribal identity, the judge adopted the legal analysis advocated by federal and tribal lawyers. The resulting pronouncements were critical not only to his ruling's practical application but also to its psychological impact on people of Indian descent. Boldt declared that the right reserved by treaty belonged to those collectivities, called tribes or bands, with which Stevens believed he was dealing. The corporate tribal bodies that had prosecuted the lawsuit, Boldt concluded, were the direct political and legal heirs of the tribes or bands named in the treaties. Even the Puyallup Tribe, thanks to the federally sanctioned resurrection of its government in the 1930s, persuaded the judge that it was a modern reincarnation of a treaty party. With federal backing and anthropological testimony the Muckleshoot Tribe, which had represented in the Court of Claims that it was not a treaty party, also convinced Boldt that it had succeeded to the rights of bands named in two treaties.[85]

The judge further inferred that federal law required him to recognize the modern tribes as sovereigns and to leave to them and their federal guardian most decisions about how to use the right he had construed. In summarizing the relevant legal principles, Boldt betrayed no suspicion that federal policy had yet to mold all the tribes and Indian communities around Puget Sound to fit the model he described.

> Ever since the first Indian treaties were confirmed by the Senate, Congress has recognized that those treaties established self-government by treaty tribes, excepting only as limited in the treaties, judicial interpretation thereof or by Congress....There was a period during which Congress enacted legislation limiting the exercise of tribal autonomy in various particulars. However, in the last decade Congressional legislation has definitely been in the contrary direction....These measures and others make plain the intent and philosophy of Congress to increase rather than diminish or limit the exercise of tribal self-government....The philosophy of Congress referred to above and the evidence in this case as a whole clearly indicate to this court that the time has now arrived, and this case presents an appropriate opportunity, to take a step toward applying Congressional philosophy to Indian treaty right fishing....[86]

By the judge's logic, individuals had a treaty-ensured right to fish only if they derived that right through a treaty party -- that is, only if they were members of a treaty tribe. It was for the tribe's government to authorize individuals to exercise the collective right. Boldt accordingly directed all the plaintiff tribes to prepare certified lists of the people they considered members.[87] The opinion in United States v. Washington thus gave other tribal organizations an incentive to seek court acknowledgement of their existence, and it provided one of the most powerful inducements that descendants of Puget Sound Indians had ever had to align formally and permanently with an acknowledged tribal organization.[88]

Between April of 1974 and October of 1975 thirteen additional tribes joined the federal litigation, asking for a declaration that they, too, were the political descendants of treaty parties and therefore eligible to claim fishing rights.[89] When five of the tribes did not get what they requested, the probable impact of U.S. v. Washington on Puget

Sound's different kinds of tribes became clearer. Those tribal organizations the BIA regarded as functioning governments easily passed muster with the judge, but landless tribes which received no federal services did not. Boldt ruled in 1979 that the Samish, Snoqualmie, Snohomish, Duwamish, and Steilacoom Tribes were not successors to any of the tribal entities that signed the treaties of Point Elliott or Medicine Creek. By his reasoning, members of such "unrecognized" tribes were not Indians for the purpose that had become central to many people's conception of themselves as Indians.

The five landless intervenors were not the first "unrecognized" tribal organizations to seek the court's validation of their asserted treaty rights, but they were the first to be denied. The original plaintiffs in U.S. v. Washington included three tribes -- Stillaguamish, Upper Skagit, and Sauk-Suiattle -- which had no reservations. When the suit began, federal officials did not recognize the three groups as currently functioning tribes. Four years later the Upper Skagit and Sauk-Suiattle had secured BIA acknowledgement of their existence as tribes, but neither they nor the Stillaguamish had governments organized under federal law. Although the Interior Department did not challenge these three tribes' assertion that they represented people descended from treaty signers, the state did. Nevertheless, with barely an acknowledgement of their difference from the other plaintiff tribes, Judge Boldt affirmed that the Upper Skagit, Stillaguamish, and Sauk-Suiattle tribes were the successors to treaty bands with the same names. In upholding this decision,

the Court of Appeals said, "Non-recognition of the tribe by the federal government and the failure of the Secretary of the Interior to approve a tribe's enrollment may result in the loss of statutory benefits, but can have no impact on vested treaty rights." Within two years after the court issued its judgment, the Bureau of Indian Affairs had extended not only formal recognition but also limited services in support of self-government to all three tribes.[90]

When the Samish, Snohomish, Snoqualmie, Duwamish, and Steilacoom tribes asked the court to do for them what it had done for the Stillaguamish, Upper Skagit, and Sauk-Suiattle groups, the response of federal officials and of one federally chartered tribal organization was different. The BIA and the Tulalip Tribes, Inc., urged the court not to let the five landless intervenors share in the newly construed treaty fishing right. On the recommendation of a special master, the judge accepted these opponents' arguments and incorporated them into his order denying the five tribes' requests.[91]

Boldt acknowledged that members of the five petitioning groups were descended in some degree from Indians of treaty tribes. By itself, however, their descent did not entitle them to exercise the right reserved in the treaties. They had to prove, Boldt said, that they had lived continuously in separate, cohesive Indian communities; and this they had failed to do. In the judge's view, except for their voluntary affiliation with organizations whose principal purpose was to pursue claims against the U.S. government, members of the five tribes had no common bond of association. Their prosecution of

cases in the Indian Claims Commission, the judge added, did not prove that they had maintained true tribal ties, because Congress allowed for claims on behalf of tribes that had ceased to exist and disbursed the ICC judgments to individuals rather than to the tribal organizations in question. Boldt found support for his criteria of tribal existence in the Indian Reorganization Act, because it applied only to tribes under federal supervision or to Indians of half or more Indian ancestry.[92]

The Court of Appeals, refusing to second guess Boldt's understanding of the facts, let his decision stand without repudiating the principle that a tribe may retain treaty rights even in the absence of federal recognition.[93] Nevertheless, by declaring the Snoqualmie, Snohomish, Samish, Steilacoom, and Duwamish tribes ineligible to exercise treaty fishing rights, the courts effectively made recognition a condition of claiming the most desirable prerogative of Indian identity that western Washington Indians had ever secured.

The five spurned tribes then petitioned the Bureau of Indian Affairs to acknowledge them, following Interior Department procedures established in 1978. Meanwhile, each of the already acknowledged tribes developed a membership roll that determined who could claim to be an Indian of that tribe. In virtually all the tribes, by constitutional stipulation, descent from someone on an earlier federal roll or census -- often a minimum degree of descent -- was the principal or sole qualification for membership. In most, too, no one could be a member who was enrolled in another Indian tribe.

Opportunities to exercise treaty fishing rights, to benefit from federally funded programs that tribal governments administered, and to obtain services or employment through tribal governments surely motivated many people to seek or verify membership in federally recognized tribes of western Washington after 1974. The incentives to claim Indian identity on this technical basis were not solely material, however. As a witness for the Duwamish Tribe told Judge Boldt, "For a long time people have wanted to identify with a particular group that they derived from, and I think some of it is cultural as well as economic reasons."[94]

Many people who wanted for economic and "cultural" reasons to identify themselves with Indians of western Washington found satisfying ways to do so in the 1970s. The most satisfying, in the end, was to link their identity to the pledge their ancestors exacted from white Americans in the 1850s. In forums established by non-Indians, and according to non-Indian rules, they told a convincing story of their derivation from Indian treaty makers; and the story they told gave their past a meaning that had commendable contemporary utility.

It was not the only story that would-be Indians could have told or did tell; for the people they claimed to derive from had lived many different stories over the course of a century and a half. In the context of relations with people who repeatedly tried to crowd them into a single social category, aboriginal people and their descendants had tried diverse ways to organize and to explain themselves. Of the explanations they tried, however, it was the story of historic, self-

governing tribal communities with an undimmed determination to fish that eventually had the effect they desired. The plaintiffs whose story captivated Judge Boldt in 1974 had at last fashioned an Indian identity with the power to command respect from outsiders, including powerful non-Indians.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 8

1. This language appears in Article 3 of the Treaty of Medicine Creek -- the first negotiated by Isaac Stevens -- and in nearly identical sections of each treaty subsequently concluded with tribes in western Washington and along the Columbia and Snake Rivers. 10 United States Statutes 1132, 12 U.S. Statutes 927 (Article 5), 12 U.S. Statutes 933 (Article 4).

