A Long Time Ago, When the Earth Was Young

A History of the Confederated Tribes of the

Chehalis Reservation

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CONTENTS

Abstract

This research examines the history of the Confederated Tribes of the Chehalis Reservation from pre-contact (with non-Indian people) to the present day, recounted through an Indigenous perspective. In drawing from discussions about colonial views of Indigenous history, this thesis examines the histories about the Chehalis Tribe that are told by non-Indigenous historians and compares them with accounts from a Chehalis perspective.

Previous accounts of our tribal history, have been told by outside researchers and these accounts have distorted our history. This thesis notes the known historical accounts and in recognizing the politics of history (Smith, 2012) revisits those accounts with a Chehalis voice that values ourselves as the guardians of our tribal history and language, including our ways of knowing. In following traditional 'ways of knowing and doing', this research draws on the oral traditions and knowledge of our Ancestors to reposition ourselves within our own history, taking us from the margins to the centers.

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Prologue

It has been one month since my mother died. Some days my grief is so great I feel as if I should drop out of my doctoral program and stay in bed for the rest of my life. But then I think of my mother and how important education was to her; how important the education of her children and grandchildren was.

When I was in the second grade, my parents, feeling the financial effects of a recession, moved us from town to the reservation. Our new home was close to two small school districts, both of which encompassed the reservation boundaries. When my father was young he had attended the larger of the two schools. My parents, however, felt neither school could provide the quality of education they desired for their own children.

As a result, my mother would drive us to our old school district in town. This trip took thirty minutes and often made her late for work. If my mother was ill, my father would make the thirty minute drive for her before driving to his own job, an additional thirty minutes away. In the evenings we would wait for my mother at her work or a friend's house and then drive the thirty minutes home.

By the time my children were born, my Tribe had begun to set aside trust funds for tribally enrolled children. The funds were the result of a per capita distribution from a casino the Tribe had built on the reservation. Every year, as the trust fund accounts for each child grew larger, my mother worried about how she would prepare her grandchildren to be financially capable of managing their portion of the money.

My mother had developed a multi acreage garden on the property my parents lived on. When my oldest child was five years old, my mother decided to teach my daughter financial responsibility by learning how to grow, manage and sell pumpkins. That spring, after carefully picking out the pumpkins from a seed catalog and patiently waiting for their seed order to arrive, she took my daughter to a small corner of the property and together they planted their first pumpkin crop.

During the summer they pulled weeds, watered and managed the crop. In the fall, when the pumpkins were bright orange and shiny, they harvested and washed the pumpkins. Together they made pumpkins for sale signs and sold pumpkins to our family and friends. With a purse full of pumpkin money, my daughter opened her first savings account. She was now an entrepreneur, a small business manager and pumpkin grower extraordinaire!

In his fifth year of age, my second oldest child was given his own plot of land, a seed catalog to choose pumpkins from and summer session on pumpkin farming alongside his older sister. That year, the pumpkin crop was expanded to include a variety of green and

white pumpkins; the children were expanding their inventory. After fall arrived, the pumpkins were sold and my children walked into the bank, my daughter to add to her growing her savings account, my son to open his own.

This year, my two youngest were five years of age and ready to join their siblings in the pumpkin business. My mother had the biggest plot of pumpkins yet, four plots of pumpkins in a variety of sizes and colors. Sadly, she was older this year and not feeling well. My father had to drive her down to the field for her to oversee the pumpkin planting operation, the tilling of the field, the pumpkin seeds as they were pushed into the dark earth in their neat little rows.

During the summer she was unable to weed her gardens so my sister took her little niece, my daughter, to her pumpkin patch to weed. The sun was shining very hot that day, my daughter pulled three weeds and my sister five before they decided to give up on the weeding and pick berries from my father's secret berry patch instead. It was a good summer, more weeding could have done that year but the sun was hot, the berries were plentiful and my mom was happy to have her family around her, even when they were eating instead of weeding.

Later in the fall my mother called to remind me it was time to harvest the pumpkins. She was still too ill to help so my father worked alongside his grandchildren to bring the pumpkins in. Multiple trips were needed to bring the multitude of pumpkins to the house. My mother was well enough to come out to the porch, pick out a few prize pumpkins and give each of my children a few dollars for their first sale of the season. This would be the last time my children would see their grandmother, five days later she was gone, our reality, our lives, were forever changed.

I have struggled with how, or even if, I wanted to proceed with my thesis on the history of my Tribe, the Chehalis. But then I think of my mom and the pumpkins, the project that meant so much to her. She used the spring, summer and fall tilling, planting and harvesting as a time to teach her grandchild their history, to share with them the stories of their family. She used the pumpkin sales as a means of teaching them financial responsibility and business development. Growing pumpkins was more than just growing pumpkins, it was a connection between generations, a time for history and stories and learning. I realize now my mother would want me to continue with my thesis, to find a way to share the story of my Tribe and to continue the connection between our Ancestors and ourselves.

CHAPTER ONE

Contested History

1.0 Introduction

As an enrolled Chehalis Tribal member, I have heard the history of my people recounted by non-Chehalis people my entire life. These accounts are told by people who have placed themselves in a position of authority from which their perspectives have been accepted as the final truth on how Chehalis people came to exist as we do today.

There are no Chehalis voices heard or presented in these stories. The Chehalis perspective is both a missing element and also, the vital ingredient necessary to either lend life, veracity and meaning to these accounts, or to challenge their inaccuracy.

Our tribal story needs to be learned by our children and grandchildren. Our story needs to be true to who we were and who we currently are. It should be an account not authored by colonizers. We must begin the shift away from the westernized portrayal of the Chehalis history through re-examination of our experiences as they have been written by westernized researchers. To discern the true Chehalis history, the perspectives of westernized researchers and scholars must be removed from our stories. This is the process of decolonization as explained by renowned Maori scholar and writer Linda Tuhiwai Smith.

Decolonization, according to Smith (2012), includes reworking our thinking to re-center ourselves and our identity as Indigenous people. Decolonization embraces the emancipation of Indigenous histories from the narrative of dominant cultures and encourages Indigenous people to share their own stories from their own perspectives. Decolonization is important to my work because I envision this thesis as the beginning of a dialogue within our Tribe about our individual and family stories, and the histories contained within those stories.

Beginning this dialogue will encourage us to question the information we have believed to be true about Chehalis Tribal history and rediscover for ourselves our own family stories and historical narratives. The Chehalis story must be reclaimed and released from the boundaries in which it is currently held by the non-Indigenous story. By reclaiming our story, we are celebrating our survival and ability to persevere despite the hardships our Ancestors faced so that we, their descendants, might live on and share the story of the Chehalis as our Ancestors would have told it.

1.1 Westernized History vs. Chehalis History

Westernized theories of recorded histories have traditionally established patriarchal and hierarchical systems of assigning value and legitimacy to historical narratives. These systems include identifying literacy, power and domination as necessary components that create histories which represents marginalized societies and peoples and conquest as insignificant to the dominant historical narrative. As a result of that creation, marginalized societies are either misrepresented in the annals of history by the dominant society or have been completely removed from the narrative altogether (Smith, 2012, p. 37).

In *Decolonizing Methodologies* (2012, p. 36) Linda Tuhiwai Smith argues for the rejection of the historical narrative as a linear, one perspective, one story narrative detailing the exploits of a dominant culture. She advocates for "transforming our colonized views of our own history (as written by the West)" (p. 36) arguing that this transformation includes a critical analysis of the westernized portrayal of our culture and histories.[1]

Transformation also requires the reengagement of ourselves with our story through an examination of our own ways of knowing, our own perspective of history and shared

[1] Roy Shuker (1987) also refers to this process but as revisionist. In speaking about education systems, he argues that these are sites of struggle that must be contested so as to recognize participant's experiences of education. If we were to link that to history, what he proposes is the opportunity to revisit the official accounts of recorded Chehalis history to present a different account of historical events.

experiences. Through reexamination and imagination we can shift the center of ideology towards the Indigenous histories and epistemologies that represent our worldview (Smith, 2012, p. 37).

While Indigenous communities have utilized knowledge gleaned from westernized information systems to support and strengthen the needs of Native populations (by providing part of the framework for self-determination and self-governance), the philosophies and theories of ancestral histories and culture is the foundation of tribal communities (Brayboy, 2006, p. 437). This foundation not only underpins the values and beliefs of the community and culture, it is also the platform from which we examine and critique the colonization of our communities (Brayboy, 2006, p. 437).

The resulting critique recognizes the roles racism and colonization have played in Indigenous education and theory. Tribal Critical Race Theory, or *Tribalcrit* as Dr. Bryan Brayboy named it (2006), acknowledges the fluidity of the strands of Indigenous histories and epistemologies and addresses how they intersect with the strands of westernized schooling and methods of survival. That is to say, the strands intersect as individual threads, the strands do not become the other, they do not assimilate into a single strand, but they influence each other. Tribalcrit values the underlying theories and philosophies inherent in Indigenous stories and histories, and also acknowledges that westernized knowledge can intersect and connect with Indigenous knowledge bases by providing support for social justice and tribal self-governance (Brayboy, 2006, p. 427).

Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2012) also addresses the intersection of the strands of history and introspection when she states that, *"A constant reworking of our understandings of the impact of imperialism and colonialism is an important aspect of Indigenous cultural politics that forms the basis of an Indigenous language of critique. Within this critique there have been two major strands. One draws upon a notion of authenticity, of a time before*

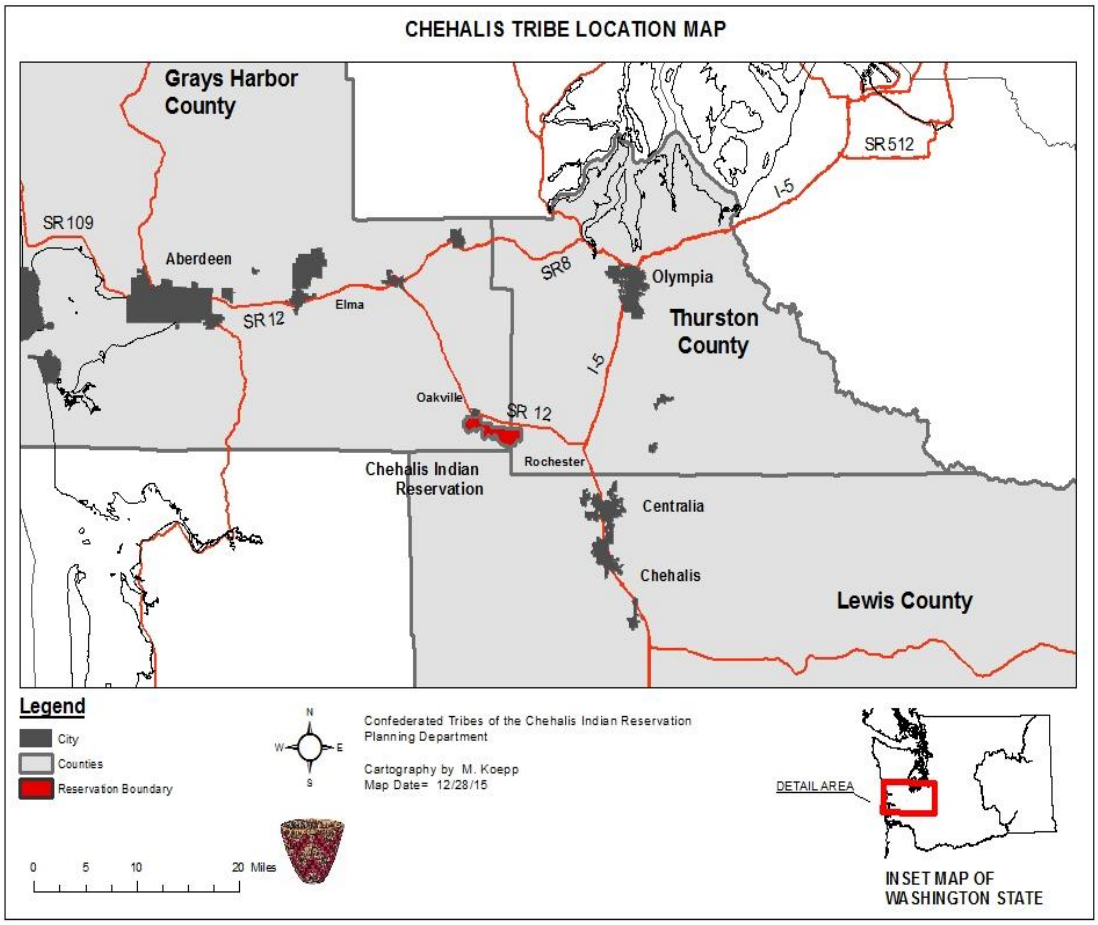
colonization in which we were intact as Indigenous peoples. We had absolute authority over our lives; we were born into and lived in a universe entirely of our own making. We did not ask, need or want to be 'discovered' by Europe" (Smith, 2012, pp. 23-24).

The second strand demands that we have an analysis of how we were colonized, of what that has meant in terms of our immediate past and what it means for our present and future. However, the lens from which we view history is biased and influenced not only by the perspective of the historian, but also the social constructs governing the time period the historian is living in. Sociologist C. Wright Mills (1959) defined the subjective nature of history, *"The historian represents the organized memory of mankind, and that memory, as written history, is enormously malleable. It changes, often drastically, from one generation of historians to another – and not merely because more detailed research later introduces new facts and documents into the record. It changes also because of changes in the points of interest and the current framework within which the record is built"* (pp. 144-145). Smith further adds that although the two strands intersect, *"what is particularly significant in Indigenous discourses is that solutions are posed from a combination of the time before, colonized time, and the time before that, pre-colonized time because decolonization encapsulates both sets of ideas"* (Smith, 2012, p. 25). Thus, to understand what has happened to us as Indigenous peoples, we must also understand how we have arrived at where we are.

1.2 The Chehalis Tribe

The Confederated Tribes of the Chehalis Reservation (Chehalis Tribe) is a federally recognized Native American Indian Tribe located in the upper northwest corner of rural Western Washington State in the United States, and south of the state capitol of Olympia (see map). We are situated in the Chehalis River watershed which ranges from the Cascade

Mountains west to the Pacific Ocean (Neilson, 1970, p. 3). Later, this thesis recounts the details which resulted in our current reservation location within the Chehalis River watershed.



Source: Koepp, M. (2015), Confederated Tribes of the Chehalis Reservation Planning Department.

The colonization of the Chehalis story is evident in the voice of the various storytellers: the American settler, the Canadian trader, the ethnologists and anthropologists, all of whom inserted themselves into the lives of the Chehalis people and then recorded the interactions through the lens of their own experience and observations. This is an example of Mills (1959) subjective nature of history; the bias of the storyteller defined the nature of our story. The colonizers view became an intersection of the strands of our story, and this strand,

(as Smith (2012) and Brayboy (2006) have stated) is a strand we must seek to understand because it has influenced how our story has been told. This is not a complete rejection of the influence of the colonizer on Chehalis history. It is, however, an acknowledgment that our story has been influenced by the colonizer. Rather than completely reject their interwoven strand, we must critically analyze the information it contributes and determine for ourselves how we will position the data within our own research.

For Chehalis, the appropriation of the Chehalis story began immediately upon contact with non-Indigenous peoples, when our very names were changed from individual village names, family names or place names to the homogenous Chehalis,[2] which was actually the name of the first village of contact along what is known as Grays Harbor, Washington. Tribes, who were once autonomous independent nations were now collectively known as the Upper or Lower Chehalis peoples. Albeit intermarriage between tribes had always existed, sovereign tribal identities were maintained and a unified tribal council was only implemented when necessary (for example, in times of war). From the point of contact forward, the Chehalis story (the first strand) was published in diaries, reports to foreign governments and other publications by non-Indigenous peoples. Thus began the commodification and objectification of the Chehalis experience – the naming of our people, knowledge and culture, and the claiming of our lands.

Chehalis (who were not writing or reading pre-contact to the mid to late 1800s) possibly had little to no knowledge of how their stories were shared or how they were represented in reports published a whole continent or ocean away. In the Chehalis Indigenous world, knowledge was passed down throughout the course of the day, as daily chores were completed, through narrative storytelling, during times of travel, and around the fire during the long winter months. In fact, the very act of living required knowledge of hunting, fishing

[2] Identifying Chehalis references can be challenging as the name Chehalis has been spelled as many as fifty different ways or referred to by other traditional names such as Ilga't, Staq-tubc, Atchixe'lish (Swanton, 1968, p. 18) and Halloweena (Work, 1912, p. 8).

and gathering to be passed on as stories throughout the families because it was integral to their very survival. This method ensured survival because one's survival could be threatened with a bad storm or a poorly stocked winter larder.

Eventually, the massive influx of white settlers into the traditional areas of the Chehalis River tribes pushed the tribes onto a small plot of reservation land and their individual identities were incorporated into one: The Confederated Tribes of the Chehalis Reservation. This move was for the convenience of the colonizers to expedite the colonization process. The effects of colonization, having already upset the natural order of traditional tribal culture, became more pronounced once the tribal people moved onto the reservation. There, an Indian agent was assigned to oversee the building of a school and western style homes, and the use of English as the primary language. The purpose of these practices was to abolish Chehalis ceremonies, beliefs and values and to ensure the tribal people transitioned from a seasonally nomadic existence to a reservation based, westernized, agrarian one.

Rather than being separated by forests and rivers, the various village sites of the Chehalis were required to consolidate in one location and establish a government that enabled equal representation of all the bands of the Chehalis.[3] The resulting Chehalis Reservation is located in the Puget Sound region of Western Washington, USA. The land ceded for the Chehalis Reservation was originally one of several villages occupied by the Upper Chehalis Indians.[4] Three executive orders signed by the President of the United States on July 8 1864, October 1 1886, and November 11 1909, established the boundaries of the reservation (Wright, Mitchell, Schmidt, & Beal, 1960, p. 72). The oral stories that had instructed the tribes on how to live as Chehalis began to recede, while the new, unfamiliar westernized method of survival developed. Such survival method was based on farming and use of goods

[3] Despite the intent of the government to merge the tribes onto the newly established Confederated Tribes of the Chehalis Reservation, not all tribes slated for removal to the reservation left their traditional territory for the reservation (Ruby & Brown, 1986, p. 41).

[4] The federal government had intended to combine the tribes of the Lower and Upper Chehalis (as well as, the Satsop, the Humptulips, the Wynoochees and several other smaller Indian bands in the area) onto the Chehalis Reservation (Ruby & Brown, 1986, p. 271).

and services supplied by the federal government. It also led to a firm foothold of colonization of the Chehalis people.

As the years passed and the era of the Indian agent came to an end, the Tribe was faced with a bleak economic future. Farming had never become the successful venture the government agents had hoped it would and the remoteness of the reservation made travel to urban areas for living wage jobs a hardship many could not overcome.[5] Ethnologists continued to visit the reservation and conduct research projects on the Chehalis people. One, Katherine Van Winkle Palmer, published a book of Chehalis stories, *Honne, The Spirit of the Chehalis*, without compensating or properly acknowledging the family from whom she took the stories. Others, such as Thelma Adamson, produced research notes that incorporated some cultural aspects of the Chehalis people with those of other tribal people, some of whom lived far outside the geographic area of the Chehalis Reservation. This created a narrative of the Chehalis story that failed to accurately represent Chehalis but which also became the foundation for other research projects and books, further distorting[6] the true Chehalis story. Unfortunately, cultural artifacts were not exempt from this negligence. Today many museums still hold artifacts that are distinctly Chehalis but have been attributed to other tribal groups due to faulty record keeping and research.

The disastrous effect of all of this is a tribal history that has been embraced as the Chehalis story but is truly only a small part of the whole picture. Chehalis people, living a tenuous, economically fragile existence during the early half of the 20th century, were most likely concerned with basic survival and again, may not have been aware of how their story was presented to non-tribal people in museums, universities and governments. Eventually, as the century progressed, an awareness of the abuse and misuse of our story developed. This

[5] C. DuPuis, Tribal Elder, personal communication, 2016.

[6] Adamson was a graduate student who never finished her thesis. Her research notes were stored and eventually edited by Jay Miller for his book *Evergreen Ethnographies* (2015). Adamson worked with Chehalis in 1927, recording stories and cultural information. Her surviving research notes are not always clear regarding who had relayed the information to her, and if the information specifically applied to Chehalis. Much of her information could be found through other sources so I did not utilize her notes in my research.

awareness caused the Tribe to become more wary of how our story was shared. Tribal responses to this awareness resulted in attempts to regain control of our image by developing tribally generated pamphlets and reports. However, due to the westernized, institutional habit of basing written materials on published research, many of the resources the Tribe utilized for the development of our own informational materials was grounded in a history written by the colonizers.

Even today, early 20th century graduate student, Thelma Adamson's, research is cited extensively by the Chehalis and other area tribes, so much so that one tribe has attempted to utilize the information as a means of moving far from their traditional fishing grounds and into traditional Chehalis Tribal fishing areas.[7] Critical analysis of Adamson's research, however, identifies some inconsistencies in her work, most notably, misidentifying tribally specific cultural mores and customs, such as, accounts of Chehalis Tribal traditions that were incorrectly attributed to early, post-contact Chehalis. For example, by the 1920s, when Adamson was conducting her interviews, the availability of guns had made larger animals such as elk and deer easier to hunt. This meant leather and tanned animal hides were more likely to be processed by Chehalis Tribal members rather than traded for from other tribes. Adamson's notes give the impression leather and hides were a common element of Chehalis culture, when research shows prior to the introduction of guns and ammunition, large game such as deer and elk were not likely to be hunted because Chehalis did not possess weapons of the caliber needed for hunting animals of that size. Unfortunately, subsequent researchers incorporated this misinformation into their own research and a new, skewed tribal history was born.

[7] The Skokomish Tribe attempted to prove a kinship with Satsop Indians to make a case enabling them to move into the traditional Chehalis fishery. The case was meant to prove Satsop had removed to the Skokomish reservation when the Satsop tribe had failed to do so. Interestingly, in a letter dated August 9th, 1929, Adamson writes to her supervisor, Franz Boas, and states she had attempted to meet with Satsop living at Skokomish and found Skokomish only had one, as Adamson said, "true Satsop." She had to travel elsewhere to meet with Satsop for her research.

1.3 Challenges for the Research

The necessity of sharing stories for survival has passed. People have the ability to shop for food at the local grocery store, and purchase clothing for warmth. While fishing, berry picking, hunting and other sustenance pursuits are still practiced and contribute towards tribal diets, most people do not rely solely on traditional foods for their nutrition. Some families continue to share stories within the family unit, but our oral history has been replaced by published material. Chehalis does not have an exhaustive library dedicated to Chehalis history, although there are some books and research materials available which are the basis for many of today's high school research projects or college papers. Unfortunately, information accessed in this manner is necessarily missing the Chehalis voice because the source of these texts, are non-tribal: they have been written from the perspective of the non-Indian studying the Chehalis Tribal people, and then interpreting their results through the lens of their non-Indian experience.

The easiest method for incorporating the Chehalis story from a Chehalis perspective would be to rely on Elders, tribal documents, and other tribal resources. For as Maori scholar, Dr. Timoti Karetu (2002) says, we must ask ourselves, *"Do we have the right to deprive generations yet unborn of the rich, cultural legacy to which they are heir? We, too, could well have been a deprived generation if it had not been for each of us here assembled, and we know how our own lives have been enriched because of our having access to that rich cultural and linguistic heritage bequeathed to us by our Ancestors"* (p. 29). Do we, as Chehalis people, have the right to deprive our future generations of the stories of their Indigenous history and culture? The answer would appear to be no, because we want our descendants to know their story, and that story includes the impact of colonization and the misinterpretation of our knowledge. We do not want today to be the end of a millennia of Chehalis history. We

want our story to carry on throughout all our generations, and the contribution of this thesis is another facet of that story.

Nevertheless, this is not as easy a solution as it would seem. During a casual conversation with another Tribal member, the person I was speaking with mentioned they would not pass on any of the historical or cultural information that had been shared with them through the generations (by their grandparents and parents), to their own children, grandchildren or anyone for that matter. This person felt there was not anyone worthy of sharing the information with, including every member of their family. This sentiment has haunted me as I have moved forward with my own research into the history of the Chehalis Tribe. What are the implications of this perspective and attitude of withholding cultural information and history from our tribal children? How will knowledge be passed down throughout the generations if we withhold traditions, oral histories and stories, or language from our children? Are we capturing our culture to retain and share information with the generations that follow ours? What is the point of capturing our culture to keep the information locked up, as if knowledge is a precious jewel to be hidden from view and banked in a vault, secreted from the world?

The consequence of withholding this information is a cultural death. When the holders of our knowledge pass away, our cultural history will no longer be alive or available for future Tribal members, and we will not be able to get a true or accurate representation of our cultural identity. Chehalis has made, and continues to make, decisions to withhold our story from the outside world. One important example of this decision involves a Chehalis Tribal curriculum[8] developed in 2006 as a collaborative effort involving all ages of Chehalis Tribal members for the express purpose of incorporation into the school districts serving Chehalis students. This curriculum was never implemented. The history that was implemented instead

[8] The development of the Chehalis Tribal Curriculum was the basis of a research paper *"What Do We Want Our Children To Know About Being Chehalis?"* written by myself and Marla DuPuis Conwell, 2006.

is a collective history written by other Washington tribes and it is from their perspective. The problem is that the Chehalis story is unique. We have our own language, distinct from the languages of the regional tribes adjacent to us, and our story includes elements woven from the stories of the tribes who have been incorporated onto the reservation with us.

If Chehalis continues to allow others to control our stories, if we choose to lock up our stories within, we give up the ability to control the story that is told about us. If we want to pass on our story to our children, we have to rely on our oral history from the perspective of our people. The alternative means we will depend solely on the perception of non-Chehalis people.

Although there are people sympathetic to the lifestyle of the Chehalis, their perceptions and understandings of Chehalis are still viewed through the lens of their own non-Indigenous, and non-Chehalis history and experience. Thus, even sympathetic viewpoints remain skewed. As discussed previously, sociologist C. Wright Mills (1959) would posit it is impossible for an outsider to fully embrace the cultural implications, the worldview, and the very essence of what it means to be Chehalis. This is the strand of the story, as written by the colonizer, that we have incorporated to this point but we will find it is still impossible for an outsider to tell our story from a fully unbiased, decolonized standpoint. We must therefore rely on our Elders, our traditional ways of knowing and oral accounts as insiders to tell our stories. As acclaimed historian, professor, and author Vine Deloria, Jr. (1991/1994) said, "…*education in the traditional settings occurs by example and not as a process of indoctrination. That is to say, Elders are the best living examples of what the end product of education and life experiences should be*" (p. 23).

In undertaking the research for this thesis, oral history prior to the 1900s is somewhat limited. Information is based primarily on what has been recorded circa 1900 for federal court cases. Chehalis Elders who were interviewed by this researcher (for this thesis) recount a

story of a difficult survival in the post-contact years. They tell of how poor and isolated the reservation was, and how few opportunities existed for living-wage jobs, and how long houses were replaced by single family housing.

However, ancient traditions continued in different forms. For example, traditional foods were still an integral part of the everyday diet, utility baskets, no longer used for cooking and sleeping, were only recognized for their artistic value and sold for profit. While Elders spoke the Chehalis language, our youth spoke English and often served as translators between Elders and White colonists.[9]

My father, Curtis DuPuis, shared a story of how funeral services used to be when he was young. I asked him why they were so different from today and he said because eventually people stopped putting out the items needed for a funeral and ultimately the Tribe reached an age where the younger people never knew those items even existed.[10] As generations pass, so will our cultural traditions, ceremonies and values unless we begin sharing our stories and preserving our histories, perhaps reviving past customs and practices. It is actually our stories that hold the information about Chehalis.

1.4 Revisit, Reinterpret, Reimagine

The written accounts of Chehalis sanctioned in historical documents distorted our ways of knowing by excluding us, exterminating us and conquering us while validating the colonist and their points of view. Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2012), for example, describes the westernized approach to recording history of Indigenous peoples as a "historical descent into a state of nothingness and hopelessness" (p. 91). For Chehalis, this is how some researchers have recorded our experience.

[9] C. DuPuis, Tribal Elder, personal communication, 2016.
[10] Ibid.

The website of *National Geographic*, a well-known publication of the National Geographic Society that regularly focuses on Indigenous peoples from around the world, wrote that in the 1800s the Chehalis Tribe was a tribe in decline and the remaining Chehalis people merged with the Quinault Tribe on the Quinault Reservation in Washington State (National Geographic, n.d.).[11]

It is true that some Chehalis do reside on the Quinault reservation, however, the publication fails to recognize Chehalis as a federally recognized Tribe within its own right. If someone were to research the Chehalis Tribe, and they entered this term into an internet search bar, it is highly likely the *National Geographic* website would appear as a selection for research. The layman, unfamiliar with the Chehalis Tribe, would assume *National Geographic*, as a known research publication, was correct, and the Chehalis Tribe itself was no longer in existence and its descendants had merged with the Quinault Tribe. This is information in the world of knowledge, presented as factually accurate information on the Chehalis Tribe; but it is not only faulty, it is untrue. To have any impact in combating misinformation, the Chehalis Tribe must take a stand and provide accurate information. We can no longer afford to stand by and allow our story to be told by other, non-Chehalis people. By continuing to do so, we are doing not only a disservice to ourselves and our children, we are allowing this misrepresentation to become our legacy.

In his book, *A People's History of the United States*, Professor Howard Zinn (2005) wrote of challenging orthodox histories and the partisan perspectives from which they are written, *"But there is no thing as a pure fact, innocent of interpretation. Behind every fact presented to the world – by a teacher, a writer, anyone – is a judgement. The judgment that has been made is that this fact is important, and that other facts, omitted, are not important…The consequences of those omissions has been not simply to give a distorted view*

[11] A recent check of the website found this reference had been removed. I had sent numerous emails to National Geographic about the misinformation but had never received a response.

of the past but, more important, to mislead us all about the present" (p. 684). Zinn's revisionist approach examines conventional historical accounts and, challenges, reinterprets and reimagines the story from the viewpoint of multicultural participants. Zinn's approach to the historical narrative encompasses multiple perspectives and recognizes that historical events are not experienced one way by all people, but multiple ways by all people. He notes that not every experience is a fond memory of inclusion and acceptance, for many the experience was one of subjugation and marginalization. James Loewen, sociologist and author of *Lies My Teacher Told Me, Everything Your American History Textbook Got Wrong* (2007), also takes a revisionist approach to the historical narrative. Loewen (2007) affirms that it is not one person's responsibility to revisit and reimagine the historical narrative, it is everyone's responsibility to challenge orthodox historical narratives. By implementing Zinn and Loewen's approaches to revisionist history, (a multi-person, multi-challenge, multi-perspective approach), Indigenous Chehalis researchers benefit not only from challenging westernized research methodologies, but profit from challenging the one Chehalis story perspective and revisiting the multiple threads of Chehalis Tribal history and the tribes that have been confederated with Chehalis. This is the knowledge we pass on to our future generations, the cultural legacy that will prevent future generations from being deprived of their ancestral knowledge (Karetu, 2002, p. 29).

Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2012) describes the Indigenous approach to research as one of "hope and optimism" (p. 91) tied to the story of "contact, invasion, genocide, resistance, survival and recovery" (p. 91). This approach, she notes, is discounted by westernized research as too idealistic. Indigenous researchers cannot look to westernized research to validate our research methodologies, we must critically engage with history and challenge the anthropological view. To allow other researchers to designate our validity as researchers is to continue to allow the colonization of our existence as Indigenous peoples. Indigenous peoples

have been researchers since time immemorial. Our research methods are what enabled our people to learn how to live and survive in the environments in which our Ancestors existed. Indigenous researchers are contributing to the wider body of Indigenous knowledge as our forebears have done before us.

The dichotomy, between western and Indigenous methodologies enables the westernized researcher to control the portrayal and outcome of the story through a perspective of their choosing. Often this perspective is one of conquering and reshaping Indigenous cultures into an identity that mirrors the colonizer. Indigenous peoples, on the other hand, live the experience of colonization and marginalization. Ours is a story of survival, against attempts to destroy the essence of who we are. This view is not idealistic, it is not simplistic, and it is bittersweet and poignant.

1.5 Thesis Outline

In drawing from discussions about colonial views of Indigenous history, this thesis examines the histories of the Chehalis Tribe. It revisits the official recorded views of the Chehalis Tribe (as documented by non-Chehalis accounts) and interrogates those records through a Chehalis lens.

The thesis organizes Chehalis Tribal history from pre-contact to the present day utilizing Chehalis knowledge and perspectives, from our own ways of doing and being. This thesis shifts the center of the Chehalis story away from the colonized, marginalizing story that has dominated previous narratives, and towards a culturally relevant and historically accurate narrative. As I build the case for shifting the center of the Chehalis story away from the colonized version, this Chapter 1, examined the politics associated with the notion of history. This was twofold. The first discussed the politics associated with the colonized view of Chehalis by the colonizers (that includes academics and historians). The second discussion

relates to the politics of Indigenous people's reclaiming their own histories, histories distorted by the colonial blueprint.

In setting the platform relating to the politics and interests associated with history from Chapter 1, Chapter 2 takes that position a step further to question the role of the researcher in/and research. Chapter 2 has a focus on decolonizing methodologies that locates Indigenous research paradigms as central to this thesis, as well as the methods, interviews and histography, utilized to conduct the research for this thesis. As demonstrated in Chapter 1, the utilization of Indigenous ways of knowing challenges the accepted western viewpoints about research and what gets to count as research (Johnston, 1998).

Chapter 2 builds a platform to argue that research undertaken by non-Indigenous researchers on Indigenous groups is restricted by an outsider code which does not enable them to interpret what they see, adequately. In utilizing the work of Basil Bernstein (1971) and his code theory, Chapter 2 further argues that outsider researchers use a restricted code for interpretation while insider researchers operate with an elaborate one. The thesis argues that the latter code includes a cultural lens necessary to enable an effective interpretation process. The information contained in Chapters 3,4 and 5 have been subjected to the 'insider' code as a means to re-engage with recorded Chehalis historical accounts. The cultural lens filtering that information in Chapters 3 to 5 draws from the interviews and writings of Chehalis Elders and community members.

In examining the literature and in incorporating the knowledge and information from the interviews then, Chapters 3 to 5 present the stories that make up our Chehalis history, with the research results presented in a format designed for the Chehalis reader.

Chapter 3 focuses specifically on the period prior to occupation by colonial settlers to around the mid-1800s when mass movement into our Tribal area began to occur. The bulk of information relating to Chehalis is contained in this chapter because the chapter describes the

landscapes upon which Chehalis people lived and engaged. Landscapes in this sense means spiritual and economical as well as physical.

In recognizing the territory and independence that Chehalis enjoyed prior to mass settlement, Chapter 4 scrutinizes the intergovernmental negotiations between the separate, individual, regional tribes and the federal government, in the latter half of the 19th century. This process recognizes the establishment of the Tribe's confederated reservation and the ways in which tribal movement across their lands was curtailed and controlled through colonization processes.

Chapter 5 discusses the administrative, governmental and cultural transformation the Tribe has experienced, as a result of the consolidation of the regional tribes onto the reservation. The chapter examines the impact of tribal consolidation on the tribes and the effects of federal and state policies after the reservation was established. The current economic, governmental and status of the Chehalis Tribe is also discussed.

At the end of Chapters 3 to 5 is a section termed Further Findings and Thoughts from the Research that enables me to reflect on the information contained within each chapter. In these sections are brief summaries of each chapter but also discussions that highlight inconsistencies between documented/published evidence and oral accounts.

Chapter Six summarizes main issues relating to this research while also reflecting on some of the 'positions' declared in Chapter 2 around the positioning of the research and the researcher and whether or not those positions worked. The chapter concludes with recommendations for future endeavours and further research for Chehalis.

CHAPTER TWO

METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

2.0 Introduction

This thesis takes a decolonizing position, by centering the focus of the research on the Chehalis experience from a Chehalis perspective. It is integral to our moving forward that we, as Chehalis, give voice to our own experiences and understandings of who we are and what is important for us. Linda Smith (1999) expressed this argument well, although writing about Maori, it also applies to us as Chehalis.

> *A critical aspect of the struggle for self-determination has involved questions relating to our history as Indigenous peoples and a critique of how we, as the Other, have been represented or excluded from various accounts. Every issue has been approached by Indigenous peoples with a view to* re*writing and* re*righting our position in history. Indigenous peoples want to tell our own stories, write our own versions, in our own ways for our own purposes. It is not simply about giving an oral account or a genealogical naming of the land and the events which raged over it, but a very powerful need to give testimony to and restore a spirit, to bring back into existence a world fragmented and dying. The sense of history conveyed by these approaches is not the same thing as the discipline of history, and so our accounts collide, crash into each other* (Smith, 2012, p. 29-30).

This chapter reframes Chehalis tribal history drawing from Dr. Bagele Chilisa's example of an Indigenous Research Paradigm, which embraces the validity of Indigenous knowledge systems and their role in decolonizing Indigenous histories (Chilisa, 2012, p. 40). The ontology of Chilisa's Paradigm recognizes the Indigenous knowledge system is relational and Indigenous societies embraced a system in which societies were informed by their environment, each other, the people who had gone before and the universe. This interconnected relationship in Indigenous research has been in place 'a long time ago since the earth was young', from the days when the people learned to eat oysters by observing the

birds cracking the shells on the beach or when they watched the animals eat berries and learned to identify the poisonous berries by noting which berries the animals avoided eating.

