

PADDLE TO SEATTLE:
A NATIVE WASHINGTON MOVEMENT TO
"BRING THEM CANOES BACK HOME"

By

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ABSTRACT:

This thesis documents the 1989 Washington Centennial Commissions' Native Canoe Project. Seventeen Western Washington tribes participated in a canoe-oriented cultural heritage renewal movement. The ethnographic setting establishes Native dugouts in their historic social context and presents the classic hull forms of representative canoe types. After a hiatus of several generations of canoe use, many tribes began to reconstruct their disappearing canoeing ways. Through the process of carving and using their dugouts, they have addressed current issues. Canoe racing and voyaging has proven to be effective, culturally relevant alternative to drug and alcohol abuse. Native people reaffirmed access to landing beaches and forest resources and created community carving centers. Case studies of the Lummi, Suquamish, Tulalip, Port Gamble Klallam and Quileute tribes reveal continuity, schisms and the reinvention of Native dugout traditions. The culminating "Paddle to Seattle" voyage illuminates the vital role of these canoes to unite communities and legitimize Indian values. Abundant use of Native commentary from collected oral histories substantiate my interpretations and offer authority to Native perspectives. Ethnopoetic transcriptions express an understanding of these cedar canoes in the enduring Native thoughtworld.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Now I hear the cry of the young people,
"Why don't we get to race?
Where's our canoes?"

Harlan Sam, Upper Skagit

During the 1989 Washington Centennial seventeen tribes in Western Washington renewed the arts of carving and using indigenously styled cedar dugout canoes. The objective of this thesis is to document and explain this re-emergence of Native American watercraft. In the main body of this work, fieldwork and descriptive observations from a four year period, are synthesized with excerpts of collected oral histories. Essentially I have tried to create a contemporary ethnography of the 1989 Washington Centennial Native Canoe Project.

The canoes have become significant culture carriers. I discuss the ways Native Americans have addressed current issues through the process of carving, restoring and using both their race canoes and their ancient styled dugouts. Indian people have redirected their energies to strengthen, salvage, relearn, replace, and in some cases re-invent, their tribal canoeing traditions.

Abundant use of commentary in the Native voice presents the meanings surrounding the canoes within the Indian communities. The commentary gives an understanding of the thought-world of the Indian people and voices the varied goals motivating this project.

Ethnopoetry is the chosen presentational style for the many citations of Native commentary because it seems to best capture the nuance of the oral tradition --the emphasis on certain phrases, intentional repetition, dramatic rhythm and pauses. The transcriptions of tape recorded personal conversations and contemporary public addresses are set in lines which mirror, as closely as possible, the speakers' expressions. Each was really a performed event rather than fixed letters on a page and so are conveyed better by shorter lines than by the standard prose style in which line breaks are only a typographical convention (Wickwire 1989: 16).

The complexity of subcultural variations of tribal and local groups is not meant to be over-simplified in a thesis of such wide scope. The seventeen Western Washington tribes who undertook carving or using a canoe for the Centennial project were the Lummi, Nooksack, Upper Skagit, Swinomish, Samish, Tulalip, Duwamish, Muckleshoot, Puyallup, Nisqually, Skokomish, Suquamish, Port Gamble Klallam, Lower Elwha Klallam, Quileute, Hoh and Quinault. Also a group of assimilated urban Seattle Natives, the United Indians of All Tribes, received a log to carve their own cedar dugout.

The local tribal groups originated from two separate language families: Salishan speakers (--the central and southern Coast Salish tribes) and Chimakuan speakers (--the Quileute and Hoh). The Makah, ordered linguistically within the Wakashan language family were minimally involved.

FIGURE 1: MAP OF COAST SALISH, MAKAH AND QUILEUTE TERRITORY
(Suttles 1977)