2. U.S. Department of the Interior, Office of Indian Affairs, Division of Forestry and Grazing (Edward G. Swindell, Jr.), Report on Source, Nature and Extent of the Fishing, Hunting and Miscellaneous Related Rights of Certain Indian Tribes in Washington and Oregon (July, 1942), University of Washington Microfilm A-941; cover letter of August 26, 1942, 66, 75-78.

3. Donald L. Parman, "Inconstant Advocacy: The Erosion of Indian Fishing Rights in the Pacific Northwest, 1933-1956," Pacific Historical Review 3 (1984): 177; Tulee v. Washington, 315 United States Reports 681 (1942); F.A. Gross to all organized tribes in Tulalip Agency jurisdiction, August 14, 1946, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Decimal File 922; Report of Assistant Secretary of the Interior and statement of Deputy Attorney General of the U.S., in Indian Fishing Rights, Hearing of Senate Subcommittee on Indian Affairs, 88th Cong., August 5-6, 1964, S.1641-8, pp. 3-8. The courts had long since held that Washington State had no power to affect Indians' fishing inside reservation boundaries. Pioneer Packing Company v. Winslow, 159 Washington Reports 655 (1930) (Quinault Reservation).

4. In 1945 the State Fisheries Department hired Wilfred Steve to monitor and facilitate the agency's relations with Indians. Milo Moore to F.A. Gross, April 26, 1945, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Decimal File 922. At the 1944 House Indian Subcommittee hearing a few witnesses expressed concern regarding fishing, but their complaints were specific to their tribes' situations. The delegate from Port Madison mentioned interference with fishing on reservation tidelands. Jerry Kanim of the Snoqualmie Tribe pointed out that the Snoqualmie Indians, presumably because they had no reservation, faced arrest when they fished, while other Indians could fish without harassment after Tulee. Investigate Indian Affairs, H.1051-0, 698-99, 714, 695-96; Boxberger, To Fish in Common, 117-125, 104. Perhaps the fact that many Indians served in the military or supported themselves comfortably in war-related industrial jobs also made the war years a time of relative peace by reducing the number who felt the need to fish out of season.

5. Minutes of meeting of Northwestern Federation of American Indians with Milo Moore, State Director of Fisheries, January 8, 1946, NA RG75, Entry 121, Tulalip File 931.

6. Ibid.

7. Swindell, Report on...Fishing, Hunting and Miscellaneous Related Rights, 96 (Indians account for 2.4% of Puget Sound catch in 1938, 2.8% in 1939, and 6.7% in 1940.); Boxberger, To Fish in Common, 104-05, 111, 119, 138, 147-48; American Friends Service Committee, Uncommon Controversy: Fishing Rights of the Muckleshoot, Puyallup, and Nisqually Indians (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1970), 121-125, 126-29; testimony of Wayne Williams and Forrest Kinley, Northwest Salmon Fisheries Resources, Hearing of Senate Committee on Commerce and House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee, 87th Cong., 1961, S.1493-3, pp. 88-94; Indian Affairs Task Force, Are You Listening, Neighbor?, 26. Since most Indians fished closest to spawning grounds and used relatively inexpensive, efficient gear, many non-Indians accepted uncritically the state's argument that "unregulated" Indian fishing threatened the fish resource. Indians in turn commonly responded as Adams did, and they ultimately persuaded a federal judge. Seattle Times, October 5, 1958, 47; Seattle Times, February 10, 1959, 19; Seattle Times, December 10, 1959, 39; Seattle Times, March 3, 1964, 14; testimony of Tandy Wilbur, North Pacific Fisheries Problems, 87th Cong., 1961, S.1493-1, 221-22; testimony of Frank Wright, Northwest Salmon Fisheries Resources, S.1493-3, p. 64; Fay G. Cohen, Treaties on Trial: The Continuing Controversy over Northwest Indian Fishing Rights (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1986), 70-71; Boxberger, To Fish in Common, 132.

8. Williams and Wilbur to U.S. Attorney General, April 12, 1946, and other correspondence regarding the case of Henry Cooper, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Decimal File 171-177; Investigate Indian Affairs, H.1051-0, 695-96.

9. Investigate Indian Affairs, H.1051-0, 690. Sebastian Williams told the committee, "Our people at Tulalip and many reservations are laborers and obtain most of their livelihood from laboring, fishing, hunting, logging, shipyards, and so forth." Ibid., 689. The Nooksack witness said his people's principal income was wages, mostly from work in the lumber industry. Ibid., 691-92. The Puyallup council asked for help coordinating services to tribe members who depended on seasonal work. Ibid., 704.

10. A summary of the post-war decline, on a national scale, appears in Bernstein, American Indians and World War II, 141, 148-150.

11. "Government Withdrawal Program 1953," NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Decimal File 103.3, Box 15; Seattle Post-Intelligencer, September 15, 1956, clipping in NA PNR RG75,

Western Washington Decimal File 109, Box 18. The Western Washington Agency reported in 1952 that 53 of 70 families on the Swinomish reservation were self-supporting, while the remaining 17 families received "total welfare support." The same report estimated median Swinomish family income at $3,000 -- only $500 less than the income of the average non-Indian family in the district adjacent to the reservation. "Summary of Facts Pertinent to Withdrawal Program of Swinomish Reservation," September 10, 1952, "Government Withdrawal Program 1953."

12. "Acculturation Reports, May 1, 1963," NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Decimal File 024.1, Box 6; "The Plight of Our Indians: Tribes See Little Hope for Future," Seattle P-I, April 20, 1964, 1 and 7; Memorandum to files, October 2, 1962, NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Decimal File 050.1, Box 8 (showing 50% unemployment and $2,000 average family income at Swinomish, 60% unemployed and $1,800 average family income at Lummi, 50% unemployed and $1,900 average family income at Tulalip); Catherine E. Reaugh, "Muckleshoot, Port Gamble, Puyallup and Tulalip: Four Puget Sound Indian Communities Today" (senior thesis, University of Washington, 1970), 8, 38, 49, in Special Collections Library, University of Washington 38, 49; "Colorful Lummi Festival Hides Poverty," Seattle Times, July 4, 1968, 57 (46% unemployment, 42% of families with incomes under $1,500; annual tribal income $7,000-8,000); Seattle Times, July 3, 1968, 35 (67% of Tulalips on or near reservation have less than $3,000 annual income). The median family income figure of $5,657 for 1960 appears in Schaller et al., Present Tense, 126. According to the P-I article, Tulalip families averaged four to five persons. Each person's annual income would therefore be approximately $317 -- barely more than one-tenth the figure for all Washington residents in 1962-63 ($2,595-2,650). Department of Commerce, State Personal Income: 1929-82, 260-61. Nationally, Indian unemployment averaged 40 percent during the 1960s. By 1964 Indian families' average incomes were less than one third the national figure. Fixico, Termination and Relocation, 190.

13. The advent of public assistance may have helped to perpetuate Indians' concentration in seasonal occupations by providing income not previously available during the winter months. Interestingly, the administrator of the State Department of Public Assistance in Skagit County said in 1956 that the ratio of Indians there receiving welfare was "considerably lower" than the ratio for non-Indians. Administrator to Superintendent, August 24, 1956, NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Decimal File 024, Box 6. Regarding the rediscovery of poverty in the early 1960s, see Polenberg, One Nation Divisible, 193-202; Schaller et al., Present Tense, 229-30, 243.