Chilisa (2012, p. 14) defines decolonization as the process of removing the colonized, oppressive, paternal research paradigms that western societies and research methodologies have placed to marginalize, Indigenous knowledge systems. The aim is to develop traditional, culturally appropriate, Indigenous research paradigms to the field of research and academia. *"Decolonization,"* as argued by Smith (2012), *"does not mean and has not meant a total rejection of all theory or research or Western knowledge. Rather, it is about centering our concerns and world views and then coming to know and understand theory and research from our own perspectives and for our own purposes"* (p. 41).

Decolonization of the Chehalis story would at one level remove the layers of westernized theories (that have previously defined our story) that at another level, would enable revitalization, the rebirths, and ways to reclaim Chehalis ways of knowing. The means to achieve that for this research is to develop a research methodologies that is uniquely Chehalis.

2.1 The Relevance of Kaupapa Maori Methodology

To develop our own Chehalis based methodology we need to look towards those who have gone before us into the field of Indigenous research paradigms utilizing their experiences and their knowledge in our own struggles for self-determination. This section on Kaupapa Maori Methodology recognizes that Kaupapa Maori has synergies with other Indigenous ways of viewing the world and is useful in helping to portray a Chehalis methodology.

Smith (2012) identifies five dimensions that have framed the struggle for decolonization within Indigenous research methodologies. In referring specifically to Maori, she argues for:

1. *Critical Consciousness: An awakening from the slumber of hegemony, and the realization that action has to occur;*
2. *Reimagining the world and our position as Maori within the world: fueling the dreams of alternative possibilities;*
3. *Ways in which different ideas, social categories and tendencies intersect: the coming together of disparate ideas, the events, the historical moment;*
4. *Movement or disturbance: the unstable movements that occur when the status quo is disturbed;*
5. *Concept of Structure: the underlying code of imperialism and power relations* (p. 187).

According to Smith (2012), "Kaupapa Maori has provided important insights about how transformation works and can be made to work for Indigenous communities" (p. 200). Kaupapa Maori is a methodology. It is specific to Maori people but its development and implementation can be used as a learning model for other Indigenous communities in developing their own, culturally specific, research methodology for implementation within their Indigenous community. Smith (2012) acknowledges that Indigenous researchers may face their own internal battle as they seek to decolonize their minds and begin to understand the validity of Indigenous knowledge and its contribution to "the unique body of world knowledge" (p. 223) and its significant contributions to the world of academia.

Incorporating Smith's (2012, p. 201) five dimensions of decolonization into a Chehalis methodology would give us the opportunity to reimagine, rethink, re-examine,

revisit and revise how Chehalis is presented, and not take for granted dominant Western perspectives.

Kaupapa Maori demonstrates how Chehalis methodologies can challenge existing paradigms of Chehalis history and embrace Indigenous based research methods. This is especially applicable to Chehalis histories written previously, precisely because they were written following accepted research protocols established according to western academics.

Research perspectives have utilized western frameworks for research. Deloria (1997, p. 29) describes the research community as populated by scientists and researchers who form a close-knit network of individuals who do not value a research approach dissimilar from the paradigms which they have established. Deloria (1997, p. 29) further argues that the westernized research community supports and advocates for theories and philosophies which follow the guidelines they have established regardless of if the research was conducted or presented in a truthful and unbiased manner. Despite the fact that Indigenous people have been observing and implementing the outcomes of their Indigenous research for centuries, their research methods are not recognized as valid by the westernized research community (Deloria, 1997, p. 34).

Deloria (1997, p. 35) makes a strong argument for the difference in how non-Indigenous research methods and Indigenous research methods are held to very different standards of validity within the research community. Unfortunately, despite observation of their environment and the application of knowledge within their communities, Indigenous researchers are often not given credit for their contributions to science because their research is not conducted according to the accepted research guidelines of the westernized research community.

As a researcher, I need to be aware of the challenges and issues that western research has placed on Indigenous communities. Our story is not a single narrative nor a shared

experience, and we do not require validation from other research academies to conduct research within our Indigenous communities. We can create our own methodologies/methods (Smith, 2012) to validate our own ways of knowing.

Kaupapa Maori rejects the accepted western research 'as the only valid form of research' assumption (Johnston, 1998) and instead, posits that western methods must be analyzed for appropriateness in Indigenous research models. Indigenous research models are important for projects concerning Indigenous people. This is Smith's (2012) dimension, the awakening of Critical Consciousness, the realization that we have embraced and integrated the dominant research paradigm into our histories and the presentation of ourselves. Indigenous peoples have not critically analyzed the story we present to the world and we have allowed ourselves to fall into a false identity as a result. This awakening is also known as hegemony, which scholar Antonio Gramsci (Simon, 1990) identified as the emerging awareness that we have incorporated the standards of the dominant society into our own culture. We must now reposition ourselves and our approaches to research and to reflect our Indigenous worldview.

Kaupapa Maori is further, a concept of interconnectedness, respect, acceptance of the research project by the community (prior to initiating a research project) the removal of the hierarchy, the acknowledgement of equality, and the culturally appropriate and culturally informed understanding of research outcomes. Graham Smith (Smith, 2012), defines Kaupapa Maori research parameters as:

1. *Related to 'being Maori';*
2. *Is connected to Maori philosophy and principles;*
3. *Takes for granted the validity and legitimacy of Maori, the importance of Maori language and culture; and*

4. *Is concerned with the struggle for autonomy over our own [Maori] cultural well-being* (p. 187).

Kaupapa Maori methodology strives to create a research environment in which Maori scholars are the primary researchers in research that address or seek to understand Maori foci. Occasionally, non-Maori researchers may obtain permission to collaborate with Maori scholars on a research project, however, the non-Maori researcher must first obtain explicit permission to do so from the Maori community they will be working in (Smith, 2012, p. 186).

Kaupapa Maori methodology is a marked paradigm shift away from a positivist methodology. Positivism could be considered a standardized western methodology in which the researcher is an observer, a separate and distinct entity from the research whose research outcomes are filtered through the lens of their own life experience rather than the research subject. Kaupapa Maori methodology acknowledges the life experience and culture of Maori as essential for research projects in Maori communities. The non-Maori observer's filter is inconsequential and irrelevant because Maori are scholars in their own right and capable of defining their own research questions and outcomes.

As Maori researchers like Smith (2012), Johnston (1998) Pihama (2001) and others have argued, being Maori is essential to Kaupapa Maori research, for how can one truly understand the social and unspoken mores of a culture unless they themselves are Indigenous to the culture? However, simply being Maori does not automatically mean one can engage in Kaupapa Maori research. Kaupapa Maori methodology also requires a commitment to community and family that might mean defining the research parameters but to also determine if the project itself is beneficial to the community. Dr. Kathy Irwin (1994) for example, *"characterizes Kaupapa Maori as research that is 'culturally safe'; that involves the 'mentorship' of Elders; that is culturally relevant and appropriate while satisfying the rigour of research"* (in Smith, 2012, p. 186).

Kaupapa Maori research methods reclaims identity and enables self-determination in how research will be conducted within their communities. Tuakana Nepe (1991) argues, for instance, that *"Kaupapa Maori is derived from very different epistemological and metaphysical foundation and it is these that give Kaupapa Maori its distinctiveness from western philosophies"* (in Smith, 2012, p. 189). Western research has a tendency to place those that are researched in a position of Other,[12] the researcher being seen as the holder of knowledge and the researched as the less than or Othered. In Indigenous terms, however, conducting research does not mean the researcher is automatically granted a position of power over the research subject.

Unfortunately, western research methodologies tend to create the boundary between researcher and the researched, the intent behind the separation is to create clean unbiased results, thereby encouraging the false sense of superiority because the researcher is not expected to engage on a personal level with the people whom they are researching. Westernized methodologies train researchers to silence and limit Indigenous researchers from having a voice in their research by establishing parameters that remove Indigenous researchers from the research. This approach suggests Indigenous researchers cannot conduct valid research within their Indigenous communities because they are too close to the research, when in fact, Indigenous researchers are the most appropriate researcher for their Indigenous communities because they possess the cultural knowledge necessary to conduct research within their respective communities.[13]

[12] Other, meaning they, as a person or as a society in general, are viewed as not as advanced or having less value than the person or entity conducting the research (Smith, 2012, p. 33).
[13] P. Johnston, Maori researcher and scholar, personal communication, 2017.

2.2 Unframing the Parameters Confining a Chehalis Methodology

Dr. Shawn Wilson, an Opaskwayak Cree from Manitoba, Canada, supports the development of Indigenous methodologies in his book *Research is Ceremony, Indigenous Research Methods*. Wilson (2008, p. 11) rejects the idea of an Indigenous research methodology based on established western research theories. He encourages Indigenous researchers to develop their own methodologies based on their personal experiences. He recognizes that while Indigenous communities throughout the world may have similarities in their shared experience as Indigenous people, their communities have distinctly individual cultural practices. As a result, there is not one answer or method to conducting research within an Indigenous community, but generic methods are driven by the context, therefore, each community must develop its own methods and guidelines for who is allowed to conduct research and what research methods will be utilized.

In reading Smith (2012) and Wilson's (2008) work, my thinking about my research has been stimulated to think towards research as a Chehalis Tribal member. Up to this point, my work has been slowly evolving from a definite western research paradigm but as I am challenged to think as an Indigenous person, I am moving towards an Indigenous research paradigm. I am learning to become more fluid in my thinking, I am learning that simply being Chehalis does not mean my work is automatically Indigenous because while my center, my being is Chehalis, my thinking about acceptable forms of research has not been from a Chehalis or Indigenous point of view.

Dr. Lynn Lavallee for example, author of *Practical Application of an Indigenous Research Framework and Two Qualitative Indigenous Research Methods: Sharing Circles and Anishnaabe Symbol-Based Reflection* (2009) has also struggled to use the cultural knowledge she has learned from her Indigenous community to work within the community.

The challenge has been of conducting her research without trying to force the fluidity of that knowledge into the square box that seems to accompany most Western research methods.

Lavallee also recognizes this issue in her own research, when she says, *"The most important lesson I learned from my experience of working from an Indigenous research framework within the academy was how the rules of the academy and of research do not always allow an Indigenous framework to flourish"* (2009, p. 36).

After reading Lavalee's work, I realized I spent too many years thinking of research from a non-Indigenous perspective and not enough years thinking of research from an Indigenous one. This was surprising to me because I grew up in a traditional family and on an Indian reservation. Being Chehalis is what I know: it is my identity. However, I too have needed to be decolonized.

While some of the non-Indigenous perspective presented in these materials is obviously biased (and not in a good way, towards Chehalis) much of it did have value. A few of the non-Indigenous researchers that participated in research on Chehalis people became good friends of Chehalis and are still remembered in a friendly, pleasant manner. Basically, the difference in our research would be how we define our methodology and interpret the results. The root of their observation is not necessarily wrong: it is their own biases and interpretation of the information that they have projected into the observation that infuses the inaccuracy.

For example, according to sociologist Dr. C. Wright Mills (1959), historical research cannot be limited to one, usually westernized perspective due to the expectation of homogeneity among cultures. As Mills (1959) says, *"To understand and to explain the comparative facts as they lie before you today, you must know the historical phrases and the historical reasons for varying rates and varying directions of development and lack of development"* (p. 151).

The western research methods that have been applied to Chehalis Tribal research then have failed to account for the nuances in working with Chehalis people. That is to say, there is meaning behind every action, there is reasoning behind who is performing the action and there is understanding in the people observing the action, which outsiders miss in their research. This is not a skill set one learns in a methodology or methods paper or by engaging with an Indigenous community: this is a skill set one learns over a lifetime.

We need to re-examine our understanding of what it means to undertake Chehalis research, or as Smith (2012, p. 201) would say, reimagine the world and our position within the world. I have taken note of the questions that Kaupapa Maori methodology has raised and the lessons that it teaches. In doing so that means that I need to think of (and do) this research as a Chehalis tribal member.

2.3. A Chehalis Basket Methodology

(i) The Weaves of History

The story of the Chehalis people is similar to a Chehalis basket that our tribe is well known for producing. It is this analogy of a basket that Dr. Marla Conwell (2018), Chehalis tribal member, used as a methodology in her doctoral thesis when she spoke of language revitalization for the Chehalis Tribe. Our stories can be likened to a basket, because they are made up of structures comprised of multi-layered, interwoven perspectives that can be drawn from a range of focus that Conwell (2018) examined specifically in relation to language. I am going to develop that analogy of a basket further in the case of this doctoral research about history. There are two levels of analysis regarding my Chehalis basket that need to be noted.

The first relates to broader historical research. In examining history, this Chehalis research needs to take into account the whole basket rather than just a single weave. That is because each weave contributes to producing a very different basket, and although this

research re-examines the individual weaves of our basket, I am mindful that the prominence of one weave over another, does produce significantly different results. I need to examine for example how the weaves of history were woven together and when examining research evidence, ask the following question: what do the intersections mean? What do these weaves represent and how does the way in which our history is constructed, impact on what we know of who we are today?

This is the multi-person, multi-challenge, multi-perspective research approach that Zinn (2005) and Loewen (2007) refer to. In the weaving of the basket, I am mindful that each strand of material represents a tribe, a village, a family, a story. If we are to trace back our basket, we break down our weaves to the individual strands and we consider how the stories tie together, where do events intersect and where do we as people intersect?

However, this re-examination of our basket will cause, as Smith (2012, p. 201) says, an unstable movement when the status quo is disturbed. Firstly, because that re-examination will disturb the 'accepted' documented record of Chehalis history, the 'official version' of historical events as outlined in Chapter 1.

Secondly, also because the Chehalis story is not homogenous. We were not one people who moved together and made decisions together and lived happily as one as history tends to portray us. We were distinct tribes and villages and if we truly examine our story we will find that our story is not a smooth strand, or a smooth weave. It is not even perfect because the tribes we are descended from did not always get along. When we look at history through the lens of today, we tend to think of the past as a time when everyone lived a simpler life, or worked together better, but this, we will find, is a fallacy (See Chapter 3 for a more detailed discussion of this fallacy).

(ii) The Weaves of Methodology and Method

The second level of analysis regarding my Chehalis Basket relates explicitly to methodologies and methods. Kaupapa Maori methodologies in informing our own Chehalis methodologies tell us that the insider approach in Indigenous research methods is the most valid. Conwell (2018) for example, when speaking on Chehalis language revitalization, has said, "*Any progress derived outside the Chehalis community will necessarily miss the mark because the insider status of the researcher is a necessary element. Indigenous language models using foreign frameworks do not engender culturally relevant outcomes, resulting in awkward and uneven language patterns*" (Conwell, 2018, p. 22). This also holds true for Chehalis Tribal historians and researchers conducting research on tribal histories.

In this thesis, I take the stance that Western research methods (with their controlled, planned and timed approach intended to codify and measure the data) cannot do so within Indigenous communities because their methods (among other things) are out of sync with how our communities operate. My discussion on interviewing (see section 2.4 (b) and (c) that follow), clearly demonstrates this point as I adjusted my interviews to be more culturally appropriate because my western framed expectations around interview methods, just did not fit the Chehalis way of doing things!!!

(iii) The Elaborate/Restricted Weave of the Researcher as insider/outsider

Researchers who are not from within a community, will equally struggle to interpret the data they gather because they do not have the code/key to do so. In *Class, Codes, and Control: Theoretical Studies Towards a Sociology of Language* for example, Dr. Basil Bernstein (1971) refers to two codes: a restricted code, which is juxtaposed against a second, the elaborate code. Johnston (1998) in giving examples of the restricted and elaborate code argues that the restricted code enables choices against a set number of options, whereas the elaborate code is limitless in possible options.

For example, language that is restrictive in use, is governed by responses to questions or regulated by protocol. Language interactions in this respect will be limited (restricted) to set interactions. For those utilizing a restricted code, being asked a question like ‘what is the weather like today’, would result in responses like fine, wet and so on.

The latter code (elaborate) however, is quite the opposite. The language exchanges are not regulated but instead can result in eloquent language, which covers a range of unpredictable alternatives. In building on the previous example of the weather, responses might be something like ‘at the moment the weather is holding but I suspect that due to the lingering precipitation, it is highly likely to rain this afternoon’.

If we apply the ideas behind Bernstein’s (1971) restricted and elaborate codes to research, then what that means is that researchers will operate with either a restricted or elaborate code when it comes to observing and interpreting information. I posit here that the elaborate code is an ‘insiders’ code because being able to put meaning to what researchers uncover in their research, would require more than just observational skills. Researchers would need to have the elaborate code to make sense of the nuances to understand and interpret the data correctly. That is because the lens to view the information is culturally based, meaning that the researcher would need to come from inside the researched group (in this case Chehalis) to put meaning to what they hear and see.

Equally, I posit that the restricted code is an outsider’s code because outsiders do not have the necessary cultural lens to interpret or understand the information they are viewing. This would result in interpretations of information being incorrectly ‘coded’ because outsider researchers instead apply their own cultural framework and lens to what they observe, to interpret the data. They would then come up with findings that are indicative of their own cultural backgrounds and not necessarily of those whom they are researching.

I also argue that western research methods are unable to fully employ the elaborate code when working with Indigenous communities because the sheer complexity of traditions, cultural, family ties, governmental and social processes cannot be broken down and explained within the time constraints of a research study. Indigenous knowledge is passed down over a lifetime: it is tied to age, family, gender, status, etc., and impossible to untangle the weaves over a series of interviews with an outsider.

2.4 Research Methods

The ethnographers, traders, explorers, and researchers who came into contact with the tribes of the Chehalis River Basin were unable or unwilling to view the tribes from a world view other than that from which they themselves descended. Rather than learn who the tribes were as individual clans, the non-Indians would apply their own understanding of names, tribal groups and familial relationships (Swan, 1973; Swanton, 1968; Work, 1912).

The writers, such as Swan (1973), Adamson (1927), Boas (1894), Chalcraft (1970) and Gibbs (1855, 1877, & 1972), were often writing their thoughts and impressions of Chehalis society for the purpose of exploiting the Chehalis story in the industrialized world. Chehalis were viewed as objects of study and for reports. Their story was sensationalized to bring the writer more status, fame, or income. They sold the Chehalis story to museums, universities and newspapers to further their reputation or career,[14] while the Chehalis, who had no concept of copyrights and patents, lost the rights to their own stories before they even knew their culture was a commodity.

I am challenging the sensationalized views of Chehalis by re-engaging with the evidence through interviews and histography. These methods will challenge existing

[14] Such as, *Honne, Spirit of the Chehalis*, a book of Chehalis stories published by Katherine Van Winkle Palmer in 1925 and an unpublished manuscript of Chehalis stories held by the American Philosophical Society. The manuscript is stamped as copyrighted material, owned by the Society.

perceptions of Chehalis as a one story, one tribe shared experience and will re-examine ancestral knowledge and historical perspectives to develop Chehalis narrative that encompasses the uniqueness and richness of the Chehalis story.

(A) Interviews

Interviews were conducted with tribal members of the Confederated Tribes of the Chehalis Reservation, community members residing on the reservation, descendants of Tribal members, current and past Tribal employees, as well as, enrolled members and descendants of other tribal nations. This was to ensure a Chehalis perspective.

Generally, interviews were conducted with a sole participant. However, some Elders preferred to be interviewed by one of their peers rather than by the researcher. The interviews were more effective when the Elders simply talked with one another. This peer to peer interview method was more comfortable for the participants and acknowledged the preference of Chehalis Elders for recalling events through dialogue and stories.

Some Elders felt more at ease with the natural flow of conversation they experienced with peers who already possessed the generational knowledge and lived experiences of life on the reservation in the early 20th century. They were not slowed down by having to set context or background of events and people for the interviewer.

Understanding the Chehalis language[15] is an integral part of understanding the Chehalis history: Chehalis words address specific places and situations, or relationships that English cannot. Unfortunately, the last fluent Chehalis speaker has passed on and the Chehalis language has not yet been revitalized to the point that it is possible to pass on traditions,

[15] My sister, Dr. Marla Conwell, wrote her dissertation on Chehalis language revitalization. She found our Elders remember some of their Elders retained fluency in the Chehalis language until approximately the 1970s. Although our Elders would have been early to late middle aged during this time period, when they were working with their own Elders, some did understand the language when it was spoken to them, or, they were able to converse with their Elders regarding traditions and customs. The knowledge is still here, some meaning may have been lost through the years, but we do have Elders who still possess the knowledge handed down to them from their Elders via the Chehalis language and capturing the nuances and meaning intrinsic to the language.

history and culture in the language. Nevertheless, while the Elders I spoke with may not have had a comprehensive grasp of the language, they remember the teachings of their parents, families and community members, and those teachings were still valuable in piecing together the cultural knowledge and history of the Chehalis.

Participants who were tribal Elders were gifted with a small token of appreciation such as, smoked salmon, jam, a beaded necklace, hand towels, or something equally appropriate, at the beginning of the interview as this is a traditional custom of the Chehalis.

Interviews with Chehalis participants began with the participant's life story. As is customary, a Chehalis person engages with a new person by detailing their background: identifying who they are; identifying their family; explaining where they live; explaining where their Ancestors lived and how they came to be there. This last statement usually begins with, "My people are from…" after which they state the place their family identifies as their home place or birth place. It is a point of pride to have the ability to recite a lineage back seven generations. Participants and descendants from other tribes were also given the opportunity to begin interviews in this manner as it is a customary practice for much of the tribal region. Non-tribal participants and community members were asked for their preference on how they would like the interview to begin. The universal response was to begin with a story of how they came to work with or be involved in the Tribe, and their experiences or interactions over the years.

(i) Interview Challenges

One of the challenges of conducting interviews has been the sense of distrust with westernized interview processes. Elders particularly were willing to interview but were distrustful of the paperwork involved with interviewing as a participant in a research project. Overall, they felt the formal paperwork process was too restrictive and culturally inappropriate for what they saw as the casual sharing of information on Tribal history.

Some Elders felt uncomfortable sharing specific stories of people who have passed on because they felt it was culturally inappropriate and disrespectful to discuss someone who has crossed over[16] but were willing to speak about general subjects, such as what the reservation looked like when they were young, or how various departments and policies operated. I found it was easier to follow the weave of the basket and use what I found through my research into written materials or through what I knew to be true based on my experience as a tribal member and growing up listening to the stories of my Ancestors. If I asked specific questions about events instead of people, Elders felt more at ease and comfortable with the question. The people I spoke with were comfortable speaking with me. Many of them liked sharing stories of the past and discussing events because it made them feel more at ease with the interview.

(ii) Fundamental Principles Adhered to in Research

All study participants were adults over the age of 18. There was no limit to how old a participant could be. All participants were provided with a summary of this thesis's goals and objectives. Participants who consented to participate in the study signed an informed consent form. Participants were given the opportunity to opt out of the study at any time. Participants were given the opportunity to object to the use of the material they provided at any time and have their contribution removed from the study.

As requested by Tribal members no specific details were provided on rituals or ceremonies concerning the subjects of religion or spiritual history regarding the Confederated Tribes of the Chehalis Reservation. For our Tribal members, religion and spirituality is a personal experience and is not meant to be shared in a public forum or with a non-Indigenous audience. Therefore, the research does not discuss Tribal member beliefs.

[16] This is one of the terms used for someone who has passed on. Many people choose not to refer to a person who has passed on by name. It is common to use a euphemism instead.

However, while specific details of rituals and ceremonies will not be discussed, the research will give a synopsis of religion and spirituality as they relate to the history and development of the Chehalis Tribe. The influence of outsiders on our spiritual beliefs cannot be ignored, and it is within that colonial framework that spirituality is addressed in this research. For example, tamahnous is a Chehalis word for our metaphysical being, or internal essence of who we are as Chehalis people. Tamahnous can also mean a doctor or spiritual person, female or male, who had the ability to heal people who were ill through prayer and ceremony. Tamahnous could also be a type of guardian spirit who would help or watch over a person throughout their lifetime. Tamahnous is a multi-faceted concept within Chehalis history for Chehalis spiritual beliefs, but one that colonization reduced to meaning a spirit or soul. The result is that tamahnous is viewed through the western lens and the interpretations located in documentation is very limiting.

Because tamahnous and related spiritual beliefs are woven into the Chehalis story throughout our history, it is pertinent that this thesis discusses how religion and spirituality impacted the Chehalis world pre-contact and post-contact into the early half of the 20th century. This is the time period in which religious and spiritual beliefs had the most impact on daily tribal life and it is during this time period that medical care, availability of food or lack thereof, life and death, and economic status were believed to be most impacted by ones tamahnous and the spirit world. This will be discussed further in Chapter 3.

Participants had the right to request anonymity, and if anonymity was requested a pseudonym was assigned to them and it was used in all drafts and research notes for the study. Participants who consented to have their names used in the study have their name used in all drafts and research notes for this study. Participants who requested their Indian name be used in lieu of their given name were addressed by their Indian name in all drafts and research

notes for this research. Moreover, information regarding, or associated with, specific participants would never be given to a third party.

While some participants were directly related to the researcher, the majority of participants were not. A familial relationship with the researcher is impossible to avoid because the Chehalis Tribe is small, approximately 960 people with nearly half under the age of 18. Oral history has posited the Upper Chehalis Tribe was originally formed from only five family groups. Additionally, inter-marriage is common between the Chehalis and other tribes and community members. A common family proverb, "Some may be in-laws, some may be outlaws, but they are all still family" meaning, married or divorced, once a person is related to you by marriage they are always your relation, which can make who is considered family much larger than 'bloodline' alone. While most of the research participants may not be a direct family relation, it is not unusual for there to be a distant family relationship with the researcher. When the participant is a close family member, I acknowledged the relationship with the participant in the research. To mitigate for bias, I reviewed major themes and data among all participants. Mitigating for bias was challenging because histories were specific to the tribal groups and families that comprise the Confederated Tribes of the Chehalis Reservation, as a result, some personal histories and stories were not known to all participants.

(B) Histography

A further method utilized for this research was the histography method or analysis of primary documents, defined by Chilisa (2012) as "reading against the grain to uncover blind spots and recuperate evidence of subaltern agency" (p. 69). This method was applied to archival material, texts, manuscripts and testimonies. The histography method when applied to Chehalis history, is similar to clearing the bits of dust and debris that have built up in the

weave of the Chehalis basket. As we begin to follow the weaves deeper into the basket, we find we have to brush away some of the rubbish in order to see the weave more clearly.

An analysis of primary documents such as archival materials, texts, manuscripts and testimonies are included in this study. Admittedly, many of the documents in this histography have filtered the culture of the Chehalis people through a non-native lens. However, while all the material may not be applicable to my history of the Chehalis Tribe, some of the material is salvageable. The opinion of our culture as written by a non-Indigenous person is not what defines who we are as Chehalis. We define who we are as Chehalis, our opinion, our words, our version of our history is what matters. Keeping that in mind, I must also acknowledge the value of some of the notes the non-Indigenous writers have left behind.

As part of my research I worked with the Chehalis Tribe to utilize the information provided in the primary documents and our oral histories to identify the original village and seasonal gathering sites of the Chehalis people. Fortunately, I found sound recordings of Tribal Elders in the early to mid-20th century which include descriptions of early reservation life, our language, and the impact of federal government oversight on tribal culture. These recordings helped guide my research and provided an Indigenous view of our early contact tribal history. Chehalis may not have known how to write during this time period, but that does not mean their voices have been totally silenced.

The multiple tribes and bands that comprise the Confederated Tribes of the Chehalis Reservation contribute their own unique history to the story of the Chehalis. Research into the story of the Chehalis is complicated by the fact that each tribe integrated into the Confederation, does not share the same story which means many families bring their unique history to the overall story. It has been challenging to include these unique perspectives because one story is not the whole story. It has been common for families to disagree with the version of history shared by another family. This does not make either version inaccurate;

each story may be very accurate but individualized to the individual tribe from which the family is descended.

This multi-story perspective is a paradigm shift from the current one tribe, one story narrative many people think of when they reflect on the Chehalis story. Today, it is a habit to drop the Confederated Tribes part of the Confederated Tribes of the Chehalis Reservation for the much simpler Chehalis Tribe. While our current identity may be a cohesive tribal unit, our history is the history of many tribes, the multiple smaller tribes who make up the Confederation. Acknowledging this multifaceted, shared history encompasses the understanding that we all have individual stories within our shared history and the knowledge that has been down through the generations represents each one of us and our strand in the weave of our story.

(i) Highlighting Considerations in Viewing Documented Contributions.

In choosing what written sources to include in this research (and equally what not to include) there were a number of factors that I took into consideration.

The first consideration related to those who had lived with Chehalis and became well known and accepted by the Tribe. James Swan (1973)[17] for example, lived for three years among the Chehalis and other local tribes in the mid-1850s, was instrumental not only in detailing the daily life of the tribal people but in defining the territorial boundaries of the tribes. Although, Swan does not focus solely on Chehalis, he does interact with Chehalis quite frequently and documents his encounters very thoroughly. Swan was present at the Chehalis

[17] You will note here the difference in dates. That is because Swan's work was not published until 1973 although he lived in the mid-1850s. Even the recollection of Mary Heck, documented during her testimony on the usual and accustomed locations of historical tribal sites at that time, was also transcribed years after the fact.

River Treaty Council[18] and he recorded the experience in a very practical, concise, narrative. This is important because the only tribal accounts available are oral histories.

Swan's relationship with the Chehalis and other tribes within the region made him an invaluable and knowledgeable resource for governmental officials who were attempting to develop their own relationships with the tribes. George Gibbs (Swan, 1973), who was an ethnologist and the transcriber of the minutes for the Chehalis River Treaty Council, contacted Swan for assistance in deciphering Lewis and Clark's journal entries. Due to issues with spelling, Gibbs needed help in determining the names of the tribes the explorers had encountered in the Northwest. According to Swan (1973), *"It is a custom among these tribes to name families and villages from the river they may be located on. In this way it is probable Lewis and Clarke may have mistaken the names of some of the tribes which they have mentioned"* (p. 211).[19] I have included documentation from those sources like Swan (1973).

The second consideration relates to previous research conducted on the Chehalis by ethnologists and other researchers. Most notable of these researchers has been Thelma Adamson (1927). Adamson was a graduate student studying under famed anthropologist Franz Boas in the 1920s. She spent many months interviewing tribal members and collecting data on Chehalis culture as part of her research project and her research is often cited by students studying the Chehalis culture.

Although Adamson (1927) did work directly with Chehalis tribal members in her research, Adamson is not always clear regarding when she is writing about the Chehalis culture and when she is writing about one of the many other tribes she studied. She sometimes mixes cultural information or cites the research out of context. For example, Adamson's research, combines information from multiple tribes under the same heading or paragraph,

[18] The Chehalis River Treaty Council is the failed attempt at treaty making between the federal government and the Chehalis River tribes. The Treaty Council's failure to produce a treaty resulted in the Chehalis becoming an Executive Order tribe rather than a Treaty tribe.

[19] For example: Neilson's manuscript stated Lewis and Clark spelled Chehalis as Chieltz (Neilson, 1970, p. 11). Nonetheless, both Swan and Neilson verify Lewis and Clark's second entry about the Chehalis is spelled Chehalis. According to Swan, the tribe Lewis and Clark called the Chieltz was actually the Chehalis (Swan, 1973, p. 210).

without discerning if the information is specific to Chehalis. Oftentimes, this caused her information to be factually incorrect and unreliable.

Adamson (1927) also had difficulties finding tribal people to work with her because a previous researcher, Katherine Van Winkle Palmer, had recorded Chehalis stories first hand, and then published a book of the stories, *Honne, Spirit of the Chehalis* (1925). The fact that Palmer had taken their stories for her book and made a profit through the sales of the book made many Chehalis people very untrusting of researchers.[20] Chehalis either refused outright to work with subsequent researchers or mixed misinformation in with their information as a joke on the researcher. All of this was taken into consideration when I evaluated the value of Adamson's work to my own research. I found Adamson's information did not contain any new knowledge or research and was available either directly from tribal sources or from primary documents and sources from the same time period. As a result, I could utilize other verifiable sources instead of Adamson and so sources like Adamson's research was not utilized in this research. I must also be very clear here about why that is the case.

Chapters 1 and 2 have outlined the politics and interests that reside with history and research specifically. The focus of this research (Chapters 3 to 5) however, is on re-storying Chehalis history from a Chehalis perspective. Engaging in debates about whether or not information is correct (including the politics and interests surrounding such accounts) would produce a very different historical focus for this thesis and outcome then what has been produced. Arguing the specificities of the historical account is not the focus of this thesis.

A third consideration relates to non-Chehalis researchers and the intent of their work. Anthropologist Erna Gunther (1995) for example, wrote from a position of dominance. She saw herself as the expert and it never seems to have occurred to her that Chehalis might not

[20] In an August 9, 1929 letter to her supervisor, Franz Boas, researcher Thelma Adamson wrote of Chehalis tribal members who were very nasty to her because they believed she was going to take their stories and write a book with them. Palmer had taken Chehalis stories for her book *Honne, Spirit of the Chehalis*, and they felt all researchers would take Chehalis stories to sell for profit.

have wanted to share their knowledge with her. She views herself as entitled to the information and seems oblivious to the needs of her research participants. This is especially true when she writes of interviewing participants during times of illness or when they were bedridden. She not only assumes this is an appropriate time to interview a participant, she expects participants to be completely engaged in the research process.

Gunther (1995) has projected her expectations onto her participants and as a result filters their answers through the lens of her own personal experience and her objectives for her research outcomes. I have engaged with sources of 'evidence' provided by Gunther, but once again am cautious in my use of them.

Contemporary Elders recall for example, watching and working with traditional foods and medicines with their parents and grandparents. This knowledge was not in decline as Gunther (1995) portrays in her research. More than likely, the participants in her research chose not to share the information with Gunther (1995), she misunderstood what they were saying or she received the information but did not understand.

Linguist and author of the *Upper Chehalis Dictionary*, Dr. Dale Kinkade (1991), approached his research in a manner quite different from Gunther (1995). He intended to be thoughtful of the needs of the Chehalis community but unfortunately his methods of teaching Chehalis language through an English framework turned out to be inappropriate for the community (Conwell, 2018). That was not his intent. What has been learnt from that experience is that Chehalis needs to be the framework for actually teaching Chehalis language (Conwell, 2018). The work by Kinkade (1991) was helpful, just not in the manner in which it was initially perceived. We are not born with the knowledge of how to weave a basket, how to gather our materials, or, even which type of basket best meets our needs. This knowledge is gained through mistakes, learning from those mistakes, from education and mentoring.

2.5 Organization of the Data into Chapters

What this chapter has highlighted is that a westernized research methodology produces a false homogeneity when examining Indigenous cultures. Utilizing westernized methodology and methods results in a colonial historical narrative, one of coding, classifying and presenting a uniform narrative applicable to all who were studied. This encapsulates a researcher/researched approach in which the researcher is separate from the researched. This approaches fails to identify the nuances in any community, not just an Indigenous community.

What the next three chapter's outline are the stories that make up our Chehalis Story. Through the interweaving of several layers of narratives (interviews) and documents (archival and publications), Chapters 3 to 5 examine Chehalis history from a Chehalis perspective in particular, the intergenerational weaves of the Chehalis story utilizing the voices of our Ancestors and our contemporary Elders and tribal members.

The narrative presented in the next three chapters is not the whole of the Chehalis basket: the basket is still being woven. However, this narrative is an examination of several weaves of the Chehalis basket because (in keeping with Chehalis epistemologies) it is understood that it is impossible for one researcher to understand, or have access to, the multiple stories and experiences that will weave this basket. I anticipate in the future that other baskets will be woven.