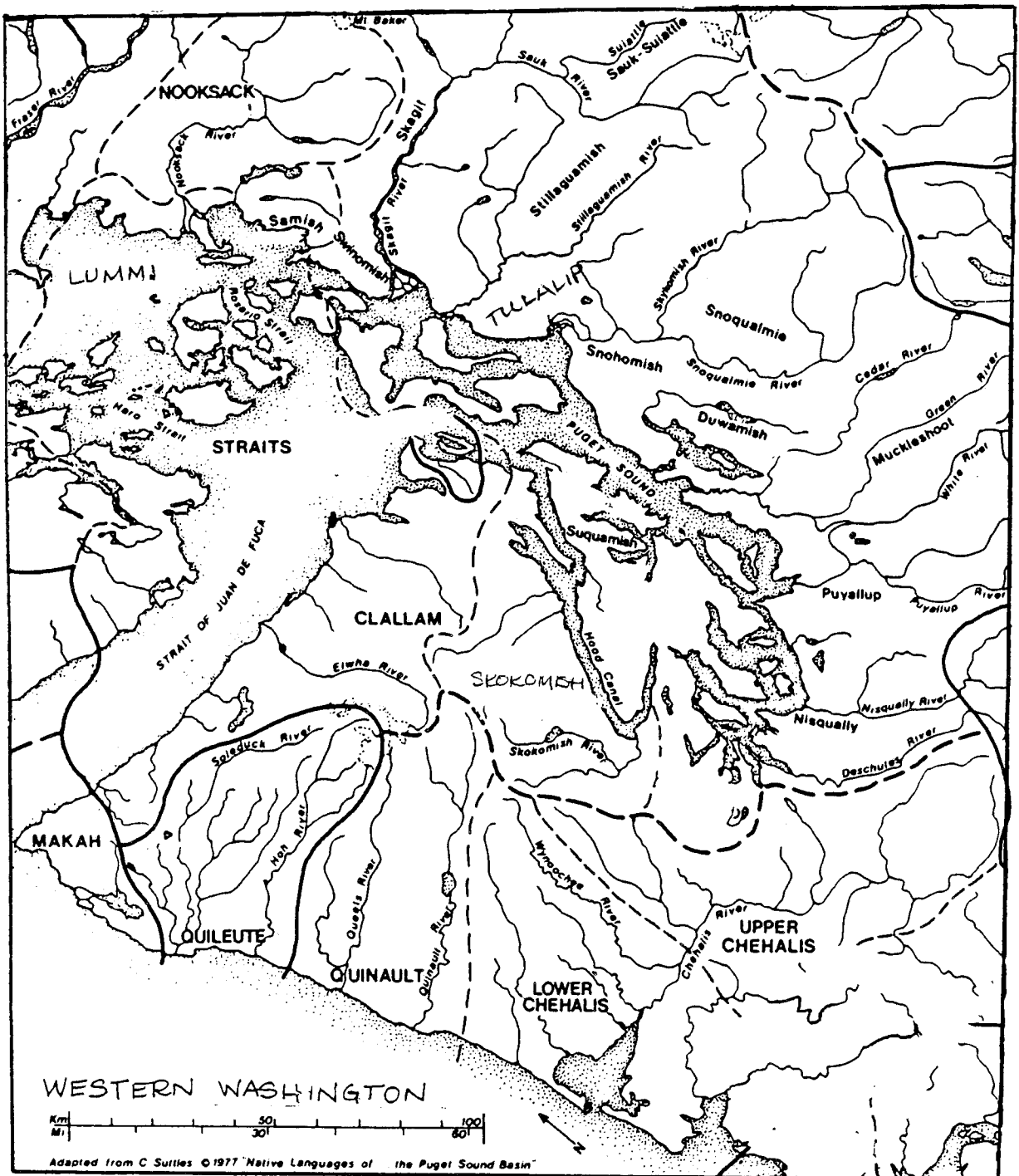
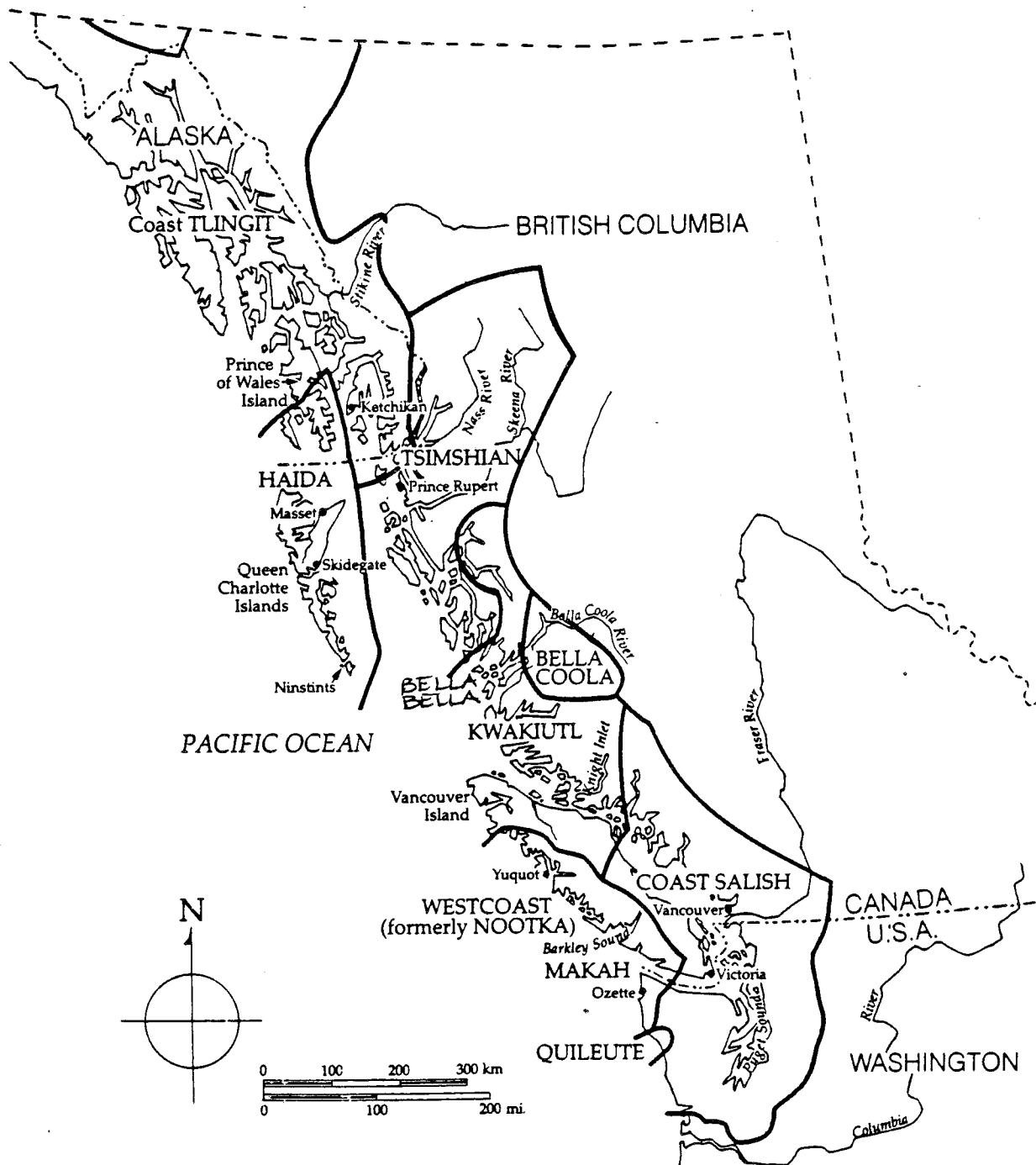