14. Robert Browning, P-I, April 20, 1964, 1 and 7; Don Hannula, "Poverty on Indian Reservations Is Evident at Port Gamble," Seattle Times, February 12, 1967, 33; "State Indians Worse

off Than Negroes, Evans, O'Connell Agree," Seattle Times, July 26, 1968, 9; Mrs. Robert G. Fleagle, "State Indian Children Still Are Handicapped," Seattle Times, February 20, 1958, 8. Also, Seattle Times, June 1, 1961, 3 (Indian high school student attributing drop-out rate in part to lack of money); Seattle Times, June 2, 1961, 9 (Tulalip business manager describing Indian problems as mainly economic, blaming Indian school drop-out rate in part on children's shame at being less well clothed than white students); Hannula, "The Indian Problem," Seattle Times, June 30, 1968, 92 (describing Indian poverty as more dignified than non-Indian); Hannula, "Dwindling Nisquallys Face a Bleak Future," Seattle Times, June 30, 1968, 93; "Colorful Lummi Festival Hides Poverty," Seattle Times, July 4, 1968, 57; "Muckleshoots Have Few Resources," Seattle Times, July 2, 1968, 4.

15. "Acculturation Reports, May 1, 1963," NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Decimal File 024.1, Box 6. Hannula's article, "Muckleshoots Have Few Resources," also noted the urban sprawl encroaching on the Muckleshoot Reservation and quoted Indians who feared that their tribe would soon cease to exist under the pressure of white society. Seattle Times, July 2, 1968, 4.

16. "Stanford Research Institute Report June 1, 1956," NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Decimal File 052.9, Box 9; P-I, April 20, 1964.

17. Of 122 Indians surveyed -- people from outside the Puget Sound region as well as local Indians -- 23 percent were unemployed; their mean income was $5,000-7,000 (considerably higher than the recorded incomes of reservation residents). Bruce A. Chadwick and Joseph H. Stauss, "The Assimilation of American Indians into Urban Society: The Seattle Case," Human Organization 34 (Winter 1975): 359-369. See also, Hannula, Seattle Times, July 5, 1968, 27 (describing difficulty of city life for Indians, many of whom have wound up on welfare, Skid road); "Indians Face Bias," Seattle P-I, July 23, 1972, C8. Nationally, according to Bernstein, unemployment among urban Indians in 1950 was 15%, three times the rate for whites. In 1949 the median income for Indian males in urban areas was $1,198 but $2,218 for black men and $3,780 for white. American Indians and World War II, 149-50.

18. Chadwick and Stauss concluded that urban migration was not a panacea for the problem of Indian poverty, because Indians could not participate fully in American society.

> An additional factor contributing to the lack of assimilation of Indians into urban society is the level of active discrimination practiced against Indians in the economic arena and interpersonal relationships. The white sample seemed to be saying, 'We want Indians to be like us, but we will limit our association with them until they achieve our "level.' Also, it appears that

> Indians fail to take advantage of many available opportunities because they anticipate being the object of discrimination. Both of these attitudes close the door to many educational and occupational opportunities as well as to informal interaction which would certainly accelerate assimilation.

"The Assimilation of American Indians into Urban Society," 366 and 368.

19. Ibid., 365; Minutes of individual tribal delegates' meetings with the Commissioner, 1956, NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Decimal File 109, Box 18; "Intertribal Council WW Indians, Minutes 1-15/16-54," NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Decimal File 103.31, Box 15; remarks of social worker Martha Muckey in Seattle Times, June 2, 1961, 9. See also Lummi Reservation study, "Acculturation Reports, May 1, 1963," NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Decimal File 024.1 ("There is indication of some discrimination against Indian people in the surrounding community. At the same time, there is a strong active group (non-Indian) supporting the activities of the Indians."); Capt. Florence Ross, Director of Juvenile Bureau of King County Sheriff, to Superintendent, August 28, 1956, NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Decimal File 024, Box 6 ("In other words the white man has subjugated the Indian with their indifferance [sic] and lethargy to the point that the Indians resign themselves that 'nobody cares.'"); Susan Schwartz, Seattle Times, March 19, 1969, 25 (describing meeting of Muckleshoot Indians with city of Auburn officials, including individual Indians' complaints that Indians quit school when white children made fun of them and employers refused to hire them just because they were Indian; including Auburn officials' statements that Indians did not stick with jobs). A 1947 study of ten Indian women in Seattle -- only two of them from western Washington originally -- found that nearly all viewed their ethnicity as a barrier to acceptance by non-Indians. The author validated the women's feeling by noting local hospitals' and landlords' reluctance to serve Indians and by reporting that one fourth of all women arrested by Seattle police for venereal disease testing were Indian, despite the fact that Indians were a tiny percent of the city's population. Amelia Louise Schultz, "Indian Unmarried Mothers" (M.S.W. thesis, University of Washington, 1947), 4, 26, 108, 111.

20. Seattle Times, November 9, 1962, 4; John Dewhirst, "Coast Salish Summer Festivals: Rituals for Upgrading Social Identity," Anthropologica 18 (1976): 234-35.

21. Seattle Times, June 2, 1961, 9; Hannula, Seattle Times, February 12, 1967, 33; Bellingham Herald, November 23, 1959, 1 and 3 (two Lummi leaders' divergent views on the wisdom of the relocation program). Hannula later asserted that some Indians preferred "dignified" poverty on or near reservations to the hurried, debt-ridden life of an urban wage earner. "The Indian Problem...," Seattle Times, June 30, 1968, 92.

22. Collins, Valley of the Spirits, 243, 44; Collins, "The Indian Shaker Church," 405; Wike, "Modern Spirit Dancing of Northern Puget Sound," 9, 13, 37; Amoss, Coast Salish Spirit Dancing, 27, 149, 157. The BIA's 1963 profile of the Lummi Reservation community stated, "[T]here is active participation by a sizeable group in the Indian spirit dances and celebrations, particularly during the treaty days, with Canadian Indians participating. Participants in these dances appear to be in attendance at other religious activities during the year." On the Muckleshoot Reservation the Shakers were reportedly the most active church. Acculturation Reports, May 1, 1963, NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Decimal File 024.1. Suquamish elders Ethel Sam and Clara Jones told interviewers in 1982 that they joined the Pentecostals as adults. Sam found the Pentecostals' worship satisfying but continued her relations with Indian Shakers. Suquamish Oral History Interviews S.7.01 (Sam, February 1982) and J.4.01 (Jones, February 2, 1982).

23. John Kew noted only two white men, both married to Indian women, who were initiated as spirit dancers in the 1960s. Although white observers were not excluded, they rarely attended dances, which were invitational events. John Edward Michael Kew, "Coast Salish Ceremonial Life: Status and Identity in a Modern Village" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington, 1970), 205, 200. According to Collins, Upper Skagits did worship with whites in Pentecostal churches. Valley of the Spirits, 44.

24. Wike, "Modern Spirit Dancing," 9, 136; Amoss, Coast Salish Spirit Dancing, 27, 149, 157; Kew, "Coast Salish Ceremonial Life," 1, 80, 317, 325, 340, 349-50.

25. The network of people who participated in winter ceremonial gatherings at Swinomish, Lummi, and the Nooksack Valley also extended to southern British Columbia and Vancouver Island. Suttles mentions a young man from the Tulalip Reservation who in 1962 became "the first Snohomish new dancer in half a century." By the mid-60s Tulalip was regularly included in the winter dance circuit Kew described. Coast Salish Essays, 227; Kew, "Coast Salish Ceremonial Life," 145. I found no evidence of spirit dancing in communities farther south before the 1970s. However, Suttles speculates that the Shaker Church's inter-community network provided a link between people in the northern winter dancing network, Indian groups to the south, and groups -- such as the eastern Washington Yakima -- who continued other forms of native ceremonialism. Ibid., 229. Kew confirms that Shakers participated in intervillage ceremonials. "Coast Salish Ceremonial Life," 244. As described by Kew and Suttles, the large ceremonials were occasions not only for spirit dancing but also to bestow hereditary names, display mementos of the dead, give away wealth, and make speeches, thus combining features of aboriginal spirit dancing and potlatches and enhancing the reputations of those who participated, especially those who distributed valuables. "The Persistence

of Intervillage Ties among the Coast Salish," Coast Salish Essays, 223-26; Kew, "Coast Salish Ceremonial Life," 149, 205, 326, 341.

26. David Richardson, "N.W. Indians Continue Spirit Dance Ritual," Tacoma New Tribune/Sunday Ledger, March 10, 1957, Magazine 3.