CHAPTER THREE

THESE ARE THE STORIES THAT MAKE UP OUR CHEHALIS STORY

> *Yea, the upper Chehalis, you see we started, that is as a tribe, from Mud Bay, don't know where they come from there, they moved in there from somewhere and they begin to grow and spread back until they come to the Chehalis River, then they started to settle down. That was a long time ago, I'd say maybe, maybe a hundred thirty thousand years ago because this America wasn't made in just one, two days – maybe been here the last million years and the people, Chehalis Indians had settled down and was already here when the white people came, each brand of the Chehalis Indians had settled down where there was good pickings, good hunting and good fishing and maybe camas and other roots and berries. The cedar, they felled that and made boards out of it some 4 feet thick….they used elk horn for wedge* Chehalis Tribal Elder, Silas Heck (1964, p. 3)

3.0 Introduction

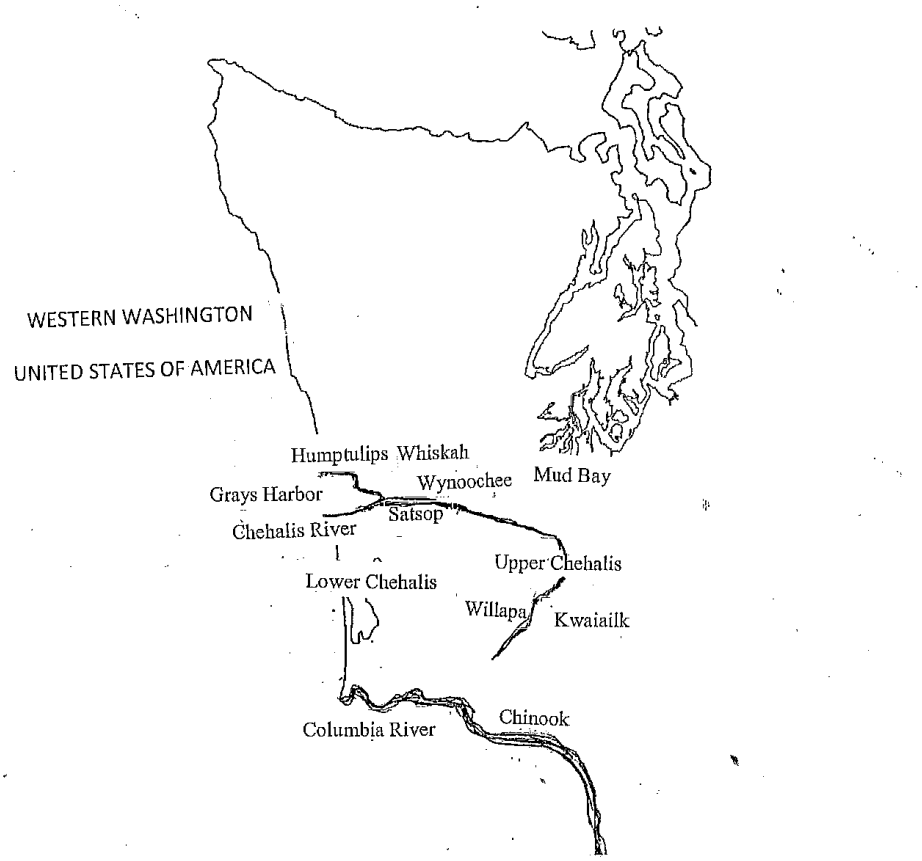
The Chehalis story has been passed down by Chehalis families. Throughout time, the resilient and vibrant strands of oral stories have intertwined to weave together the contemporary Chehalis story. In my family (the Howanus descendants of the Upper Chehalis), the traditional beginning of our family stories is, "A long time ago, when the Earth was young and people and animals still lived and played together." I chose this line for the title of this thesis because the purpose behind this narrative rediscovers and reimagines the story of my Chehalis people. It also serves to remind me that our ways of knowing existed long before the white man stepped onto our shores.

In revisiting the beginning of the Chehalis story from the time when the Earth was young, Chapter 3 explores our stories until the mid-1800s. Chapter 4 examines the Chehalis story from mid-1800s onwards.

The information in the next three chapters, was collected from several sources: transcripts of interviews with Chehalis Tribal members or members of other tribes with kinship ties to Chehalis families; unpublished and published manuscripts of non-Indian people who maintained close relationships with Chehalis Tribal people; recorded interviews and interactions with tribal people and; interviews with contemporary tribal Elders. While the transcripts and manuscripts date from the early 1800s to the mid-1900s (capturing first person accounts and oral stories of Chehalis Tribal history and culture), that recording relates explicitly to the time period of the late 1700s to the early 1800s. As noted in Chapter 2, interviewed participants ranged from 18 years of age upwards. The significant interrogation of the information in the transcripts and manuscripts however, came from the Elders.

As Chehalis, we honor our Ancestors and our Elders by listening closely to their oral stories, which are our history, so we may pass these stories, and the knowledge they convey, on to our descendants. To more accurately represent the essence of our history, these next three chapters in particular, have enabled the voice of our Ancestors to be heard, to present the Chehalis perspective as it was initially shared by our Ancestors to their families. This thesis collects that information so that contemporary Chehalis Tribal members may experience our story as it may have been told to them by our Ancestors.

3.1 When the Earth Was Young



Map shows general locations of regional tribes circa 1820.

Map is for illustrative purposes only.

(i) The Landscape

Thousands of years ago, immense glaciers originally covered the land that would eventually become home to the confederation of tribes that comprise the present-day Chehalis Tribe. As the glaciers receded and the glacial Lake Russell drained into the present-day Chehalis Valley, the glaciers left behind rocky deposits interspersed with rich bottom land along the rivers and streams (Bretz, 1913, p. 93). Numerous rivers and thickly timbered forests bordered extensive prairie lands. To the east was the imposing Cascade mountain

range, home to the seasonal huckleberry fields the tribes traveled to in summer. To the west was the Pacific Ocean, where the tribes collected oysters and shellfish for sustenance and trade. To the north were the waters of the present-day Puget Sound, which included Mud Bay, the birthplace of Upper Chehalis; and to the south raged the mighty waters of the Columbia, one of the major trading ports for regional tribes[21] (Young, 1918, p. 148).

Lower Chehalis made their home among the heavily wooded western region with its rivers, ocean and bays of the coast and were more heavily reliant on canoes for travel as a result. Horses, having arrived in the Chehalis River region long before the first white man, were prolific among Upper Chehalis who inhabited the prairies around the present-day Chehalis/Centralia/Grand Mound/Oakville region. According to George Gibbs, an ethnologist who had been asked to copy the Treaty of Medicine Creek[22], Upper Chehalis were known for their prowess with horses and their large horse herds, while Lower Chehalis were known for their expertise with navigating the ocean and waterways along the coast (Gibbs, 1877, pp. 167, 169 & 178).

Lower Chehalis inhabitants of the western region of the territory were awash in the wealth of fish and shellfish that were abundantly available in the ocean, rivers, and bays on which they resided (Gibbs, 1877, p. 166). Lower Chehalis could live their lives along the ocean and waterways, with no need to travel to the interior lands of the Upper Chehalis if they so choose, because food, including berries and roots, were plentiful within their own region (Curtis, 1913, p. 7).

Fur trader John Work (1912) recorded his observations of the Lower Chehalis Tribal region in 1824 as he journeyed through the territory. On November 24, 1824 while traveling along the wooded shore of the waterway Work called the *Chihalis Bay*, Work noted the

[21] C. DuPuis, Tribal Elder, personal communication, 2015.
[22] The Treaty of Medicine Creek was signed on December 26, 1854 and is the first of the Governor Stevens treaties negotiated with Puget Sound, Washington State tribes. This treaty established the Squaxin, Nisqually, and Puyallup reservations (Deloria, 1977, p. 57 – 59).

muddy banks of the bay and rivers were a cornucopia of towering trees along the shorelines, interspersed with intermittent brackish swamps. The trees and swamps along the shorelines and rising tide waters from the nearby bay, all contributed to a scarcity of fresh water available for drinking along the western routes of some Chehalis rivers (Work, p. 5, November 25, 1824). Chehalis Tribal villages, situated in clearings in the forests, dotted the shores along the waterways, some with only two to three longhouses visible, and others with scores of homes and inhabitants (Work, p. 6, November 26 & 27, 1824).

In 1927 Tribal Elders provided court testimony describing the traditional territory of Upper Chehalis. The oldest living Chehalis Tribal member at the time, Mary Heck, testified the traditional territories were dense forests and camas peppered prairies that "have existed since creation" (Court of Claims of the United States No. F-275, 1927, p. 533). The prairie land was gravelly and the bottom land near the rivers was comprised of rich, dark soil with hills or *hilly land* (Court of Claims of the United States No. F-275, 1927, p. 542), and trees were first class timber of fir, cedar, and hemlock (Court of Claims of the United States No. F-275, 1927, p. 544).[23] Both Lower Chehalis and Upper Chehalis regions encompassed what the tribes called upland or rugged, mountainous regions. Heavy timber covered all land except the prairie lands (Court of Claims of the United States No. F-275, 1927, p. 555).

The largest prairie was located at Grand Mound. This prairie received its name from the unusually large mound, or small hill, which rose from the center of the flat prairie land surrounding it. The mound is thought to have once been an island in the glacial lake that once covered the region (James, 1980, p. 93). The other four prairies are now known as the Newaukum Prairie, Fords Prairie, Jackson Prairie and Boistfort Prairie.[24] Each prairie[25] was

[23] Tribal Elder, Mary Heck, occupation of making Indian baskets, 92 years old (circa 1927) resides on Chehalis Reservation, Tribal Elder Dan Secena was 69 years old in 1927, and Tribal Elder Marion Davis was 76 years old in 1927.
[24] C. DuPuis, Tribal Elder, personal communication, 2016.
[25] Included in the region of the Chehalis is a prairie with odd raised circular mounds now called Mima Mounds. Various explanations for how these mounds came to be have abounded for decades. Tribal legends offer many possibilities, the backs of porpoises left in a flood, they were formed by water, or possibly they were left over from the glacier receding. While many

renowned for its agricultural richness for gathering roots and camas and was the site of a tribal village with multiple longhouses (Court of Claims, No. F-275, 1927). The prairies were crisscrossed with trails for travelers and were the home of the horse herds of the Upper Chehalis (Neilson, 1970, p. 14). The Chehalis prairies were managed by the Tribe through controlled burning at the end of the gathering season. Planned burning of the grasses kept the land fertile and ensured optimal growth of camas and other plants (Court of Claims, No. F-275, 1927, p. 536). The prairies extended from the extreme south of what is now known as Lewis County to the south of what is now known as Thurston County.[26]

3.2 Chehalis Tribal Structure

(i) Names and Bands

As stated previously, Upper Chehalis and Lower Chehalis were two distinct tribal groups located among many smaller tribal groups in the region prior to consolidation on the Confederated Tribes of the Chehalis Reservation. Early Non-Indian explorers and traders to the area failed to fully understand the distinct, and sometimes subtle, differences the tribes viewed as integral to their separate and distinctive identities within their social, linguistic, familial and regional networks (Gibbs, 1877, p. 172). Similarly, when traders, explorers and settlers formerly recorded the tribes they met, they did not always recognize the intricacies and history behind place names and band names.[27] How each individual heard and repeated the name was impacted by their own nationality and language, creating a lack of uniformity and multiple names for each of the bands, tribes and family unit. The lack of uniformity in spelling created confusion later when names were written down, usually phonetically, and

theories abound, the mystery of how the mounds developed has never been solved (C. DuPuis, Tribal Elder, personal communication, 2013).

[26] C. DuPuis, Tribal Elder, personal communication, 2016.

[27] Other names include: Chehaylus, Tse-ha-las, Chickelis, Tchkekylis, Chiehills, Chickeles Chi-hee-leesh (Unpublished manuscript, author unknown; Swan, 1973, p. 210). The Willopah called them Kwu-tch-ni (Castile, 1985, p. 21).

sometimes by non-Indians with limited writing skills and an inability to spell.[28] As noted in Chapter 2, still others mistook the name of a village for the name of a tribal group, as a result, when they would share information with other non-Indians the impression would be that multiple tribal groups existed when it was really the same tribe but another village site. This is because, traditionally tribes did not use generic names for themselves, but addressed each other according to the lands they occupied. Consequently, as they moved villages, names would change, making it harder for the explorers and settlers to identify the tribes and villages over time (Gibbs, 1877, p. 235; Nielson, 1970, p. 2).[29]

Linguist Dr. Dale Kinkade (1991, p. v) identified three distinctions within the Upper Chehalis dialect,[30] Satsop, Oakville Chehalis and Tenino Chehalis, based on a 1960 interview with tribal member, Silas Heck and his description of the five bands[31] of Upper Chehalis:

1) the sqwayayilq on Mud Bay, extending southward from there to the Chehalis River along the Black River;
2) the tmesluws located around the present town of Tenino;
3) the ?ilwaiqs across the river from the present city of Chehalis;
4) the c'axwasn in the Pe Ell-Boistfort area;
5) the slacawams whose location is uncertain, but was presumably near the Oakville-Porter area.

Incidentally, the Upper Chehalis band Heck identified for Dr. Kinkade, the sqwayayilq on Mud Bay, is also the traditional name Upper Chehalis apply to themselves as a whole and is now commonly spelled as Kwaiailk (Kinkade, 1991, p. v).

[28] For example, in his annual report an Indian Agent identified the local tribes living near the Chehalis villages as Click-quamish, Latsop, Wanootchie, Um-too-leaux, and Quinoith and Queets, or the Satsop, the Wynoochie, Humptulips, Quinault and Queets (Ford, 1857, p. 250).
[29] C. DuPuis, Tribal Elder, personal communication, 2015.
[30] Although most of the material available on the Upper Chehalis is in the Oakville Chehalis dialect.
[31] This information suggests the Tribe may not have descended from five families, as is sometimes posited. It may have originally been five bands of Upper Chehalis that some members are descended from, and the information may have been muddled through the years.

Generally speaking, the tribes and villages located in the Chehalis River region, from Mud Bay, to the Pacific Ocean and south to the Columbia River were loosely associated with either the Upper Chehalis or Lower Chehalis bands (Gibbs, 1877, p. 166). The Quinault and Queets were situated much further north along the coast but interacted with some of the Chehalis villages located along the north side of what is now known as Grays Harbor (Ford, 1857, p. 250).

When fur trader John Work traveled through the Chehalis River region in 1824, Work encountered several villages situated on the river system (Work, 1912). As Work (1912) continued his journey up the Chehalis River to the Black River he documented the village sites and his contacts with Chehalis. As stated in Chapter 2, Work documented the village sites of a Tribe he called the Halloweena Nation, a Tribe he noted as very similar to the Chehalis. Dr. Kinkade identified Halloweena as a Chinook Jargon word for *different, strange, other* and the Halloweena as an Upper Chehalis band residing along the Black River (Kinkade, 1991, p. v).

Other tribes in the area were the Willopah, also called Kwailhiokwa or Owhillapsh, who lived in the mountain region near the Willapa Bay. The Klatskanai lived on the prairies near the present-day Centralia area along the Skookumchuck River for a short time but moved out of the area when game became scarce. The area was also a migratory route for the Tahkali and Klikatat (Gibbs, 1877, p. 171).

Willopah were likely their own distinct band and most closely related to the Kwalhioquas, a Tribe that resided in the Willopah Hills (Ruby & Brown, 2010, p. 159 & 273). Humptulips, Hoquiams, Whishkah's, and Wynoochee's were their own distinct bands politically but classified as Lower Chehalis due to their linguistic and cultural ties, in addition to their shared histories (Ruby & Brown, 2010, pp. 130, 384 & 387). Satsop have been classified as both Upper Chehalis and Lower Chehalis due to their linguistic (Upper Chehalis)

and political (Lower Chehalis) ties (Ruby & Brown, 2010, p. 265). Kwaiailks, the name was applied to at least four distinct bands, (Ruby & Brown, 2010, p. 257) and Halloweena (Kinkade, 1991, v) were Upper Chehalis. As stated previously, the tribes did work together under a temporary intertribal governance agreement when they felt it was necessary to protect or represent all the tribes and villages as a whole. Generally however, they remained their own individual governmental entity at all other times (Trafzer, 1986, p. 38).

(ii) Government

The Chehalis Tribes were comprised of many villages inhabited by family groups (also known as clans) in longhouses. Permanent villages were situated along the water, including the villages located on the prairies. Although non-Indians referred to the Tribe as one distinct political entity, each village was actually a distinct political entity. While many families might have shared a longhouse, the home was owned by the person (or their heir) who had built the home. Ownership of a home came with the power to make the decisions or facilitate resolutions in disagreements for the families residing in the home, this would mean the Tribe contained many heads of households, or chiefs, as the non-Indians referred to them (Pritzker, 2000, p. 204; Trafzer, 1986, p. 38).

The many villages of the tribal group were part of the larger tribal unit due to a shared culture, language and mores (customs, practices, and values). Individual villages had the ability to choose how they participated in the larger tribal unit, and leadership was centralized and did not extend beyond individual bands. Society was democratic, and leaders had equal standing and shared governance. Any adult male was eligible to be acknowledged as a leader but most leaders were tribal Elders who were chosen because they were recognized for their bravery, their knowledge, and their skills as a warrior (H. Smith, 1941, p. 3). While elected leaders might have the power to make decisions as necessary, this power could be removed by

the middle class (or the people who were not slaves), but were not one of the chosen leaders either. This group was called the General Council (Trafzer, 1986, p. 39).

Although women were usually not placed in a position of leadership, they participated in the General Councils.[32] They spoke low and a reporter would report their words to the assembly. Many women were known as great orators. A few important, prominent women wielded as much influence as some chiefs. One influential woman, known as the queen, was a Chehalis woman who traveled with a United States exploring expedition led by Charles Wilkes and influenced many important tribal decisions in the 1840s (Gibbs, 1877, p. 185). In their journals, Lewis and Clark, the first Americans to cross what is now known as the western United States during their Corp of Discovery Expedition 1804-1806, observed tribal women spoke freely in tribal discussions and their opinions were acknowledged and given weight in tribal decisions. Free women were a party to the decision-making processes within the Tribe. Nevertheless, women were still expected to shoulder many of the domestic burdens (DeVoto, 1953, p. 301).

If war or conflict threatened the Tribe, the villages might choose to elect a representative to meet in a council with the other tribal heads to decide a course of action for addressing the possibility of battle. Participation was not required but many villages chose to dedicate their warriors to defending the larger tribal group. A single man or a small group of men would be elected to represent the whole group for the duration of the conflict. Once the conflict was ended, the authority to make decisions on behalf of the larger tribal group also ended (Trafzer, 1986, p. 38). When the council met and once they had finished discussions, time for reflection followed and then a feast was held while final deliberations were discussed (Gibbs, 1877, p. 185).

[32] The general assembly of tribal members were known as the General Council in the 1800s and prior, and is still known as the General Council today.

(iii) Villages

The name Chehalis was originally the name of a large village located at Hanson's Point near present day Westport called Tshels meaning *sand* (Ruby & Brown, 1986, p. 105).[33] The original village was located near the entrance to Grays Harbor and was most likely the first Chehalis village that non-Indian seafarers encountered when they entered the Harbor. After leaving Tshels, as the seafarers travelled further inland, they would have encountered seven Chehalis villages located on the north end of the Harbor and eight villages located on the south side (Gibbs, 1877, p. 171). Recognizing the similarities between the people of these villages and the people of Tshels, the people of every village became known as Tshels, or Chehalis (Gibbs, 1877, p. 171).

Permanent village sites were bounded by Westport, on the west bank of the Satsop at its confluence with the Chehalis River, the east bank of Porter Creek, the east side of the Wynoochee River and on both sides of the Humptulips River (Nielson, 1970, p. 4). In 1942, Tribal member, Dan Secena, identified several permanent villages at the confluence of Lincoln Creek and the Chehalis River known as Nah-cha-thlah-loat-son meaning *mouth of the creek*, at the confluence of Scatter Creek and the Chehalis River, Wah-thlah-lin-nah-son, exact meaning unknown but the last syllables mean *mouth of*, and at the present day Maple Lane School in Grand Mound, Klah-ky-klth meaning *long prairie*. Klah-ky-klth was a main Chehalis village and Mr. Secena's birthplace (Part II Affidavits, 1942, p. 122).[34] A permanent village on Fords Prairie was called tasunshun or *resting place* (H. Smith, 1941, p. 4).

Tribal member, Andrew Sanders, affirmed a permanent Chehalis village once existed at Mud Bay, near present day Olympia, Washington. This site coincides with numerous oral stories identifying Mud Bay as the place of origin for the Chehalis Indians. According to

[33] Some contemporary Chehalis now say Chehalis means *people of the sand.*
[34] Tribal Member Dan Secena was documented as being 83 years old in 1942.

Sanders, he was told the village was called Squi-eyelth and it was the Indian word the Chehalis traditionally applied to themselves. Sanders also identified a possible permanent village at Squaxin called Qui-tse-lay-chen meaning the *center of where people live*, and a permanent village on the north side of the Chehalis River and a few miles up Skookumchuck Creek called Tow-a-tin meaning *fording place* (Part II Affidavits, 1942, pp. 126-127).[35]

Tribal member Lucy Sanders was born at the site of a permanent Chehalis village called Sah-tsah-ulth or *river coming from the lake*. This village was located on the east side of the mouth of the Black River or where the Black River meets the Chehalis River. Sanders identified another permanent village known as Thla-qah-mish at the mouth of Cedar Creek near the former town of Cedarville, Washington in Grays Harbor County (Part II Affidavits, 1942, p. 132).[36]

In 1927, Tribal member Mary Heck, who, as a young girl, was a witness to the 1855 Chehalis River Treaty Council, testified the Upper Chehalis territory extended as far north as Squaxin Island (she most likely meant present day Mud Bay),[37] to the Satsop River, and included all of the Black River and Black Lake. She identified a permanent village with three houses on the Newaukum River, a permanent village of four houses at the former town of Edna,[38] a village of six houses at Pe Ell, a village of seven houses at Grand Mound, three houses at the former town of Cedarville, a village of ten houses and a potlatch house at Centralia, and two villages of four houses each at Klukwulum, now known as Elma (Court of Claims of the United States No. F-275, 1927).

In her 1927 Court of Claims testimony on the traditional lands of Chehalis, tribal member Mary Heck, stated Upper Chehalis inhabited villages on Squaxin Island, an island in what is now known as Puget Sound. Mrs. Heck believed Squaxin Island was as far north as

[35] Tribal Member Andrew Sanders was documented as being 77 years old in 1941.
[36] Tribal member Lucy Sanders was documented as being 67 years old in 1941.
[37] See Andrew Sanders testimony, Part II Affidavits, 1942, p. 127.
[38] This is most likely a misunderstanding of the word Adna, a contemporary town in present day Western Washington.

the Upper Chehalis lived. Neither tribal member Dan Secena nor tribal member Marion Davis could verify the Squaxin Island testimony and tribal member George Ben stated no houses were located on Squaxin Island. Tribal member Joe Pete, agreed the villages identified by Mary Heck were all within the Upper Chehalis territory and confirmed the information provided by Secena, Davis and Ben, that no Chehalis houses were located on Squaxin Island (Court of Claims, No. F-275, 1927, p. 534).

Some researchers believe the Chinook Tribe, who inhabited the Columbia River region, originated elsewhere and then migrated into the region, thereby pushing some of the Lower Chehalis villages further to the north and the Tillamooks to the south (Ruby & Brown, 1976, p. 4). The name T'sinu'k (Tsinuk) or Chinook is believed to be a Chehalis word applied to Chinook by Chehalis people into whose territory the Chinook people migrated when they moved into Columbia River region (Ruby & Brown, 1976, p. 4). Even after the arrival of the Chinook, Lower Chehalis continued to maintain villages in the Columbia River region. Lower Chehalis are known to have first come into contact with the explorers Meriwether Lewis and William Clark on Thursday, November 21st, 1805. The journals of Lewis and Clark record the meeting as follows, "Several Indians visit us to day of different nations or Bands Some of the Chiltz Nation who reside on the Sea Coast near Point Lewis" (Ray, 1938, p. 35; DeVoto, 1953, p. 289).

By 1850, the Chinook had been decimated by the smallpox, intermittent fever, and whooping cough epidemics that accompanied the arrival of the settlers and traders on the Northwest Coast. Chehalis, in pursuit of the trade opportunities offered by proximity to the Columbia River, began to move back into the Columbia River region. This created some confusion among the traders, explorers and settlers about which villages were Chehalis and which villages were Chinook. The similarities between the two tribes also contributed to the confusion (Ray, 1938, p. 36). The villages of Hwa'hots, Nutskwethlso'k, Quela'ptonlilt,

Quer'quellin, and Tske'lsos were all former Chinook villages, whose population and/or language progressively became Chehalis (Swanton, 1968, p. 145). In the following decades, the Chinook population continued to decline and integrate with Chehalis tribes to the north. Eventually both tribes left their villages on the Columbia and moved their populations northwards, closer to the Chehalis River region (Pritzker, 2000, pp. 170 & 172).

Temporary villages were erected during the summer for the purpose of hunting and gathering food to sustain families over the long winters. These temporary villages or summer camps cropped up along *"Lincoln Creek near Galvin; Independence Creek; Scatter Creek; Black River; and on many other creeks that had good fishing or a good berry stand towards Westport on the Pacific Ocean. They also gathered camas, lamprey eels and lithic material near the head waters of the Chehalis River"* (Neilson, 1970, p. 4). Rainbow Falls or Wah-moss (the meaning of which is unknown) was, and is, a popular eel catching place near the present-day town of Chehalis. A temporary camping site for digging clams and catching salmon existed along present day Eld Inlet and Mud Bay. Michigan Hill, called Wah-lokt-un or *place to fall down*, was a temporary village site for fishing whose name derived from a story about pushing animals over a cliff (Sanders, A., Part II Affidavits, 1942, p. 128).

(iv) Houses

The tribes of the Pacific Northwest typically lived in one of three styles of homes, the Gabled, the Shed and the Gambrel or Lean-to (Waterman & Greiner, 1921, p. 9). Chehalis traditionally lived in a Gabled style of house (Marr, et al, 2001, p. 3). The Gabled form, while found as far south as California and to the north Puget Sound region, as well as, in parts of British Columbia, was not the most common house type in use by other tribes within the region (Waterman & Greiner, 1921, p. 13).

The permanent villages were located along the rivers and streams and the homes had a circular door that always faced the water. According to Tribal member Silas Heck, the

doorway of the homes was not cut to allow a person to walk straight into the home, one would have to place their feet through the doorway and then bend to bring the rest of their body in (Lawrence, 1967/1968).[39] If this method of entering the home was not observed, the person would become stuck in the doorway (H. Smith, 1941, p. 5).[40] Work (1912) described the Chehalis houses he observed during his expedition as vertical planks rising up towards a pitched plank roof. The seams were lined with moss and the roof had an opening in the middle to let out smoke and let in light (Work, 1912, p. 6).

It took many people to help build each home due to the time it took it took to process the lumber and dig the foundation (Court of Claims, F-275, 1927, p. 540). James Swan, one of the first non-Indian residents of the Willapa Bay region, described how the longhouses were built in his book, *The Northwest Coast: or, Three Years Residence in Washington Territory*,

> *The Indian lodges…perform this operation by means of little wedges, and manifest a good deal of dexterity and skill; for, if the wedges are not placed properly, the board would be full of twists and creeps….setting posts firmly into the ground four or five feet high, one at each corner. The tops of these posts are notched, and poles laid along to form the eaves. The ridge-pole is supported at its ends by the boards of the outside, which are placed upright, and in the centre by posts elevated for the purpose. From the eaves to the ridge-pole rafters are laid, and on these the boards of the roof are laid, with feather-edges overlapping each other to shed the rain, and secured by withes to the rafters to keep from blowing off in gales of wind. The sides and ends are formed of upright boards driven into the soil, with overlapping edges, and with chinks and crevices stopped up with moss. The top boards of the roof next the ridge-pole are movable, so as to be easily opened from the inside to admit a free passage for the*

[39] Personal Interviews with members of the Chehalis Tribe, Geraldine Lawrence, Lewis County Historical Society, last interview before Silas Heck's death, March 21, 1967.
[40] Information provided by Tribal Member Silas Heck

smoke. All round the interior, of the lodge, next the side, are arranged sleeping-berths, similar to those on board vessels, and in front of these berths is a raised platform, five or six inches high, on which mats are spread to sit or lie upon. All the rest of the centre of the lodge floor is used for fire and for cooking purposes. Overhead, poles are laid, on which salmon, berries, or anything else they wish to preserve is placed to be dried by the smoke. At one end is the door, which is usually a round or oval hole, just big enough to creep through, and secured by a door made of a single piece of board, which hangs loose by a string, like a sort of pendulum, and is sure to close of itself after any ingress or egress. Some of these lodges are very large, and can contain several families (Swan, 1973 p. 111).

Holes were repaired by filling a shell with clay and holding it over the hole until the clay dried and formed a patch. Cracks were repaired by making small holes on each side of the crack, filling the holes with pitch and then using cedar twigs or long splinters and lashing them together. If the crack reappeared the pitch was reheated with a hard stick causing the pitch to melt over the crack again (Waterman & Greiner, 1921, p. 31).

Tribal member Mary Heck recalled boards were removed from the homes during the summer to allow the house to air out (Court of Claims, F-275, 1927, p. 536). A low shelf was built against the interior wall of the longhouse. The shelf was used for sleeping while under the shelf was for storage. Some families had another shelf hung higher, over the sleeping area, this shelf was used as an additional sleeping area or for storage (Marr, et al, 2001, p. 3). The sleeping areas were lined with mats on the wall and platform for warmth and padding (Barr, 2005). Some homes had partitions between the sleeping areas of each family (Barr, 2005) and some homes did not (Waterman & Greiner, 1921, p. 37). Many homes had a partition placed inside the home, a few feet in from the door. The partition created a windbreak between the door and the living areas. The door was secured by a plank or a mat across the opening

(Curtis, 1913, p. 46). This did little to protect the inhabitants in the event of an attack but it did aid in protecting them from the weather. Some houses had a back door that opened into a thick, wooded area for escape in the event of an attack (Waterman & Greiner, 1921, p. 35).

Houses large enough for six fires were called a *six fire house*, these homes included enough space for entertainment (see Appendix B) (Court of Claims, F-275, 1927, p. 534). Each longhouse typically had two families per fire, a *five-fire house* would have ten families while a *six fire house* would have twelve. The fires not only kept the families warm but they were also used to cook food. Meat and berries were hung or placed in the rafters and smoked by the fires. Vents in the roof were opened from the inside with long poles to let the smoke out if needed (H. Smith, 1941, p. 4). Fish were laid on racks over the fire and cured in the smoke. Many levels of racks were placed over the fire and the fish were placed on the racks according to plans for future use. The height of the rack and distance from the fire determined the dryness of the fish and how long it could be stored. Meat was hung from the rafters over the fires (Waterman & Greiner, 1921, p. 39).

Cattail mats were used to line the walls of the longhouses. For warmth, thick cattail mats were used on the bed shelves to create a softer sleeping surface and mats were rolled up for use as pillows (Waterman & Greiner, 1921, p. 37; Marr, et al, 2001, p. 3). Quinault Elder and Chehalis Tribal descendant, Katherine Barr, remembered her mother making cattail mats. The mats were laid on the floor, the beds and the walls of the homes (Barr, 2005). A person's wealth was sometimes measured by the number of mats the person owned (Lawrence, 1967/1968).

The material for making mats were generally cattails, also known as bulrush, or mat-grass. Commonly harvested during July and August, the rushes were then laid out and dried in the warm sun. Once the material had been sufficiently dried outside, the women of the family sorted the materials according to texture and cut the stalks down to about three feet in length.

The grasses were then divided into two parts, with one half placed on top of the other and fastened on the ends with cordage. The bundles were then be put away and stored in cool, dry place until the cold rainy months of fall and winter when people spent more time indoors (Swan, 1973, p. 162).

When the colder months arrived, bundled mat materials would be retrieved and everyone, including freeborn and slaves, were assigned to make mats. When making mats, the length of the mat was determined by its intended use. Sleeping mats were typically six feet long, while mats for lining the lodges could stretch upwards of thirty feet. The materials would be laid down across the floor, or outside if the weather was pleasant enough, and everyone would settle in to weave their mats. Mat making was a most important activity because of the multitude of uses mats contributed to the households. Mats provided shelter for temporary homes, they were the insulating liner on the interior of long houses, they acted as both mattress and bedding for sleeping and they could be used to protect the doorways from rain water (Swan, 1973, p. 162).

Occasionally, homes were disassembled and moved a short distance where the home was reassembled and used again. This was done when dirt and vermin made the home uncomfortable to live in and moving the home enabled the inhabitants to start anew (Castile, 1985, p. 67). Sometimes just the boards of the home would be removed and the family would stay in a temporary mat home nearby while the home naturally cleansed itself once winter arrived (Swan, 1973, p. 255).

Homes were passed down between family members as people passed away (See Appendix B). If a whole family passed on, the home might be fumigated and cleansed and then disassembled and moved to a new location, however, many people believed it was better to abandon or burn the home because of the fear and superstition many felt about death and residing where someone had died (Swan, 1973, p. 212). If a family line died out and no one

was left to care for the home, the home was usually burned to the ground in accordance with tribal beliefs (Court of Claims, F-275, 1927, p. 537).

During the summer, Chehalis moved from their permanent winter homes to seasonal gathering grounds for roots and berries. They erected temporary structures using cattail mats and fir saplings. If a home was still standing from a previous season, they moved into it rather than building a new one. The summer homes were usually easy to erect, the saplings and mats having been saved from the summer before (Curtis, 1913, p. 49).

According to Chehalis Elder, Curtis DuPuis (2005), summer encampments were moved repeatedly through the summer as berries, plants and roots grew ready for harvesting throughout the region. The encampments were placed in hereditary sites, and each family had their own specific gathering spot, passed down through generations of their family. DuPuis says the travel could take several days and people often walked between sites. If an unoccupied dwelling was available when the people needed to rest, they would move in until they were ready to resume traveling again. He compared this to modern day hotels.

The temporary summer homes were built with woven water proof mats. According to Tribal member Hazel Pete, cattail mats swell when they are wet and this is what makes the shelter waterproof (Lawrence, 1967/1968). Eells described the interior of the mat house as having boards raised slightly off the floor and placed close to the walls for sleeping on. A fire was placed in the center of the house and fish was suspended over it for cooking. Storage was wherever unoccupied space in the home could be found (Castile, 1985, p. 67). Chehalis sometimes used the sails from their canoes as temporary shelter in lieu of the mats when traveling. The interior of the temporary shelter was often made with woven branches of the alder tree, these could be easily cut down at the camping site instead of burdening the traveler with carrying them (Swan, 1973, p. 34).

3.3 Chehalis Social Structures

(i) Language

Both the Upper and Lower Chehalis languages are linguistically distinct from other tribes in the region.[41] What makes this separation of the Upper and Lower Chehalis languages from other regional tribal dialects is that the isolation between Chehalis languages has not been necessarily explained or examined by either tribal peoples themselves or linguistic professionals. For instance, many of the tribes within the surrounding regions speak variations of the Lushootseed language which allows for inter-tribal communication, resource sharing and cost bearing in terms of materials development. As a language isolate, in an area of related language families, the Chehalis language is unusual (Crystal, 2010, p. 34). Gibbs theorized the variations in regional languages could be attributed to the habit of separating or moving away from villages and family groups when a dispute arose that could not be resolved. New villages would arise if an offended party took enough followers with him to establish their own tribal band (Gibbs, 1877, p. 225).

Upper Chehalis (Kwaiailk) and Satsop spoke Upper Chehalis. Lower Chehalis, Humptulips, Wynoochee, Hoquiams, and Whishkah, spoke Lower Chehalis. Both languages are a dialect of the Tsamosan branch[42] of the Southwestern Coast Salish language family (Pritzker, 2000, p. 203; Ruby & Brown, 2010, p. 130, 384 & 387). The boundary between Lower Chehalis and Upper Chehalis language is the convergence of the Chehalis and Satsop Rivers. The Upper Chehalis language was divided into two dialects, *Chehalis 1* or Oakville Chehalis followed the boundary of present day Grand Mound to the present-day town of Oakville, and *Chehalis 2*, or Tenino Chehalis was spoken east from Grand Mound to present

[41] M. Conwell, Chehalis language scholar, personal communication, 2017.
[42] Ibid.

day Tenino (Kinkade, 1991, p. v). Swan provided a succinct explanation of the differences in the regional languages in his memoirs,

> *All the tribes of the Territory (some twenty-five) speak a language which, though sounding the same to unpracticed ears, is very different when understood; and even tribes so nearly connected as the Chenooks, Chehalis and Queniults, being only a few miles distant from each other, yet members of the one cannot understand the language of the other…the Chehalis language is that most usually spoken at present, for the ancient Chenook is such a guttural, difficult tongue, that many of the young Chenook Indians cannot speak it, but have been taught by their parents the Chehalis language and the Jargon* (Swan, 1973, p. 306).

The Chinook Jargon was a trade language and it incorporated snippets of the regional tribal languages with the English and French of the non-Indian traders into a simple, easy to navigate patois that enabled the tribes throughout the Pacific Coast to engage in trading opportunities (Pritzker, 2000, p. 170). The Jargon was especially helpful for negotiating rudimentary financial negotiations but it was severely limited linguistically for anything more complex than that.[43]

After disease and epidemics began to decimate the tribal populations from the Columbia River northward, Chehalis began to expand their territory farther to the south, thereby returning to their traditional territories, formerly occupied by Chinook (Swanton, 1968, p. 145). Chehalis and Chinook had long shared similarities in the history of their language and culture even though they spoke distinctly separate languages. Similar to Chehalis, Chinook was originally the name of a single village and did not apply to a whole tribe, although the word was eventually applied to all "Chinookan-speaking peoples of the lower Columbia and Willapa Bay" by non-Indians moving into the region (Ray, 1938, p. 35).

[43] M. Conwell, Chehalis language scholar, personal communication, 2017.

Gradually, Upper Chehalis began to become the more prominent language in the region, surpassing even Lower Chehalis and Chinook. In the late 1890's famed ethnologist Franz Boas interviewed Chinook and Clatsop people living in Bay Center, Washington and as he spoke with them, he realized they were speaking Chehalis, a language they adopted once the Clatsop and Chinook populations began to decline (Boas, 1894, p. 6). The shift of Chinook people to the Chehalis region had begun when Chinook began intermarrying with Chehalis and became so enmeshed in Chehalis culture, they began speaking Upper Chehalis conversationally and relied on their own language less (Boas, 1894, p. 6).