FIGURE 2: MAP OF THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST COAST
(Stewart 1984)



Other tribal groups participated in different ways. The Small Tribes of Western Washington contributed to a Seattle welcoming feast. Bella Bella Heiltsuk people from the northern Northwest Coast paddled down. Six Canadian Coast Salish tribes who continue the annual racing circuit, came to the central centennial canoe competition. A representative from Yurok country in California trailered his redwood dugout north. Steilacoom and Sauk-Suiattle tribal members participated in the oral history research though they did not carve canoes.

This work offers comparative source material concerning related tribal incentives, accomplishments and needs. Many issues are of wider scope, relevant to Pan-Indian movements, or the overall Western Washington Native American, Indian or "First Nations" people's experience (all three terms are used interchangeably in this thesis).

I. OVERVIEW OF THE 1989 NATIVE CANOE PROJECT:

The Native Canoe Project was originally conceived to promote Native American maritime cultural heritage by the Centennial Commission's Maritime Committee. It was hoped that several tribes would once again carve indigenously styled cedar dugouts and the sport of Indian canoe racing would be strengthened. Participation was elicited from all water-oriented Western Washington tribes. The Native American

cultural heritage project stimulated the involvement of more tribes than originally anticipated.

1989, the hundredth year of Washington statehood, gave a time focus for a Native canoeing renaissance. Washington Centennial Commission's sponsorship created official influence to secure Indian access to otherwise unavailable old-growth red cedar trees in the United States National Forests.

From the central organizing structure of the Native Canoe Project, seventeen separate through related tribal canoe projects were created. Each watercraft was funded, designed, carved, used and cared for according to specific tribal plans. An educational canoe symposium was organized. The well-attended forum attracted interested carvers, paddlers and support persons who formulated plans for the Native Canoe Project.

The "Paddle to Seattle" culminated the Centennial canoeing event. Newly crafted, existing and/or renovated Indian canoes participated in a collective voyage. The dramatic journey featured over fourteen encampments in tribal territories during July 1989. Five canoes and crews voyaged over 300 miles retracing ancient coastal routes. Thousands of Native Americans gathered at Suquamish July 20, 1989 to welcome voyaging canoes and crews, to share speeches, feasting, dancing, and to stage an encampment. On July 21, an extraordinary fleet of at least thirty cedar dugouts paddled from Suquamish seven miles across Puget Sound to yet another wel-

coming ceremony, hosted by the Duwamish on Seattle's Shilshole Beach at Golden Gardens Park.

Tribal communities mobilized towards cohesive objectives before and during that centennial year. Widespread enthusiasm for the indigenous watercraft reflects that they served a vital role in contemporary Native American communities.