27. Rygg, "The Continuation of Upper Class...Attitudes," 334, 339. Kew says of the Musqueam Salish near Vancouver, B.C., "To receive visitors and to be recognized as kin is an indicator of the position one holds." "Coast Salish Ceremonial Life," 80.

28. F.A. Gross to Lucile McDonald, December 17, 1947, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Box 492 (Indian Treaty Day Celebration near LaConner and Lummi Stommish Water Carnival); Gross to Commissioner, February 28, 1950; Kew, "Coast Salish Ceremonial Life," 277 and ff.; Dewhirst, "Coast Salish Summer Festivals."

29. Seattle Times, August 17, 1960, 3; Walt Woodward, "Indians Begin to Find Own Voices," Seattle Times, April 27, 1966, 11. Of the Seattle Indians in the sample that Chadwick and Stauss studied, 74% attended powwows. "The Assimilation of American Indians," 363.

30. Dewhirst, "Coast Salish Summer Festivals," 232.

31. Ibid., 256; Kew, "Coast Salish Ceremonial Life," 289-97; "Indian Water Carnival," Seattle Times, July 12, 1953, Pictorial, 45; "Intertribal Indian Days, Seattle Times, August 4, 1971, E18 (festival in suburb of Seattle with a Sioux girl as fair queen); "Indian Fete Revives Old Customs," Seattle Times, July 2, 1950, Rot., 14-15 (showing people at fourth annual Lummi Stommish in teepees and Plains-style feather bonnets).

32. Collins, Valley of the Spirits; Elmendorf, The Structure of Twana Culture; Kew, "Coast Salish Ceremonial Life;" Langness, "A Case of Post-Contact Reform among the Clallam;" Snyder, "Skagit Society and Its Existential Basis;" Suttles, Coast Salish Essays. Many of the anthropologists, of course, were gathering evidence for use in the Indian Claims Commission.

33. Murray Morgan's Skid Road: An Informal Portrait of Seattle (New York: The Viking Press, 1951), 20, describes Chief Seattle [spelled "Sealth"] as a "big, ugly man" and claims that whites "were certainly more impressed by Sealth than the Indians were." In The Egg and I (New York: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1945), 12, 22, 202, Betty McDonald was so intent on drawing humorous contrasts between modern Indians of the northeast Olympic Peninsula and the noble Plains Indians of myth that her descriptions of the former people ("squat, bowlegged, swarthy, flat-faced, broad-nosed, dirty, diseased, ignorant and tricky") prompted one man to sue her

unsuccessfully for libel. He claimed that he was a mixed-blood Indian with the same nickname as an alcoholic Indian featured in her book. "'Egg and I' Author Libel Suit Winner," Seattle P-I, February 21, 1951, 1; "Too Young," P-I, February 20, 1951, 1.

34. Seattle Times, June 18, 1950, Magazine 1 (tales of Suquamish warriors and medicine men); Seattle Times, January 24, 1954, Magazine 2 (Collins interviewing old-timers for information about aboriginal village sites and use areas in and around the city of Seattle); Seattle Times, May 15, 1966, Magazine 5 (featuring Maria Sneatlum, a great-grand-niece of Chief Seattle with a desire to hand down legends); "Susie Sampson Peter, Oldest of the Kikiallus," Seattle Times, November 2, 1958, Magazine 7. In 1952 300 people came to a Mercer Island gymnasium to see Bill Holm, a student of Gunther, demonstrate "authentic dances" of the Blackfeet and Coast Indians, some of which they expected to find "'kinda scary.'" The Mercer Islander, April 10, 1952, 1, and May 1, 1952, 1. Mary Ann Lambert Vincent, a descendant of high-ranking Clallam Indians, said other people encouraged her to recount the Indians' "side of the struggle" as told to her around their campfires. House of the Seven Brothers: A Genealogical Story of Olympic Peninsula Indians, (n.p., 1960), foreword; Dungeness Massacre and other Regional Tales.

35. "Relics of a Proud Past," Seattle Times, September 14, 1958, Magazine 46-47; Rygg, "The Continuation of Upper Class...Attitudes," 304, 317-78. Hillaire told the reporter that he married Lena, great-granddaughter of Chief Kitsap, in 1928 near Grays Harbor on Washington's Pacific coast. At the request of the Grays Harbor Kiwanis Club "whose members wanted to witness a real Indian wedding ceremony," Hillaire donned Indian dress, and a "genuine medicine man" performed rites while the Kiwanis took photographs. Don Duncan, Seattle Times, July 25, 1965, clipping in NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Decimal File 040, Box 7.

36. Charlotte D. Widrig, "Point Elliott Treaty Centennial," Seattle Times, October 31, 1954, Magazine 4.

37. "Point Elliott Treaty-Signing Re-enacted," Seattle Times, May 3, 1961, 53. I found no mention of an 1955 centennial observation in records of the Inter-tribal Council stored at the National Archives. Nor does the centennial reappear, after Charlotte Widrig's article of 1954, in indexes to the Seattle Times maintained (less than systematically) by staff of the University of Washington Library's Special Collections and the Seattle Public Library. I could not find articles on the subject in the Times either during the week of January 22, 1955, or during the period June 16 through July 31, 1955 -- the height of the summer community festival season. On the other hand, the Times did cover a ceremony in Walla Walla to commemorate the hundredth anniversary of the treaty with the Yakimas and other eastern Washington Indians. "Whites Join Indians in Treaty Fete," Seattle Times, June 8, 1955.

It also ran features on numerous festive events outside Seattle during July, including the Marysville Strawberry Festival at the edge of the Tulalip Reservation.

38. See Chapter 4.

39. See Chapter 6.

40. Dewhirst, "Coast Salish Summer Festivals," 246.

41. Northwest Salmon Fisheries Resources, S. 1493-3, 96.

42. "Fishing in Western Washington -- A Treaty Right, a Clash of Cultures," in Indian Tribes: A Continuing Quest for Survival, United States Commission on Civil Rights (June 1981), 61, 64 and ff.; Parman, "Inconstant Advocacy;" AFSC, Uncommon Controversy, 72-106; Cohen, Treaties on Trial, especially 41-65; Boxberger, To Fish in Common, 98-140.

43. When Emmons addressed delegates of western Washington tribes on September 13, 1956, he said, "I think it is appropriate that we stop and...be thankful for the fact that we are Americans, that we are part of a great democracy in which we can meet peacefully, without fear of gestapo looking down our necks...." "Minutes of Tribal meetings with Commissioner Emmons 9/13-14/56," NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Decimal File 109, Box 18. A decade later the American Civil Liberties Union concluded that government officials were violating Indian fishers' fundamental rights and accordingly agreed to represent them in court. Cohen, Treaties on Trial, 75. The president of the Inter-tribal Council of Western Washington Indians complained to the Secretary of the Interior that Washington State's treatment of Indian fishers was "not unlike that taken in some countries in the world today where despotism flourishes...." Harold J. Plaster to Stewart L. Udall, n.d. [received February 13 or 18, 1962], NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Decimal File 060. Indian veterans of America's foreign wars sometimes argued that their sacrifice at least entitled them to fair treatment at home. Comments of Joe Teao, "Intertribal Council WW Indians, Minutes 1-15/16-54," NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Decimal File 103.31; Testimony of Benjamin Wright, United States, Quinault Tribe, et al. v. State of Washington, Thor Tollefson, et al. (United States District Court, Western District of Washington at Tacoma, September 1973), Civil No. 9213, Transcript, 2904 (hereafter U.S. v. Washington Transcript).

44. "Indians, Like Negroes, Step Up Rights Fight," Sunday Oregonian, February 23, 1964, 25; "Indians Begin to Find Own Voices," Seattle Times, April 27, 1966, 11; "Program Opening New Doors for Area Tribes," Everett Herald, March 6, 1970, 9B; "Indians Urge Self-Help, Change of Image," Seattle Times, April 13, 1961, 6; "Tribal Members Respond to Indianness Question," Bremerton Sun, April 14, 1973, 1.