Upper Chehalis was the only language for some Elders living on or near the current day Chehalis reservation well into the first half of the 20th century. Upper Chehalis interpreters were required for court testimonies, legal negotiations, and even daily conversations with non-Upper Chehalis speakers (Court of Claims, F-275, 1927). Contemporary Chehalis Tribal Elders recall their Elders telling stories in Chehalis while the family worked on their knitting or basket making well into the night.[44] The language has been in a period of decline since the first half of the 20th century and there are no fluent Chehalis language speakers still alive. Although, currently, the Chehalis language is undergoing a period of revitalization as contemporary Chehalis scholars, such as Dr. Marla Conwell (2018), are attempting to bring the language back into daily use.[45]

(ii) Spiritual

Chehalis believed in a complicated and abstract awareness called tamahnous. Tamahnous (see Appendix B) had many meanings that were intertwined within the Chehalis understanding of life. A guardian spirit was a person's tamahnous and tamahnous was also the work of doctors who healed the sick. The tamahnous man or woman performed spiritual

[44] C. Andy & C. DuPuis, Chehalis Tribal Elders, personal communication, 2016.
[45] M. Conwell, (2018) thesis *Walking the Language Trail Home: a Strategy for Chehalis Language Revitalization and Development.*

prayers and chants that called or encouraged the tamahnous essence to heal the sick and drive away the evil spirts causing illness. Tamahnous could be embodied in the animal world as guardian spirits or bad spirits, called skookums (Swan, 1973, p. 174). Chalcraft[46] quotes Pike Ben on the role of tamahnous, "*I believed in Ta-mah-nous, and if sick, gave the Indian doctor a pony to cure me. After a while he would want another pony for this same sickness and I must give it to him or he would make me sick again. To cure a child he would want a gun*" (Chalcraft, 1970, p. 46).

Ceremonies and songs kept bad spirits away and encouraged good spirits to help with power, wealth, skills, food, etc. (Pritzker, 2000, p. 204). When a person passed away, women covered their pregnant stomachs with a wrap or cloth to protect their unborn child from the spirit of the person who had passed.[47] Spirits had to be honored appropriately to keep the family, community, and society healthy and wealthy. Tribal Elder Silas Heck once shared a story of going into the forest at the age of twelve with only a flint knife to protect himself while he looked for his guardian spirit (H. Smith, 1941, p. 7). Spirits were part of everyday life for all Chehalis and acknowledging their presence and knowing how to appease them was believed to be important for survival (Swan, 1973, p. 148).

A formalized priesthood did not exist, the spiritual people and doctors were tamahnous men and sometimes women. Illness was first cured through chanting and appeals to the spirits who were believed to govern life. Heck provided a description of a tamahnous man (medicine man) during a 1964 interview in Oakville,

> *The medicine men in the early days you might say were the leading characters of the Indians. They find their medicine like I was telling you. They had strong medicine to cure sick people and from that medicine they could tell of things that was going to*

[46] Edwin Chalcraft wrote a memoir of his time working in Indian Country, the unpublished manuscript of which was typed and provided to a local museum in 1970. This copy only referred to his time on the traveling to, and residing on, the Chehalis Reservation. This is the copy I utilized for my graduate research and then later, this thesis. Cary C. Collins published the memoirs in their entirety, *Assimilation's Agent, My Life as a Superintendent in the Indian Boarding School System* in 2004.
[47] K. Barr, Quinault Tribal Elder and Chehalis Tribal descendant, & C. DuPuis, Chehalis Tribal Elder, personal communication, 2013.

happen ahead of time and they could get ready for it. There was a man, I heard them tell it, there was an old man and an old lady (his wife) they lived by themselves and every now and then they would dance around the fire and people would gather in their house where they lived and listen to them talk nonsense as they called it, just the same as Columbus they called him nonsense because he called the world round and that there was land out here somewhere and these old people would tell them when they got done dancing that there were strange people coming, new people, they will bring with them elk with smooth horns and they will stay right around where they live and other things they use to carry things and other smaller animals and they are going to put something in the ground and it will grow and then they will eat that, that's the way they are going to live and we are going to be absorbed into it. Well, they laughed at them, them two old people gone crazy, don't know what they are talking about. Well, pretty soon the people came, the white people and they bring their cattle, their sheep, their horses, there it is… (Heck, 1964, p. 12)

Tamahnous could also be a type of guardian spirit. Both young women and men would spend time secluded from the rest of the Tribe. This process could take up to a week and was not always successful, not everyone found a tamahnous, considered a strong spirit or animal guardian, but, most did have a guardian spirit they did privately relate to (H. Smith, 1941, p. 7; Swan, 1973, p. 173; Lawrence, 1967/1968). The search for a personal tamahnous required the seeker to refrain from eating or sleeping, maintain a continuous fire and wash themselves frequently. Seekers who succeeded in maintaining the strict multi-day regimen and fasting and who found their tamahnous spirit were considered strong men and women (Swan, 1973, pp. 173 & 175).

Tribal member Frank Pete shared a story of seeking his tamahnous guide as a young boy. He trekked up a *"wooded hillside that can be seen from the ocean highway near Gate to*

spend a week alone in search of his tamanawas. In answer to my question of how he'd know which bird or animal was to be his guardian spirit or tamanawas he said the first one, or the most frequent one seen or some other significant indication or difference" (Lawrence, 1967/1968).

While some ceremonies had always been conducted in secret, more ceremonies were secreted once the white man began to introduce their own organized religions into the region. Some tribal people were willing to learn the religious practices of the settlers, explorers and traders, and were happy to participate in their church services. Other tribal people preferred their own religion and continued to practice, first in front of the white man, and then later in secret as the non-Indian began to discourage traditional practices. President U.S. Grant instituted a Grant Peace Policy in which churches across North America were assigned to proselytize on reservations as part of their mission work and to aid the work of the Indian Agents. Under this plan, Chehalis were introduced to the Presbyterian religion which discouraged traditional practices (Chalcraft, 1970, p. 2) as the Indian Agents actively sought to prevent tribal members from participating in the religious practices of their old traditions. In resistance however a new religion, the Shaker Church (Chalcraft, 1970, p. 18) came into being.

The Shaker religion under John Slocum, a Squaxin living at Mud Bay, was introduced in 1883. Many tribal members joined the Shaker religion, much to the chagrin of the Indian Agent in charge. The Indian Agent attempted to prevent Chehalis from leaving the reservation to attend Shaker church services in Mud Bay, but they were largely unsuccessful because people found ways to practice at Chehalis instead, or they simply snuck off and on the reservation (Chalcraft, 1970, pp. 18 & 27). The Shaker Church at Mud Bay is still part of an active church community, the Indian Agents were never able to prevent the Church from expanding onto any of the reservations.

(iii) Appearance

Chehalis women wore a woven knee-length, shredded cedar bark skirt occasionally paired with a woven cattail or shredded cedar bark cape. Neither item accounted much for modesty, although loins were covered, work around the village or in the canoe often required one to bend down or reach for items. Any such movement would cause the clothing to uncover various areas of the body as clothing was intended for warmth or protection from the rain and not for modesty. The clothing did little to cover the breasts, which were usually left to hang free, without any covering at all (Heck, Court of Claims, No. F-275, 1927, p. 532; Pritzker, 2000, p. 205; Swan, 1973, p. 155).

Clothing was made by stripping cedar from a young cedar tree and beating the inner bark until it was soft and pliable. The softened bark was then spun into thread and woven similar to a fringe skirt, with the ends of the threads hanging to the knees. Elderly women wore this garment long after the introduction of the western style of dress. It was called a *siwash coat* or *Indian gown* and often worn when the women had to work in or around water. Split cedar was also used to weave a conical hat that was worn as further protection against the rain (Heck, Court of Claims, No. F-275, 1927, p. 532; Pritzker, 2000, p. 205; Swan, 1973, p. 155).

Chehalis men would sometimes eschew clothes while engaged in their daily activities (Pritzker, 2000, p. 205). As a practical matter, the relatively mild climate of the region did not require one to wear clothes on a daily basis and life lived on the various waterways made clothing oneself cumbersome and restricted movement. In many, if not most, cases, shunning clothing also included any type of footwear such as moccasins.[48] Appearance was important to Chehalis, once a dirty or messy task was completed they would immediately bathe themselves, sometimes bathing as many as two or three times per day (Swan, 1973, p. 112).

[48] Due to the wet and rainy weather of the Northwest Coast, moccasins were not daily foot wear. Most Chehalis did not wear anything on their feet except when visiting with friends, at which time they would put foot wear on only in the home, or during the dry summer months, it at all.

Some Chehalis added fur robes, leggings or lined their cedar outerwear with fur to fend off the cold (Barr, 2005; Pritzker, 2000, p. 205). The inner lining of the clothes might also be lined with furs and could also be utilized as a blanket. Commonly used furs were otter, mink, beaver and muskrats (Heck, Court of Claims, No. F-275, 1927, p. 532). Hudson's Bay traders taught the tanning process to tribes they encountered in the Pacific Northwest. The transition to tanned clothing first incorporated the use of the traditional cedar clothing and eventually gave way to tanned garments made without cedar (Deloria, 1977, p. 43; Pritzker, 2000, p. 205). Chehalis sometimes carried items in a parfleche, a type of bag made of deer or elk hide (Haeberlin & Gunther, 1930, p. 33).

While Chehalis did wear moccasins from time to time, generally, that type of footwear was apt to become soggy and unusable. The moccasins were sometimes made or worn with the hair left on the inside of the footwear. According to Swan, some visitors to his camp would put their footwear, such as, shoes (purchased or traded for at the fort), stockings or moccasins on after they had entered a house and remove their footwear before they left the house to return to the woods or their canoe (Barr, 2005; Heck, Court of Claims, No. F-275, 1927, p. 533; Swan, 1973, p. 155).

Some men shaved by pulling their hair from their face, similar to tweezing but with their fingers instead of the metal pronged tweezers we have today (H. Smith, 1941, p. 232) and mustaches were common for men (Pritzker, 2000, p. 205). Both men and women wore their hair long, parted on the top of the head and left loose and hanging over the shoulders. Women also parted their hair at the top of the head and then braided or tied loosely into tails on either side of the head, some might run a line of red vermillion along the part of the hair (Swan, 1973, pp. 112 & 154). Women used blackberry juice to draw temporary designs on their bodies and charcoal and water for permanent tattoos, while men rarely tattooed themselves (Swan, 1973, p. 112). Some women were known for wearing a ligature or tight

string around their ankles, this caused their ankles to swell and gave their legs a slightly bowed out appearance. Long hours sitting or squatting in a canoe exacerbated this effect (DeVoto, 1953, p. 333; Cox, 1957, p. 165).

While Chehalis were known to fight with Chinook from time to time, Chehalis were also close allies of Chinook and joined them in battle. In fact, the lineage of more than a few chiefs enabled them to represent both Chinook and Chehalis villages and families. This close relationship extended to the similar types of clothing the two tribes wore, such as their war garments (Gibbs, 1877, p. 191).

One war garment was called a clemal and was made of elk skin, doubled over, approximately half an inch thick and arrow proof. The clemal covered most of the body but left the arms free for combat. The second war garment was an arrow proof vest, "made of small round sticks of the size and shape of arrows, twelve inches long: they are laid side to side, and then sewed together" with bear grass, allowing for more movement but covering less of the body (Gibbs, 1877, p. 192; Ross, 1904, p. 104).

Warriors carried painted elk skin shields that were hardened by fire to make them arrow and knife proof. They carried bows and arrows, knives, tomahawks and later on, guns (Ross, 1904, p. 104). Knives and daggers were made with mussel shells and whalebones, and spears were made of yew with shells or bones for the point (Pritzker, 2000, p. 205). On their head they wore a cedar bark helmet, sewn together with bear grass and lined with leather (Gibbs, 1877, p. 192).

A type of dog, known simply as the wooly dog, was a Chehalis favorite because its fur could be used to weave and bind clothing together. The wooly dog has long been extinct and it is unknown if any contemporary dog breeds are an Ancestor to the Chehalis dog. When

wooly dogs existed, they were common among many of the regional tribes due to the malleability and usefulness of the dog's coat[49] (Gibbs, 1877, p. 219).

(iv) Tribal Composition

Chehalis were known as prolific traders throughout the Northwest Coast. In 1824 trader Alexander Ross called the Chehalis "one of the ten most important tribes of this area" (Neilson, 1970, p. 13). Usually more focused on trading with their neighbors, Chehalis could be fierce and ready to fight if necessary. Leadership followed the owner of the longhouse, the man who built the home, owned the home and represented the families living in the home. Villages were comprised of two to twenty longhouses, each home with its own leader and to the non-Indians moving into the area, these men became *chiefs* (Court of Claims, F-275, 1927, pp. 538 & 539).

Chehalis leadership was mostly hereditary but if a son proved to be unstable, irresponsible or have a bad reputation, the mantle of leadership would pass to another. This person could be a younger son of the leader, a close family member or a relative of the wife. Leadership in the village was mostly limited to intervening in disputes and facilitating resolutions (Gibbs, 1877, p. 184). Leaders were chosen for their plan of action and their ability to lead. Slaves were not allowed to have a position of leadership although they might be used to guide war parties if they were familiar with the enemy tribe or area to which Chehalis were traveling. If a man refused to follow the directions of the chiefs or behaved cowardly, the punishment could be death (H. Smith, 1941, p. 1; Ross, 1904, p. 103).

Smoking was a frequent pastime. Sharing tobacco marked important events, opened meetings and was included in many ceremonies. Wild licorice was sometimes used to flavor the Indian tobacco. Lewis and Clark noted the deeply inhaled tobacco often caused

[49] J. DuPuis, spouse of Chehalis Tribal Elder, personal communication, 2013.

"dismorallity of order in the abdomen" (today we call this passing gas) (Devoto, 1953, p. 305).

Wealth was important in Chehalis society. Wealth could mean one had many blankets, enough food for winter, grand canoes, and many trinkets, baskets, cattail mats, horses, or other desirable items. With wealth came power and influence, sometimes more wives and children. Men could take more wives and have more children as long as they had the ability to provide suitable care for their families (Swan, 1973, p. 167; Lawrence, 1967/1968).

Marriage was a transaction, men paid their future wife's family in blankets, horses, slaves, and anything else of value. Both slaves (see section 3.3. (v)) and freeborn could be married if the purchase price of the slave or freeborn woman was accepted by the bride's family. Typically, younger men or women would marry older spouses who could teach them the skills necessary for adulthood. The younger participant in the marriage was often very young, and just out of puberty. A large potlatch was held, with singing, dancing, food and the distribution of gifts from the host for weddings, similar to the celebrations held for the first salmon ceremony, and the piercing of ears and noses of the children. The marriage ceremony could also be a simple affair with the exchange of gifts for the bride's family from the husband to be (Gibbs, 1877, p, 205; Swan, 1973, p. 170).

Divorce did not exist simply for the fact that a marriage ending was not given the weight a marriage-ending is given in contemporary times. A man could sell or trade his wife if he wanted to and a woman could leave her husband to return to her family (Gibbs, 1877 p. 199; Ross, 1904, p. 107). If a spouse died, the family of the deceased often provided the widow with a replacement spouse (Pritzker, 2000, p. 204). Both men and women could own property and this especially applied to anything they made themselves. The women and men both owned their own blankets, mats, baskets and other items. If the two decided to separate, they each retained the items they owned (Gibbs, 1877, p. 187).

When young women reached puberty, they were required to follow several stringent purification rituals to ensure the power of their rise to womanhood did not disrupt the natural world around them. The young women temporarily moved away from the rest of the family and lived in seclusion. They refrained from eating any fruit, fish or shellfish in season because it was believed that her power would cause the fruit to wither away, the fish to disappear or the shellfish would make them sick. The young women washed themselves several times per day and rubbed their skin with rotten hemlock wood to cleanse themselves (Swan, 1973, p. 171; Pritzker, 2000, p. 204; Gibbs, 1877, p. 212).

Potlatches were also held when children were given their names in a naming ceremony, this occurred after the child was at least a year old in case the child did not survive infancy. Names could be changed many times throughout a person's life. Names were changed for a variety of reasons, such as, reaching puberty, commemorating a notable action, or signifying a change in relationship; for example, a name would change if a sibling or perhaps an in-law died. The new name would reflect the change in relationship. Chehalis also assigned Chehalis names to their friends (Swan, 1973, pp. 190-191).

A person's name was not mentioned for a few years after he or she passed away, instead the person was referred to as *he that has passed on*, *our sister*, or something similar. Eventually, the name might be given to another member of the family. This was to prevent the individual who passed from crossing back from the other side when they heard their name spoken. When a person died, the surviving relatives often changed their own name to prevent the spirit of the person who died from following them on the side of the living instead of transitioning to the afterlife (Gibbs, 1877, p. 210; Barr, 2005; H. Smith, 1941, p. 75; Swan, 1973, pp. 190-191).

Others refused to speak their own name or share their name with others and as an alternative they would use a nickname (Gibbs, 1877, p. 210). These individuals kept their names secret to protect themselves from spirits who might wish them harm. Gibbs wrote,

> *On the death of an Indian, his name is not mentioned for a long time. If spoken of, it is as 'he that is dead'; but after some two or three years, when the grief of his family is supposed to be assuaged, his son, perhaps, summons his friends, gives a feast, and announces that he has taken his father's name….At the Tsihalis council, An-nan-in-ta, the son of Tsinnite'li, a former great chief of the Upper Tsihalis, announced that he had taken that of his grandfather, Wa-kwin-nam* (Gibbs, 1877, p. 210).

Gatherings included foot races, clam bakes, games (see Appendix A) such as the bone game[50] or the hoop and spear, horse races, canoe races and other sports of speed and agility (Heck, 1964, p. 17). Chehalis, similar to many other tribes in the region, loved to gamble. Gambling had been a pastime of Chehalis for many centuries, and gamblers would stake their property, clothes, food and even their servitude on a gambling bet (Swan, 1973, p. 156).

Chehalis held a potlatch to celebrate the first summer salmon run. Each tribe performed a war dance on boards laid down over three or four canoes tied together and floating near shore. While the dancers danced, speeches were made, and gifts were distributed among the spectators. The potlatches were so important that people saved up for years to have items to give away (Haeberlin & Gunther, 1930, p. 60).

Compensation to the family was required anytime a life was taken, they followed the law of *a life for a life*. If compensation was not made, the person who took the victim's life can be killed by the murdered man's family. Compensation usually meant horses, mats, canoes, any item of trade that satisfied the dead man's family. Compensation could also mean

[50] A bone game, hosted by Chehalis in the early 1900s, lasted three days. The game was played all day and all night, with the players switching out for short rest breaks (Heck, 1964, p. 17).

the killer gives himself to the family as a slave. If the family does not accept the reparation offered, the killer can still lose his life to the victim's family (Gibbs, 1877, p. 190).

(v) Slaves

Many tribes along the Northwest Coast were slave owners, Chehalis included. Slaves were a commodity traded up and down the coast, from present day California to Alaska. Slaves were captured in war, stolen from neighboring tribes, born into slavery, or in some cases, voluntarily placed themselves in bondage. Sometimes slaves were returned to their families after a ransom was paid.

> *Thus if one Indian has wronged another, and failed to make compensation, or if a debtor is insolent, he may be taken as a slave. Their mode of procedure is characterized by their wonted deliberation. The plaintiff comes with a party to demand satisfaction, and holds out to the other the option of payment or servitude. If no satisfaction is given, he must submit unless he is strong enough to do battle. And this slavery is the final degradation. The rule of once a slave always a slave extends so far that if the debtor should have given up some relative in his power, and subsequently redeems him, he becomes his slave in turn. If a man purchases his father or mother, they become his slaves and are treated as such. The children of slaves by others are slaves likewise. And the children of a man by his own slaves are but half free; they do not rank as scahb-viri* (Gibbs, 1877, p. 188).

Slaves were not allowed to flatten the heads of their children or grow their hair long; their round heads and short hair denoted their status as slaves and ensured they were never mistaken for freeborn or upper class. As a result, slavery was passed down throughout the generations and children of slaves became slaves themselves. Rarely would a child born of a slave and a freeborn union be elevated to freeborn status, the child would most likely have the

rounded head of the slave parent and not the flattened head of the freeborn parent (Cox, 1957, p. 164).

Slaves were not afforded the luxuries of free people, in fact, they were regarded as property and lived solely to serve their owners. Most slaves were not even given a name. Slaves of Chehalis were not allowed to eat without the permission of the owners and killed if they disobeyed, had little clothing despite harsh weather, and were often beaten and mutilated (Neilson, 1970, p. 13). When a slave died, their body was only handled by other slaves. They were given no funerary rites. If near the ocean, the body was thrown into the water or simply left beside the trail when traveling (Neilson, 1970, p. 13; Ruby & Brown, 1976, p. 175; Swan, 1973, p. 212).

Slaves, also called *she-ach-cain* were often assigned to care for upper class children, for example, a woman to care for their domestic needs and a man to care for them outside of the home. Tribal members and brothers, Silas (Mutchton) and Peter Heck (Yuanam), recall having two slaves assigned to each of them when they were younger. If a child were to die while in the care of a slave, the slave would be killed as punishment (H. Smith, 1941, p. 3).

The James family recounted a story of a young slave woman running to their house *"screaming and crying, pursued by two big men with uplifted knives…Father asked them what they intended to do with the girl. 'Kill her', they said. She was the slave of a certain man who had just died…They finally went away; the girl was put in the care of an old Chief"* (James, 1980, p. 35). It was common for at least one slave to be killed and placed near their dead master so they might serve him or her in the afterlife. Slaves were sometimes killed through starvation or binding them to the body of the deceased and leaving them to perish (Gibbs, 1877, p. 204).

(vi) The Place of Children

Children were never beaten or treated poorly (Swan, 1973, p. 167; Lawrence, 1967/1968) and they were expected to be quiet and respectful to their Elders. Adults never spoke harshly to a child because high mortality rates meant children were precious. Teaching a child meant speaking firmly, discouraging tantrums and crying, and teaching them how to determine when an adult was upset. Children were not allowed to talk back. As they got older they were given chores and required to help with the upkeep of the family. When visitors were present, the child was to remain silent until acknowledged, never speaking first. Aunts, uncles and grandparents were often responsible for teaching manners to children, sometimes children were left with family to learn how to behave and respect Elders. Babies were nursed until they were two or three years old (Barr, 2005).

Chehalis, as with most tribes in the Pacific Northwest, flattened the heads of their babies for the first year after birth. A flattened, sloped forehead was a sign of wealth and freedom, slaves were not allowed to flatten the heads of their children, nor were they allowed to flatten the heads of a child born of a union between a slave and a freeborn person. In his memoirs, Rox Cox, a clerk who worked for regional fur trading companies, recalled, *"The Chilts (Chehalis), a small tribe who inhabit the coast to the northward of Cape Disappointment, partake in some degree of these various qualities…all their slaves have round heads; and accordingly every child of a bondsman, who is not adopted by the tribe, inherits not only his father's degradation but his parental rotundity of cranium"* (Cox, 1957, p. 164).

At birth the child was placed in a cradleboard and two wedges or boards positioned over the forehead and head. Moss was used to line the underside of the wedges and soften the impact of the wood against the baby's head. Over the course of a year the wedges would be gradually tightened until forehead was sufficiently flattened from the eyebrows to the crown

of the head. A ridge would have formed from ear to ear, “the more acute the angle, the greater the beauty” (Ross, 1904, p. 113). A flattened forehead was so important in tribal society, if a non-Indian father asked an Indian mother to not flatten her child’s head, the mother might kill her child rather than leave the child’s head rounded and have the child confused with a slave (Ruby & Brown, 1976, p. 47). Children without flattened heads were made fun of and ridiculed. Rounded heads were a disgrace and embarrassment to the family (Swan, 1973, p. 168). Head flattening was discontinued sometime in the first half of the 19th century, no date has been established for when the practice ended, however, by the time the Tribe moved to the reservation head flattening was no longer practiced.

3.4 Challenges of Tribal Life

(i) Illnesses

Although various maladies were known to have cut short the life of many native people prior to contact with the non-Indians, the arrival of the traders, explorers and settlers brought diseases the tribes had not encountered before. In some instances the high casualty count emptied whole villages and decimated tribal populations, creating new tribal groups consisting of survivors of the epidemics. The tamahnous doctors worked with the sick or dying to intercede with the bad spirits and ensure safe passage to the *land of departed spirits*. A second type of doctor, known as *Keelalles,* purpose was to administer medicine and cure diseases through the use of roots, herbs, dancing, singing and chanting (Ross, 1904, p. 110). Tribal people utilized both types of doctors in an attempt to protect their people from the major epidemics that decimated their people throughout the early 1800s.

Hydrotherapy was a traditional curative method and involved immersing the sick person in cold water. This treatment was not an effective cure for the fevers that accompanied the illnesses, although, it was used often to combat the terrible new illnesses spreading

throughout the region (Ruby & Brown, 1976, p. 194). The Cold Sick, is an illness which has been compared to malaria or flu type symptoms and the tribes had no immunities or medicines to combat the illness (Ruby & Brown, 1976, p. 188). A Cold Sick outbreak in the 1830s killed so many people, it was impossible to properly perform funeral rites for them all and their bodies were left piled on the shores of the rivers or burned in villages to prevent the spread of the disease (Ruby & Brown, 1976, p. 187).

A malaria epidemic of the 1830s also wiped out a significant number of villages and resulted in the consolidation of some of the remaining villages. The Shoalwater Bay Indians include Chinook and Lower Chehalis Indian survivors of the epidemic. The survivors spoke a combination of Salishan languages and Chinook, although they eventually adopted the Lower Chehalis language (Pritzker, 2000, p. 203). The main constituent groups were: the Willapa Chinook; Lower Chinookans who spoke Chinook Proper and lived at the time of contact along the southern shores of Willapa Bay in several permanent winter villages and; the Shoalwater band of the Lower Chehalis, which also included the Wynoochee, Humptulips, and Grays Harbor Chehalis, who had originally lived along the northern reaches of the bay (Davis, Berman, Graham, Mitten, 1994, p. 588).

In the early 1850s yet another smallpox epidemic further decimated the Chinook and Chehalis Tribal members living on the Willapa Bay, so much so that many bodies were not buried. Only 71 Chinook and Chehalis who stayed in the affected region survived. Some tribal people survived by temporarily moving to the mountains or were helped by their non-Indian neighbors (Ruby & Brown, 1976, p. 232). To prevent plagues from spreading, whole villages were burned to the ground (Ruby & Brown, 1976, p. 187).

One man, Father Samuel, had traveled across the Oregon Trail with 600 pounds of books. The Chehalis Indians were fascinated by the tomes and spent hours studying the encyclopedias. Eventually a deep friendship developed between Father Samuel and Chehalis.

Because of this relationship, Father Samuel nursed Chehalis living along the Chehalis River when they began to fall ill to the 1854 smallpox epidemic. Father Samuel treated his patients with "a physic and restorative of considerable power" (James, 1980, p. 41) thereby saving the lives of many Chehalis taken ill with smallpox (James, 1980, p. 41).

Once reservation schools and boarding schools were established, they often became repositories of diseases resulting in death as many children were placed into these schools and were exposed to illness due to close contact. A whooping cough epidemic in the winter of 1888 was followed by a measles epidemic. Both epidemics resulted in high death rates, sometimes from the disease itself and sometimes from the traditional cures, which were steam baths or the hydrotherapy method of bathing in cold water and streams (Deloria, 1977, p. 95).

Kwaiailk are thought to have had a population as high as 2,000 in the early 1800s but were reduced to an estimated 215 people by the mid-1800s. Lt. Charles Wilkes estimated Lower Chehalis and Upper Chehalis (Kwaiailk) combined were roughly 700 people in 1841 but the smallpox epidemic in the early 1850s reduced the number to 216 as recorded by George Gibbs in 1854 (Ruby & Brown, 1986, p. 102). Gibbs wrote, *"lodges upon the southern peninsula of Shoalwater bay were left without a survivor, and the dead were found by the whites lying wrapped in their blankets as if asleep"* (Gibbs, 1972, p. 34).

The overwhelming death rate from disease prompted Swan to write in his journal,

> *My opinion about the cause of these deserted villages is this. It is the universal custom with these Indians never to live in a lodge where a person has died. If a person of importance dies, the lodge is usually burned down, or taken down and removed to some other part of the Bay; and it can readily be seen that in the case of the Palux Indians, who had been attacked by the Chehalis people, as before stated, their relatives chose at once to leave for some other place. This objection to living in a lodge where a person has died is the reason why their sick slaves are invariably*

carried out into the woods, where they remain either to recover or die. There is, however, no disputing the fact that an immense mortality has occurred among the people, and they are now reduced to a mere handful.

The great superstitious dread these Indians have for a dead person, and their horror of touching a corpse oftentimes gives rise to difficulty as to who shall perform the funeral ceremonies; for any person who handles a dead body must not eat of salmon or sturgeon for thirty days. Sometimes, in cases of small-pox, I have known them leave the corpse in the lodge, and all remove elsewhere; and in two instances that came to my knowledge, the whites had to burn the lodges, with the bodies in them to prevent infection (Swan, 1973, p. 212).

As various epidemics further and further reduced their Chinook neighbors to the south, Chehalis continued to take advantage of the population decline and expanded their trading areas along the Columbia River. Having maintained villages in the region, Chehalis moved into the Chinook's realm and began working directly with the ships travelling up the Columbia for trade, direct contact with the ships having been the role maintained by the Chinook people previously (Ruby & Brown, 1976, p. 194). Chehalis women moved onto some of the ships docked in the river. Similar to some of the Chehalis men who moved into cabins when they were onboard to trade, the women maintained their own living quarters aboard the ships. The decline of the Chinook population became an economic boon for the Chehalis Tribes (Ruby & Brown, 1976, p. 198).

(ii) Medical Treatments

Chehalis relied on the fruits of their environment or tamahnous medicine men for medical assistance. The role of tamahnous doctor could be a tenuous position to be in for tamahnous doctors risked being killed if their patients did not recover from their illnesses while in their care. Indian Agent Elder lamented this practice in one of his federal reports,

> *We have yet some difficulty in our endeavors to overcome those old habits and practices which, to a considerable degree, still linger among them: I allude to polygamy, the flattening of the heads of their children, necromancy in the healing of the sick, and the murder of the necromancer in case of a fatal termination of the disease. They have murdered two of their doctors since I have been in charge, and made an attempt to murder the third; but I think I have succeeded in alarming them to such a degree that they will not again commit the act* (Elder, 1865, p. 78)

Mallie Ward, the daughter of pioneer Dr. James Harrison Roundtree, was raised near the Chehalis Reservation. She recounted this story told to her by her father,

> *He knew they had their own methods of attempting to cure themselves and he declined to interfere with them. Nevertheless, if they sent for him, he would prescribe for them. When I was a very small girl, I recall, I went with him to attend a sick child. The tribal medicine man had also been called and while father made his examination, the old medicine man continued his attempt to try to overcome the evil spirits that he believed possessed the small boy and caused the illness. He would run his hand slowly across the child's body then quickly close it in an attempt to catch the evil spirit. Father was the only doctor the Indians ever called for he also believed in the efficacy of nature herbs and they liked for him to prescribe for them…* (H. Smith, 1941, p. 225).

When the tamahnous doctor could not drive the spirit out of the body the patient would be left alone in a small shelter with nominal food and water for sustenance. Intermittently the patient would be examined until eventually he or she passed away. At this point the mourning ceremonies would begin, shortly followed by internment (H. Smith, 1941, p. 226).

Common ailments were eye and respiratory infections due to the poor air quality and poor ventilation from the fires kept burning in the longhouses. Light reflecting off the water from canoe travel and sand blowing across the beaches also contributed to eye illnesses. A

wash made from boiled sallal leaves and binding the eyes with tea leaves at night were the most common cure for these ailments. Working around salt water could also cause infections and ulcers when shellfish harvesting resulted in cuts and scrapes; the cure for this was a grated raw potato poultice placed over the injuries. Raw potatoes were also used to cure scurvy. Fasting, perspiring by wrapping oneself in a blanket and sitting by a fire, bathing in cold water, teas made from plants and berries, and hiring one or more medicine men were the most common methods for curing illnesses. The medicine man would sing, chant, or put themselves into a trance as a means of curing medical maladies (Swan, 1973, pp. 178-180).

Diarrhea was often fatal in children (Gibbs, 1877, p. 209). Tuberculosis, smallpox, malaria (also known as intermittent fever) and syphilis were fatal diseases prior to the mid-twentieth century. The cold wet weather, the unhealthy air in the longhouses, the exposure to diseases unknown before the arrival of the traders, explorers and settlers, all contributed to the deadliness of these illnesses for Chehalis. Chehalis simply had no effective answer to combat or cure the diseases now decimating their nations (Neilson, 1970, pp. 20 & 23). Two hundred tribal people were buried in graves in western Centralia and pioneer Joseph Borst buried seventy-five more as result of a smallpox epidemic in the 1850s (H. Smith, 1941, pp. 223-224; Neilson, 1970, pp. 19-20).

(iii) Funeral Customs

Chehalis interred their dead in a canoe elevated on posts secured in the ground. After the body was placed in the canoe a second canoe was fitted over the body. Favorite baskets, cooking items, and various items dear to the deceased were placed in the canoe or attached to the outside. Every item had a hole punctured in it or was otherwise damaged so the items would not be stolen or disturbed. The bottom canoe also had holes punctured in it to allow rainwater to drain (Swan, 1973, p. 73). Sometimes families were known to use a box in place

of a canoe, and not all burial boxes or canoes were placed on platforms, some were buried and then later dug up and reburied somewhere else (Swan, 1973, p. 73, pp. 191-192).

A slave or slaves were counted among the possessions a freeborn took with them to the grave. Slaves were killed and buried or almost killed and buried with a freeborn. Horses were sometimes killed and placed with the bodies of the deceased and the slave so the deceased would have a horse to ride and a slave to tend him in the afterworld (James, 1980, p. 35; H. Smith, 1941, p. 77). Swan describes the interment ceremony,

> *When the canoe was ready, the corpse, wrapped in blankets was brought out, and laid in it on mats previously spread. All the wearing apparel was next put in beside the body, together with her trinkets, beads, little baskets, and various trifles she had prized. More blankets were then covered over the body, and mats smoothed over all. Next, a small canoe, which fitted into the large one, was placed, bottom up, over the corpse, and the whole then covered with mats. The canoe was then raised up and placed on two parallel bars, elevated four or five feet from the ground, and supported by being inserted through holes mortised at the top of four stout posts previously firmly planted in the earth. Around these poles were then hung blankets, and all the cooking utensils of the deceased, pots, kettles, and pans each with a hole punched through it, and all her crockery-ware, every piece of which was first cracked or broken, to render it useless; and then, when all was done, they left her to remain for one year, when the bones would be buried in a box in the earth directly under the canoe; but that with all its appendages, would never be molested, but left to go to gradual decay…*
>
> *While the corpse remained in the house, not a word was spoken except in a whisper, nor did they commence their lamentations till the whole funeral ceremonies were over; then, the signal being given, they began to sing a death-song, and thump the roof*

*with their long poles… **the song honors the accomplishments of the dead and how much they loved her*

Every day, at sunrise and sunset, this chant is repeated by the relatives for thirty days - when the days of mourning are ended – but never, on any pretense must the name of the deceased be spoken till after the bones are finally deposited in their last resting-place; and frequently years will elapse before they dare call the name again.

On these occasions, they always change their own names, as they think the spirits of the dead will come back if they hear the same name called that they were accustomed to hear before death[51] (Swan, 1973, p. 189)

Chinook and Chehalis placed a tamahnous board of the deceased with the body. Tamahnous boards were carved depictions of the tamahnous, or spirit that protected and guided the deceased when they were still living[52] (Gibbs, 1877, p. 203). Men of importance were buried in larger canoes, similar to war canoes. Images or effigies of the deceased wearing favorite clothing and accoutrements were sometimes placed by the grave site (Castile, 1985, p. 332).

Chehalis were incredibly superstitious of spirits of the dead remaining behind on earth. Spirits, also known as, *memelose tillicums*, were thought to inhabit the homes they had lived in and follow friends and family they knew while they were still among the living. It was believed that the spirits liked to find ways to show their displeasure with actions of the living they might dislike or disagree with. The living would hire tamahnous doctors or make loud noises, such as firing guns, in an attempt to scare off any dead spirits they suspected of trying to remain among them (Swan, 1973, p. 42).

[51] Swan wrote of finding a canoe holding the body of three people, two of the bodies were children "and a lot of beads, brass wrist-rings, and other trinkets" (Swan, 1973, p. 73). This may have been in honor of the relationship and it may also have been a practical way to save the time and labor spent on building multiple burial canoes.
[52] C. DuPuis, Tribal Elder, personal communication, 2013.

In 1840, a trader with the Hudson's Bay Company, James Douglas, explored the Grand Mound and found a freshly dug grave surrounded by funerary offerings. The Grand Mound as a burial place is an ongoing debate; some Elders maintain the mound was not a burial place, while some early settlers believe it was (James, 1980, p. 93). It has never been verified that the graves were in fact actual burial plots. The James family, one of the original settler families of the Grand Mound region, described finding the funerary items intact and visible on or near the Grand Mound. This indicates that according to Chehalis custom, the bodies would have been placed on burial platforms (or in burial canoes) and these items eventually rotted, causing the bodies to fall to the ground where they were later found.