II. NATIVE AMERICANS ADDRESSED CURRENT ISSUES:

Motivations for this waterborne movement reveal dominant themes, problems and even some solutions to challenging issues confronting Native Americans. The Native Canoe Project addressed the following issues and goals:

1. Preservation and perpetuation of indigenous cultural resources such as aboriginal crafts and carving skills.
2. Reaffirmation of a surviving unassimilated Native American presence.
3. Need for positive self-image development among Native youth.
4. Effective, culturally relevant alternative for drug and alcohol abuse.
5. Increased public awareness of Native concerns, particularly reclamation of beach "way stations" and forest resources.
6. Desires for community carving and cultural centers or museums.
7. Cooperation between Native and Euro-Americans.

Numerous groups and individuals contributed to the success of this endeavour: the Washington government, Centennial

Commission committees, United States National Forests, tribal administrators, council members, knowledgeable elders, carvers, Native youth, paddlers, support crews and families, hosting villages, museum professionals, anthropologists, journalists, television crews, loggers, educators and many others.

Overcoming decades of cultural inertia in order to bring back the indigenous canoes has taken energy and cooperation between Native and Euro-Americans. For example, the Washington State Centennial Commission, as any state agency, has an implicit history often counter-productive to local Native peoples. I have heard it asked in Indian country: "Why should we want to celebrate the birthday of a state which stole our land?" At such a contradictory time Indian leaders emphasized the need to seize the opportunity of the 1989 Centennial year for cultural heritage preservation and promotion.

Comments of the project coordinator, Emmett Oliver, published in the official Centennial Native Canoe Project booklet, are worthy of complete mention here as they clearly express the rationale of the project:

While 1989 focuses on our state's birthday, it also affords an opportunity to look even farther into our historic past to contributions of earlier peoples who lived here. Though Washington sprouted as a land of immigrants, an aboriginal people shaped rich cultures here for at least 8,000 years before Euro-Americans arrived. True heritage recognizes both, newcomers and Natives alike.

There once flourished on these shores a people and a culture highlighted by the omnipresent and hallowed dug-out canoe. The indigenous culture, in the beginning,

could not have developed and prospered without the Native canoe. So it is appropriate that we pause this year and pay homage to one aboriginal element that has meant so much to a people's way of life.

The canoe represents Native life at its fullest. It was used for fishing in the quiet waters of rivers and also for sea-going expeditions in quest of otter, seals and whales. The Native canoe was an economic necessity like a railroad or highway and it also provided recreation which persists to present-day in the sport of racing. For a maritime people it was an opportunity to display one's prowess. When we revel at competitive canoeing, remember it was this same spirit that was a way of life to the prime founders of this land.

Though the Native canoe may never return to the prominence it once held, we can honor it during these months as a symbol of a culture worthy of a part in the Centennial Celebration (Oliver in Lincoln 1989: 1).

Oliver viewed the canoe both as a symbol and as something tangible for Indians to put their hands on: a touchstone, a utilitarian art form, indeed a "Vessel of Spirit." He suggested that the revival of the threatened cedar dugout traditions would be more achievable than a restoration of Native languages.

III. DISAPPEARANCE OF NATIVE CANOEING:

Though once essential to the aboriginal cultures of Western Washington for subsistence, travel, trade, and in fact for survival, by 1988 the canoe had largely disappeared --except for the evolved racing hull. The sport canoe, hewn specifically for intertribal racing, has been recognized for its own social function as an expression of Indian identity. Scholar-

ship has previously addressed the continuity of racing canoes, see Dewhirst 1967; Kew 1970; Suttles 1987; and Hamilton 1980.

Most remaining older style canoes had been removed from Indian life to become safely protected, although as "captured heritage" preserved in museum collections. Other "classical" Coast Salish, Makah and Quileute watercraft have been occasionally displayed by parks, tribal centers and culturally aware retail stores and restaurants (see Appendix A).

The return of ancient hull styles is remarkable because the new functions and purposes for their existence differ markedly from aboriginal use. The change from an economic dependency upon Native dugouts to other modes of travel contributed to the loss of canoe making and use among recent generations of Indian people. Automobiles have become the dominant mode of travel. Modern gillnetters, seiners, aluminum beach skiffs, and for shallow riverine travel "jet-boats," have almost universally replaced the once ideally-suited cedar watercraft for subsistence, sport, and commercial fishing.

The disappearance of everyday working canoes in the three basic indigenous forms (the Nootkan or Whaling style, the Coast Salish style, and the shovel-nose riverine style) is a poignant fact of history for most Coast Salish, and Quileute people. The accumulated skill and experience of generations of canoe craftsmen and users largely disappeared along with

assimilation to mainstream cultural patterns and replacement of Native languages by English.

Ask Jones [the talented 48 year old Tulalip carver]
the Indian word for canoe and he stiffens a little.
"I don't know it."
He is silent for a moment, his back turned.
He looks over his shoulder.
"You know, you used to get beat up for talking Indian"
(Witmer, Everett Herald 23 April 1989: F-1).