45. Commission on Civil Rights, Indian Tribes: A Continuing Quest for Survival, 66-67; Makah Indian Tribe v. Schoettler, 192 Federal Reporter 2d 224 (9th Circuit Court of Appeals, 1951); State v. Satiacum, 50 Washington Reports 2d 513 (1957): (on appeal from a Superior Court judgment dismissing charges October 20, 1955); Cohen, Treaties on Trial, 67-68. Frank Wrolson, Puyallup delegate to the Inter-tribal Council in 1954, confirmed that members of his tribe had just recently started fishing in the river. "Intertribal Council of WW Indians, Minutes 1-15/16-54," NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Decimal File 103.31, Box 15. Also, written testimony of Washington Department of Fisheries in Northwest Salmon Fisheries Resources, S.1493-3, p. 5. In the latter, the state explained Muckleshoot Indians' decision to fish the Green River in the early 1960s as a response to drastic decreases in fish run sizes on their reservation and further attributed the latter decrease to virtually uncontrolled Puyallup fishing downstream from the Muckleshoot Reservation.

46. See also Chronicles of American Indian Protest (Greenwich, Connecticut: Fawcett Publications for the Council on Interracial Books for Children, 1971), 280-83.

47. In State v. Satiacum all eight justices concurred in the result -- that is, in the decision to dismiss charges against Robert Satiacum and James Young -- because the state had not offered any evidence that its regulations closing the Puyallup River to salmon and steelhead fishing were necessary for conservation. Four justices reasoned that the treaties protected Indians from all state regulations, while the remaining four justices said the state had power to regulate for conservation but must prove that its rules did serve conservation needs. 50 Washington Reports 2d 523-24, 530, 534.

48. Washington v. McCoy, 387 Pacific Reporter 2d 942, 949, 951 (Washington Supreme Court, 1963).

49. Puyallup Tribe v. Department of Game, 391 United States Reports 392, 398, 401-03 (1968); Indian Tribes: A Continuing Quest for Survival, 67. Following is a small sampling of the newspaper coverage of this long story: "Restraining Order Halts Indian Fishing," Tacoma News Tribune, November 13, 1963, 1; "More Indians Defy Bans," Seattle Times, March 4, 1964, 4B; "State to File Case Against Indian Fishing," Seattle Times, August 10, 1964, 36; "Plan Fish-In as Nisqually Protest," Times, February 16, 1964, 14; "Indians Win 'Um Fight over Fish," Seattle Times, January 10, 1965, Magazine 2; "State Regulation of Indian Fishing Upheld," Seattle Times, May 27, 1968, S4; "Indians to Stage Fish-Ins Today," P-I, June 13, 1968, 3; "State Indians Plan to Protest High Court Ruling on Fishing," Seattle Times, June 12, 1968, 12; "Indian Camp-In on Capitol Lawn Grows," Seattle Times, June 24, 1968, 3; "46 Days of Confrontation on Nisqually," Seattle Times, October 20, 1968, 7; "Indian Suit Challenges New Rules," Seattle Times, July 26, 1968, 72; "Protestors

Stage Demonstration," P-I, September 6, 1968, 29; "Indian War Starts at Frank's Landing," Everett Herald, October 18, 1968, 1.

50. Sohappy v. Smith, 302 Federal Supplement 899, 904 (U.S. District Court for the District of Oregon, 1969); Indian Tribes: A Continuing Quest for Survival, 68.

51. Uncommon Controversy, 86-87; Indian Tribes: A Continuing Quest for Survival, 70; "U.S. to Defend Indians in Fish Disputes," Seattle Times, May 5, 1966, 9; "U.S. Sues State," Seattle P-I, September 19, 1970, 1; "Attorneys for Tribes Join U.S. Suit," P-I, January 17, 1971, 14; "Legal Struggle Has Been Long," Seattle Times, September 28, 1970, A16.

52. "Legal Struggle Has Been Long," Seattle Times, September 28, 1970, A16 (interview with U.S. Attorney Stan Pitkin); United States v. Washington, 384 Federal Supplement 312, 328, 330 (U.S. District Court for the Western District of Washington at Tacoma, 1974); affirmed at 520 Federal Reporter 2d 676 (9th Circuit Court of Appeals, 1975); certiorari denied at 423 United States Reports 1006 (1976); Washington v. Washington State Commercial Passenger Fishing Vessel Association, 443 United States Reports 658-708 (1979). The Supreme Court in 1979 modified the District Court's ruling slightly but affirmed its most important holdings.

53. 384 Federal Supplement 312, 335-39. When the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals affirmed Judge Boldt's decision to retain jurisdiction in order to ensure implementation of his decision, a concurring judge laid the blame for the "fish wars" at the state's feet: "The record in this case, and the history set forth in [other cases] make it crystal clear that it has been recalcitrance of Washington State officials (and their vocal non-Indian commercial and sports fishing allies) which produced the denial of Indian rights requiring intervention by the district court. This responsibility should neither escape notice nor be forgotten." 520 Federal Reporter 2d 693 (Burns, J., concurring).

54. Uncommon Controversy, xx-xxi, xxvi, 71; "Hank Adams Dedicated to His People's Fight," Seattle Times, January 24, 1971, A16; Robert Johnson, "Northwest Indians: Our Invisible Society," Seattle P-I, July 28, 1969, Northwest Today, 7-11 (asserting that uniqueness of Indians of Pacific Northwest "is tied inseparably to the anadromous fish of this region").

55. Cohen, Treaties on Trial, 77; Sidney Mills, "A Choice of Allegiance," in Chronicles of American Indian Protest, 291; "Hank Adams Dedicated to His People's Fight," Seattle Times, January 24, 1971, A16.

56. Cohen, Treaties on Trial, 179, 186-87, xxiii, xxv.

57. Uncommon Controversy, 108; "3 Indians Sue Puyallup Tribe," Seattle P-I, October 14, 1971, A10.

58. State v. Robert Moses et al., opinion of Washington State Supreme Court en banc, Docket No. 40267 (1971); Cohen, Treaties on Trial, 66-67, 70-77; Uncommon Controversy, 108-113. Some of the many newspaper accounts of fish-ins and other protests are cited above. See also, "Indians Call Nisqually Raid a Nazi Trick" Tacoma News Tribune, January 12, 1962, 1; "Plan Fish-In at Nisqually," Seattle Times, February 27, 1964, I58; Seattle Times, March 1, 1964, 39; Seattle Times, March 3, 1964, 14; "More Indians Defy Bans," Seattle Times, March 4, 1964, 4B; "Indian Women Dare Fishing Arrests," Seattle Times, March 11, 1964, 7; "Fishing Hearing Picketed by Indians," Seattle Times, March 20, 1964, 42; "Indians Parade Here," Seattle Times, October 26, 1965, 46; "Fewer Than 50 Begin March for Fishing Rights," Seattle Times, May 13, 1966, 2; "Indians Plan Fishing Rights Appeal at The Hague," Seattle Times, August 13, 1968, I58.

59. Cohen, Treaties on Trial, 73, 75; "Marlon Brando, San Francisco Cleric Arrested," Seattle Times, March 2, 1964, 1; Seattle Times, March 16, 1964, 3 (National Indian Youth Council backing defiance of court); Seattle P-I, July 18, 1968, 3 (Dick Gregory's arrest); Seattle Times, August 13, 1970, B4 (Seattle Liberation Front joining Puyallup fishing battle).

60. Statement of Bernice White and Annie Garrison in Northwest Salmon Fisheries Resources, S.1493-3, 114-16; testimony of Forrest Kinley, U.S. v. Washington Transcript, 3008; "Indians Reject Marches, Sit-Ins," P-I, February 16, 1964, 10; Seattle Times, March 1, 1964, 39; Seattle Times, April 28, 1968, 25; Seattle Times, June 30, 1968, 92; Uncommon Controversy, 116-17; "Indian Leader Opposes U.S. Suit," Seattle P-I, March 3, 1971, 2 (Hank Adams criticizing suit as not broad enough); Seattle Times, July 4, 1968, 57. The president of the National Indian Youth Council, noting that an attorney for some Indian fishers was also president of the NAACP's Northwest branch, charged the lawyer with meddling in the Indians' cause on the mistaken assumption that it was equivalent to the civil rights struggle. "Indians Tell Negroes to Stay out of Case," Seattle Times, March 1, 1964, 39. Even people who resorted to mass demonstrations of support for treaty fishers had varying opinions about the propriety of provocative tactics. The sponsors of one assembly at the state capitol in 1964 discouraged "Indian regalia" and protest signs and made a point of telling the press that the leaders would be Indian college graduates in coats and ties. Seattle Times, March 1, 1964, 39.