The Mound is known to be the place *where a star fell to earth* and this has been consistently described throughout many oral stories of the Chehalis.[53] It is possible non-Indian people or Indian people traveling throughout the region buried a body or bodies on the mound, but no evidence has been found placing Chehalis members in the mound.

In Chalcraft's memoirs of his time as an Indian Agent on the Chehalis Reservation he wrote the Chehalis buried their dead in a shallow grave with the top of the box the body was buried in left exposed. A *small house, about three feet high* was built over the grave (Chalcraft, 1970, p. 60). Although Chehalis had moved on from above ground interments and adopted the practice of burying their dead in coffins (after settlers began discouraging above ground internments because it was not considered a proper (colonized) burial method), they still retained and adapted a few of their own traditions. The daughter of an early settler and coffin maker in Centralia remembers her father making coffins two feet longer than the standard coffin length for tribal people because of the practice of burying well-loved or favorite items with the dead. So many items were placed in one coffin that the legs of the

[53] K. Barr, Quinault Tribal Elder and Chehalis Tribal descendant, personal communication, 2013.

woman who passed had to be “pressed down before the lid could be fastened” (H. Smith, 1941, p. 325).

3.5 Everyday Life

(i) Baskets

Woven baskets made of cattails, cedar, bear grass, sweet grass, roots, nettles, and many other plants and tree barks, were utilized by Chehalis for gathering food, bailing canoes, and other daily activities. Baskets were instrumental in daily living due to their usefulness and adaptability for everyday tasks. Baskets and woven mats were also used as bedding, and as canoe linings. Baskets were used to hold or cook food. Some baskets were so watertight they were filled with water and heated stones and used to boil food. Baskets and mats were carried everywhere and in constant use. Many baskets had designs, such as pictures or other ornamentation on them, while others were simple work baskets, well used but plain (Gibbs, 1877, p. 220). Chehalis Elder, Curtis DuPuis recalls gathering basket materials with his family as a young man,

> *With Grandmother and Grandfather, they showed me where the definite cattail sites were. Because of repetition, I know where to go. When we went to the mountains to pick huckleberries, we would also gather bear grass. One trip for two or three purposes.*
>
> *When we gather, we put them in plastic sacks but in those days we had seed or grass sacks out of hemp. Depending on time or how early it was, you might take bear grass and separate it out by colors and lengths because when you went to make your baskets you had to make sure they were the same length and width.*
>
> *A lot of times we would just pick it if it was late in the day but if it was early in the day and we had time, we would do our sorting there. I didn’t have to sort, Grandma would*

do that. I just had to gather. I was just a young person who was able to go up and down the hills. Grandmother would be in the pickup [truck] separating them….

When we go, we just go looking for female bear grass, picking it carefully. But these people pull whole plumes. It is damaging. They were not discriminating. They take the roots and all and that is next year's crop.

Cattails grow in lowlands and swampy areas. Because of development, farming, commerce and need for quality city water, a lot of cattail areas have shrunk.[54]

Basket making is still an important activity for the Chehalis Tribe. In addition to their utility, baskets in the 1800s and early 1900s could also be an important source of income for tribal people. Some families survived financially and supported their families by selling or trading the baskets they made. Today, Tribal members still weave baskets and sometimes sell them for income. Chehalis basket makers have become well known throughout the region for the beauty and utility of their baskets.[55]

(ii) Canoes

The typical Chehalis canoe was called a shovel-nose canoe. It was utilized mostly in calm, inland waters because it was known for being tippy and somewhat unstable. The canoe was ideal for the inland waters which could be shallower during warmer times of the year and was not made at all for the rougher waters of the ocean and bays (Gibbs, 1877, pp. 215-216). The shovel nose *"is characterized by rounded prow and stern, sloping upward to a squared end, with a straight gunwale line from prow to stern, and the absence of separate bow and stern pieces"* (Olson, 1927, p. 15). Many families had two types of canoes, the tippy shovel nose canoe for the shallower waters and a sturdier canoe for faster, deeper water. Canoes were pretty common and still used for fishing up until the 1950s and 1960s (Barr, 2005). The origin

[54] C. DuPuis, Tribal Elder, personal communication, 2013.
[55] H. Pete, Tribal Elder, personal communication, 1992.

of the shovel nose has been attributed to both the Chehalis and the Chinook, due to the closeness of the tribes, this would be expected (Ruby & Brown, 1976, p. 17).

A bailer constructed of cedar that was made pliable by soaking in water and then folded into a rounded holder and handle, was used to scoop the water from the bottom of the boat while traveling. Swan recorded a story in his memoirs of watching a canoe traveling to the Chehalis River Treaty Council. The canoe left the beach but soon returned. After an inspection it was found that a hole had been left in the bottom when a knot of wood fell out, the Indians filled the hole with grass, put her back in the water and left again. Swan also recounted numerous stories of canoes with sails for traveling the bay area. The sails also could be used to make a type of tent when the travelers stopped on shore for the night, and they were also used as blankets (Swan, 1973, p. 34 and pp. 330-333).

Tribal members Marion Davis and George Jack testified the dry waters of the summer months meant water travelers had to sometimes wait for the river to get high enough to drag the canoe through the riffles. The rivers were especially hard to navigate in August and September when rain was seldom seen (Court of Claims of the United States No. F-275, 1927). Incidentally, steamships in the 1800s also encountered issues with the shallow water on the Chehalis and Black Rivers, subsequently, the ships were grounded during the months of August and September until the water was deep enough to ply the rivers again.

The Chehalis canoe paddle was unique compared to other canoe paddles. The Chehalis canoe paddle, while similar in size and shape to other paddles, had a U-shaped blade designed to push logs out of the way when traveling on the region's rivers. The rivers were known to often be clogged with logs and debris, likely from the flooding the rainy season often produced, and the U-shaped ends easily fit the errant logs, enabling the canoer to use the paddle to push the logs out of the way of the canoe, and adversely, to use the logs to propel the canoe away from the dangerous logs if necessary. Unfortunately, the U-shaped paddles

were not as advantageous for simply paddling through the waters because the blade did not cut water as well as the traditional uncut, solid shaped blades (Castile, 1985, p. 187).

Canoes were extremely important to the livelihood and lifestyle of all natives in the region, and not just to the Chehalis Tribes. The region's numerous rivers and waterways solidified the necessity of dependable water craft. As a result, canoe construction was a momentous social affair. The project was led by an expert in canoe manufacturing, due to the fact that not every Chehalis knew how to, nor was adept at, making a viable, seaworthy canoe (Swan, 1973, p. 80).

Stone chisels were used to chop the base of a solid, well-shaped cedar tree, similar to, and likely inspired by, how beavers gnawed the base of a tree to knock it down. Fortunately, after the introduction of the ax, the job of bringing the tree down became remarkably easier. The bark was then stripped from the tree and the tree was cut to the desired length, depending on the type of canoe being built, by utilizing a series of wedges. The bow and the stern were roughly fashioned and the interior is slightly hollowed out, making the canoe easier to turn over and manipulate (Swan, 1973, p. 80).

The manufacturer then shaped the exterior of the canoe, using only an axe and chisels. Once the exterior had been roughly fashioned, the canoe was placed upright and an axe[56] was used to continue hollowing out the center. The thickness of the canoe was checked frequently to ensure the desired thickness is achieved. After the interior was hollowed out, the canoe was flipped over and the exterior is smoothed and finished with a distinctive adze shaped chisel. The interior was then smoothed to a nice finish and filled with water and stones and placed over a cedar bark fire. The fire and boiling water heated the cedar until the wood was supple and ready to be stretched by placing sticks across the interior. The sticks were held in place by cedar limbs that had been shaped into withes, and the whole contraption was left in place until

[56] According to Swan (1973, p. 80), prior to the introduction of the ax, the interior was hollowed out with fire.

the canoe had settled into the correct width and shape. Finally, the water was then emptied out and the end pieces were shaped and attached using sticks shaped into pegs and withes (Swan, 1973, p. 80).

Chehalis would portage (carry their loads) across the land when rivers or bodies of water did not enable them to canoe the whole way from one point to another. Portage trails were well-worn and frequently traveled by both Chehalis and non-Indians. Occasionally, if it was prudent, a canoe would be carried on the land, around blockages in the river, despite the fact the canoes were especially heavy and cumbersome when out of the water (Swan, 1973, p. 114, pp. 246-248). The canoes were fitted with sails to aid in travel across the great expanses of bays, oceans and rivers. The sails served many purposes, including as temporary shelter on rainy nights (Swan, 1973, pp. 37, 249, & 353).

(iii) Food

> *To the necessity of seeking the different articles of food at different times is to be attributed chiefly the constant locomotion of these tribes. Not only do they at one time frequent the prairies or marshes for roots, at another the forest for berries, and again the sounds and rivers for fish, but they have particular points at which they seek the last at various seasons; and although they have their permanent villages where their winter residence is, and their potato grounds, they are seldom found all gathered together except on special occasions* (Gibbs, 1877, p. 197).

The Chehalis diet was heavily reliant on the waterways for their primary food source of fish and shellfish. Seasonal travel followed the fish runs and fish was one of the main trade items between tribes. Lower Chehalis traded dried sturgeon, clams and sea oil up and down the coast, including with inland tribes. Upper Chehalis relied on roots, game, berries and fish. Fishing took the tribes throughout the region from “Black River to Mud Bay to gather clams and catch flounders” (Ruby & Brown, 1986, pp. 102 & 105). The trade between the tribes

focused on salmon and shell fish from the coast and camas and berries from the prairies (Gibbs, 1877, p. 167). Deer, when obtainable, was killed with bows and arrows. Elk were killed when they were available but, elk were often not around and could be somewhat of a challenge for the hunting implements available at the time (Chalcraft, 1970, p. 39).

The type of fishing technique utilized depended on the type of water the fish was taken from, ocean, bay, lakes or inland rivers. When fishing on a lake the fisherman would position himself at the entrance to the lake and would spear the fish with a gaff hook.[57] If fishing in the tide the technique included building a large pen in the water and trapping the fish when the tide went out. Weirs built with stakes and brush fencing trapped fish travelling in the river, the weirs were usually community owned and very large. Gill nets made from cedar, nettles and pebbles were used when fishing on rivers and creeks (Deloria, 1999, pp. 21-22).

Fish were prepared for winter storage by smoking over fires of alder or maple. After the fish was headed and gutted, it was then cleaned in water and wiped down with moss. The fish were suspended from poles over the fire and gradually smoked for several days. As the days progressed, the fish would be moved onto higher tiers of poles until it was thoroughly dried and ready for long term storage in baskets (Singh, 1956, p. 86).

Chehalis looked to nature to tell them when something was in season, for example, Elder Katherine Barr (2005) recalled the Chehalis watching for the black flying ants to grow big because then the people knew the eels were ready to be harvested at Rainbow Falls. Eels were another mainstay of Upper Chehalis.

> *There were plenty of eels in the Chehalis River. My first experience in fishing for them was the night of August 1, 1884. In company with Joe Walker, Johnnie Dick, Bruce Jack, Johnnie John, Mosale Bill, Pe-ell Case, and Jessie Mills, we went to the river*

[57] This is long stick with a hook at the end.

> *where we found the Indians had a platform built about eight inches above the water at the head of a 'riffle,' or shallow swift flowing place in the river.*
>
> *The platform was about six feet square, and when fishing, three or four of us would be standing on it with pitch torches in our hands, which caused the eels to be easily seen in the water. Coming up through the swift water of the riffle made the eels tired and when they reached the upper end, they stopped to reset, making it easy to grasp them with the right hand, which had previously been rubbed on the inside with resinous leaves from a local plant to overcome the slippery surface of the eels* (Chalcraft, 1970, p. 38).

The salmonberry shrub was a very common plant with a variety of uses. Many of the Elders remember the branches were peeled and then eaten like carrots. The salmonberry sprouts were called *bear candy* and eaten as a snack food. The sprouts and roots were prepared in a fire pit (Gunther, 1995, p. 35). While the berries were often eaten fresh, once the non-Indians introduced the Chehalis to canning, the berries were also canned and stored.[58]

Berries such as strawberries, salmonberries and raspberries did not store well and were consumed fresh. Salmonberries derive their name from their proximity to the river and their seasonal similarity to salmon runs (Gibbs, 1877, p. 194). The blue and red elderberry and salmonberry were the most common berries of the Chehalis diet. Elderberries were stored by canning once the technique was introduced by the non-Indians. Prior to learning how to can fruits, the berries were "steamed on rocks and put in a container which is stored underground or in cool water" (Gunther, 1995, p. 47). According to Mrs. Barr (2005), the Chehalis watched the red elderberries ripen from flowers to pink buds to red berries. When the red elderberries had ripened the people knew to start the berry picking season and they would pick wild blackberries and travel to the mountains for huckleberries.

[58] C. DuPuis, Tribal Elder, personal communication, 2015.

Ironwood, also called ocean spray, (Gunther, 1995, p. 33) was used for digging roots such as camas bulbs. A two and half foot digging stick was fashioned from the ironwood and then fitted with an elk horn (Marr, et al, 2001, p. 5). Gunther notes the wood was used throughout the Northwest for a variety of tools and implements due to its inability to burn. Furthermore, she says Chehalis used the dried seeds and "drink the infusion to stop smallpox, black measles, chicken pox or any similar contagious disease" (Gunther, 1995, p. 33).

Camas was a staple of not only the Chehalis diet but also a popular trade item throughout the Pacific Northwest. *"Camas was picked in the spring when it was just finished blooming. Prepared on fire which was then covered with earth and damp ferns and steam covered for 36 hours"* (Lawrence, 1967/1968). The tribes would camp along the edges of the prairies while gathering camas during the camas season. The camas could be cooked at the camps and fern could be gathered in the nearby woods to make a flour for bread (Gibbs, 1877, p. 193). Tribal member, Maggie Benn offered the following cooking method, *"dig hole put in the rocks, build fire on top, put damp ferns, camas, more ferns, gunny sacks, [dirt], then fire with a hole through on top in which to pour water in occasionally and leave them all night"* (Lawrence, 1967/1968).

(iv) Fishing Implements

Black mud was applied to the nets so the nets would be camouflaged from the fish (Barr, 2005). According to Mrs. Barr (2005), the *old time fish nets* were made from nettles and cedar limbs or hazelnut and yew limbs were sharpened and bent into fish hooks. Spruce root fibers were spun into twine nets, cedar floats held the top of the net while pebbles weighted the bottom. The net was further secured with woven cedar ropes. Fishing net sizes varied from "a hundred feet long to a hundred fathoms, or six hundred feet, and from seven to sixteen feet deep" (Swan, 1973, p. 104). Resources were shared and fishing grounds were shared among all tribes in the region. Tribes did not claim rights to fisheries over other tribes,

everyone had access to the same rivers and streams. The nomadic nature of the tribes for seasonal sustenance required everyone to share resources for survival, and while tribes may not have always worked together to harvest resources, they did not work against each other either (Gibbs, 1877, p. 186).

On average, three people worked a net unless the net was very large, then more help was needed. Fishing was best when the water was high and tide had begun to turn because the current from the shifting tide helped maneuver the heavy nets in the water. A specialized frame to assist with the nets was attached to a canoe and the canoe was launched into water, not too far into the current but closer to shore where it would be easier to keep control of the cumbersome canoe, made heavy with net. Two people in the canoe would throw out the net so it caught in the current of the receding tide. Wooden floats kept the net from sinking and the third person, left on shore, walked the beach, following the canoe and holding onto the end of the net. The fish were corralled in between the shore and the canoe by the net. Slowly the net would be pulled towards shore so the salmon were caught, and hit over the head with a club to ensure they were killed and ready to be processed for cooking or storage (Swan, 1973, p. 104).

Curtis DuPuis (2005) described contemporary Chehalis fishing techniques,

> *I think historically in Western Washington, there were fish everywhere. Trout, bass, steelhead, which is a trout, and various salmon including the Chum, Chinook, Silver, the Pink, Humpy and Blueback. There were just fish everywhere when we lived on this valley.*
>
> *When we used to go fishing in the 1890s and around 1910 or 1920, the fishing grounds and rights within the valley were more formalized. There is one document that shows who would be the fisherman or fisherwoman, because men and women could go fishing, but you had to specify where you were going. We had spots on the*

rivers that we could recognize. We knew through hereditary use that a family member would be the person that should be recognized as the owner of that fishing ground. Like when I fish, I have three or four sites and when I'm ready to fish, I just go there and put my net in. If I am not fishing, people should ask me.

The second way is when we started fishing for commercial harvest. The fish buyers started coming in. If there was competition, instead of offering 50 or 80 cents per pound of fish, there might be two buyers who would give 90 cents or $1. But when there was only one buyer, they might say 40 cents. So, we always wanted competition on the fish buyer.

When we look at how we used to catch fish, there were different ways of catching salmon. Like in some of the old pictures of Scatter Creek above Rochester where we used to do it. There are pictures where the person would take stakes, pound them in and weave in limbs so there was a barrier when fish came up that would channel them into a little holding ground. You reached in and grabbed what you needed from the captured fish, opened it and let the rest escape because you didn't want them to die.

Another way is to go down to riffles. Now a lot are where the water is low, there are warm temperatures, no oxygen, and probably no fish. Then, a lot of people would put down logs or a rock to stand on and then you could use dip nets. As the fish went by, you could dip net them.

In the third way, we used fish nets. I haven't seen many pictures but people say when we made fish nets we used nettles – the whole shoot of the nettle. In late March and April and May, the more mature nettles were gathered and could be weaved into nets as they were very strong. The limbs or tips of branches were used for fish nets.

They would also use pieces of wood tied on top of the nets so it would float on the water. When you went down to the bottom then, they would just take a rock that you

could have and it would be like an anchor and hold your net in place like a lead line. A long time ago, a rock was chiseled with a groove for the line or rope to be tied on to hold it. Our anchor rocks here on the Chehalis when the river is flooded are covered up so I haven't seen any myself.

About 1900-1920 we had rope with corks made out of cedar spaced about five to seven feet apart tied with twine to a net. They used to be pressed with metal weights. Now the ropes have metal inside. The Indians today fish for family use, personal use and some smoking but not a lot of commercial market sale.

Nowadays you can your fish since we have a pressure canner but I smoke my salmon myself. I smoke 300 to 700 fish a year. Some species of salmon are very oily like the Chinook or Steelhead or bright Silvers. They won't dry out so you have to eat them immediately or refrigerate them or they would spoil. So we prefer to smoke red salmon, or red silver, that have been in the river a little longer and are a little older and less oily. The best is the Chum salmon with the least amount of oil. Long ago, to overcome refrigeration needs, they would go for the red salmon, the Chum and put down a lot of salt and smoke them hard. Now I smoke about 12 to 14 hours and it is still moist. If I was saving them for two or three weeks, I would use red silver and smoke them hard for maybe 20 to 30 hours so not worry about them spoiling. When you get ready to eat them, if you use…..the salmon and steelhead and boil them to resuscitate them, it is like a condensed food. We might put carrots and potatoes in it and call it fish soup. What we are doing on that hard smoke is resuscitating the salmon, boiling off some of the salt so you can have a nice piece of fish to eat.

The verbal history from tribal Elders is that we used to fish up river as far as we wanted to go, all the way to Rainbow Falls where we went for eels which were the easiest to catch there. Down river we went anywhere to fish with no opposition. By the

1920s or 30s, the Department of Fish and Wildlife was very harsh on Indians for fishing off reservation. So, where we fished the Humptulips, Satsop and Wynoochee, we started coming back this way. Since the 30s we've only been allowed to fish within our Indian reservation, just the nine or ten miles of river we have.

Every tribal male and female participated in fishing and fish preparation in some aspect. Fish were the staple food of Chehalis and fishing implements were well taken care of and prized possessions. Fish is still prepared according to traditional methods and salmon and eels are dried and stored for winter.[59]

3.6 External Contacts

(i) Trade

Chehalis were known to love trading and traveled throughout the Northwest to trade with their neighbors and the non-Indians living in the region. Lower Chehalis were one of the first tribes to meet the first non-Indians to visit the area. Their village at the entrance to Grays Harbor and the difficulty finding and entering the Columbia River placed them among the tribes who met Captain Robert Gray when he navigated his ship into Grays Harbor in 1792 after he failed to find the entrance to the Columbia (Ruby & Brown, 1986, p. 106). The introduction of guns is attributed to Captain Gray's entry into Grays Harbor in 1792. While in the Harbor that would eventually bear his name, Gray and his men traded with Chehalis, providing the latter with guns and ammunition in exchange for their goods (Ruby & Brown, 1976, p. 44).

The vast size of their territory also ensured Chehalis a prime place among the tribes trading with the North West and Hudson's Bay Companies (Ruby & Brown, 1986, p. 106). Chehalis traveled from Vancouver Island in present day Canada (Pritzker, 2005, p. 205) to the

[59] C. DuPuis, Tribal Elder, personal communication, 2013.

Willamette Valley in present day Oregon to trade (Castile, 1985, p. 195). The trading companies sent their fur traders into the region to set up shop and the region became a major stopping point for ships traveling from New York to the Hawaiian Islands and on to Canada, Russia, and Canton. Trading posts such as Fort Astoria, a trading post also briefly known as Fort George, was built in 1811 followed by Fort Vancouver in 1824; both forts became bustling trading hubs in the territory. Female slaves were in demand as wives for men working at the forts, which the women are said to have appreciated because the marriage released them from slavery (Ruby & Brown, 1976, p. 191). Alexander Ross recalled regional tribes were more likely to engage in the trade of slaves and furs than participate in war (Ruby & Brown, 1976, p. 133).

Trading was an enjoyable past time and social opportunity, in addition to being profitable. Individuals began to hone their skills and develop vocations they specialized in (Deloria, 1977, p. 17). The introduction of the Hudson's Bay Company's legendary Hudson's Bay Company's blanket to the region was revolutionary for many Indigenous women throughout the region. No longer were they required to spend hours processing cedar bark to make cedar fibers for their textile materials. The Hudson's Bay blanket quickly became such a highly sought after commodity and symbol of wealth, and it also became a trade item and currency (Deloria, 1977, p. 43). The value of common trade items could be measured in Hudson Bay blankets, for example, a two and one half or three point blanket was frequently traded for sea otter, beaver, elk, deer or fox pelts (Ruby & Brown, 1976, p. 96).[60]

Prior to the arrival of the non-Indians, the most common trade items were slaves, food, such as clams, camas, and salmon; cedar or items made from cedar; and other sustenance type materials. The trade network was so established and extensive that non-Indigenous supplies had begun to trickle into the region long before the traders and explorers arrived. Upper

[60] The *points* were a means of measurement used to indicate size and weight.

Chehalis were known for their large horse herds and superior horse riding abilities, which were evidence of the prevalent trade network existing between tribes on the coast and those residing east of the Cascades (Pritzker, 2000, p. 205; Neilson, 1970, p. 15).

Dentalia (Dentalium) shells, also called higua by some traders and anthropologists, were a highly prized trade item. The shells were harvested by northern Pacific coast tribes and valued by fathoms, a fathom of forty shells equaling the worth of a slave. The longer the shell, the more it was worth; shells measured from one fourth of an inch to three inches or more (Ross, 1904, p. 109; Gibbs, 1877, p. 213).

The introduction of copper and iron were related in a story told by Charles Cultee, a Chehalis and Chinook speaker descended from a variety of Northwest tribes, to anthropologist Franz Boas during a series of interviews in 1890 and 1891. According to Cultee, a ship wrecked along the coast and the spoils were claimed by Clatsop Indians. Chehalis, after learning of the shipwreck, traveled to the site of the wreck to trade. Some of the items traded were slaves for pieces of iron, nails for deerskin or dentalia and "strips of copper two fingers wide and going around the arm were exchanged for one slave each" (Boas, 2008, p. 168).

In addition to traveling by horse (Upper Chehalis) or canoe (Lower Chehalis) the tribes also traveled the old trading trails crisscrossing the landscape. Some trails eventually became the main thoroughfares for non-Indians moving through the area. One trail followed the hills bordering the eastern edge of present day Centralia, Washington and was used to avoid flooding in the lowlands. Another trail followed the prairies the towns of Centralia and Chehalis are built on, this trail crossed the Skookumchuck River, formerly known as the Tuaoton (meaning *cross* or *ford in the river*) (H. Smith, 1941, p. 21). Both trails connected the Columbia River region in the south with the South Sound region in the north. The trails are considered the first trading highways in the region and were instrumental in moving product

from the southern end of the region to the northern, and vice versa. The trading trails were so important, many of them became paved roads after the introduction of the automobile many decades later.[61]

Always one of the first to take advantage of a new financial opportunity, by the 1850s Chehalis had capitalized on the oysters growing in their bays and were selling oysters in the San Francisco markets. Ships would transport the oysters to market, "In June 1853, nineteen ships had entered the bay, some several times, carrying oysters and mostly miscellaneous cargoes such as pilings and furs" (Ruby & Brown, 1976, p. 233). An 1854 report from San Francisco estimated that the Willapa Bay oyster business amounted to more than one hundred thousand dollars yearly (Ruby & Brown, 1976, p. 233). At the peak of the trade, approximately 50,000 baskets, at an average of one dollar per basket were shipped to the southern markets. Although, the trade was not without its pitfalls, frost, skates and drum-fish could destroy thousands, and sometimes all, the oysters in a season, leaving no profit or product for any of the harvesters (Swan, 1973, p. 63).

The oyster trade attracted many of the tribes to the region during oyster season and even caused the Chinooks to shift their population center further north, away from the Columbia River region into the Chehalis region in pursuit of profit from oyster sales (Ruby & Brown, 1976, p. 233). Eventually, sometime in the 1850s, the oyster, commonly called the Olympia oyster, was transferred and planted in the bays of San Francisco, where farming them for the San Francisco markets was easier and less costly (Greene, 2014).

As the years moved on, more and more non-Indians moved into the area. The fur trade began to decline as species became overhunted and the animal populations began to weaken (Gibbs, 1877, p. 197). Upper Chehalis, always looking for new trade opportunities, were taking advantage of the new Jamestown settlers at Grand Mound and were trading "baskets,

[61] C. DuPuis, Tribal Elder, personal communication, 2015.

fish and berries…for canned fruits and baked goods" (James, 1980, p. 42). The trade system, although changing as the landscape changed and access to traditional hunting and gathering areas were becoming more and more limited, was progressing and evolving according to the needs of the newest trading partners, the settlers (James, 1980, p. 42).

(ii) War

While Chehalis are remembered as a peaceful tribe by many contemporary tribal members, they occasionally participated in wars, sometimes as a member of a multi-tribe war party, sometimes as the aggressor and sometimes, they were defending themselves and their families. As mentioned previously, the primary weapons of Chehalis were stone or bone clubs, yew spears, bone daggers, shell knives, and bows and arrows. Chehalis also wore battle garments and carried shields to protect themselves in battle (Gibbs, 1877, p. 192; Pritzker, 2000, p. 205). Battles and skirmishes were prevented through acknowledgement of the injured parties' grievance, in which case, gifting and trade would prevent physical violence. If a battle occurred, those not killed in battle but captured, were taken as slaves by the victors (Young, 1918, Quarterly, p. 280).

Chehalis attempted to end most battles before they started through negotiation of the grievance and possible solutions for resolution upon arrival at the enemy encampment. Occasionally, an impartial mediator would be present to assist in negotiations between the tribes. If a successful resolution to the matter was impossible to negotiate, the battle would surely commence. If it was late in the day, the battle would be scheduled for the following morning. To ensure their safety, women and children were sent away prior to any combat beginning. The night before the battle was spent with both sides screaming insults at each other and making frightful noises encampment to encampment throughout the night. Once the battle commenced,

> *They generally fight from their canoes, which they take care to incline to one side presenting the higher flank to the enemy; and in this position with their bodies quite bent the battle commences. Owing to the curve of their canoes, and their impenetrable armor, it is seldom bloody; and as soon as one or two men fall, the party to whom they belong acknowledge themselves vanquished and combat ceases. If the assailants be unsuccessful, they return without redress; but if conquerors, they receive various presents from the vanquished party in addition to their original demand* (Gibbs, 1877, p. 191).

Alexander Henry, a fur trader, and David Thompson, a geographer, both employed by the Northwest Company, recalled a battle in 1814 in which some Chehalis visited a Chinook village on Chinook Point on the Columbia River. The visit was memorable because the two groups had been fighting over the previous days but, after an exchange of slaves and goods, whatever slight had caused the conflict was forgotten once the customary reparations had been made (Henry & Thompson, 1897, p. 855). A similar battle was set to take place near the mouth of the Columbia River later that same year. A Chehalis "flotilla of forty to fifty canoes" (Ruby & Brown, 1976, pp. 159-160) sailed to Chinook Point to battle a band of Chinook. After a series of shots were fired without any injuries, the Chinooks paid the Chehalis in goods and slaves and the battle was ended. Afterwards, the Chehalis traveled on to trade goods at Fort George (Ruby & Brown, 1976, pp. 159-160).

Ongoing conflict between the Chinook and the Clatsop prompted Cockqua, a man described as a chief among the Chinook and Chehalis Tribes, to protect non-Indian visitors while they were visiting his village. The conflict was preceded by threats of violence and war on behalf of the Clatsop. Eventually, three hundred of Cockqua's people met Clatsop warriors on a beach in the region and several warriors on both sides were slain in the resulting battle (Ruby & Brown, 1976, p. 177).

A major event in the early days of the settlement of the Northwest Coast was the destruction of an American vessel on Vancouver Island in 1811 after a dispute with a northern tribal nation. This event made many of the settlers around Fort Astoria fearful of attacks by local tribes. One settler later reflected that the Chinooks and their neighboring tribes were more concerned with trading for slaves and furs than plotting an attack on the forts (Ruby & Brown, 1976, p. 133). Ruby and Brown speculate that had the settlers understood the local tribes better, they would have known they were "too individualistic for such a grand military alliance and that they frequently fought among themselves" (Ruby & Brown, 1976, p. 135).

Frequent attacks by Chehalis against Copalises, caused Copalises to abandon some of their villages. Swan (1973, p. 151) theorized the Copalises, sometimes referred to as Palux, abandoned their villages because so many of their tribe had been killed by Chehalis and because it was the custom to abandon, dismantle and move, or burn a house after a person has died in it.[62] Chehalis are also known to have attacked and burned Queets villages in the early 1800s (Ruby & Brown, 1986, p. 64; Pritzker, 2000, p. 205).

In 1834 Harry Hobucket, a Quillayute Indian, recalled a battle in which the Satsop attacked the Quillayute. The Quillayute canoes were stuck in the mud of Grays Harbor and many of their men were captured or killed. The Satsop and Chinook also lost many of their people in the skirmish (Ruby & Brown, 1976, p. 136). Later, in June of 1857, Indian Agent Ford noted Lower Chehalis were warring with the Quinault over an old grudge. The war tactics consisted "of lying in wait, sudden descents, murders, thefts, reprisals, &c." (Ford, 1857, p. 342).

According to a story told by tribal member Silas Heck, Upper Chehalis and Lower Chehalis fought over a boundary along the Cloquallum River:

[62] This custom is also why slaves are left to die in the woods, so that they don't sully the house.

> *Perhaps 300 years ago, the Lower Chehalis warriors met those of the Upper Chehalis in a great war in the region of the Chehalis River near the present site of Oakville. Previously, each side had held a conference to select its most capable chief as leader. The war lasted a very long time; many lives were lost. But neither side would give in. At last they met for what proved the decisive battle of the war. Before each warrior, slaves carried a great war shield at the top of which was a notch. Over it the fighter took aim and shot his arrow. During this battle, the Upper Chehalis leader took careful aim for the notch above the shield of his rival chief. He waited until his adversary popped over the top- then his bow twanged. The arrow found its mark. The Upper Chehalis warriors pressed their advantage. They declared themselves the victors and claimed sovereignty over the land and councils of the Lower Chehalis. The many arrow heads still to be found on the banks of the Chehalis River are mute reminders of that great battle* (H. Smith, 1941, p. 2).

Ethnologist and photographer Edward S. Curtis shared two stories of warfare in which Chehalis people participated. The first, as told to him begins with a young Shoalwater Bay girl who spied warriors on the opposite river bank one night when she was on an errand for water. The girl returned to her village and told her people what she had seen but no one, with the exception of her grandmother, believed her. Her grandmother took her away from the village to hide and during the night the Satsop Indians, attacked and killed almost the whole village (Curtis, 1913, p. 7).

The older children and young women were taken hostage and returned with the Satsop to their village. A year later, the Shoalwater Bay Indians launched their own attack against the Satsop, slaughtering the village inhabitants, taking the young women as captives and freeing their own people who had been taken hostage during the initial attack. The person who shared

this story with Curtis noted the Shoalwater village attacked by the Chehalis has been uninhabited ever since (Curtis, 1913, p. 7).

Another instance of warfare occurred when Upper Chehalis banded together with eleven other Puget Sound tribes, including Squaxin, Nisqually, Puyallup, Klickitat and Cowlitz to attack the Cowichan Tribe of Vancouver Island. Initially successful in their attack, the tribes failed to heed the warning of the Cowichan chief who had informed them the tribe was expecting a visit from their Cowichan and Sanetch neighbors. Instead, the group opted to loot the village. Unfortunately, just as they were leaving the island, the Cowichan and Sanetch arrived and pursued the Puget Sound tribes over the water. Many of the Puget Sound tribes were inexperienced in warfare on the water, as a result, they were overpowered and almost all of them were killed (Curtis, 1913, p.14).

Work recorded an encounter in his journal in which a group of Chehalis Indians threatened him as he passed by their village. The Chehalis shouted at him from the riverbank and threatened him with their bows and arrows. Work was surprised at their demeanor and upon talking to them, learned they had been warned settlers were coming to attack them. After explaining his intent was not to enter into war with them but to explore the area and appeasing them with gifts of tobacco, the aggressive behavior ceased (Work, 1912, p. 6).

Swan recounts a story told to him by a widow named Old Suis. Old Suis said her first husband had been killed by Chehalis warriors called the Que-nai-nar or the *Strong Men*. The warriors had a disagreement with her husband and killed him. The warriors then traveled to a Palux Indian village and killed many of the villagers. The site of this village became known as A-wil-ka-tum-ar or the *Bloody Ground* (Swan, 1973, p. 151).

It is interesting to note, the stories of Chehalis warring with other tribes appears to have all occurred prior to 1860 and the Indian Wars of the Pacific Northwest. In fact, during the days of Fort Henness, Chehalis appear to have been very intent on not fighting and

maintaining a peaceful co-existence with both their Indian and non-Indian neighbors. The history of bloodshed or war on behalf of the Chehalis may have not been passed down through the generations of Chehalis post-1860 or perhaps the Elders that have heard the stories, chose not to share them.

3.7 Further Findings and Thoughts from the Research

(i) In thinking about the source information

Because writing was not a common skill in the 1800s, illiteracy rates were high amid non-Indians and even higher among the Native population. Pacific Northwest tribes, among the last tribes to have regular interactions with non-Indian peoples, simply did not speak the English language, much less write it. Furthermore, the plethora of traders from many different nationalities working in the region, Germans, French, British, American, Russian and Hawaiian guaranteed the region did not have one dedicated foreign dialect for tribes to learn. The exposure to multiple languages made it hard to learn to write in any one language, especially in the early half of the 19th century when many of the foreigners were likely to have poor writing skills themselves.

A trade language, known as the Chinook Jargon was developed as a common language to make trade easier for all the native and foreign language speakers in the region. As a result, a tribal person, who spoke their primary tribal language and usually one or two languages of other tribes in the region, would speak the Chinook Jargon for trade purposes and perhaps some English, French or other foreign languages as well.

Tribal life in the 18th and 19th century was documented orally, through stories and social interaction. This method is still in use today, stories and social mores have been passed down through multiple generations, although, now the oral stories are sometimes written down by families who want to preserve their family histories. Pictures and recordings have

also become commonly utilized platforms for recording tribal history, however, these methods have been most regularly used since the latter half of the 20th century. Social media is a popular contemporary method for sharing histories, pictures and recordings, to some extent supplanting the oral method for passing on knowledge.

My original plan had been to rely on oral stories as the foundation of my research into the history of the Chehalis in the 18th and 19th centuries. I had planned to work with Tribal and community members to help reconstruct the Chehalis history from this time period. Unfortunately, I found that I was usually the one passing on information gathered through my own research into primary, secondary, memoirs, government reports and court testimonies. The information I provided was always well received but, while some of the information would be familiar to the people I talked to, overall, the information was new information to many.

The understanding that Chehalis did not read or write, and the dependence on the written history of others has resulted in an unintentional acceptance of the story presented to us as the history that represents us. This ideology has created a sense of complacency resulting in a failure to critically analyse Chehalis documents and stories. The hegemony, or authority, of the history was assumed to belong to the non-Indian and their historical narrative, when in fact, the power of the story has always resided within ourselves.

(ii) Talking back to the 'evidence' and Reclaiming Our Stories

A critical analysis of Chehalis history both written and oral, is the beginning of the transformation of the Chehalis story. We need to rethink some of the ways in which our traditional ways of doing have been explained because they are incorrect.

One in particular is the reference of the Chehalis custom of flattening the heads of free born infants as discussed in 3.3. (vi). Both written and oral stories speak to the flattening

occurring over a year long period while the infant was restrained in a type of cradle (also called a cradleboard), with a wedge tied down over the forehead to flatten it.