For thousands of years coastal Indians living in the area now known as Washington were expert in a canoe lifestyle. Recently those under fifty not participating in the racing circuit missed the opportunity to experience their people's canoeing ways. They lost access to the knowledge embedded in their languages, to ancient skills and to their valued old-growth red cedar trees.

I guess another thing
that helped motivate us towards canoes
is my children been inquisitive as they grow up,
They wonder why, like I said
A lot of young people wonder --
why we don't have canoes,
why we don't compete anymore.

Well there was a lot of reasons.
It wasn't just because our carvers were deceased,
Another thing too that we found,
It was pretty hard for us
to come in possession of a log to carve.
We found that even people had a hard time
gettin a hold of logs
--so much red tape and regulations,
forestry and the bureaucratic end of it
--I guess become discouraging.
So I guess that was probably another reason
why maybe
We fell empty on canoes.

Now, thanks to Governor Booth and his wife,
and Emmett Oliver and a few other people,
it's made it easy for us to get access to this.

And now I think we're going to see a lot of carvers,
a lot of young people
wanting to learn how to make a canoe.

Harlan Sam, Upper Skagit
October 10, 1988
Recorded by L.L. Transcribed by A.R.*

Tragically, old-growth cedar essential for dugouts has been decimated by the logging industry and population expansion. The red cedar, Thuja plicata, is one species that has been little reforested.

Remaining old-growth trees are situated in remote mountainous regions belonging to all people in common under trust of the United States National Forests. Access to this esteemed resource for the special Centennial project was suggested by the Native Canoe Project coordinator, Emmett Oliver and promoted by Washington Governor Booth Gardner, his wife Jean Gardner who served as Co-chairperson of the Centennial Commission and Secretary of State, Ralph Munro. The use was officially supervised through the Centennial Commission's Maritime Committee.

IV. THE NATIVE DUGOUT CANOE --A CAPTIVATING SYMBOL

The canoe is a captivating symbol, something in which many people believe and for which many people were willing to work. Approximately a thousand worked to bring back their canoeing ways and began to reconcile some of their losses. The canoe

*See Appendix B: Key to Oral Historians and Transcribers.

epitomizes who they once were and is an object of pride. A healing took place as Native Americans carved, raced and voyaged in their ancestors' waterways, challenged by the ways of the cedar wood and the power of the ocean.

From a symbolic anthropologist's perspective the canoe metaphorically embodies and reconciles contradictions with which Indian people have been confronted (Turner 1974: 14). During the crisis or liminal period of transition from dependency on ancient styled work canoes to other modes of transportation in the 1920's, a correspondingly strong interest in dugout racing canoes developed.

The Indians' shift from a largely independent lifestyle complete with the essential canoe, to a lifestyle dominated by white economy was made more livable with the enduring presence and focus of indigenous prowess with the canoe.

Crews of strong pullers had been vital to the security and economic viability of a village. Safe travel, successful fishing trips and trade during stormy conditions required navigational knowledge of "uncharted" waters, surf, currents and tidal conditions. Raiders voyaging south to trade or steal slaves and take plunder posed a serious threat. Modern competition between strong crews has taken on a different meaning.

In the past, the canoes kept the people strong in the face of northern aggression. Today, [1980] they keep the people strong in preserving their sense of Indian identification in an increasingly non-Indian world (Hamilton 1980: 45).

During 1989 the canoe worked well to symbolically embody and reconcile conflicts of the Native American people as the genuine and credible carriers of their own cultural ways.

The loss of canoes represents the loss of culture many Indian people faced. Though they are at once the authentic and rightful representatives of indigenous lifestyles, many no longer had an interest nor expertise in their rich cultural heritage. Canoes have helped to spark a renewed interest, particularly to challenge the young people to learn and to experience first-hand ancient Native lore.

Cedar dugouts represent Native Americans as skillful woodworkers and as resilient seafarers closely associated with the water and aquatic resources. To successfully carve canoes and paddles and to craft associated regalia was a direct way Natives began to address the accumulated loss of skills. To successfully paddle canoes from the Pacific Ocean into Puget Sound and back 340 miles, was yet another direct way Natives regained pride and the experiences of their ancestors.

V. AIMS OF THIS THESIS:

This thesis documents a significant movement in contemporary Western Washington Native American life. It contributes to material culture studies by emphasizing the significance of the cultural object, the canoe. Ethnopoetic transcriptions offer authority to the Native voice. Contemporary statements carry expressive power and an informing capacity of

the thoughtworld of Native American people. Another pertinent field of inquiry is the contemporary phenomenon of indigenous or First Nations people actively reconstructing or "re-inventing" their disappearing traditions. This thesis contributes to the current genre of anthropology --not simply a compilation of salvage ethnographic descriptions but rather an attempt to document the process by which contemporary aboriginal people are reconstructing their ancient ways through experiment and integration (Finney 1990: 3).