61. Statement of Tulalip Tribe, Indian Fishing Rights, hearing of Senate Subcommittee on Indian Affairs, 88th Cong., 1964, S. 1641-8, 181-182 ("The Tulalip people claim no treaty right to fish off the reservation at usual and accustomed places which gives to them a status greater than that of other citizens."); Testimony of Wayne Williams of Tulalip Tribe, Northwest Salmon Fisheries Resources, S.1493-3, pp. 89-90 (bemoaning that Tulalips "are forced to bear the cost...of

the general denunciation directed at all Indians" even though they do not fish for steelhead); Swindell, Report on...Fishing, Hunting, and Miscellaneous Rights, 112, 137; Seattle Times, October 5, 1958, 47; "Tulalip Indians Support State Fishing Rules," Seattle Times, April 11, 1962, 53; "Non-Treaty Indians Back Set-Net Ban," Seattle Times, January 9, 1962, 11; Cohen, Treaties on Trial, 69; Uncommon Controversy, 105, 115-16. Cohen quotes Cecilia Svinth Carpenter, a historian of Nisqually descent, as saying that Indians separated into two camps regarding the treaty rights issue not because they disagreed about their goals but because they disagreed about the means to reach those goals. Treaties on Trial, 70.

62. Seattle Times, January 24, 1971, A16; Seattle Times, June 30, 1968, 92; P-I, October 14, 1971, A10; Cohen, Treaties on Trial, 66. Another person who claimed to speak for the beleaguered treaty fishers during the late 1950s and 1960s was Malcolm McLeod, a local non-Indian attorney who represented many tribes in the Indian Claims Commission, defended Robert Satiacum and James Young, and pled the treaty fishers' case on several occasions before congressional investigating committees. On one appearance before a Senate committee McLeod spoke in the first person plural when describing Indians' concerns. North Pacific Fisheries Problems, S.1493-1, 110-11; Seattle Times, April 12, 1958, Magazine 7; Seattle Times, October 5, 1958, 47.

63. Intertribal Council to Stewart Udall, January 5, 1962, NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Decimal File 060; Resolution of Intertribal Council, October 14, 1961, Ibid.; "Top Northwest Indian Officials Join Fishing Rights Fight," Seattle P-I, September 13, 1970, 66; Uncommon Controversy, 113-14. The difficulty of mobilizing tribal leaders for a unified defense of treaty fishing rights is evident in the fact that the Intertribal Council did not set up its fish and game commission for more than four years after a delegate described efforts to form a working group of fishing tribes to address the issue. Minutes, Intertribal Council, January 12, 1957, NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Decimal File 060.

64. Swindell, Report on...Fishing, Hunting and Miscellaneous...Rights, 112; North Pacific Fisheries Problems, S.1493-1, 222. James Jackson of the Quinault Tribe made a statement to the same effect as Wilbur in Northwest Salmon Fisheries Resources, S.1493-3.

65. The tribes were Squaxin Island, Skokomish, Nisqually, Stillaguamish, Puyallup, Lummi, Muckleshoot, Sauk-Suiattle, and Skagit. Except for the last two, which apparently had one witness each, each tribe submitted the written direct testimony of two witnesses. Death or illness prevented two of those witnesses -- one from Nisqually and one from Squaxin Island -- from appearing in court. In addition to its two main witnesses the Lummi Tribe also presented three fishermen

to testify only about reef netting, a technique peculiar to that tribe. U.S. v. Washington Transcript.

66. U.S. v. Washington Transcript, 2870, 2698, 2600; Findings, Conclusions, and Order, State v. James Starr, Louis Starr, et al. (Superior Court for State of Washington in King County, No. 37072). Information regarding Calvin Peters's genealogy appears in "Puyallup -- 1929 Payment Roll," NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Box 276.

67. U.S. v. Washington Transcript 2486-87, 2711-12, 2718, 2635, 2659, 2591, 2604, 2883.

68. Ibid., 2489, 2713, 2894, 3065, 3020-21, 3232.

69. Myerhoff, "'Life Not Death in Venice'..."

70. U.S. v. Washington Transcript 2559-60, 3004, 3023, 2710; Seattle Times, September 12, 1973, A10; Cohen, Treaties on Trial, xxiii, 65; Uncommon Controversy, 113. Expert witness Barbara Lane also said that the defining characteristics of Indian identity among modern descendants of Puget Sound aborigines included group lore and familiarity with orally transmitted history. "Political and Economic Aspects of Indian-White Culture Contact...," 41-42. Calvin Peters, however, confessed to very little knowledge about Squaxin Island Indians' past practices. U.S. v. Washington Transcript, 2499-2500.

71. Testimony of Frank Wright, Northwest Salmon Fisheries Resources, S.1493-3, 68; Testimony of Tandy Wilbur, Ibid., 95-96; Lane, "Political and Economic Aspects of Indian-White Culture Contact," 29; Testimony of Malcolm McLeod, Indian Fishing Rights, S. 1641-8, 95; Uncommon Controversy, 20-25. A few years later two advocates for landless, unrecognized tribes asserted that ignorance on the part of the U.S. negotiators was the principal cause of trouble after the treaties. Stevens and his colleagues, they charged, "were unfamiliar with the diverse interests and cultures of the many Washington tribes." Indian Affairs Task Force, The People Speak, Will You Listen? (Olympia: State of Washington, 1978), 81.

72. Northwest Salmon Fisheries Resources, S.1493-3, 66; Indian Fishing Rights, S.1641-8, pp. 80, 93; U.S. v. Washington Transcript, 3179, 3049 (Kinley citing Indians' low average income). See also, written statements of Lummi and Swinomish Tribes, Northwest Salmon Fisheries Resources, 94, 96.

73. U.S. v. Washington Transcript, 3021, 3041, 3148-51; Testimony of Al Ziontz, Indian Fishing Rights, S.1641-8, 80.

74. U.S. v. Washington Transcript, 2861, 3025, 3052 and ff., 3081, 3189; Seattle Times, September 12, 1973, A5, A10.

75. In 1964 the Assistant Secretary of the Interior told the Senate Subcommittee on Indian Affairs, "One of the unresolved issues is whether any person who can trace his ancestry to one of these groups is entitled to exercise the treaty right to fish, and if so, the number of persons involved." Indian Fishing Rights, S.1641-8, p. 4. See also, "3 Indians Sue Puyallup Tribe," Seattle P-I, October 14, 1971, A10.

76. Seattle Times, March 28, 1962, 26; Harold J. Plaster to Stewart L. Udall, n.d. [received February 18, 1962], NA PNR RG75, Western Washington Decimal File 060; Findings, Conclusions, Order of Dismissal, State v. James Starr, Louie Starr, Leonard Wayne (Superior Court for the State of Washington in King County, No. 37072); North Pacific Fisheries Problems, S.1493-1, 113-14; Murray Morgan, "State Fights Indians; Fishing Rights Questioned," Seattle Argus, May 18, 1962, 9 (Treaty provided fuel for arguments which still smolder, including Who is an Indian? Which Indian belongs to which tribe?); Uncommon Controversy, 79.

77. Northwest Salmon Fisheries Resources, S.1493-3, p. 37.

78. Indian Fishing Rights, S.1641-8, p. 35. At the same hearing Senator Walter Magnuson agreed that there was a need to define who was an Indian treaty beneficiary, "because as we go along we all mix a great deal more and diffuse a little more and dilute a little more...." Ibid., 38.