The Chehalis cradleboard was traditionally made of hollowed cedar, with softened cedar for bedding and cedar ties to hold the child. Cedar was used because leather (which the large tribes east of the mountains used) did not hold up well in the rainy regions of the Pacific Northwest. As noted in Chapter 1, that incorrect assumption was made by Thelma Adamson.

The boards were also shaped similar to a canoe, in fact, the cradle was often referred to as a canoe.[63] The common misconception has been that Chehalis did not have a cradleboard of its own design, but the Chehalis cradleboard was once a mainstay of Chehalis culture and a necessary requirement of all free born children. An adaptation of that cradleboard is still used today to carry and protect our infants. While how it is used now has changed (since head flattening was ended by the Indian agents), the point is that because of the restrictions placed on us by the colonizers, adaptation occurred. It is reasonable to assume that other facets of our culture and traditions were also adapted as a means to either protect or conform to the expectations of the settlers and Indian Agents.

(ii) Reclaiming Historical Omissions

(a) Reclaiming the horse tradition

The canoe culture of Chehalis is ingrained in our culture to this day. The Chehalis Tribe participates in an annual canoe journey that lasts weeks, covers hundreds of miles and visits other Pacific Northwest tribes following traditional protocols. Fishing, while conducted in more modern boats, is still a sustenance activity and practiced by many families on the reservation. Research has documented the vital importance of the canoe to all the tribes of the Chehalis, particularly Lower Chehalis and those residing between the current reservation and the Pacific Ocean.

[63] Swan (1973, p. 168) provides a hand drawn picture of the Chehalis cradleboard.

Yet, the horse based economy of the Upper Chehalis tribes has remained completely unnoticed in our historical accounts but was a significant mode of transport. This oversight has led to the belief that the Chehalis Tribe was solely a canoe-based economy and tribes with large sized horse herds resided east of the Cascade Mountains. However, there is much evidence and stories of the horse herds of the Upper Chehalis to refute that belief.

An examination of the topography of the Upper Chehalis territory shows large prairies encompassing the region, thus making it possible for large horse herds to graze and roam. Moreover, with horses brought from the tribes east of the Cascades, it would have been beneficial to the Upper Chehalis Tribe to travel by horse for trading. The land was perfect for supporting such enterprise. The prairies were more plentiful in the eastern range of the Upper Chehalis, from Mud Bay south to the Columbia River, and Upper Chehalis land routes for horse travel crisscrossed the landscape, as much as the rivers and bays of the western edge of the region made travel by canoe the most expedient choice for the Lower Chehalis tribes.

The loss of access to traditional foods and medicines occurred because of the influx of settlers into the region and their practice of fencing off their newly acquired property made travel by horseback harder because many of the old trails were cut off by the carving up of the land base. Water travel, however, became a popular mode of travel for both Chehalis and non-Indians. Non-Indians increased traffic on the rivers when they introduced their own canoes to the area, and, for the first time, steamships joined the river economy in the Chehalis River region.

Gradually, Upper Chehalis depended less on maintaining large horse herds and focused more on owning individual horses or small herds for travel between towns or seasonal gathering places and canoes for water travel and sustenance fishing. Eventually, as the Tribe moved towards confederation and reservation life, dependence on horses became

less and less, while canoes remained necessary for fishing the rivers adjacent to the reservation.

(b) Reclaiming a site of spiritual significance

The large mound on the Grand Mound prairie was an integral weave in the Chehalis story since time immemorial. The Grand Mound, known as the place where a star fell to earth by Upper Chehalis, became an Indian graveyard in the history of the Chehalis written by the non-Indian (see Section 3.4 (iii)). The non-Indians, recognized the mound was important to the tribes, but, misinterpreted the respect the mound received as a holy place, for the type of reverence the settlers reserved for their own graveyards. The oral stories of Upper Chehalis do not support the graveyard theory. The star falling to earth was a spiritual, transcendent event for Upper Chehalis and while a body may have been placed on the mound at some point in time, their dedication to the mound does not stem from its use as a graveyard.

Eventually, as settlers moved into the region, ownership of the mound transferred to non-Indian owners, and a large home was built on the mound. As a child, I remember any discussion of the mound would be accompanied by sadness that a holy place had been desecrated by the home built on it. For the most part, the mound was like a dusty relic in the attic, the majority of the people had forgotten or were unaware of its significance to the Chehalis story. The mound seemed destined to be forever owned by non-Indians and reclaiming the mound was never seen as a possibility.

However, in the early 2000s the Tribe reclaimed ownership of the mound and removed the home. This was a significant event for the Tribe, and while the mound has spent one hundred years of its own history as only a somewhat interesting geographical anomaly on the prairie, its true identity as a place of spiritual significance has since been reclaimed by the people who have a deep connection with it. To my knowledge, there are no current plans for exploration or development of the mound. The Tribe understands the mound is important to

tribal history and it is a place with deep meaning. The acceptance of the mound's importance spiritually means, like many things Indigenous, no need to rationalize its existence at all.

(iii) Moving forward

The next chapter explores first contact with non-Indian people and the impacts this had on the Chehalis way of life. The chapter argues that the Chehalis have experienced many changes since the time when the earth was young. Life has been extremely challenging but Chehalis have persevered despite the hardships.

Knowing that policies of the United States Government will affect our Tribe regardless, Chehalis has adapted governmental policies to meet our needs whenever possible because that is what is needed to survive. Chehalis are resilient and creative, and our basket is sturdy and strong. We are survivors.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Consequences of Contact

4.0 Introduction

In 1775 Bruno de Heceta[64] led an exploring expedition up the coastline from New Spain, or what is now known as the country of Mexico. He is known to have tried to enter the Columbia River on August 15th, 1775 but was unable to do so. After mapping the entrance and naming it Rio de San Roque or River of St. Roc, his ship moved northward[65] (Swan, 1973, pp. 20 & 27; Benson, Irwin & Riser, 2002, p. 56).

After a series of Spanish explorations in the ensuing years, American Captain Robert Gray entered the bay that would later take his name on May 7th, 1792. Gray named the bay Bullfinch Harbor but it was later renamed Grays Harbor by Captain George Vancouver. This harbor is where Captain Gray first encountered Chehalis Indians.

After anchoring his ship he spent the next few days trading with the local Indians, many of whom are now known as Chehalis (Swan, 1973, p. 128; Ruby & Brown, 1976, pp. 44 & 60). During his time trading in the harbor, Gray traded axes, knives, a gun, ammunition and a coarse cloth Chehalis called a blanket for furs from the Tribe. Chehalis had not seen a gun before and fired the gun until all their ammunition was gone and then they smashed the gun to pieces (Ruby & Brown, 1976, p. 41).

Shortly thereafter, on October 13th, 1792, Captain Vancouver used copies of Grays charts to find the entrance to Bulfinch (Grays) Harbor and he dispatched his ship Daedalus to explore the bay under Lieutenant Whidbey (Swan, 1973, p. 129). Whidbey encountered Chehalis and Chinook in their winter villages at Shoalwater, although his documentation of

[64] Martin d'Aguilar of Spain was the first documented non-Indian to reach the Pacific Northwest in 1603 (Benson, Irwin & Riser, 2002).
[65] Cape San Roque was later named Cape Disappointment by Captain Meares (Swan, 1973, p. 20).

specific events experienced in Grays Harbor is brief and undescriptive (Gibbs, 1877, p. 235). Following the exploration by Sea Captains however, fur traders, explorers and settlers began moving into the region and Chehalis began to meet the people who would drastically impact their way of life.

Lower Chehalis first came into contact with the explorers Meriwether Lewis and William Clark on Thursday, November 21st, 1805 while the two were on their famous Corp of Discovery Mission and traveling across what is now North America. The journals of Lewis and Clark record the meeting, "Several Indians visit us to day of different nations or Bands some of the Chiltz (Chehalis) Nation who reside on the Sea Coast near Point Lewis" (Ray, 1938, p. 35; Devoto, 1953, p. 289). Contact between the tribes and non-Indians dramatically increased after contact with the Corps of Discovery Mission (Pritzker, 2000, p. 203).

Multiple forts were built in the ensuing years, Fort Astoria (later renamed Fort George) was built in 1811, Fort Vancouver in 1825, Fort Nisqually in 1833, and the short lived Camp Chehalis (also called Fort Chehalis despite not having official designation as a Fort) at Westport in 1860. With the building of each fort trade increased, as did the transmission of disease and the native death rate due to the influx of non-Indian traders, settlers and explorers. The forts were built to protect the non-Indians from attacks by the native tribes, but, nothing could protect the tribal populations from the deadly impact of the diseases the non-Indian brought with them (see section 3.4) (Payette, 2016, Swan, 1973, p. 229; Ruby and Brown, 1976, pp. 172, 194, & 239).

The arrival of the non-Indian traders, explorers and settlers also brought the introduction of new religions to the region. Although institutional religions may have been introduced to the Chehalis River region long before, the first recorded contact of westernized religion and Chehalis occurred in June of 1840, when the Reverend John H. Frost preached to Chehalis residing near Fort George along the Columbia River (Pipes, 1934, p. 55). Thus

began the long and somewhat arduous influx of missionaries preaching conversion and assimilation to the Chehalis people.

Words from the Chehalis language were eventually added to the Chinook words clergyman used when they preached to the tribes because Chinook tribal members were slowly becoming more incorporated with Chehalis Tribes and it was easier for tribal members to understand the sermons the clergyman preached (Ruby & Brown, 1976, p. 218).

Fort Astoria, built by John Jacob Astor in the early 1800s at the entrance to the Columbia River, represented American interests in the region until it was sold to the British and renamed Fort George. Chehalis were not much interested in the ongoing struggle for ownership of the fort and subsequent negotiations for control of the entire region. Their focus remained on trading with whomever occupied the trading posts and their own skirmishes with neighboring tribes. The idea of American or British governments having any direct impact on tribal governments or economies was an abstract concept until the mid-1850s when government representatives sent word to the tribes that a treaty council had been scheduled for the winter of 1855 (Swan, 1973, pp. 224-234, & 327).

4.1 A Series of Treaties

(a) Chehalis River Treaty Council

The Chehalis River Treaty Council was convened on the banks of the Chehalis River in February of 1855. The federal government had brought the coastal tribes together to negotiate a treaty for the purpose of taking tribal lands for settlement. The Chinook, Lower Chehalis, Quinault, Queets, Satsop, Upper Chehalis and Cowlitz arrived in camp wearing their best regalia, most having traveled many miles via horseback, canoeing and walking. Almost four hundred tribal people and twenty non-Indians were in camp for the meeting. Swan traveled with the tribal people living along the Willapa Bay to the council grounds and

recorded his experience in his journals. George Gibbs, the ethnologist, was also present at the treaty council grounds and recorded transcripts of the proceedings on behalf of the government (Swan, 1973, pp. 337-338).

Governor Stevens, representing the federal government, had convened the treaty council as part of a treaty making tour of the Pacific Northwest. The intent of the treaty was to entice the Northwest tribes to trade their land away and move to federally approved reservations. Stevens proposed a treaty that would remove all the tribes with representatives at the Treaty Council to the land of the Quinault Tribe and establish one reservation for all the Indians in the region. All tribal lands of the tribes in attendance at the Chehalis River Treaty Council would be given up in exchange for the proposed reservation land to the north, on the ocean coast, with some tribal people expected to move a hundred miles or more from their homeland (Lane & Lane, n.d., p. 2; Swan, 1973, pp. 337 & 346).[66]

The tribes set up individual camps around the treaty grounds. In addition to the Indian camps, the meeting grounds included a commissary, a large central fire with several smaller ones, the governor's tent, officer tents, and tables prepared to hold the vast quantities of potatoes, "beef, mutton, deer, elk, and salmon, with a cloud of wild geese, ducks, and other smaller game" (Swan, 1973, p. 337). When asked to provide a count of how many people were in their tribes, including those not present, the Lower Chehalis reported 217 people and the Upper Chehalis reported 216 people. After opening the discussions by smoking pipes together, the governor welcomed everyone with a speech translated into the Chinook Jargon by interpreters and then the meeting broke up for the day (Swan, 1973, p. 337).

The second morning the terms of the treaty were read in Chinook Jargon and translated into each tribal language. The Chinook Jargon was a trade language and not

[66] In 1927 Tribal member Mary Heck testified she was present at the Chehalis River treaty council in 1855 (Mary Heck was 92 years old in 1927 which would make her about 20 when she attended the council) she stated they held the council on a prairie near present day Centralia and the Governor offered to trade shawls and blankets for their land but the Tribe would not accept the offer and the treaty was never accepted (Court of Claims of the United States No. F-275, 1927, p. 538). While Mrs. Heck may recall the treaty grounds as near Centralia, they were actually in Grays Harbor near the present-day town of Cosmopolis on the Pilkington claim (Swan, 1973, p. 337).

conducive to explaining the intricacies of the treaty. Essentially, the Governor wanted Chehalis to give up their ancestral lands and move to a reservation the government would establish on an undetermined tract of land somewhere to the north in Quinault country. The government would provide schooling, medical services, agricultural assistance, and skilled trade service providers such as a blacksmith and carpenter. The tribes would not be restricted to the reservation boundaries and would be at liberty to leave the reservation to procure food or to trade. In return, the tribes would agree to free all slaves. The council broke up for the day after the terms of the treaty were presented (Swan, 1973, p. 344).

The third day, after having the night to think about the Governor's offer, the tribes met with the Governor and his aides again. While they appreciated his offer, one by one, each tribe (except for Quinault) rejected the request to move to a reservation outside of their traditional lands. The tribes wanted to stay where their Ancestors had lived, where their families were buried and where their story began.

While most of the tribes offered to share the land with the non-Indians, they only wanted a reservation on their own lands. Quinault, however, were amendable to signing a treaty because the proposed reservation was to be located in their homeland. Tleyuk, the son of Chehalis chief Carcowan however, pushed for a reservation closer to his ancestral lands in the Chehalis domain. He became increasingly strident in his demands and the council broke up on a sour note without reconciliation (Swan, 1973, pp. 345 & 346).

The next morning Tleyuk spoke out against the treaty and proposed reservation. Tleyuk told the Governor that his friends, the Hudson Bay traders, had informed him the government was not working in the tribe's best interests and was secretly planning to ship all the tribes out of the country. Tleyuk had been willing to sign the treaty initially, provided the reservation was in his homeland and he was made chief of all the tribes. When that could not be negotiated, Tleyuk actively worked to persuade his tribe not to agree to the terms of the

treaty. In fact, some of the other tribes might have been persuaded to move had not Tleyuk been so adamant in thwarting negotiations (Swan, 1973, pp. 346 & 347). Unfortunately for Stevens, many of the participants were not in agreement with his proposal and the treaty negotiations eventually broke down when only Quinault agreed to sign the treaty (Ruby & Brown, 1976, p. 236).

(b) The Dart Treaties

A number of other factors had also influenced the tribe's hesitance to sign a treaty with the government. A few years earlier, government representative, Dr. Anson Dart, had attempted to negotiate a series of treaties with tribes in the Columbia River region. The treaties, collectively known as the Anson Dart treaties, were never ratified by the United States Congress and therefore, were never enacted. The tribes included in the Dart treaties had been told the treaties could take up to two years to ratify and this had made the tribes very distrustful of the American treaty process because, essentially, the tribes would not benefit from the negotiations until the treaties had been ratified. The Hudson's Bay traders had been negotiating with tribes for years without any long waits for the fruits of their negotiations. None of the tribes could understand why they had to wait so long to complete the transactions (Swan, 1973, p. 349). It galled them that American negotiators must have their negotiations approved by the government in Washington, D.C. before treaties were finalized, but the British representatives could negotiate and finalize a deal immediately, without obtaining approval from anyone other than themselves (Swan, 1973, pp. 349 & 350).

Of course, the British traders had ulterior motives also. Resentful that the Oregon territory had officially passed into American hands, traders, still loyal to the British crown, actively sowed discontent and distrust towards the American government by telling their tribal friends stories of the broken promises other tribes had experienced after giving their lands away in treaty negotiations (Swan, 1973, pp. 346 & 347).

Additionally, oral historians passed down a story of Chehalis refusing to sign another treaty (but the stories did not identify the treaty). In a 2005 interview, my father Elder Curtis DuPuis, recalled the Tribe was offered a treaty that was never ratified. The government then returned with another treaty offer and, again, the Tribe did not accept the treaty terms so they did not relocate and stayed on their ancestral land (DuPuis, 2005).

The first treaty the oral stories refer to is most likely one of the Dart treaties, specifically, the Tansy Point Treaty of August 9, 1851 (Neilson, 1970, p. 45). Dart's failed treaties (along with the discontent spread to tribes by their Hudson Bay friends), resulted in the tribes being critical and untrusting of Stevens and his treaties, and ultimately contributed to the sinking of the second treaty and the Chehalis River Treaty Council negotiations (Swan, 1973, p. 349). The tribes were determined not to find themselves on the wrong side of a bad treaty (Swan, 1973, pp. 347 & 383).

At the initial treaty council meeting, tribal leaders were given papers and they were told possessing these papers acknowledged their role as leaders. The tribes placed great significance upon these papers and when Tleyuk disobeyed the rules established by the government representatives, his paper was torn up. The intent behind the destruction of the document was to punish him and rescind his legitimacy as a tribal leader. Although Tleyuk believed the paper established his importance to the treaty negotiations, his importance to the negotiations was actually inherent through his role as an official elected to speak for his Tribe.

The treating making experiences of the coastal tribes began to filter over the mountains from the coastal tribes to the interior tribes, and the stories they recounted made the interior tribes cautious of the government and the intent behind their eagerness to affect a treaty. When Stevens traveled over the mountains to continue his treaty making, he found the interior tribes ready to protect their lands by any means possible: war was on the horizon (Ruby & Brown, 1976, p. 237).

4.2 Re-settlement of Chehalis Lands

(a) Fort Henness

The mid-1850's brought the beginning of the Indian wars to Chehalis people. Stories were traveling back and forth across the mountains, from the coast to the interior and back again, about the American government's plan to steal land from the tribes and remove all the tribes from the region. The interior tribes were unhappy with the treaties they had negotiated with Stevens and were ready to rid themselves of the Americans in the region. Many of the coastal tribes were supportive of the interior tribes and vowed to support them in this fight. The Hudson Bay men, having done their own part to stoke a war, were not targeted for violence and were supportive of the tribes and their efforts (Ruby & Brown, 1976, pp. 237-239, Swan, 1973, p. 388).

In response, nervous settlers, worried about unrest and fighting occurring elsewhere in the territory, built forts throughout the region to protect themselves from attacks. Settlers in the Chehalis region, apprehensive of possible war to the north and west of the Chehalis territory, built Fort Henness on the prairie near Grand Mound (James, 1980, pp. 32 – 34).

Early one morning news came that the Indians were planning an attack in the vicinity. Tribal member, John Highton (also known as Heyton), mounted his horse and rode through the night warning the settlers of a possible Indian attack. Interior tribes had crossed the mountains to the north and Chehalis were expected to possibly attack from the south. Settlers and their families immediately began moving into the fort (H. Smith, 1941, p. 41). Throughout their stay at the fort, the fort was never attacked, and the suspected attack that caused the settlers to move in to the fort never transpired (H. Smith, 1941, p. 110). Still, some families resided in the fort for over a year and Fort Henness itself was in existence for approximately two years on the Grand Mound prairie (James, 1980, pp. 32 – 34; H. Smith, 1941, p. 41).

One casualty of rising tensions in the region was a Chehalis man named Stammel who was shot. Accounts of what happened leading up to Stammel's shooting vary however, the most common version relates that Stammel's wife approached Fort Henness crying and upset. She was chased by her husband and admitted to the fort while Stammel was left outside the gates. Angry, Stammel left the fort. But, men from the fort snuck away from the fort and killed him. This event almost ignited war due to the heightened tensions in the region, but, Judge Ford made reparations to the Tribe for the death and war was averted (James, 1980, p. 34).[67]

While Fort Henness was occupied, all Chehalis approaching the fort were required to carry a white flag to show they were peaceful. Those without the flag could possibly be shot dead. Once Stammel was killed, some occupants of the fort maintained he had not been carrying a white flag, although it was later proven he was (James, 1980, p. 34).

The Chehalis version of the story as told by Tribal Member Curtis DuPuis tells of the settlers being afraid of the Indians starting an Indian War so they built the fort to keep themselves safe. The Chehalis heard the settlers were building a fort in preparation for an upcoming Indian war so all the Chehalis ran to the fort and knocked on the door. They said, "Let us in! Let us in! We heard there is going to be an Indian war." The Chehalis did not realize they were the Indians that the settlers were afraid of! The settlers opened the door, allowing the Chehalis to enter and the Indian war ended peacefully.[68]

(b) Temporary Reservations

During this time period with the occupation of the fort, most Upper Chehalis were moved onto a temporary reservation on land owned by Judge Sidney Ford and B.C. Armstrong on the Chehalis River near Centralia (Ruby & Brown, 1976, p. 238). The move to

[67] Ford identifies the date as June 13, 1856 (Ford, 1857, p. 342).
[68] C. DuPuis, Tribal Elder, personal communication, 2013.

the temporary reservation was prompted in part by the Indian wars taking place elsewhere in the territory. Judge Ford felt it was safer for Chehalis to move onto a temporary reservation and safer for the settlers to have the Chehalis residing in one place. Judge Ford had developed a close friendship with many Chehalis and he was viewed as a good friend, and in this instance, protector. Some Chehalis confined on the temporary reservation served as scouts for Ford and the Americans during the territorial uprisings (Ruby & Brown, 1976, p. 238; H. Smith, 1941, p. 42).

Ford often wrote of the Chehalis, their horsemanship, their mastery of the rifle and how their knowledge of the land had the potential to create problems for the settlers, but the majority of the Tribe did not want to participate in any violence with their non-Indian neighbors.

A small percentage of the Tribe did attempt a war alliance with the tribes north and east of the mountains. Ford was informed of an insurrection being formed by Chief Leschi, a chief from a neighboring tribe who was involved in the uprising further north. Friends of Leschi were trying to incite the Chehalis to participate in an uprising. However, having developed a relationship with the Tribe over many years, when Ford was tipped off he prevented the alliance from forming (Ford, 1857, p. 342). He refused to give guns to the men he suspected were the insurgents in camp. Later, while traveling in the territory an attempt was made on Ford's life, but he managed to escape (Ford, 1857, p. 343; Neilson, 1970, p. 34).

Ford was also concerned with the effects an on-going conflict between Lower Chehalis and Quinault would have on other tribes in the region. The conflict included murders, theft and sudden attacks between the two tribes that stemmed from an old grudge between the two. This conflict had the potential to explode and involve other tribes and settlers in the region if it continued. Ford requested help from the territorial government in quelling the conflict before it escalated any further. His preemptive actions prevented the

conflict from escalating and creating a potentially acrimonious situation between the regional tribes and settlers (Ford, 1857, p. 342).

(c) Chehalis Reservation

By 1859, several Chehalis and members of the smaller surrounding tribes, were residing on a tract of land located within the traditional boundaries of Upper Chehalis. Their traditional territory had been reduced through settlement by non-Indians and this tract was their last stronghold. Later that same year, the federal government agreed to reserve the land for development as the future Chehalis Reservation (Gosnell, 1861, p. 188).

By March 1864 there were approximately 300-400 tribal people living on the future reservation land when finally, in July 1864 the United States secretary of the interior signed an executive order granting the Chehalis, Cowlitz and Chinook Tribes 4,214.83 acres for a shared reservation at the confluence of the Chehalis and Black Rivers. This placed the reservation in the heart of the land base of the Upper Chehalis people (Hale, 1864, p. 76, Neilson, 1970, p. 54).

By 1868, forty families resided on the new reservation and many more families lived adjacent to the reservation. Indian Agent Milroy requested an increase in acreage set aside for the reservation to provide land for the additional families, however, the government had already granted land to the Northern Pacific Railroad and no land was available to further enlarge the reservation (Ruby & Brown, 1986, p. 40).

Soon after, a second executive order signed by President Grover Cleveland in 1886 returned 3,753.63 acres to the public domain for homesteads and 471 acres was set aside for a school. Thirty-six Chehalis applied for homestead allotments. President Taft, through a third executive order, later opened up more land for homesteading in 1909 and directed the secretary of the interior to allot the land to tribal member, Perry Youckton. An unfortunate outcome of opening Chehalis land for homesteading, was that Chehalis land also became

available to non-Indians as well. This practice further reduced the reservation land base when the land was purchased by non-Chehalis people (Davis, et al, 1994, p. 131; Ruby & Brown, 1986, p. 40; Wooley & Peters, n.d.).

When the federal government did not make a decision on how the reservation lands would be allotted for the Chehalis Tribe, Agent Edwin Eells (head of the area Indian agency) took it upon himself in 1882-1883 to issue the tribal allottees a temporary certificate, signed by himself, assigning the land to the allottee. Eells also met with his close friend Senator Dawes, chairman of the United States Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, to discuss allotting lands to the Indians. The two met in Tacoma, Washington on several occasions to discuss how to enable the tribes and tribal members to retain legal title to their land (Chalcraft, 1970, p. 3).

In 1887 the United States Congress authorized the Dawes Act, also known as the General Allotment Act or the Dawes Severalty Act of 1887. This act authorized the issuance of trust patents to Indians through individual allotments. The intent of this act was to give tribal people ownership of the land they resided on which, in turn, would encourage them to live a civilized life through farming (Chalcraft, 1970, p. 3; Landry, 2017: Neilson, 1970, p. 68).

However, Chehalis were not eligible to apply for individual allotments under the Dawes Act because Chehalis had settled the land under the Homestead Act of 1862 (Neilson, 1970, pp. 68-70). Furthermore, as a non-treaty Tribe, they had ceded their land to the government and then reclaimed it using the Homestead Law, generally meaning they had resided on the land for at least five years and made improvements to it (Neilson, 1970, p. 69).

As a result, the land would need to be reopened to the public domain and the tribal members would have to apply for a patent for the land they had been living on (Neilson, 1970, pp. 68-70). As an executive order tribe, Chehalis were also placed in a unique position

because the Dawes Act only applied to treaty tribes, and did not make any provision for executive order tribes to acquire land under the Act. The first executive order, creating the reservation, required the second executive order to be issued to open the land for settlement, because the Tribe had been living on the land for longer than the five years required by law (Neilson, 1970, pp. 68-70).

Agent Eells contacted officials at the General Land Office in Washington, DC, and asked them to notify the local Land Office in Olympia to allow only Chehalis and members of their associated tribes to apply for patents to the land that the new (second) executive order opened for settlement. Eells then met with Chehalis and their confederated tribes in Olympia and assisted them in obtaining customary Trust Patents for their land. Chehalis Reservation residents, at last, became legal land owners (Neilson, 1970, p. 69).

On October 1, 1872, Indian Agent R.H. Milroy filed a report describing the reservation land on which the Chehalis resided. Milroy counted 600 tribal people living on the reservation. They consisted of members of the Chehalis, Chinook, Shoal Water Bay, Clatsop, Humptulips, Cakokian and Cowlitz Tribes, with Chehalis Tribal members contributing the highest percentage to the population count. The reservation was "*5,000 acres, the largest portion of which is rich bottom-land, heavily timbered, and with a dense undergrowth, and when cleared and brought under cultivation is very productive agricultural land. About 250 acres have been cleared, fenced, and brought partially under cultivation"* (Milroy, 1872, p. 328).

Not all tribal members of the tribes slated for removal to the reservation, moved to the reservation. "The Satsops, Humptulipses, Wynoochees, and Lower Chehalis villagers (such as Hoquiams, Oyhuts, and others)" (Ruby & Brown, 1986, p. 41) were ordered to join the Upper Chehalis on the reservation land, and while some tribal people did move there or close to there, not everyone did. The Humptulips (who spoke a dialect of the Lower Chehalis but were

a separate political group) were still residing in their homeland as of 1873, 164 Lower Chehalis and some Chinook were living on the reservation set aside at Shoalwater along the coast in 1866, and some Lower Chehalis had made their home among the Quinault to the north. Many of the Satsops, who intermarried with the Chehalis and whose population had been reduced due to a smallpox epidemic, did move to the Chehalis Reservation although other Satsop chose to remain in their close to their own traditional villages (Milroy, 1872, p. 335; Ruby & Brown, 1986, pp. 41 & 83).

(d) Reservation Life

In 1867, the Chehalis Reservation was 5,100 acres with 3,000 acres of enclosed pasture land. The remaining land was timbered and rich bottom land which had been cleared and planted with vegetable crops and hay. The bottom land flooded due to the nearby Black and Chehalis rivers. Seasonally wet ground, regular flooding and frost generated ongoing problems for crop development and growth, causing the tribes to have to depend on the government to supplement their diet. The flooding also damaged fencing and created problems for the landowners in keeping livestock secure and pastured (J. Smith, 1871, p. 296).

Thirty-five frame houses had been built by Chehalis for their families (Hill, 1867, p. 61). The school grounds, established from a requirement in the first executive order, included *"five buildings…a large dormitory, occupied by pupils during the school year, school house, Superintendent's cottage, hospital, and a barn for the horses and other stock. A commissary building was erected later"* (Chalcraft, 1970, p. 4).

By 1869, the tribes had divided the reservation into two residential areas, one group lived on the prairies near the governmental buildings with a chief named John Highton and the other further away to the west, along the river with Chief Quihon. Those living on the

prairie were farmers and worked with the American government officials while those living along the river depended on hunting and fishing for their sustenance (Ward, 1869, p. 151).

Many of the Satsop and Wynoochees who had chosen to remain living in their homeland were frequent visitors to the reservation. They requested assistance with developing their own land base for their tribal members but were turned away by agents who had been directed to work only with the tribal people who were residing on the reservation. Agent Milroy attempted to include Cowlitz, Chinook, Shoalwater, and Humptulips tribal members living off reservation in some of the supply distributions offered to tribal members living on the reservation, but, he was turned down because the tribes were afraid accepting the offerings would be construed as accepting payment for their lands and they were still hopeful they would eventually be able to negotiate with the government for their own reservation, separate from Chehalis (Milroy, 1872, p. 335; Ward, 1869, p. 151).

The role of Indian Agent or Farmer in Charge was not a long-term employment option. Prior to Chalcraft, a career government official who stayed on the reservation for several years, many agents and lead farmers moved on and off the reservation quite frequently. In 1871, the reservation was in desperate need of food because fraudulent agents had sold all the goods grown on the reservation at market in Olympia. The tribal members had to leave the reservation to find work to survive and quite a few traveled to a large potlatch at Shoalwater Bay and did not return until well into the summer season, thereby missing the planting season (J. Smith, 1871, p. 296).

But, by 1873, the reservation was again under new leadership, a boarding house for the school was in the process of being built and the Rev. J.F. Devore had established a Methodist Church on the reservation. Farmer in Charge, David Sires reported 4,500 acres of land perfect for a saw-mill and mechanical shops to convert the fir, cedar, oak, ash and alder into lumber, wagons, plows and farm implements. This was important because the nearest

sawmill was twenty miles to the north in Tumwater and lumber had to be brought in by train or packed in over rough muddy roads. Sires noted the reservation was surrounded by fields of coal and iron and imagined a future in manufacturing for the Tribe (Milroy, 1872, p. 334; Sires, 1873, p. 317).

In 1872, Milroy assigned a physician to the reservation. Mortality and disease rates were high and the nearest doctor was in Olympia. He planned to have a hospital built on the reservation and for a physician to be assigned to the hospital permanently. Tribal doctors were still practicing traditional medicine but more people were incorporating both western and traditional methods into their health treatments. By 1883, a physician no longer resided on the reservation, he traveled sixty miles to reach the reservation when he was needed. At that time, travel was long and tedious and the doctor was only called for serious ailments. Anything less than serious fell to Superintendent Chalcraft to doctor (Chalcraft, 1970, p. 58; Milroy, 1872, p. 334).

When Superintendent Edwin Chalcraft and his wife, Alice, moved to oversee the Chehalis Indian Reservation and Boarding School in 1883, they found a functional school and boarding house with cooking and laundry facilities and a farmer and matron in attendance. Chalcraft and his wife immediately set to work running the school and teaching the male students how to farm and the female students how to run a home. Chalcraft instituted a punishment of only bread and water during meals for those caught speaking Indian; he only allowed English to be spoken at school. The students who failed to follow this rule had their food rations cut (Chalcraft, 1970, pp. 1 & 11). More on Chalcraft's methods of schooling will be discussed in the next chapter.

In 1884, under Chalcraft's supervision a police department was established on the reservation. Four tribal members were the policemen and Jim Walker (also chief at that time), Charlie Walker and Pike Ben were the associate judges. The men were paid and the police

officers wore uniforms, badges and guns. George Mills, the Industrial teacher was the interpreter for the presiding officer, Superintendent Edwin Chalcraft. The Police Department and Court were responsible for ensuring the Rules Governing Courts of Indian Offences were not violated (Chalcraft, 1970, p. 12).

The rules for the Chehalis reservation as ordered by the Court of Indian Offences for the Chehalis Reservation were as follows:

> *The Police Court on the Chehalis Indian Reservation, Washington Territory, in session this 14th day of April, 1884, hereby issues the following Order for the guidance of all Indians residing on or being on said Reservation:*
>
> *1st. All Indians visiting the Reservation shall go directly to the Head Chief, Jim Walker, or the Superintendent, for permission to remain, which shall be given in writing;*
>
> *2nd. No Indian belonging to the Chehalis Reservation is to leave the Reservation for any purpose without a written Pass, signed by the Head Chief, Jim Walker, or the Superintendent;*
>
> *3rd. The giving of "shakes"[69] to sick people, in treating them for sickness, is in violation of Rule 6, in "Rules Governing Courts of Indian Offences" and is prohibited, but if an Indian begins to shake and cannot stop doing so, he must not have any other person present, unless it be his wife, or the husband, as the case may be. Children may not be present;*
>
> *4th. No one shall offer to give another Indian the "shakes," but if an Indian requests it be given him, it may be done, providing they apply to the Head Chief, Jim Walker, or the Superintendent, in advance, so that both may be present to see that no Government Rule is violated;*

[69] The "shakes" are part of a Shaker Indian Church ceremony and cannot be detailed here.

5th. Any violation of this Order, and punishment for the same, will be determined by the Police Court on this Reservation.

Signed by Jim Walker and Pike Ben and Charlie Walker (thumb marks)

Approved by Edwin L. Chalcraft, Superintendent" (Chalcraft, 1970, p. 29).

Cap Carson was the first person to receive a pass to leave the reservation to take a horse to Mud Bay for two days. Harry Ho-wa-nut was the second person to receive a pass for travel to Tumwater to visit a sick friend for one week. The requirement of a pass to leave the reservation was discontinued on October 1st, 1884 because people were not traveling as often for Shaker ceremonies and it had not been enforced regularly (Chalcraft, 1970, pp. 16 & 32).

4.3 Further Findings and Thoughts from the Research

(i) Forced settlement

This chapter discussed the story of the Chehalis Tribe in the latter part of the 19th century. By this stage, Chehalis members had started to completely adopt a western style of dress, had not flattened the heads of their children or owned slaves for over a decade, and had been subjected to a paternalistic, overbearing, governmental hierarchy that required them to apply for a pass or carry a flag to travel throughout their traditional territory.

As Chapter 3 outlined, during the 1800s Chehalis were free to roam, hunt, and gather throughout a huge swath of what is now known as Western Washington State. By the end of the 1800s the Tribe (who once claimed over two million acres of land), was restricted to a miniscule percentage of their original land base of under 5,000 acres (Milroy, 1872, p. 335).

The reservation that Chehalis had been restricted to was remote, and granted very few opportunities to continue their traditional economic opportunities. Scattered settler homesteads had given way to towns and cities, customary hunting and gathering spots were

now fenced off and fishing the rivers meant dodging the numerous boats, barges and steamships now plying the waterways. The tribes were trying to come to terms with their new reality while maintaining their traditional lifestyles. Thus, the beginning of the 1900s was not just the beginning of a new century, it was also the beginning of a cultural shift for the Confederated Tribes of the Chehalis Reservation. Furthermore, farming (the governments answer for successful economic development) was seeing little success on the Chehalis Reservation because we had never been a 'stationery people': we tended to journey through our own homelands visiting the sea for shellfish and rivers for fish.

However, the history recounted here shows how the reservation has become a part of our collective memory over time, and this has led us to forget our land once extended far beyond the boundaries of the reservation and the towns nearby. We have adjusted our thinking to commonly refer to the boundaries of our land as the three counties adjacent to the reservation, Lewis, Thurston and Grays Harbor.[70] Gradually, as time has moved us further from the tribal lifestyle that preceded the reservation, we incorporated the geographical limitations the government forced upon us, as our own story.

From Mud Bay to the Columbia River, from the Pacific Ocean to the prairies of South Puget Sound interior was Chehalis land, a truth that must be recognized when we present ourselves both within the Tribe and when we are interacting with people outside the Tribe. The land of our Ancestors is an integral part of our identity.

(ii) The rationale for forced settlement

Limiting the land base was first forced upon local tribes by non-Indians. Government officials recognized non-Indians were outnumbered by the tribes in the region and they needed to negotiate with the Tribe for land in a manner which would ensure the least level of

[70] Generally speaking, the federal government has determined these counties are the boundaries of our Tribal service area for grant funding purposes.

violence. The tribes had refused attempts at treaty making by the government, but the tide of settlers could not be stopped from moving into the area, so eventually the tribes were forced to capitulate to the current boundaries of the Chehalis Reservation.