My personal approach as a maritime anthropologist and oral historian are presented in Chapter Two. Here the "Anthropologist as Paddler" embarks on a culture study and revitalizing movement by joining the pace, direction and strain of a canoe crew traveling homeward. My goal continues to be to contribute my energies as researcher and interpreter toward relevant and expressed needs of the Indian people. My goal for this thesis has been to document the substance of the canoeing renaissance and begin to understand it in the Native American thoughtworld.

The effective data collection technique I enjoyed was tape recording conversations and public speeches. Some of this was done in conjunction with contract work for the Suquamish Tribe who taught me proper protocol within Indian Country. A more realistic and accurate understanding of Washington Native Americans was learned from rapport with Barbara Lawrence and the featured informants.

Chapter Three establishes the ethnographic setting of the Western Washington canoe complex including a detailed discussion of the different historic styles of the material object. This account draws from ethnographic and historical literature, from existing museum specimens, photographic archives and from oral testimonies. Illustrations enliven and visually inform the reader about these indigenous watercraft.

Chapter Four develops the background and recent cultural dynamics out of which this canoe movement surfaced. The formation of the Native Canoe Project follows. Various implications of Native American involvement in cultural heritage renewal are suggested, including the precedent of cooperation between Native Americans and museum institutions. This cooperation has furthered an empowerment of First Nation peoples to reconstruct their own identity and represent themselves more accurately and sensitively to the public than museums may have done in the past.

Chapter Five investigates specific tribal situations. The Lummi and Suquamish cases manifest varying degrees of continuity. The Tulalip case illustrates the process of salvaging existing knowledge embodied in a well-protected and beautifully crafted older canoe. In the Port Gamble study the re-invention of their canoe tradition reveals diffusion of regional art styles and the significance of individual contributors. The Quileute's determination to "Make Dreams Real" by

bringing back paddling canoes addresses many challenges including their efforts to heal community alcoholism. The Quil-eute's canoeing renaissance becomes a story of community revitalization. I have also included in Appendix C a synopsis of the other twelve tribal efforts for the 1989 Native Canoe Project.

Chapter Six describes the culmination of the Centennial canoe project, the "Paddle to Seattle." Application of Turner's perspective illuminates the structure of the waterborne pilgrimage and cross-sound parade as social performance, confrontation, public reintegration and opportunity to officially legitimize Native American values. The canoe, a captivating emblem during the Centennial year, has come to embody a revitalized Native American cultural presence.

Chapter Seven is an ethnopoetic collage of gathered oral testimonies. This chapter purposefully has no anthropological interjections. Rather it is a statement about the authority of Native perspectives in an effort to present an understanding as true to the Native point of view as possible. I hope the chapter emphasizes the ethnographic and literal beauty I have been privileged to witness and record. I am aware that simply through selection my biases have effected the represented Indian perspective. An accurate transcription of the material has been attempted.

Chapter Eight concludes by weaving together the amassed information into a textured whole through useful conceptual

systems for understanding and interpreting the Native canoe renaissance. The return and utilization of the material object have inspired a revitalization. The canoe has been discovered as a vehicle for collective redemption.

CHAPTER TWO:

FIELDWORK OF A MARITIME ANTHROPOLOGIST

Canoes have been something that
I've never really been able to get out of my mind.

Harlan Sam, Upper Skagit

I. ANTHROPOLOGIST AS PADDLER --A METAPHORIC EXPLANATION:

My own biases and strategy for fieldwork are presented here. The metaphor of an anthropologist paddling in an Indian dugout seems useful to elaborate my goals and style of experiential inquiry. On the occasion from which the analogy is drawn, a budding maritime anthropologist joined the momentum and course of a Native crew paddling homeward along an ancient travel route.

For a large canoe to move smoothly and efficiently, all paddlers must stay synchronized with the set rhythm and pace. For the anthropological enterprise to progress and for lasting value and rapport with modern Native society, the anthropologist must keep in harmony with the culture under study. Just as it is necessary to keep one's paddle in motion with the person just ahead in the canoe, it is necessary to keep informed of the community's history and current social situation, to keep the research in an acceptable format and to corroborate or refute preceeding scholars' findings.

While underway with graduate research and while producing a canoe monograph from archival sources, I began to listen to Indian communities and heard a unanimous call for the return of the prized vessels.

Canoes have been something that
 I've never really been able to get out of my mind.
 I'm 51 years old and I keep thinkin'
 that was our transportation,
 that was our livelihood,
 We used it for hunting, fishing, moving, you know,
 visiting,
 Everything.
 We used it for trading,
 We used them for sailing,
 We used them for everything in life for 500 years,
 and all of a sudden,
 We dropped 'em.
 And I think it's too valuable to let it slide.
 We need to bring it back.