79. Uncommon Controversy, 67, 95; Chronicles of American Indian Protest, 280-83. In 1950 the Washington Department of Fisheries assumed that Clallam Indians had forfeited their rights to fish pursuant to the Treaty of Point No Point when they accepted a settlement of their claims against the United States in the 1920s. E.M. Benn, Chief Inspector, to F.A. Gross, April 18, 1950, NA PNR RG75, Tulalip Decimal File 922; Gross to Emoore W. George, May 4, 1950, Ibid.

80. Uncommon Controversy, 66-70. See also Lane, "Political and Economic Aspects of Indian-White Culture," 41-42.

81. U.S. v. Washington Transcript, 2507-08, 2599-2600, 2655, 2688-89, 2859-60, 2891-93, 2978, 3241, 3268.

82. U.S. v. Washington Transcript, 3268.

83. Ibid., 2507, 2516-17, 2598, 2655, 2688-89, 2978, 3268.

84. 384 Federal Supplement 358, 339-40.

85. U.S. v. Washington, 384 Federal Supplement 314, 360 (Lummi Tribe) and ff.

86. 384 Federal Supplement 339-40.

87. Ibid., 360 and ff., 341.

88. For an analysis closely related to the one which follows here, see Russel L. Barsh, "Backfire from Boldt: The Judicial Transformation of Coast Salish Proprietary Fisheries into a Commons," Western Legal History 4 (1991): 85-102.

89. Indian Affairs Task Force, Are You Listening, Neighbor?, 28.

90. Indian Affairs Task Force, The People Speak, Will You Listen?, 86; U.S. v. Washington, 384 Federal Supplement 328, 376, 378-79; 520 Federal Reporter 2d 692-93.

91. Findings of Fact, U.S. v. Washington, 476 Federal Supplement 1101 (U.S. District Court for the Western District of Washington, 1979).

92. Ibid., 1104-05. According to The People Speak, Will You Listen?, at 82, 87, several landless tribes requested in vain that their judgment funds be used to purchase land in trust or disbursed in a lump sum for use in tribal programs.

93. United States v. State of Washington, 641 Federal Reporter 2d 1368 (1981), certiorari denied, 102 Supreme Court Reporter 1001.

94. Testimony of Willard Bill, Hearing before Magistrate Robert Cooper, December 18, 1974, United States v. Washington (United States District Court for the Western District of Washington at Tacoma, Civil No. 9213), 142.

# AFTERWORD

In 1975 the Snohomish Tribe of Indians petitioned the federal government to acknowledge its existence and its direct derivation from the Snohomish Indians named in the Treaty of Point Elliott. In defense of the decision to deny this petition, a Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Interior wrote:

> The current petitioner is almost exclusively derived from marriages of early pioneers and Indian women....Historically they have been confused with what was at one time a substantial number of Snohomish who were unable or unwilling to move onto the Tulalip Reservation. Later, they were also confused with reservation and non-reservation Indians who were unable to get allotments. They have incorrectly believed themselves to be and have incorrectly been identified by others as descendants of off-reservation members of the historical Snohomish Tribe.[1]

This statement may do violence to the facts the Snohomish Tribe presented, as the tribe's officers contended, but it highlights two important facts of the larger history recounted here. First, ever since Europeans and Americans slapped the labels "Indian" and "tribe" on indigenous peoples of the Puget Sound area, there have been reasons to question whether the labels have been applied "correctly." Second, many different kinds of people with different histories have had some reason to call themselves Indians and Indian tribes. Confusion and conflicting beliefs about the historical antecedents that may identify someone as Indian are not surprising in a region where there have been so many different ways to become Indian.

From the time fur traders first ascertained group names for Puget Sound's inhabitants, they had reasons to doubt that native people understood those names the same way they did. What Hudson's Bay Company men called tribes did not have political or cultural coherence by European standards, and most

of the people identified with those tribes also had numerous ties to people in other presumed tribes. Because many traders found sexual partners among indigenous women, they soon had ties to native communities as well; and those ties produced additional cause for disagreements about the proper application of labels such as "Indian" and "tribe." Children born to the traders' native wives personified the difficulty of delineating categories.

Reasons for doubts and disagreements about how to classify indigenous people and their descendants changed in succeeding periods, but they never disappeared; indeed, they increased in number. Americans who came after the fur traders thought they could sort Indians into a few tribes and separate them from non-Indians, but they soon discovered that regional practices -- particularly native people's mobility and their propensity to create links between communities -- made the potential tribal and racial categories numerous and inexact.

Because Americans were slower to dominate the Puget Sound region than they liked or pretended, it was several decades before they had the power to impose more structure on their relations with indigenous people. After they monopolized organized force and gained effective control of access to economic resources, they could subordinate most of the people they called Indians and eventually push them to the margins of regional society. At the same time, however, Americans by their own actions made it harder to delineate and segregate Indians. Confident of their own civilization's superiority and ambivalent about relegating Indians to a class that did not

enjoy the benefits of that civilization, policy makers shifted course late in the nineteenth century: they took steps ostensibly intended to break up the class called Indians and to force its members into the general American population.

As Americans tried to "civilize" Indians and Indians voluntarily mingled with white immigrants, the descendants of indigenous people changed in ways that blurred the original cultural distinctions between indigenous and American societies. However, in much the same way that exchanges between the sundry aboriginal communities reinforced local pride, the mingling of natives and immigrants also sharpened many people's sense that Indians and non-Indians remained significantly different. For example, Indian Shakers embraced Christianity and Christians' moral standards, yet they concluded that Indians and whites were still different enough to need their own respective ways of worship. Federal officials frequently proclaimed that Indians of the Puget Sound area had become practically like white people, yet they also claimed to detect persistent traits that marked many people as unassimilable Indians.

By the twentieth century, notwithstanding the federal government's continuing goal of abolishing the special class called Indians, administrators and judges were involved in a renewed, explicit, and increasingly elaborate process of identifying some people as Indian wards of the government. United States policy and law set the parameters of the Indian classification, at least for purposes of civic status and property relations. Nevertheless, American officials had not

monopolized the power to define "Indian" or to determine in all respects what it meant to be Indian. The classification process still involved dialogues and debates between classifiers and classified, as it had from the time Europeans appeared on Puget Sound.

"Indian" and "tribe" acquired meanings for people besides the Britons and Americans who introduced those terms when some people came to believe that they belonged in groups with those names and joined the effort to define them. To indigenous people who first heard Britons and Americans call them Indians and tribes, the words were new. They undoubtedly strained to determine what the words meant to the people using them. Britons and Americans, on the other hand, believed they had named categories that made sense to so-called Indians, and they expected Indians to supply information about the content of those categories.

The subsequent exchange of information -- a continuous dialogue that will not end until "Indian" ceases to have meaning for anyone -- has not been an orderly conversation. Multitudes of individuals with diverse interests and experiences have participated, and all have been free to challenge the meanings that others have given to "Indian" and associated categories. Questions about who could claim or who should be saddled with a particular name have come from people presumably inside the named groups as well as people outside them. It is no longer possible, if it ever was, to isolate and trace the origins of various contributions to this discourse. Even when American officials have merely been deciding whom to

count as Indians for the purpose of allocating property under specific federal laws, they have looked to people they presumed were Indians to identify themselves or other Indians; and their Indian interlocutors' responses have in turn incorporated ideas that non-Indians have previously injected into the conversation.

Within a framework of American laws and policies, various descendants of Puget Sound's aboriginal peoples have in many ways taken the initiative to define themselves, trying to fashion identities suited to their tastes. Those who consciously fashioned Indian and tribal identities have usually employed materials salvaged from cultural structures that once accommodated their indigenous ancestors or parents. Their tools, however, have often been American-made. In diverse and innovative ways, the Shakers, the Northwestern Federation of American Indians, and the tribes that became plaintiffs in the treaty fishing rights litigation used non-Indians' ideas and laws to create ways of being Indian that made more sense to them than the ways non-Indians proposed.

I sometimes imagine the evolution of Indian identity in the Puget Sound region as a continuous weaving project involving thousands of weavers. The policies, laws, and economic system that Americans imposed are a jerry-built set of looms on which many people have worked at weaving mantles for Indians alone to wear. The weavers were diverse in culture when the project began, and they and their progeny have grown more diverse.