The government needed the tribes to continue to work towards peace with settlers in the region, but the tribes wanted to retain as much of their own culture and homeland as possible. If they felt they were on the receiving end of a bad deal, it was possible they might go to war with the settlers moving into the region.

The tribes had good relations with the British traders that remained in the region after the land was turned over to the jurisdiction of the American government. It was because of their relationship with the British that Chehalis were more distrusting and leery of the Americans than they might otherwise have been. As noted previously, the British, still bitter about losing the region to the Americans, were motivated by their anger to sour the relationship between the tribes and the American government. While the British may have had an ulterior motive in disrupting the negotiation process, their meddling benefitted the Chehalis tribes because the knowledge they gained regarding American motivations for moving them to a reservation enabled them to make a better choice in the negotiations process and retain the land base that was most important to them.

While the tribes were able to assert their right to not participate in negotiations for their tribal lands, eventually, the government moved forward with not only moving the tribes to the location of the current reservation, but they also sequestered Chehalis on a temporary reservation near present day Centralia during the Indian wars.[71]

Intergovernmental negotiations with the tribes vacillated between a recognition of the inherent sovereignty of the tribe and the government action toward the tribal people as children in need of care. The government recognized the tribe's right to negotiate for

[71] The Chehalis were able to retain the land most valuable to them, the site of the current Chehalis Reservation.

ownership of their land, but by forcing tribal people to live as settlers and farmers, they also sought to establish themselves as the apex of hierarchy of authority.

From the onset of the arrival of non-Indians into the region, non-Indians have behaved as the individuals who gave the tribal people legitimacy, legitimacy in how we live, where we live, how our government is valued, and even what our name is. Yet, while federal and local governments have limited our boundaries for their own purposes, this behavior does not prevent the Chehalis people from remembering and reclaiming our ancestral identity. The history of our traditional land base may still be incorporated into our contemporary story.

(iii) Moving Forward

Chapter 5 examines current governmental relations and how the tribe has moved beyond looking to the federal or state governments for legitimacy. In this current situation, the governments practice (known as government to government consultation) acknowledges the sovereignty of the tribes and their seat at the table when government policy or law impacts the tribe. In these contemporary times, the Chehalis Tribe has moved beyond waiting for the government to acknowledge us or to figuratively *tear up our papers*, to one of being more proactive in our decision-making for our Tribe's future.

CHAPTER FIVE

Into the 21st Century

"Traditional knowledge enables us to see our place and our responsibility within the movement of history" (Deloria, 1991/1994, p. 23)

5.0 Introduction

By the end of the 1800s the Confederated Tribes of the Chehalis Reservation had been established. The smaller, regional tribes had been consolidated and contained by the federal government on a small slice of their original homeland, and for some, the prairie land of their new environment was vastly different than the woods and rivers of their former homelands. Now that the federal government had the tribes assigned to a reservation, federal officials set about sculpting our tribal people into an image the officials believed represented success: that of landowner, farmer and United States citizen.

The transition to a lifestyle of schooling, formalized religion, western style homes, gardening and raising livestock would be overseen by a series of Indian Agents and lead Farmers (see Chapter 4). The agents (known as the government men) had a livelihood that was based on imposing colonization on the Indian. Decades of government policies would be approved and implemented in order to guide the work of the Agents, Farmers and their successors, all of which were geared towards civilizing the Indian (Deloria, 1977). This was undertaken in a number of ways.

5.1 Civilizing the Indians

(i) Education

In 1873 the United States Congress approved a special appropriation of $100,000 for Indian education. Reservation agents began to force Indian parents to enroll their children in one of three educational options: day schools, reservation boarding schools or off reservation boarding schools (Deloria, 1999, p. 50). This was the beginning of the time period known as the boarding school era and it has resulted in the loss of many tribal languages and customs because children were removed from their parents for long periods of time, sometimes their whole childhood, and indoctrinated in westernized lifestyles.

Mortality rates were high for children living in boarding schools (see section 3.4 (vii)). For those children who survived, some were never reunited with their parents. For those who made it home, many felt alienated because they were not allowed to speak their native language at school, they no longer spoke the same language as their families, and they were no longer adapted to the lifestyle their families lived at home.[72]

Formal, westernized education on the Chehalis reservation began as early as 1867. The first reservation school was in the process of being built and the Farmer in Charge and his wife were teaching ten children how to read and write. By 1869, the school building was still in an unfinished state and the lumber was beginning to rot. It appeared that early education on the reservation was a series of fits and starts.

Nonetheless, by 1870 newly appointed Farmer in Charge N.S. Pierce reported he had the moldering frame of the schoolhouse (started by former agent Hill) torn down. Moreover, a new building was in the process of being built and a school teacher had been hired (Pierce, 1870, p. 46). Milroy took over the renovations of the school house in 1871 and within one

[72] K. Barr, Quinault Tribal Elder and Chehalis descendant & C. DuPuis, Tribal Elder, personal communication, 2013.

year he had finished the school house, a boarding and lodging house with a dining hall, washroom, and rooms for teachers, cooks and students (Milroy, 1872, p. 331).

Schools practiced a teaching method similar to military enrollment: uniforms were required and students were punished harshly. The primary educational goal of the schools was to assimilate students into the white settler culture, this included preventing them from practicing their native traditions (Deloria, 1999, p. 163). Milroy described the purpose of Indian boarding schools in a report he submitted to the Office of the Superintendent of Indian Affairs in 1872,

> *If the Indian children are allowed to reside and grow up with their savage parents, while attending school, they will naturally absorb from these parents their ideas, habits, manners, outcome, prejudices, and superstitions at the same time absorbed from their parents unfits them for civilized life, so that one neutralizes the others, and injures rather than benefits; therefore, as before remarked, the seemingly cruel necessity of separating these children from their parents, from the time they commence attending school, and of making these schools 'industrial boarding-schools' where the children can acquire the occupations and habits, as well as the education, necessary to civilization* (Milroy, 1872, p. 331).

In 1873 (the year Congress approved the special appropriation funding for Indian education) Farmer in Charge David Sires (1873, p. 316), filed a report in which he noted desks, chairs and blackboards had been procured for the school and fifty to sixty students could be served in the new school house and its newly built boarding house.

The Chehalis Reservation Boarding School, although now ready for its first pupils, sat empty until 1874 when money from the appropriation act was finally received and funding made available for hiring teachers. Once a matron and teacher were secured, the school opened its doors to 24 Indians students (Gibson, 1874, p. 326). In September of 1880, the

Chehalis Reservation Boarding School had 23 pupils in residence at the school and several day students. Students studied a variety of subjects including math, writing, reading, music and they attended Bible studies on Sundays (Bell, 1880, p. 160).

In 1883 Edwin Chalcraft was hired as superintendent of the Chehalis Reservation Boarding School. When Superintendent Chalcraft and his wife, Alice, began working on the reservation the school had forty-five students, including students from the Nisqually and Squaxin reservations. By the time he left the school in 1889, one hundred and one students were enrolled (Chalcraft, 1970, pp.1 & 6). Under Chalcraft's leadership the school day began at six am with breakfast followed by classes at eight am. At noon, classes were dismissed and the students ate dinner and then moved on to their assigned activities: boys went to the Industrial teacher and girls to the Matron for domestic duties[73] (Chalcraft, 1970, p. 8). School vacations occurred in September so the Tribe could travel to the hop fields and pick hops (Chalcraft, 1970, p. 56).

As with Milroy, Chalcraft believed in the federal government policy that encouraged reservation agents to remove students from the daily care of their parents so they may be fully and successfully assimilated into the non-Indian lifestyle (Chalcraft, 1970, p. 5). Chalcraft began his domestication of the Indian people by forbidding the children to speak their native language during the school day. Children who were caught speaking in their native language were not allowed to eat anything besides bread and water as punishment (Chalcraft, 1970, p. 11).

While punishments were harsh, Chalcraft was known for his lenient punishments compared to superintendents elsewhere. However, whippings and beatings still occurred and tribal member Old Choake confronted Eells about the violent punishments during a visit to oversee Chalcraft's work on the reservation (Chalcraft, 2004, p. xxxi).

[73] The act of a domestic curriculum for Indigenous peoples occurred in many parts of the world as an outcome of a focus on assimilation and 'civilizing' the natives (Simon 1990).

Chalcraft's paternalistic approach extended to the classrooms in which *students were instructed in precisely choreographed ritual how to put away their books and prepare to receive orders. The pattern was robotic in execution and resembled a military rifle drill without the guns. At the signal and in unison, students rose from their seats. Their heads faced toward the front of the classroom. Their backs were arched forward. Their hands touched their knees* (Chalcraft, 2004, p. xxxv).

The boarding school was in operation from 1879 until 1896 and when it was closed, some of the buildings were converted to a day school. According to some historians, students attended the reservation day school until 1920 when the Oakville and Rochester school districts began transporting tribal students to schools within their districts (Marr, et al. 2001, p. 19).

Oral stories however, passed down by Elders who were children in the late 1890s to approximately 1930s, tell of Chehalis reservation children rounded up by state and federal workers for transportation to far off boarding schools. The Elders clearly remember the government men forcibly removing children from the reservation and some of the children hiding during the round ups. This practice of removing children also occurred in several other countries including Australia, New Zealand and Canada. The children who hid and stayed on the reservation were more likely to retain their native language skills.[74]

While Chehalis did have the boarding school (and then a day school on the reservation), some of the students who studied there were from other reservations and tribes. At the time, the government was known to remove children from their home reservations to distant boarding schools to ensure they were more likely to lose their language and traditions because they were far from family and friends.[75]

[74] K. Barr, Quinault Tribal Elder and Chehalis descendant & C. DuPuis, Tribal Elder, personal communication, 2013.
[75] Ibid.

Elder Katherine Barr (2005) recalled that children were made to feel ashamed of their heritage and their language at school. While children were punished if they were caught speaking Chehalis instead of English, she was the only child who dared to speak in her native languages. At home her family spoke Chehalis, Nisqually, Chinook as well as English and she learned to speak the languages by listening to her parents. She retained her knowledge of the languages throughout her life and was the last remaining fluent Chehalis speaker upon her passing.

(ii) Citizenship

On June 2, 1924 Congress passed the Indian Citizenship Act which conveyed full US citizenship, including voting rights, to all Native Americans. Theoretically, the Fifteenth Amendment to the US Constitution in 1870, enabled all citizens regardless of race, color or previous servitude, the right to not be denied the ability to vote[76] (US Const. amend. XV; Deloria & Lytle, 2002, p. 222). The reality however, for many Americans, (regardless of race, color or previous servitude) was that they were not given the opportunity to vote, or, were prevented from voting. In fact, not all states recognized the Native right to vote and some did not allow tribal people to vote until the mid – 1950s.

Additionally, until the Indian Citizenship Act, not all Native Americans were recognized as citizens of the United States.[77] In some cases, citizenship was dependent on land ownership, or relinquishment of traditional beliefs and full integration into western society (Deloria & Lytle, 2002, p. 11, 222).

Chehalis, many of whom had filed for or received their trust patent for their land prior to the Dawes Act of 1887, voted in the November 1888 election in Oakville, Washington State. Chalcraft believed the Dawes Act conveyed the right to vote to Chehalis landowners

[76] According to Deloria, the 15th Amendment did not grant the right to vote, it granted the right to not be discriminated against by being denied voting (Deloria, 2002, p. 222).
[77] Indian people who served in the armed forces were granted citizenship under a previous act in 1919 (41 Stat. 350) (Deloria, 2002, p. 11).

and encouraged them to travel to the nearby town of Oakville to do so. Chalcraft also traveled to Oakville but upon arrival found none of the Chehalis had voted and the judges in charge of voting found themselves unsure of the legality of allowing Indians to vote. After Chalcraft read the judges a copy of the law, the Chehalis were allowed to begin voting. Chehalis Tribal member, Marion Davis, became the first Chehalis to vote on November 4, 1884 (Chalcraft, 1970, p. 41). By 1892, Chehalis were fully exercising their voting rights as United States citizens and landowners with at least 75 percent of eligible voters, voting in each election thereafter (Eels, 1892, p. 192).

(iii) Reorganization of Tribal Lands

In June 1934 Congress passed the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA), also known as the Wheeler-Howard Act. The intent of the Act was to reduce the reach of the federal government on Indian Affairs, end the practice of land allotment on reservation lands, and encourage tribal governments to adopt their own constitutions and laws for the purpose of self-governance. The supporters of the Act acknowledged federal policies had not benefitted tribes. Tribes were experiencing severe poverty and an influx of non-Indians reducing the tribal land base by buying up tribal lands[78] (Deloria & Lytle, 2002, p. 14).

The IRA transferred the management of assets from the federal government to the tribes. This policy was meant to reverse the economic, social and psychological damage inflicted on tribes by previous assimilationist policies, such as the Dawes Act of 1887, and promote tribal sovereignty and self-governance. The federal government encouraged tribes to develop a constitution and offered tribes a standardized constitution for their review (Deloria & Lytle, 2002, pp. 14-15).

[78] D. Burnett, former Tribal Chairman, personal communication, 2016. David Burnett was Chehalis Tribal Chairman for many years and currently serves on the Chehalis Tribal Business Committee (2018).

For a constitution to go into effect, a majority of eligible tribal voters had to vote to approve the constitution (Deloria & Lytle, 2002, p. 15). Chehalis Tribal members refused to accept the standardized constitution offered by the government and developed their own constitution instead. The original Constitution and Bylaws of the Confederated Tribes of the Chehalis Reservation was adopted on July 15, 1939 and later amended on April 16, 1973.[79]

From the 1940s through to the early 1970s, the Tribe tried to implement a functional tribal government model. The process was slow and challenging due to lack of funding and other financial resources not only for the tribal government, but for tribal members as well. The financial and social impact of the Great Depression, which started in 1929 and lasted into the 1930s, had made basic survival on the reservation the emphasis of this time period. Tribal members were focused on keeping their families fed, clothed and under adequate shelter and governmental development was evolving, but slowly.[80]

(iv) Reorganization of Tribal Traditions

In addition, some tribal traditions were no longer practiced due to lack of access to usual and accustomed places, the means to travel there even if access was not an issue, the gradual loss of language and the cultural mores inherent within a living language, and the bleak economic landscape. Tribal Elder, Curtis DuPuis,[81] described these decades,

> *Anyway, broadly speaking, this resulted in the American Indian moving into the Indian communities, now called reservations, and living the rural, agrarian life. This non-paying, no retirement, and non-mingling life was OK, but it did not allow the American Indian to enjoy the good life, similar to the experiences of the White man.*
>
> *American Indians generally did not have permanent employment, but rather seasonal employment, on a last-hired, first-fired basis. There was no steady, permanent*

[79] Ibid.
[80] Ibid.
[81] C. DuPuis, Tribal Elder, personal communication, 2016.

paycheck, no surplus funds to build a (good) house or to improve the current house structure; but you still had the livestock, the agrarian economy, hunting and fishing, American Indian style religious practices, and the tribal and family structure.

Cindy Andy,[82] sister of Katherine Barr and daughter of Marion Davis and Bertha Petoie, was born in 1930 on the Chehalis Reservation. Mrs. Andy's mother was the second wife of Marion Davis, his first wife having passed away many years before. Her father attended Chemawa Indian School when he was a boy. As an adult, Mr. Davis worked as an interpreter between the government officials and the Tribe. Many Tribal members were still speaking Chehalis as their first and sometimes only language, in the first half of the 1900s.[83]

Mr. Davis spent many weeks away from home meeting with government officials to explain the needs of the Chehalis in English, he would then return to the reservation and translate what the officials had said into Chehalis. He facilitated many intergovernmental negotiations in this manner. The Tribe would make their decision and away Mr. Davis would travel again, catching a train at nearby Gate City and traveling to wherever the next governmental meeting was held.[84]

Curtis DuPuis, Sr.[85] was born in 1944 in Tacoma, Washington. His mother, Hazel Pete, told him his maternal family was from an Upper Chehalis band of Kwaiailk located near present day Pe Ell and Rainbow Falls, Washington. The original family home, the home his mother grew up in, was located on the old Fred Bobb property.[86] The house Mr. DuPuis grew up in was an old house on Anderson Road that his mother owned. His current home is on the Black River, the homestead of his grandparents Frank and Harriet Pete, at one of the old canoe landing sites.

[82] C. Andy, Tribal Elder, personal communication, 2016.
[83] Ibid.
[84] Ibid.
[85] C. DuPuis, Tribal Elder, personal communication, 2016.
[86] Tribal member Fred Bobb sold the property to Francis and Ed Hamilton in the late 1930s (C. DuPuis, personal communication, 2016).

In the early 1900s, prior to cars becoming a major mode of transportation, and after canoe travel began to wane as everyday transport, horse and buckboards were the most common mode of travel. Mr. DuPuis' mother, Hazel, rode a buckboard to present day Elma, Washington, a journey that may take twenty minutes today, but took two days travel on the buckboard. Travel to the Nisqually region, today a forty minute journey, took three days of travel, with a stop at a camping spot on Scatter Creek and a second night of camping near present day Rainier. Mr. DuPuis remembered community talk of a walking trail from Black River to Gate, to Little Rock and on to Mud Bay.[87]

Mrs. Andy[88] recalled traveling to Mount Rainier on horses, her whole family participated in the journey and rode on horses and buckboards. She recounted the story of how her horse slipped on a trail while high up in the mountains, and as she was falling saw the tops of the trees. Fortunately, her father caught her before she fell too far. The trip was a multiple day journey, with several days of camping and gathering before returning home.

In the 1940s when Mrs. Andy[89] was young, houses on the reservation were single houses or sheds on a large plot of land. The original boarding school house had been located near the present-day ball fields on the Stanley Petoie property. When the school closed, Mr. Davis put logs under the house and moved it to a plot of land across from the Shaker Church. This became one of the first houses on the reservation Mrs. Andy remembers.

Life on the reservation was subsistence based. Tribal members were still traveling to gather food, such as clams, fish, berries, and eels. Mrs. Andy[90] made a living through clam digging and smelting with her sister. She traveled as far as the Hoh River to smelt fish. Initially, clams and smelt were sold to buyers in Hoquiam but later, they would travel as far as Seattle to sell their catch. They tried to be among the first to arrive in the Seattle markets

[87] C. DuPuis, Tribal Elder, personal communication, 2016.
[88] C. Andy, Tribal Elder, personal communication, 2016.
[89] Ibid.
[90] Ibid.

because the first to arrive were given the best prices for their fish. The drive was very long and no bridges had been built yet so ferries were used to cross the rivers. Mrs. Andy knew how to drive and she was often asked to take fish to market for everyone.

As a child, Mrs. Andy[91] watched Julia Pete pick berries and then place them on the hot roof to dry. She did the same thing with the hazelnuts she gathered. When the nuts were dry the children climbed up to the roof and stomped on the nuts or rolled over them until the shells cracked and the leaves fell off. In addition, meat was smoked and stored for winter.

Tribal members and friends from other tribes, such as, Sophie Heck, Mary Iley, Mary Kiona,[92] came together to dig up blue camas bulbs (the white bulbs are poisonous) on the prairie. Her stepfather, tribal member Fred Bobb, dug a wide place in the dirt, not quite a hole, but a large somewhat shallow trench, and lined it with hot rocks. Everyone placed their camas on the rocks, and the camas was covered with more rocks and burlap sacks. The camas steamed for a day or two, the length of time determined by the number of bulbs, then the hole was uncovered, and the camas was ready to be divided up among the families.[93]

Mr. DuPuis[94] recalled his grandmother, tribal member Harriet Pete making medicine with plants and roots. Mrs. Andy[95] noted that ferns were boiled to make tea for colds and coughs. By the 1940s a doctor came to the reservation and made home visits to whomever was sick. The lucky patients were those not given cod liver oil to cure their ailments. In times of crisis such as when someone was very sick or there was a fire, Frank Pete fired his shotgun into the air multiple times to notify the neighbors help was needed right away.

[91] C. Andy, Tribal Elder, personal communication, 2016.
[92] Mr. DuPuis' aunt, Mary Kiona lived in Silver Creek (Kiona Creek) in the Morton, White Pass, Packwood area was a young girl who saw the first White Man to that area arrive by horse-drawn wagon in the mid-1850s (C. DuPuis, personal communication, 2016).
[93] C. Andy, Tribal Elder, personal communication, 2016.
[94] C. DuPuis, Tribal Elder, personal communication, 2016.
[95] C. Andy, Tribal Elder, personal communication, 2016.

In those years, some fishermen recalled Chehalis still fished the full length of the Chehalis River,[96] from the interior to the coast. Fred Bobb owned a traditional Chehalis canoe, which both Mr. DuPuis and Mrs. Andy[97] remembered as very tippy. Mrs. Andy's sister fished with Bobb in the old canoe, they traveled the river from the reservation to Satsop and Aberdeen. After Fred Bobb passed away in the 1960s, the canoe was lost. Many years later an old canoe was found near the present-day Sick-man Ford Bridge, while the origin of the canoe has not been determined, some believed it was the old Fred Bobb canoe. The canoe is now on display in the Chehalis Tribal Community Center.

Mrs. Andy[98] recalled her mother, Bertha Bobb, and her sister Sophie Heck, made watertight baskets when she was a child. The baskets were work baskets: they were used for cooking and steaming food, for storage and for hauling items. She recalled gathering 50lb sacks of cedar roots on the reservation, the process took all day and the women would break for lunch near the gathering place. Mrs. Andy can still make a similar type basket but it is smaller and such baskets are no longer used as work baskets.

The farm school portion of the Chehalis Reservation Boarding school was located on the fields next to the popular swimming spot known as the Bull Hole. Mr. DuPuis recalled his Elders sharing stories of the boys learning to farm and grow crops on the fields. An old farm building, a relic of the farm school days, was located there until it fell down in the 1970s. Mrs. Andy was not familiar with any stories of the boys schooling however, her mother did share stories of her own childhood as a student in the girls program. The girls at the school spent a majority of their time doing laundry, washing clothes and hauling goods.[99]

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[96] In his 1927 (p. 546) testimony regarding usual and accustomed places of Chehalis, Marion Davis stated Tribal members could get arrested and jailed for fishing more than about 5 miles outside the reservation boundaries. George Benn (p. 549) said the rivers used to abound with fish but today, after fishing for nine nights he only got seven fish. The nets at the mouth of the river have made it hard for the fish to pass through.
[97] C. Andy, Tribal Elder, personal communication, 2016.
[98] Ibid.
[99] C. Andy & C. DuPuis, Tribal Elders, personal communication, 2016.

By the mid-1950s there were approximately forty houses and 140 people living on the reservation. Most houses were old, unpainted and had no insulation.[100] Extended families often lived together in 1,500 to 2,000 square foot homes. Prior to the late 1950s, the homes lacked electricity, indoor toilets and running water. Hand pump wells supplied water for the home and wood or coal stoves provided the heat. Water for baths was carted in from the well, heated on the stoves and used to fill a large tub. Everyone in the family would take turns taking a bath with hot water added until everyone had bathed. Many homes had an orchard, a garden, and farm animals. Most people canned, smoked, dried or otherwise preserved their food. While Mr. DuPuis'[101] grandfather still owned horses in the 1950s, the horse and wagon had been replaced by the automobile for travel.

Without electricity, the main entertainment in the evenings was telling stories before the children were sent to bed. Oral histories were also shared, and these stories often focused on the time period from 1880 to the present time and familial relationships. Community events included bingo games, baseball practice, tribal nights, dances, hunting, fishing, general council meetings and other community activities. Mrs. Andy's paternal aunts, Linda Benn and Elsie Smith, spoke only the Chehalis language. Mrs. Andy[102] remembered her aunts and cousins visiting the house, where they loved to knit and talk, at night while everyone gathered around to listen to them tell old Indian stories.

The closest hospitals were twenty miles or more away and located in the towns of Chehalis, Aberdeen and Olympia. While hospitals offered medical treatments and physician services, the patients did not have immediate access to these services due to the time it took to travel to the hospitals and limited access to transportation. Tribal members did have access to a traveling doctor, nurse and dentist, who provided basic medical care and visited the Tribe on

[100] Mrs. Andy did not recall any longhouses built or in use when she was younger, however, Mr. DuPuis recalled his mother, Tribal member Hazel Pete saying there was a longhouse by Gate when she was young (C. Andy & C. DuPuis, Tribal Elders, personal communication, 2016).
[101] C. DuPuis, Tribal Elder, personal communication, 2016.
[102] C. Andy, Tribal Elder, personal communication, 2016.

a weekly or bi-weekly basis. If a patient was sick and it was not a doctor or dentist day, they would travel to Elma or Centralia for formal doctor visits.[103]

Two cemeteries, one on Anderson Road and one on Cemetery Road, served the needs of the tribal community. There is an older cemetery on Balch Road but it is no longer in use, and most of the grave markers have disintegrated. The oldest grave sites, where bodies were placed in the handmade canoes, had mostly disintegrated by the 1950s. To this day, most Chehalis people avoid the trek to their wooded location along the river out of respect for the people who were interred there.[104]

Each Chehalis fisherman had their traditional, inherited family fishing grounds. To fish elsewhere, required permission from the fish site owner to fish at their site. Having transitioned on from life in the longhouse, fish were now smoked over alder wood fires in small, shed like smoke houses. The smoke houses were only used for curing fish and shellfish such as sturgeon, razor clams, geoducks, oysters, steamer clams, and smelt. Today the traditional art of smoking fish over a longhouse fire has been passed on to the fishermen now using the smoke house to ensure the fish were cooked properly.[105]

By the 1970s, homes with orchards, gardens and livestock were no longer prevalent. Housing developments, a new tribal hall and a store had been built on the reservation. A preschool Head Start program had been in operation since the late 1960s and a more formalized tribal clinic had been introduced. Most students were attending school in one of the two nearby school districts, and groceries and supplies were purchased at off-reservation stores. The community maintained close ties with the other western Washington, Puget Sound tribes, through family ties, inter-marriage, social and religious practices, and sports. Each tribe hosted several Tribal events and ceremonies each year, and the other tribes would visit and participate.

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[103] C. DuPuis, Tribal Elder, personal communication, 2016.
[104] Ibid.
[105] C. DuPuis, Tribal Elder, personal communication, 2016.

5.2 Educating the Government

(i) Self – Determination

The 1970s marked the beginning of the current era of self-governance and self-determination for the Chehalis Tribe. Nationally, the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act of 1975, also known as Public Law 638 or PL-638, changed the federal government focus from assimilation to tribal self-determination. The government intended to empower tribes to manage their own governments and tribal programs without direct oversight from the federal government. The Self Determination Act enabled tribes to contract directly with the federal government for services through contracts and compacts.[106]

The Self Determination Act ushered in a new era of self-governance for the Chehalis Tribe. The Tribe having implemented a newly amended constitution, began the more formalized approach to tribal governance that the Tribe maintains today. The current governmental structure is similar to traditional ways of governing in that the general body, or, General Council, is still in existence and elects a governing body, now called the Business Committee, to represent Tribal interests.

Self-determination empowered the Tribe and the Business Committee to structure the Tribal government and Tribal business according to the needs of the Tribe rather than at the direction of the federal government. This includes the development of educational programs, health services, social services, economic opportunities, and Elder services. Since the implementation of the Self-Determination Act, the Chehalis Tribal government has grown exponentially. The Tribe now manages multiple Tribal departments, a law enforcement and court system, collects and retains tax revenues, and maintains business ventures similar to any other sovereign nation.[107]

[106] Also called 638 contracts or compacts.
[107] D. Burnett, former Tribal Chairman, personal communication, 2016.

(ii) The Boldt Decision

The 1970s opened new doors not only for the Chehalis but for other Washington state tribes as well. The 1974 Boldt Decision, also known as United States v. Washington, has been heralded as a monumental victory for Washington state treaty tribes and their fishing rights (Deloria & Lytle, 2002, p. 47). The Boldt Decision affirmed the tribes were entitled to fifty percent of the salmon harvest per their treaty rights. Unfortunately for non-treaty tribes (like Chehalis), the Boldt Decision did not specifically include them in the legislation that awarded fifty percent of the harvest to treaty tribes, and fifty percent to non-tribal fisherman. Because the Chehalis Tribe was an executive order tribe (see section 1.2), they had not secured the treaty rights that would enable them to regulate hunting and fishing rights outside of their reservation boundaries as they would have, if they had secured the right to fish and hunt in their usual and accustomed places through treaty negotiations.

Parts of the Chehalis River, its tributaries, and all of Grays Harbor are downriver of the Chehalis Reservation. What that means is that other tribes fishing in this region cause a decrease in the amount of fish available to Chehalis fisherman, as they catch them before they enter Chehalis Reservation territory. In spite of the fact that the Chehalis River, Grays Harbor[108] and a plethora of regional rivers and tributaries are well documented as the traditional region of the Chehalis (and stories tell of Tribal members fishing the full length of the river into the 1960s), other area tribes have secured, or have attempted to secure rights to the Chehalis Tribal traditional fishing territories as a result of the Boldt Decision.

A court case in 1996, *Confederated Tribes of Chehalis v. State of Washington*, found Chehalis had not secured fishing rights to the Chehalis River flowing outside the boundaries of the reservation and reinforces the inequities for Chehalis of depleted fishing stocks. This

[108] Including the fact the name Chehalis originated from a Chehalis village located on Grays Harbor.

decision has devastatingly restricted the Tribe's access to their usual and accustomed fishing areas. The result is that contemporarily, the fish runs are not as plentiful as they were in past decades. Chehalis experience less of a fish run, and at times the rivers have to be closed because the fish runs are too limited.[109]

By restricting Chehalis fisherman to the reservation boundaries, the government limited a very important sustenance industry for Chehalis families. Chehalis have never stopped relying on fish as a staple food. There has been no time in history that Chehalis fisherman have stopped fishing the rivers. The return of the salmon is celebrated every year with a First Salmon Ceremony, just as it has been since time immemorial. Yet, the government fails to recognize the life blood the fish gives to our people. The Tribe faces increased competition for limited resources as fish runs are reduced and treaty tribes move into the downriver region.

Fortunately, one tribe, the Skokomish, recently lost their case to fish a Chehalis Tribal river. Hopefully Chehalis can continue to fend off the attacks on their resources, as well as, regain access to the regions lost.[110]

(iii) Reparations

Because Chehalis is an executive order tribe, they did not receive the treaty rights they would have received had they signed the treaty presented at the Chehalis River Treaty Council and moved to the Quinault Reservation. There are other ways by which the Tribe has been 'penalized' for non-compliance with other tribes. For example, the Tribe did not initially receive compensation for the land they relinquished when they agreed to move to the Chehalis Reservation.

[109] C. DuPuis, Tribal Elder, personal communication, 2016.
[110] D. Burnett, former Tribal Chairman & C. DuPuis, Tribal Elder, personal communication, 2016.

Chehalis filed their first court case for land reparations in 1906. This claim was denied in 1908 when the acting commissioner of Indian Affairs closed the case with the erroneous reasoning the Tribe had participated in the Anson Dart sponsored Tansey Point Treaty of 1851. As stated previously (see section 4.1 b), the Anson Dart treaties were never ratified, therefore, the Tribe received no benefits from these treaties (Davis, 1996, p. 131; Ruby & Brown, 1986, p. 159; Neilson, 1970 p. 45).

The Tribe further filed for reparations in 1927 as part of a larger land claim case, *Duwamish, et al. v. the United States* (Court of Claims F-275), with several other area tribes and again in 1951 to protest the 1886 executive order in which President Cleveland returned a large tract of reservation land to the public domain for settlement purposes and the reservation lost acreage.

The Tribe was not successful in their filings until they successfully argued the Confederated Tribes of the Chehalis Reservation were a confederation of the tribes the government had intended to remove to the reservation when it was first established. On October 7, 1963 $754,380 was awarded to the Confederated Tribes of the Chehalis for 838,200 acres of relinquished land (Davis, 1996, p. 131).

(iv) The Indian Child Welfare Act

An important act for tribal self-governance was the 1978 Indian Child Welfare Act (ICWA). ICWA was enacted to reduce the number of Indian children being removed from their homes throughout Indian Country. Tribal populations were experiencing a higher rate of children removed from their homes than the non-Indian population. The children were then placed with non-Chehalis, non-Indian families or institutions, such as boarding schools. Many

children were not reunited with their families until they were adults, if at all (Deloria & Lytle, 2002, pp. 212 & 213).[111]

As noted in section 5.1 (i), the boarding schools were similar to military schools with uniforms and a regimented lifestyle. Children were forced to cut their hair, were not allowed to speak their native languages, were meant to lose the Indian and learn how to assimilate into non-Indian society. As also noted previously, death rates at boarding schools were high for a variety of reasons, such as allergies to foods, beatings, suicide, and murder.[112]

Some children were removed because federal and state government representatives or church leaders felt the traditional lifestyle of the Indian was a form of abuse towards children. Although the tribes had begun to adopt a westernized lifestyle, they still retained aspects of their culture and traditions. To the non-Indian this was unacceptable. Both the government representatives and the church leaders launched campaigns to remove the children from the care of their parents. The government representatives moved the children to boarding schools or foster homes and the church leaders removed the children to religious schools or the homes of their congregants (United Indians of All Tribes Foundation, n.d.).[113]

The effects of these removals are still felt today through generational post-traumatic syndrome, grandparents and parents who lived the trauma of removal, pass the trauma and fear to their children and grandchildren through oral stories and experiences.

ICWA established a hierarchy of placement requirements for children removed from their biological parents. The purpose of this hierarchy is to first place children with their relatives or other tribal people before a non-tribal foster home is considered. ICWA also recognizes that tribes should be in charge of their own children, rather than rely on non-Indian child placement agencies.

[111] C. DuPuis, Tribal Elder, personal communication, 2016.
[112] Ibid.
[113] Ibid.

Chehalis has a Family Services Department with Indian Child Welfare (ICW) workers dedicated to implementing the requirements of ICWA in a manner best suited to the interests of the child and their families. The Tribe also manages their own foster parent program. This program recruits and trains prospective foster parents to care for tribal children removed from their homes.

Although removing a child from their home is never easy for the child or the family, the Indian Child Welfare Act is important legislation for tribal self-governance because it recognizes the rights of tribes to retain custody of tribal children when their biological parents are found to be unfit. Tribes managing their own social services programs enable children and families to access culturally appropriate services and work towards familial reunification with the support of their community. This also coincides with traditional ways in which the Tribe would have looked after its own children.

(v) Chehalis Tribal Law Enforcement

As noted previously, the Chehalis Court was first established in 1884 under Superintendent Chalcraft (see section 4.2 (d)). However, the first westernized court system on the Chehalis reservation, the Court of Indian Offenses (CIO) was established in 1884. CIO is sometimes referred to as the Code of Federal Regulations (CFR) which is the regulations that established the court.

Four Tribal members served as policemen under Head Chief and Associate Judge Jim Walker, while Charlie Walker and Pike Ben served as Associate Judges. The court did not have a very active docket or even a need to meet regularly. Common concerns were Tribal members practicing the Shaker religion and traditional spiritual practices, both of which were not allowed under the Rules of CIO. The Tribal police officers and associate judges (who were also active Tribal members and participants within the Tribal community), sometimes participated in the ceremonies they were required to enforce the laws against. That is because

their beliefs (religious and cultural) superseded the law, especially when they pertained to religious practices intended to heal someone who was ill (Chalcraft, 1970, pp. 24 - 28).