Harlan Sam, Upper Skagit
 November 10, 1988
 Recorded by L.L. Transcribed by S.P.

To tie this into the paddling metaphore --by witnessing the cultural desire to bring back canoes, the direction Native cultural heritage people were already headed --I witnessed the canoe's course and the pace with which the crew strove to arrive at their destination. As a fledgling anthropologist, I strove to add my energy and research expertise on this same course toward the canoe renaissance in rhythm with the protocol, expectations, and goals of Indian communities. My work aims to follow this philosophy --to contribute to the course foreseen by Indian leaders and to follow the guidance of senior academic colleagues.

It has been important in fieldwork, to trust my heart's path --instinctively seaward. My personal attraction to the sea is largely due to my father's death. Since the loss, I am strengthened with his spirit through time with boats on the water. Recollecting these last years of work, I realize that the Native Americans experienced death and the loss of their culture. They are also strengthened with working the cedar and through quality time on the water.

Through discussion with Native peoples since 1985 I became aware that a rich verbal canoeing heritage had not yet been recorded. There was a sense of urgency to do salvage ethnography with the last generation of elders who worked canoes before the introduction of the gas outboard engines. They experienced first-hand the changes of their fishing practices, village relocations and the displacement of dugout canoe use. Many were still able and keen to record their knowledge, thus preserving and documenting their own history.

Planning and actualization of the tribes' canoe projects which together coalesced into the overall Native Canoe Project is significant "history in the making." By recording participants' comments I have documented the revitalization and reinvention process.

II. A DREAM TO DO MARITIME ANTHROPOLOGY:

After boating and fishing in the Pacific Northwest coastal waters, my curiosity and appreciation for indigenous ca-

noeing ways has deepened. I cultivated a dream to do maritime anthropology, to sail and work in the many protected channels, harbours and coastally-oriented communities where the canoeing lifestyle once flourished and the Native peoples continue their evolving legacies. This was my original incentive to do Native watercraft research.

During several legs of the 1989 "Paddle to Seattle" voyage from Port Townsend to Seattle and back again, I cruised with the flotilla of canoes in my sailboat, KHOYA. We contributed to the canoe crew by offering services for rest and radio contact. In the evenings after KHOYA was safely anchored, I was able to join the encampments around the fires with the paddlers near their canoes pulled up on the beach. Here the canoes were found in an idyllic context, as vehicles which caused the gathering of extended families and friends on the sites of ancient and still beautiful landing beaches.

Several of the Quileute, Hoh and Makah women came aboard KHOYA and together we sailed from "Tsetsibus" just south of Port Townsend to Suquamish and from Suquamish to Seattle. The elders, the keepers of the old ways, enjoyed seeing the canoes traveling alongside and enjoyed being close to their children, grandchildren, nieces, nephews and other relations. They related amongst each other memories of their own experiences on canoes as young girls. They drummed and sang their paddle songs to encourage the nearby paddlers during wearisome

stretches and to celebrate the canoes' arrivals at Suquamish, Alki Point and at Shilshole Beach in Seattle.



Figure 3: Quileute women drum and sing for the nearby "Paddle to Seattle" canoe flotilla aboard KHOYA 1989, Courtesy of the Quileute Tribal School Archives

III. FROM NEAH BAY TO LA PUSH

--FIELDWORK ABOARD THE QUILEUTE CANOE:

The paddling experience from which I draw my metaphoric parallel, "The Anthropologist as Paddler" occurred on a return

leg of the Quileute's two week "Paddle to Seattle" pilgrimage, a leg from Neah Bay to La Push on the Pacific coast. Three Nootkan or whaling style canoes traveled together: a 43' craft, a 24' cargo canoe and a restored 25' sealing dugout.

The message inherent in the "Anthropologist as Paddler" proposes that to interpret a culture with integrity, it is crucial for the researcher to travel "in their shoes," or in this case, in their canoe. Ridington has aptly suggested exploring in "new mocassins" and implies that by doing such fieldwork one no longer interprets what one sees in terms of what one is expecting (1988: 3), but rather begins a profound learning experience and may enter a different thoughtworld.

Actually being in an Indian canoe was very different from being aboard KHOYA, my own familiar vessel where I was in charge. From an anthropological perspective, being aboard a separate boat can be paralleled to the "privileged outsider's experience" while being a paddler aboard a tribe's cedar dugout can be likened to an "insider's experience" --a more profound penetration of the paddlers' thoughtworld, vulnerability to the elements, level of physical exertion and requisite team work.

At 5:00 a.m. on Thursday, August 3, 1989 I was invited to join the Quileute crew aboard their 43' craft. I had the necessary equipment: my own paddle and a lifejacket. The captain, Fred Eastman, assigned me a position two seats in front of the

steersman on the starboard or right-hand side. From that perspective situated in the belly of a great cedar with the Quileute crew, I witnessed the physical demands of long distance voyaging.