From the tangled fabric of the past, weavers -- working

individually and in groups, sometimes cooperatively and sometimes in competition -- have pulled many different strands. Although they have pulled their thread from a common stock of materials, different weavers have selected different threads and rewoven them to make different patterns. Some chose their colors and patterns with a conscious intent to fashion cloaks like those their indigenous ancestors wore or cloth that other people expected to see an Indian wearing. Others weavers merely hurried to make garments that would keep them warm. Some, like the leaders of the Northwestern Federation, made garments whose most important uses they did not anticipate. The weavers of my metaphor have procured thread by gradually unraveling designs that were fashionable in the past, and most have regretted the consequent loss of patterns that cannot be duplicated. Even so, the various mantles they have created are no less Indian for being different than the old ones.

In the Interior Department's way of thinking, members of the Snohomish Tribe have tried to fashion an Indian identity by appropriating strands from a historical cloak they have no right to. According to the Under Assistant Secretary, they believe the cloak to be their legacy but are mistaken. Extracted from its political context, the Secretary's statement verges on sophistry because it fails to recognize that "[t]he ethnic 'past' is always a subjective reconstruction."[2] The essence of any ethnic identity lies in people's conviction that certain things set them apart as a group, both in their eyes and the eyes of others; and that conviction is based in large part on sincere beliefs about history. The way any Indians

characterize and link themselves to historic Indians is a basic element of the ethnic identity they claim. Whether or not their characterization may be validated by historians' accepted methods or meet political standards of legitimacy, it may have enough credibility to form the basis for a very real group existence.

In the Puget Sound region, people have had varied historical bases for regarding themselves or being regarded as Indian. To say that some groups can show continuity with a historic tribe while others cannot overlooks the fact that all have emerged from the same historical process in forms that their indigenous ancestors would not recognize. Whether a group has the federal government's seal of approval or not, there is a world of difference between the ways its members are organized and distinguish themselves and the ways indigenous peoples organized and distinguished themselves at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In the 1820s no native inhabitants of the Puget Sound region had formed corporate groups with government powers and formal memberships based on descent. The members of today's corporate tribes think, speak, dress, and support themselves in ways their indigenous ancestors would never have dreamed of. Nevertheless, they all define themselves as Indians and distinguish themselves from people who are not Indians largely on the basis of their history. Members of the modern Snohomish Tribe of Indians give their group's name a meaning that would never have occurred to the nineteenth-century people from whom they claim to derive. The same is true, however, of members of the formally recognized

Suquamish Tribe, whose formulation of tribal identity differs in significant respects from the formulation of Snohomish members.

There is no Platonic ideal, no pedigree and prescribed route of descent against which the authenticity of today's purported Indians and tribes may be tested. Because there have been many possible ways to be Indians in a century and a half, there are many possible, credible ways to conceive of historical continuity between Indians of the past and people alive today. Around Puget Sound, while some people have concluded that ancestry and voluntary affiliation legitimately identify them as heirs to a tribal name, others have relied on their association with a community in a particular geographic location. Both sets of people can account for the identity they claim by a chain of historical events. The question that doomed the Snohomish Tribe's petition for recognition was not whether they could show historical continuity with Indians alive in 1855 but whether the kind of continuity they could show qualified them, under federal law, for acknowledgement as Indians in tribal association.

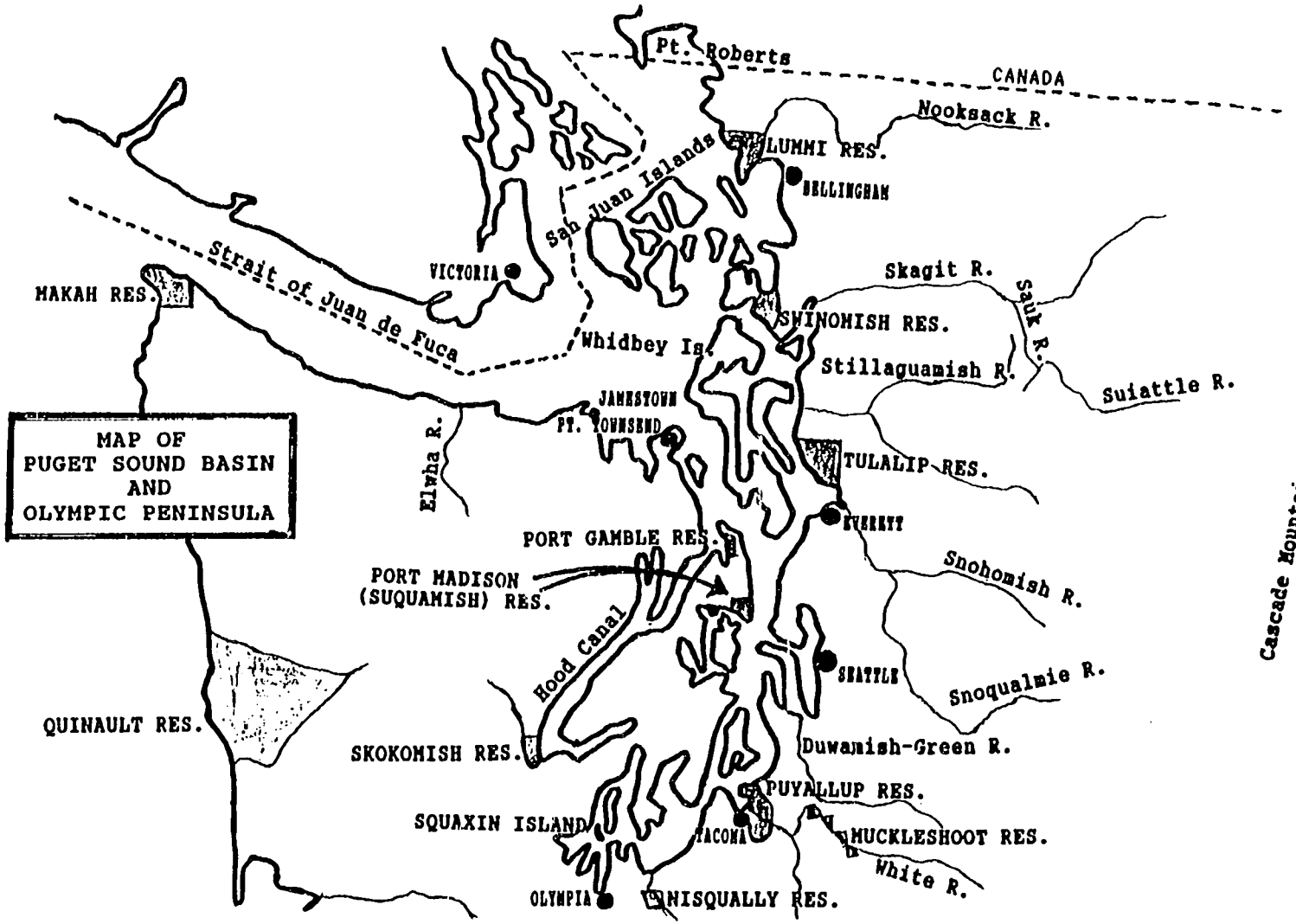
Federal law and policy may have heavily influenced whether and how the descendants of western Washington's indigenous peoples represent themselves as Indians, but it has not merely stamped on those people the marks of a nationally standardized Indian identity. Indeed, the histories of such people show how regional circumstances have intertwined with national forces to make and keep American Indians wonderfully diverse. Along with warrior-nomads of the Great Plains and

cohesive Pueblo dwellers, Indians of western Washington have made unique contributions to the formulation of Indianness in the United States.

## NOTES TO AFTERWORD

1. Deputy Assistant Secretary - Indian Affairs (Operations), Recommendation and Summary of Evidence for Proposed Finding Against Federal Acknowledgment of the Snohomish Tribe of Indians, Inc., Pursuant to 25 CFR 83, March 16, 1983, copy furnished by Snohomish Tribe.

2. Roosens, Creating Ethnicity, 17.




MAP OF
PUGET SOUND BASIN
AND
OLYMPIC PENINSULA

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