Law enforcement from the early 1900s through the introduction of the Chehalis Tribal Police Department in the late 1900s, consisted mostly of law enforcement officials cross deputized to serve both the county and the Tribe. Both Chehalis and non-Chehalis deputies served during this time period. For serious crimes and investigations (such as murder, felony abuse or other federal law violations) the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) had jurisdiction.[114]

In 1988 the Chehalis Tribe opened the Chehalis Tribal Police Department with grant funding from the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). Ralph Wyman was Chief of Police for the Tribe from 1989 - 2017. When Mr. Wyman first began working for the police department, the Tribe had two police officers and two dispatchers. The employees worked 24 hour shifts and slept on cots in an office. In 1989, the Tribe received more funding for the department and two more police officers were added to the roster. After operating for a number of years, the Tribe decided to contract with Grays Harbor County for dispatch services (cost effectiveness), and this arrangement is still in place today.[115]

In 1989, the state formally retroceded criminal jurisdiction[116] to the Chehalis Tribe, meaning, the Tribe had the ability to begin hearing criminal cases in their court. The Tribal court at that time participated in the Northwest Intertribal Court System (NICS) which provides judicial support to Northwest tribes. Jurisdiction is limited to the trust lands within the reservation, while the fee land remains under the jurisdiction of the state. This creates what is known as a checker board of jurisdiction. Essentially, if a crime occurs on fee land

[114] R. Wyman, former Tribal Police Chief, personal communication, 2016.
[115] Ibid.
[116] Public Law 280 (PL-280), first enacted in 1953, gave the states of California, Oregon, Wisconsin, Alaska, Minnesota, and Nebraska the ability to prosecute crimes in Indian country for most, if not all, tribes located in their state. Washington State was an "optional PL-280" state, legislation was enacted and amended numerous times between the late 1950s to early 1970s that effected the enforcement of PL-280 on the Chehalis Reservation.

within the reservation boundaries, the state has jurisdiction and the Tribe must notify county law enforcement officers who will then investigate the crime.[117]

Gradually, over the next few decades, the police department established memorandums of understanding (MOU) with the state, surrounding counties and federal government to increase the services the department was certified to offer. This included the ability to perform their own background checks, establishing a court system and having accredited police officers.[118]

In the mid-2000s, the Tribe received another BIA grant. This grant enabled the Tribe to build a 35-bed jail and hire 15 employees to staff the jail. The jail is currently undergoing an expansion project that will add more beds. The jail also houses inmates from regional police departments on a contract basis.[119]

Since its inception in 1988, the Chehalis Tribal Police Department has expanded into a fully accredited police department with complete jurisdiction over anyone, native or non-native, committing an act of domestic violence on the reservation. Its officers are cross deputized with Thurston County. An agreement with Grays Harbor County grants general authority, which allows the Tribe to have jurisdiction over any non-Tribal member on reservation. However, the Tribe must notify Grays Harbor upon contact with the offending non-Tribal member.[120]

In 2010 the Tribal Law and Order Act was signed into law. This act enables tribal law enforcement agencies to arrest non-Indians, with proven ties to the community, who are accused of domestic violence and sexual assault crimes. Such offenders may be incarcerated in tribal jails and prosecuted in tribal courts. This Act also empowered tribal police

[117] R. Wyman, former Tribal Police Chief, personal communication, 2016.
[118] Ibid.
[119] Ibid.
[120] R. Wyman, former Tribal Police Chief, personal communication, 2016.

departments to hire and train more officers, as well as, to provide more youth prevention activities to prevent alcohol use and abuse by tribal youth.[121]

The Tribal Law and Order Act is one of the most powerful steps towards true sovereignty for tribal nations. Tribes, through accredited court systems and police departments, have the right to exercise full legal jurisdiction over the non-Indian people who commit crimes on their reservations. Although the rules change slowly, the Tribe has made great strides since the introduction of the police department in 1988. Today the Chehalis Tribal Police Department also has a two-person fisheries enforcement team, two detectives, an accredited jail, and its own accredited court system with a judge, prosecutor, public defender, court clerk, and probation officer.[122]

5.3 Towards Greater Economic Growth and Development

(i) The Indian Gaming Regulatory Act and Other Business Operations

In 1988 the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act (IGRA) enabled tribes to operate gaming facilities on tribal lands in states that approved gaming. For many tribes, the introduction of gaming to the reservation did more for self-determination than any previous act because gaming provided tribes with the financial resources to make their own decisions regarding economic development.

Games and gambling were never a true economic venture for the Tribe prior to 1995, when the Lucky Eagle Casino first opened. The Tribe had operated a bingo hall and a small store on the reservation for many years prior to opening the Lucky Eagle Casino, but, the bingo hall and the store were never a substantial source of income for the Tribe. During the 1970s through the 1990s, the Tribe was reliant on grant funding for Tribal programs.

[121] Ibid.
[122] Ibid.

After the casino was built[123] the Tribe was able to use the income generated from gaming to support 85% of Tribal operations[124] and reduce grant funding as the major source of financial support.[125] The casino has since undergone many expansions, adding gaming areas, an events center, restaurants, and the Eagle's Landing Hotel. While the income enabled the Tribe to move towards greater economic independence, the Tribe recognized they must diversify their economic ventures and not become completely reliant on casino revenue as its only major source of income.[126]

In 2006 the Tribe partnered with Great Wolf Resorts to build an indoor waterpark and the Great Wolf Lodge on Tribal property located on the Grand Mound Prairie. The Lodge included hotel rooms, restaurants, and a conference center. The Tribe retained 51% ownership in the lodge, while the non-Tribal entity retained 49%. This distinction would become important when the Tribe's Tax exempt status was challenged in court by Thurston County.

The county maintained the Great Wolf Lodge, which had been granted tax exempt status, was not eligible for a tax exemption because it was owned by a non-Tribal entity and not eligible for the tax exemption granted Tribal businesses operating on Tribal lands. In 2013, the 9th Circuit Court of Appeals[127] issued a landmark ruling that recognized permanent improvements on tribal lands were tax exempt regardless of ownership. The *Chehalis* ruling recognizes the sovereignty of tribes over tribal lands and enables tribes to enter into economic partnership agreements with non-tribal entities and retain their tax-exempt status, while operating economic ventures on tribal lands.[128]

Other Tribal economic ventures include, ownership of two construction companies, two gas stations, numerous restaurants, three hotels (the Eagles Landing, the Great Wolf

[123] The casino first opened with table games, then added electronic machines in 1999 after a federal law was passed allowing the machines in tribal casinos.
[124] D. Burnett, former Tribal Chairman, personal communication, 2016.
[125] Ibid.
[126] Ibid.
[127] *Confederated Tribes of the Chehalis Reservation v. Thurston County Board of Equalization*, 724 F.3d 1153 (9th Cir. 2013).
[128] D. Burnett, former Tribal Chairman, personal communication, 2016.

Lodge, and a Marriot hotel in Grand Mound) and a Recreational Vehicle (RV) Park. The Tribe plans to continue to explore economic ventures, develop more jobs, and move qualified Tribal members into management positions throughout Tribal government and enterprises.[129]

Similar to other Washington tribes, the Chehalis Tribe sold cigarettes with a Washington state tax stamp on reservation land. The Tribe maintained the cigarettes were not subject to the Washington state tax requirements. This enabled the Tribe to sell their cigarettes for less than cigarettes sold by non-Tribal vendors.

In the early to mid-2000s, Washington State entered into cigarette tax compacts with many Washington state tribes, including Chehalis. The compacts recognized the ability of the tribes to tax products sold on their own lands and retain the profits generated from those sales. The Chehalis Tribe has since developed and affixes their own Tribal tax stamp to all cigarettes sold on reservation land. All revenue generated from cigarette taxes is retained by the Tribe.[130]

Washington state law also allows state government to enter into fuel tax agreements with Washington state tribes operating gas stations on tribal lands. The Chehalis Tribe has what is known as a 75/25 tax agreement with the state of Washington. This agreement enables the state to retain 25% of sales tax revenue from fuel sales on reservation land, and reimburse the Chehalis Tribe for 75% percent of the sales.[131]

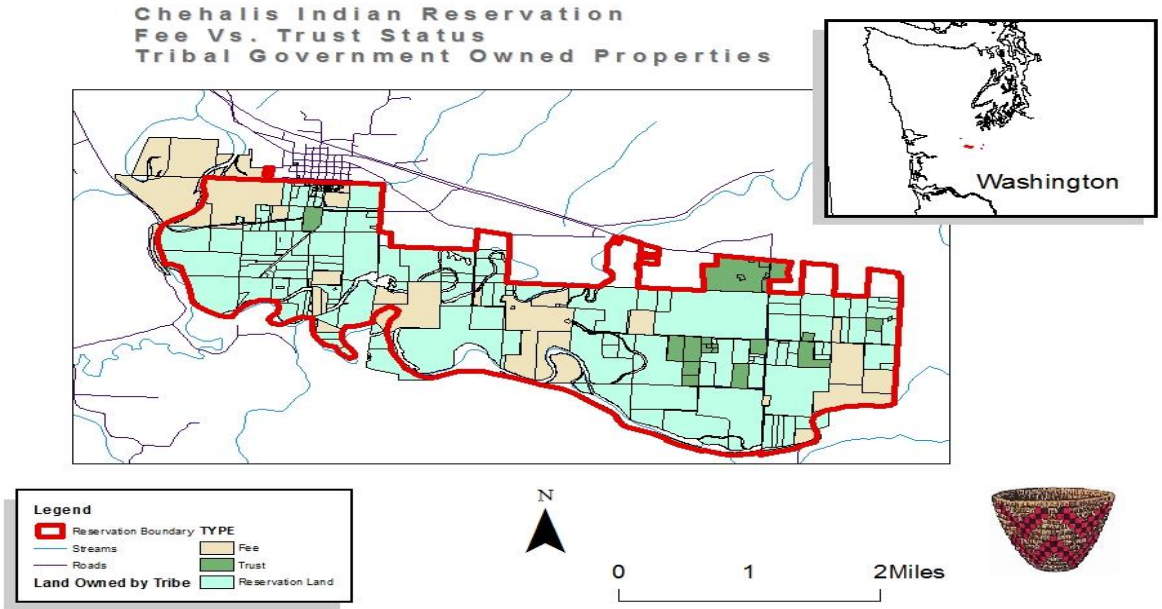
Both the cigarette tax and the fuel tax are sources of revenue for the Tribe. The funds are utilized to support the development, implementation and long range support of Tribal programs. This includes the Chehalis Tribal Scholarship for vocational programs and college students pursuing bachelors, masters and doctorate degrees, the Chehalis Tribal Education Program for students in early childhood programs through high school graduation, and the

[129] Ibid.
[130] Ibid.
[131] D. Burnett, former Tribal Chairman, personal communication, 2016.

Chehalis Tribal Youth Program which supports students in an after-school program, sports and summer activities, and the Chehalis Tribal Elders Program.

The Tribe also utilizes revenue to purchase real estate property within the traditional territory of Chehalis. In many cases, the property generates revenue from land leases from commercial businesses or rental income from tenants. The Tribe has expanded housing opportunities for Tribal members through the purchase of rental homes and by promoting home ownership and assisting Tribal members with home ownership loans.

Some Tribal properties have been transferred to reservation trust land, thereby expanding the boundaries of the reservation. The Great Wolf Lodge was built on a property purchased outside of the reservation boundaries and converted to trust status, thus expanding the reservation to the Ground Mound prairie and creating reservation land separate from the main body of the reservation created by executive orders.



Source: Confederated Tribes of the Chehalis Reservation Planning Department (n.d).

(ii) Tribal Consultation

As a sovereign nation, the Chehalis Tribe engages in tribal consultation meetings with federal, state and local governments to discuss legislation, policies, and other governmental operations or decisions that may affect the Tribe. In 1989, Washington State Governor, Gary Locke, signed the Centennial Accord between the Federally Recognized Indian Tribes in Washington State and the State of Washington. The Centennial Accord affirms the sovereignty of Washington State tribes and their relationship with Washington State government. The Tribe now identifies their own representatives for consultations and non-tribal governments are no longer able to set the terms for who represents the Tribe.

The process of consultation is intended to recognize the government within a government role of tribal nations and the inherent sovereignty tribes possess as independent nations. Consultation has benefitted the Chehalis Tribe because the process enables the Tribe to have input on federal, state and county policies that may adversely affect the Tribe. Some issues include changes to roads and thoroughfares, this is especially important due to the Tribe purchasing off reservation land and their expansion into more populated areas.

For example, the development of an expanded interstate freeway off ramp to handle increased traffic near the Great Wolf Lodge had residents of that area complaining about the Lodge's influence on the increased traffic and they believed it was Tribe's responsibility to pay for the construction. Similarly, residents close to the Lucky Eagle Casino are questioning the state's decision to build a roundabout on the highway leading to the casino. Through the consultation process, the Tribe is able to provide input on how these projects impact the Tribe and its Tribal members.

The consultation process however, does not automatically result in a mutually beneficial decision, proposal, or law. Some government entities engage in consultation to go

through the motions of consultation, because it is a required governmental action, and this is not a true consultation process at all.

Other times, there is not a clear answer to resolve an issue. For instance, the checkerboard nature of state fee land within reservation boundaries and adjacent to tribal trust land, can be problematic. The state has jurisdiction over fee land on the reservation for example, some roads on the reservation. A road to a chicken farm on the reservation experiences heavy truck traffic. The truck traffic has torn up the road and created many potholes in the road. The road is the main thoroughfare to the Tribal Community Center and experiences a high volume of traffic as a result. While the road is in desperate need of repair, the Tribe is unable to repair the road because the road is fee land and falls under state jurisdiction, therefore, the road repair is the responsibility of the state. The Tribe may use the road, and Tribal members may be the people most affected by the disrepair, but the Tribe has no jurisdiction to fix the road.

The Confederated Tribes of the Chehalis Reservation has changed dramatically throughout the centuries that have passed since first contact with the non-Indian. We have struggled with poverty, high mortality rates, the paternalistic approach of the federal government and federal policies, the separation of families, the loss of our children and our language to the boarding school system, and drastic changes to our traditions and cultural mores. We have transformed throughout the centuries, but, we have transformed while preserving the essence that makes us Chehalis. We have maintained our community and we retained the land that was most important to us. We are not just survivors: we are molding our world to meet our needs through the development of Tribal programs, the expansion of economic endeavors and the reclaiming of our traditional land. We are ensuring our children will walk through the world as proud Chehalis people.

5.4 Further Findings and Thoughts from the Research

(i) Understanding Tribal Identity

The government's paternalistic approach to the Chehalis tribes included consolidating and renaming the tribes, the Confederated Tribes of the Chehalis Reservation. The consolidation of the tribes into one unit did not make the unit cohesive. Initially, two Tribal leaders divided themselves into two distinct Tribal groups, one positioning itself on the lower reservation near what is now the town of Oakville,[132] and one positioning itself on the upper prairie, near the present day Tribal Center.

Once this division was important because it was tied to tribal identity. One could postulate that those who identified with the river-based culture of the Lower Chehalis would have stayed on the western edge of the reservation. This area was closest to the Satsop region and near the banks of the Chehalis River. The Tribe positioned on the prairies of the eastern edge of the reservation were most likely those that identified with the prairie based societies of the Upper Chehalis Tribes.

As noted in section 5.1 (iii), the poverty caused by the economic devastation of the Great Depression affected tribes immensely. Already economically disadvantaged due to their remote location, lack of living wage jobs, loss of hunting and gathering habitats and drastic change in way of life, the Tribe experienced high rates of poverty in the early 1900s. Tribal families experienced high mortality rates, lacked consistent access to health care and had insufficient access to housing.

Despite the hardships and loss, the Elders who shared stories from this time period recall the Tribe and Tribal families bonding together to support each other and share resources. Individual families worked together to feed all. Access to traditional gathering places had been limited but the Tribe was able to access some areas to gather food. The river

[132] Formerly called Union.

had not yet been closed off to fishing and fisherman travelled the length of the river to fish. Similar to the traditional tribal villages, survival was a group effort and everyone helped gather food and care for one another. Housing may have been limited but extended families shared homes and no one was left homeless.

While the government forced the consolidation of tribes, and while the tribes initially lived separately, working together became a necessity in order to survive. The long-term results of this transformation, from singular independent tribal villages to a combined sovereign nation, is the Tribe the younger Tribal members know today. When we listen to our Elders share the stories their parents and grandparents told them, many of us fail to realize that the stories are passed down from the lived experiences of the various tribes and villages that make up the confederation.

Over the years, some of the land plots the government platted in the late 1800s have been sold off or passed down through so many generations, that ownership on some plots is so fractionated they have owners with a single digit percentage of ownership. The Tribe also built housing units on the upper prairie and on the lower reservation. Additionally, the tribal groups are now so integrated that identifying individuals according to their ancestral tribes is not always an easy feat.[133]

We think of our Tribe as Chehalis and miss the importance of the Confederated Tribes and what this term means. Our contemporary experience of an integrated Tribe has caused us to assume one Elder may be correct when they share stories of Chehalis traditions, while another Elder is wrong. In fact, both Elders are most likely correct due to their ancestral origins, and we need to reshape our understanding of what it means to be Chehalis. The Chehalis identity is not one story: the Chehalis identity is multiple stories, multiple strands

[133] Although some families do know the individual tribes they are descended from.

woven together. Those strands have created the Confederated Tribes of the Chehalis, the unique Chehalis basket.

History has documented the push and pull of tribal migrations into other tribal regions as tribal populations have been decimated by illness or journeyed to new lands for a variety of reasons. Chehalis, already residing in villages along the Columbia River as neighbors to Chinook, took over Chinook trading relationships and traditionally Chinook strongholds when the Chinook population was reduced by a small pox epidemic in the 1800s. The Chehalis Tribe, however, has not died out.

Our lands were not reduced because of an epidemic or because we moved into a new region. We are where we have always been since a long time ago, when the earth was young. Our land was taken by the federal government and our rights to our traditional lands were reduced further and further as federal acts and court cases restricted our people to the boundaries of the reservation.

The government's approach to the Chehalis right to fish our rivers has been to maintain that Chehalis failed to secure the right to fish when we refused to sign a treaty or specifically negotiate the option. When one reads the minutes of the treaty council meeting, Chehalis and their neighboring tribes continued to object to the requirement to remove to a reservation far from their homeland. The executive order designating the land for the Chehalis Reservation must have seemed like a victory to the Tribe, for they had won the right to stay on their land.

The Tribal members may never have considered the fact that their right to fish would be compromised for their future generations. It is a bitter pill to swallow when one realizes Chehalis not only lost the right to leave their reservation boundaries to fish and hunt, or protect their waterways, but now they must also compete for the fish with tribes that had never resided here. It is not smallpox or illness attempting to kill the lifeblood of the Tribe, it

is government policy and regulations developed to restrict Tribal rights, and other tribes attempting to take advantage of such.

CHAPTER SIX

REFLECTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.0. Reflecting on the Research and Recommendations

I began this research process approximately four years ago. I reviewed primary and secondary source documents from the 1800s onwards as my intent was to deepen my understanding of the tribes in the Chehalis River region, specifically the tribes who eventually became the Confederated Tribes of the Chehalis Reservation. I had not yet been approved to conduct interviews so my research was limited to what I could find in the literary world. I spent countless hours tracking down obscure documents, memoirs and testimonies, anything I could find that documented the lives of the tribes of the confederation.

I attempted to identify and recover as many documents as possible through on-line research and visits to museums in the regions around the Confederated Tribes of the Chehalis Reservation territory. Unfortunately, so many documents remain unrecovered due to the lack of researcher finances for travel to view collections inaccessible to internet search engines, the multiple spellings of Chehalis increasing the volume of time required to thoroughly investigate potential archives and records, and the misidentification of Chehalis Tribal artifacts, i.e. attributing a cultural item to another tribe when the item is in fact, Chehalis.[134]

Once ethics was approved and I was able to conduct interviews, I met with some of my Elders to hear their stories, understand some of what I read in print and verify facts from my research. I found our oral history that was passed down to us from our Ancestors, is a

[134] The 1990 Native American Graves Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) requires federal agencies to return cultural items to tribes and descendants, and establishes procedures for handling items discovered on federal and tribal lands. Cultural items identified by NAGPRA include human remains, and sacred or funerary items. While conducting research for this project, I visited the Field Museum in Chicago, IL. I viewed funerary objects labeled Duwamish but thought to be Chehalis. Due to time restraints I was not able to follow up on the origin of these items.

vital, vibrant, and rich history of our Chehalis Tribal culture, our place within the world and also contributes to how we proceed into the future.

In Chapter 2 I argued, that Chehalis research and methodologies must be rooted in Chehalis identity, an approach that requires researchers to be Chehalis, to have the insider's view. This has proved to be invaluable for this research as being Chehalis and engaging with Elders and the community opened up information that I am convinced outsiders would not have been able to access.

For example, as a Chehalis researcher my insider's view has given me access to historical knowledge and an understanding of the experiences of my Ancestors because I have grown up listening to these stories. My elaborate code permits me, as a Chehalis researcher, to deconstruct previously published information on Chehalis, and it enables me to recognize information that may be erroneous or does not apply to Chehalis. With this knowledge, I am able to recognize when I need to dig deeper to verify information or sources, rather than accept as truth what an outsider might see or may not know to question.

As an insider researcher, I understand how the basket is woven and how the weaves represent our shared history, our families, our community, our stories, and our future. As Chehalis researchers, we are recognized within our community for our ties to the community. This relationship, of Tribal member and Tribe, is the binding of our basket. The weaves, while intertwined, do not hold the basket together alone, they need the binding to strengthen the ties. It is the intricacies of our basket, the complexities of our relationships, which an outsider, or a non-Chehalis researcher, is not generally privy to, because this knowledge does not come to us in a day, a week, or a month of interviews. It comes to us, the Chehalis researchers, through a lifetime of experience of being Chehalis.

Indigenous research is also about listening, to the environment, to the people, to the stories. Research methods have been passed down through out the generations and remain

with us today, even if we do not recognize the methods as research. For example, the method of how to weave a basket based on its intended use has been passed to us from our Ancestors, while each weaver expresses their individuality through designs or the personal marks they weave into the basket. First baskets are typically loose and not as tightly woven as baskets in which the weaver has had time to learn and practice the technique. This is the same with research, learning the methods of research take time and practice to perfect the skill.

Basket making is also about listening, not just to the directions of how to make the basket, but also to the stories that are shared while making the basket. The stories bring history to the table, and encompass generational knowledge and family lore. Most importantly, the stories become woven into the basket. This is important because basket makers know they must be careful of what they talk about when they are weaving a basket because the words you share will be woven into your basket. Your basket has life, and just as your basket tells your story, your story breathes life into your basket. Monica Bodirsky and Dr. Jon Johnson, authors of *Decolonizing Diet: Healing by Reclaiming Traditional Indigenous Foodways* (2008), make the same point when they refer to First Nations of Canada and Native American cooking traditions and how cultural knowledge has passed through the generations and shared when food is being prepared. The stories and narratives told when food preparation and cooking is the mechanism allows the sharing of information through talk.

Baskets begin with the gathering of materials and basket makers often have their traditional spots for gathering those materials. The beginning of this Chehalis basket began with the gathering and identification of information; finding the documents and then critically analyzing the information for generational context and historical bias. The awl of critical analysis parses the gathered materials into strands for constructing the basket. This includes the two strands, which Smith (2012, p. 25) helped to identify: the strand of Chehalis

existence, the Chehalis world and; the strand of critical analysis of colonization and how colonization impacted the Chehalis existence. Together, the strands of the basket are laid down and prepared for the weaving of the Chehalis story and the beginning of the Chehalis basket.

Throughout this thesis then, I have endeavoured to be a researcher that conducted my research with my Chehalis people, as an engaged participant in the learning process, someone who will intrinsically benefit from an Indigenous perspective of Chehalis Tribal history because being Chehalis is an inherent part of my identity, the identity of my family and most importantly, the identity of my children. Chehalis Tribal members who participate in this research are my partners because without their input this study would not have a complete picture of our shared history. The challenges for myself as a researcher is that I am thinking, reading and interacting from an Indigenous modality more than ever before because my understanding of research has expanded beyond the westernized methods instilled in me throughout my undergraduate years. These challenges have enabled me to embrace a comprehensive understanding of Indigenous research methods and the validity of an approach that incorporates Indigenous ways of knowing into Indigenous research.

While Smith (2012), Deloria (1997) and Johnston (1998) have argued for the acceptance of Indigenous research methods and methodologies as valid, the notion of Indigenous ways of knowing being utilized in research is a challenge to some Indigenous researchers still working to decolonize and overcome what western frameworks have trained them to think (Johnston, 1998).

If I were to begin this research process again, but with the knowledge I have now, I would spend more time talking with the Elders before they passed on since I began this research process. This process has taught me how valuable the information of our Ancestors is and how much of that information is captured in the daily lives of our Elders, most

importantly the experiences of their interactions with their own Elders. As I stated in Chapter 1, the process of decolonization, as defined by Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2012), includes reimagining our place and our space within our Indigenous communities. For myself, this has included a shift in my thinking about what constitutes history, specifically, the history contained within not only our oral stories but the history contained within the why of our everyday actions, for example, why we gather our berries in this place, and why my dad fishes there.

In Chapter 2, I wrote of the interview process I undertook with the Elders I interviewed for this research. What this process taught me was the value of Elders interviewing Elders and the elaborate code inherent to conversations between two people with shared experiences, in this case, growing up together on the reservation and interacting with their own Elders. These conversations proved invaluable because they encompassed the shared experience of daily living and they were able to deconstruct and describe events that although they seemed uneventful at the time, were actually imbued with meaning and culturally distinct to Chehalis mores.

What this process has taught me, is that I need to be more aware of the experiences and knowledge my Elders have shared with me as I have grown older so that I may pass this information on to my own children. I need to critically analyze my own actions to understand the cultural mores that have been instilled in me, as a Chehalis Tribal member, growing up on the shore of the old Upper Chehalis canoe landing at Black River, so that my children and grandchildren will fully understand the cultural significance of this land that our Ancestors chose for us.

For me, this research process is the beginning of my own rediscovery of the history contained within my own day-to-day reality. What I came to realize from doing this research is how much incredible change the Confederated Tribes of the Chehalis Reservation have

experienced since colonization. We have adopted, adapted or replaced ways of thinking, ways of acting, systems and process in order to survive and flourish.

Chapters 3 and 4 outlined the spiritual and physical landscapes Chehalis moved within as they transitioned from a Chehalis centered existence to a marginalized reality shaped by the colonizer. This is not to say, Chehalis identity was extinguished, but it was altered by the influx of explorers, traders and settlers that moved into the Chehalis region. Chapters 3 and 4 begin, as Linda Smith (2012) would say, the process of re*writing* and rer*ighting* (pp. 29-30) Chehalis history to re-center our story from being the story told about us, to the story told *by* us. From the beginning of the 1900s, we developed and implemented policies, processes and procedures based on our history and traditions as Chehalis people. These chapters exemplify our unique history and remind us that our Ancestors were, and we are, a people with an influential and powerful story, and we are the best authors of what it means to be Chehalis.

Chapter 5 demonstrated how we as a people, challenged ideas and methods intended to restrict our rights, such as voting as landowners in an election, years (if not decades) before other tribes, or challenging restrictive tax laws and retaining tax revenue for our own governmental operations.

Chapter 5 also demonstrated how Chehalis has advanced our economic landscape from an agrarian and subsistence based lifestyle to become landowners and business owners. We maintain our own Tribal infrastructure, departments to manage our natural resources, our social services, and our educational programs. Much has been achieved.

We have challenges to our desire to be Tribal, such as fishing restrictions and road repairs. We will meet these challenges as our Ancestors have, by finding solutions that represent who we are as Chehalis people, from a distinctly unique Chehalis perspective. Ongoing challenges include the disruption of our cultural traditions and the potential loss of

our language but others are also working towards addressing those issues (see Conwell, 2018).

In having undertaken this research, my hope is that other tribes and tribal members may also see a way forward to engage with the re-storying of our/their own tribal histories, as a means to challenge the fallacies and romantic notions of 'how the west was won.' We need to re-claim. We need to re-imagine, to re-present what is ours, to give validation to our voices, our ways of knowing and doing. My recommendations from this research are as follows:

The most important recommendation I have for future learners is to talk to your parents, grandparents, aunties and uncles and ask them for their stories. I say this to you from the perspective of a student for we are all students when we listen to the stories of our Ancestors. What this research has taught me, is that we must control our own story otherwise, the perspective of others becomes the story.

The most important recommendation I have for future research and researchers, is to pick up those strands that I could not pick up for this research. Dig through those museums, uncover those hidden artefacts and recover those stories that have been lost. I am mindful that there are other stories to be told.

While this thesis research focused on the history of the Confederated Tribes of the Chehalis Reservation (archival, written and oral), it did so as a means to challenge and represent the accounts postulated as our history by predominantly non-Indian researchers. The account of our history in this research is woven together from numerous documents and sources of information that has been verified by Elders, their memories and oral accounts passed on through the interviews.

However, our traditional Indigenous Tribal stories, are yet to be told. Those are stories embedded in the unique perspective of what it is to be Indigenous, to have a relationship with our environment and all those creatures who live within it. Those are stories that have been

totally disrupted (and many destroyed) by the colonization process. Those are another set of stories, a different set of stories that also start with the line ‘A long time ago, when the Earth was young and people and animals still lived and played together'.

We need to continue weaving the Chehalis basket, for it is not yet finished.

APPENDIX

Appendix A

Games

The following are traditional games the Chehalis played to pass the time.

A. **La-hull**, a two player game: place mat on the floor, the center of the mat is raised and forms a small ridge. The mat is held in place with wooden pegs placed on each corner. Each player is opposite each other on either side of the mat. Each player has Each player has ten discs of wood, two inches in diameter, and a little over an eighth of an inch thick, resembling the men used in playing backgammon, but much larger. The two most valuable pieces, one with a blackened edge, and one plain. The discs are placed in a pouch made from finely pounded cedar bark, known as tupsoe. The player shuffles and mixes the pieces in the pouch and then separates them into two equal parts, one batch in one tupsoe, and the other batch in another. The tupsoes are then placed on the mat and shuffled about. The other player must determine which pouch the piece, having bet on either the plain piece or the piece with the blackened edge, he has bet on is in. Once he has made his choice, the tupsoe is opened and the contents rolled down the mat, where they hit the ridge and reveal if the player has won or lost. This game was played for weeks at a time over the long winter months. Gibbs describes a similar game, which he calls tsil-tsil. In the game Gibbs describes, one disc is marked and called chief, the tupsoe bundle is torn into two pieces after the player shuffles the disks and the disks are made from yew and cut with beaver tooth chisels to give them luck (Gibbs, 1972, p. 206).

B. **Chal-e-chal,** is a six person game played on a three foot by six mat with ten circular pieces of polished wood of various sizes. The mat is staked to the ground and the players arrange themselves along the long side of the mat and facing each other. One player picks up all the pieces, shuffles them in his hands, divides them into each fist and then throws them at the opponent. The party wins or loses depending on where the pieces fall. Each player throws his pieces three times while the other players chant or sing (Ross, 1904, p. 105).

C. **The Bone Game,** *"In one, a small piece of bone is passed rapidly from hand to hand, shifted behind the back, etc, the object of the contending party being to ascertain in which hand it is held. Each side is furnished with five or ten small sticks, which serve to mark the game, one stick being given the guesser whenever he loses, and received whenever he wins. On guessing correctly, it is his turn to manipulate. When all the sticks are won, the game ceases, and the winner receives the stakes, consisting of clothing and other articles….the backers of the party manipulating keep up a constant drumming with sticks on their paddles, which lie before them, signing an incantation to attract good fortune. This is usually known as the game of the hand"* (Gibbs, 1877, p. 206).

D. **Omintook,** was known as a women's game. This game is played with two players and four marked and numbered beaver teeth. The players sit across each other on the ground, they shake the teeth in their hand, throw them on the mat and counts the numbers showing on the teeth. The sum is repeated three times before the teeth are handed to the opponent who repeats the motions of the first player. The player with the highest sum wins (Ross, 1904, p. 108; Swan, 1973, p. 158).

E. **Hoop and spear,** a hoop is rolled towards the opponent. The opponent uses spears of iron wood and tries to hit the hoop to stop it. The rules for this game were left incomplete by the original researcher in 1964 (Heck, 1964, p. 17).

Appendix B

Notable quotes and remarks

In 1894 Franz Boas published *Chinook Texts* based on his interviews with Charles Cultee, a Bay Center Indian married to a Chehalis woman. Cultee and his wife both spoke Chehalis, the language in use by most regional tribes at the time. Cultee gave Boas the following account of Chehalis beliefs and customs,

Charles Cultee's description of the work of tamahnous.

The seers go to the ghosts [the souls of the deceased]. When three go, one having a strong guardian spirit is placed first, another one last. One having a less powerful guardian spirit is placed in the middle. When four seers go, the two lesser ones are placed in the middle. A strong seer goes in front, another one behind. They pursue the soul of a sick chief. When the trail [which they follow] begins to be dangerous, the one in front sings his song. When a danger approaches from the rear, the one behind sings his song. In the evening when it begins to grow dark they commence the cure of the sick person. When the morning star rises they reach his soul. They take it, and the guardian spirits of the seers return. Sometimes they stay away one night, sometimes two. Then they give the sick person his soul and he recovers.

When the seers pursue the soul of a sick person and it takes the trail to the left, the seers say, "Behold, he will die." When it takes the trail to the right they say: 'We shall cure him."

The spirits of the seers reach the hole in the ground where the souls of the deceased always drink. When the soul of the sick one has drunk at that water, then he cannot get well. Even if all the shamans try to cure him they cannot make him well.

They find a soul that has drunk the water. They take it. It is large. The spirits of the seers return. When they bring it near the country of the Indians it begins to grow smaller. Then these men who know how to cure people say: "Perhaps he will die tomorrow." It gets day. They try to give him his soul. It does not fill his body and he must die. His soul has become too small.

When the seers go and their spirits arrive at the water in the country of the ghosts, and the soul of the sick one is still far from their town, and they have not given him food, then the seers say; "Oh, we shall make him well, the ghosts have not given him food." And indeed their spirits take the soul and return. Even if the person is very sick and they give him his soul, he revives at once.

Again the ghosts carry away a soul. The person faints at once; his legs tremble. Then the seers are paid and drive away the ghosts. The soul which they carried away sees the ghosts. He knows part of them; another part he does not know. Only those he knows who died not long ago. The spirits of the seers reach the soul which was carried away and turn it around. At once the sick one recovers; he gets well.

When the ghosts carry a soul away and no seer is present [to recover it], when the soul has been away a night, the person who fainted remains dead. Sometimes when it has been away two nights he remains dead.

When the soul of a sick person goes to the ghosts, the seers pursue it. If it has already been taken into the house, it cannot be recovered. The spirits of the seers cry and return.

When a horse is seen in the country of the ghosts and it is not take back it dies after a few days. When it is taken back it does not die. Just so a person. When a person is well, but his soul is seen in the country of the ghosts and it is not taken back he must

die within a short time. Just so a canoe. When the ghosts carry away a canoe and the seers do not bring it back it will be broken.
When a seer wants to shake his manikin [a figure made of cedar bark] he gives it to somebody who has no guardian spirit. Now they go to see ghosts. He helps them. Now this person sees everything in the country of the ghosts. The manikin carries him there.
When only one soul leaves the body of the sick person, when it remains in the country of the Indians and it is taken, then the sick person recovers at once. When the lesser soul of a person is caught in the country of the Indians and is given back to the person, he recovers after a short time. A soul is in the country of the ghosts; the spirits of the seers pursue it and reach it when it arrives at the ghosts. They bring it back, return it to the sick person, and he recovers.
When the soul of a chief leaves his body it goes to the beach. Not many seers know about it; only strong shamans know how it goes to the beach.
When a soul has taken anything that belongs to the ghosts, the sick one cannot recover.
When a sick person will die, it is always high water. Then the spirits of the seers walk slowly. When the sick one will recover it is always low water.
When the soul of a sick person is placed in a canoe and this is carried out into the ocean, the sick one cannot recover.
The spirits of the seers reach the soul of a sick person. They take it and lift it. They look at it and seize it again. They look again and it has disappeared; then the shaman says that he has taken it.
When they try to take the soul of a sick person and sparks fall down, he will die. It seems just like a firebrand. They try to gather the sparks up. Then the shaman says: "Behold, I shall not cure him."
When a person will die, his soul is heavy; when he will recover, it is light.
When the ghosts watch a soul then the shaman makes a deer. He sends it and it runs away. The ghosts pursue it and leave the soul. They forget it. Thus the shaman deceives them and takes back the soul which the ghosts had left.
When a seer is evilly disposed against a person, he watches for him. At last he finds him asleep. Then he takes out his soul and hides it near a corpse, in a canoe burial, in a thorny place, under a house or in rotten wood. Then the owner of the soul falls sick. A shaman is paid to look for the soul and to cure him. He says; "Oh, that shaman has your soul." They search for it and find it in the country of the ghosts, or in a thorny place, under a house, or in rotten wood, or somewhere in the air. He takes it. When the soul is still hale and well, the sick one will recover. When the shaman's spirit has begun eating it, the owner of the soul must die.
Somebody sends, unknown to anybody, a string of large dentalia several fathoms long to a shaman, and asks him [through his messenger]: "Take the soul of that person out of his body." He gives in payment to him, secretly, long dentalia or a woman. Then he takes out the soul of the person against whom he was sent. The person dies. When his relatives learn about it and come to know the secret they take the shaman and kill him. If they do not kill him and he gives away a large amount of property or slaves, he is not killed. Then he is forgiven, Charles Cultee (Boas, 1894, p. 205).

Visiting another home was itself a ceremony, James Swan describes the event,

> *I have seen instance where they were expecting friends…Yes, it must be; it is they. All now is glee, and the canoe comes up the creek, and nears the shore. Instead of rushing into each other's arms with congratulations and embraces, not a soul advances to greet them. All have gone into the lodge, and each one, at his accustomed place, appears as calm, and is pursuing his avocations as if they never dreamed of any one approaching them. The party in the canoe then come ashore, leaving all their traveling equipage in charge of a slave or two, apparently for the purpose of first ascertaining if their visit is welcome.*
> *They all then enter the lodge, and seat themselves around the fire and near the door. No one takes the slightest notice of them, nor is a word spoken. I have thus seen them sit for ten minutes. At last a few guttural words from the visitors are answered by a grunt from the others. Other clucking sounds are then heard, and gradually they begin to talk, but not much. Food is now set before them, and, while they eat, they begin to grow social, and at length they throw off all restraint, and gabble like so many geese* (Swan, 1973, p. 170).

Judge Ford relayed the following story to Gibbs,

> *Judge Ford informed me that one day the Indians announced to him the death of a man nearby. The next they told him that he was alive again, and that he said he had not disposed of his horses to suit him, and had come back for that purpose, that he had now done so and was going to die again, which he accordingly did during the day, and that time in earnest. This sort of coma proceeding death, it should be remarked in explanation, seems to be not uncommon* (Gibbs, 1877, p. 187).

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