We left in the grey twilight, continuously paddling to pass the dangerous rocks surrounding Neah Bay. We were quiet in the canoe, concentrating on the pace, humbled by the rugged beauty of the breaking waves along the Makah coast --the immensity of the ocean and the smallness of the dugout. Sometimes individuals would rest, their paddle up, to don a sweater or take a drink. The crew as a whole did not stop paddling. We had a long trek to accomplish that day, not certain what the weather would bring. The day turned out fair. The wind was offshore. A current running approximately one knot carried us towards our southerly destination. The silver blue-grey Pacific Ocean rolled gently, a swell of one foot.

For lunch the crews of the Hoh canoe and the 43' whaling craft paddled through thick seaweed toward the protected Ozette island. Several seals awoke on our approach.

After a thirty minute break, we headed out again. The sail of the 24' cargo vessel was barely visible in the distance. That heavily built dugout was difficult to move through the water and so had been towed by a motorized escort boat. We paddled after them with a steady rhythm, anxious to reach La Push. That sail slowly grew bigger on the horizon.

During the last two hours of the "Paddle to Seattle" journey we raced to beat that sailing canoe, pulling each blade through the Pacific waters with as much force and timed precision as possible. We continued to gain on the slower canoe, excited to see the towering rocks that protect the entrance to the Quileute River mouth. Forlines, the steersman encouraged us to paddle faster. We sang and yelled in time to ease the weariness of ten hours and fifty miles of effort, to empower the strokes and for the pure joy of it. The songs kept our minds as one.

The race between our voyaging canoes peaked toward the entrance of the harbour. We continued our strenuous effort, three canoes neck-to-neck, heading into the narrow river mouth.

The successful return to La Push was spectacular. People of Quileute village came out to welcome the triumphant arrival. Some came out in canoes. Some set off fireworks. Others on the docks drummed and sang us in. Eventually all the paddlers were thrown into the harbour! "A baptism into the Quileute Nation's water," they explained. An intimate potluck dinner and thanksgiving for a safe return was shared.

IV. BACKGROUND RESEARCH:

Relating the anthropological enterprise to this paddling metaphor continues. Strengthening one's arm muscles before undertaking a vigorous canoe voyage can be compared to conduc-

ting the required background research before embarking on thesis fieldwork.

My research began in 1984 while an undergraduate at the University of Washington for an independent paper on Northwest Coast Indian dugout canoes under the guidance of Bill Holm. I compiled ethnographic information and began drawing naval architectural renderings of existing canoes in museums.

In 1985 Center for Wooden Boats' director, Dick Wagner, supported a research effort for a museum publication which became entitled Cedar Canoes of the Coast Salish Indians Monograph #3: Traditional Smallcraft of the Northwest Series. The aim was to compile inaccessible ethnographic accounts of Native canoeing culture for the enlightenment of the wooden boating community and larger general public. The monograph visually documents the sophisticated and representative cedar hull types in lines drawings. Wagner also encouraged me to include archival photographs thus directing my research to photographic collections (see Appendix D: List of Photographic Archives Accessed). A rich yield of fine images resulted and a desire to bring to the public these vivid "windows of the past."

Further preparation in the graduate program at the University of British Columbia's Department of Anthropology and Sociology guided me into the professional academic current of ethical responsibilities and contemporary concerns in Native American scholarship.

V. WATERBORNE,

THE SUQUAMISH TRIBE'S ORAL HISTORY DOCUMENTARY:

Plans to conduct oral history interviews for this thesis expanded into a more rewarding project than originally imagined. The aim was to include aspects of the Native canoeing heritage in the then upcoming Washington Centennial.

Recognizing many cultural resources: knowledgeable elders, ethnographic accounts, photographs, and increasing tribal and public interest, I approached Dr. Robin Wright, Curator of Native American Art at the Thomas Burke Washington State Memorial Museum on the University of Washington campus, to discover an available outlet and financial support for oral history research of the Coast Salish canoeing heritage. An acoustic portrayal of Indian canoeing ways suitably complemented the Burke's planned Centennial exhibition of Native peoples of Washington, so support was assured to incorporate the gathered oral histories from my fieldwork in an interpretive museum production.

At this point in early 1987 I began meeting with accomplished oral historian Susan Blalock who worked for Current-Rutledge Production Company. For seven years prior to that, Blalock coordinated the Suquamish Tribe's oral history work and their acclaimed production "Come Forth Laughing: Voices of the Suquamish People," produced by the same Current-Rutledge Company. The soundtrack of that multiple image slide show was

edited from oral history interviews and carries a compelling message about residential school life from the Suquamish elders' perspective.

Blalock's proven grant writing ability, rapport with the Suquamish Tribe and enthusiasm to create another Native American audio-visual production complemented my connections with the Burke Museum, the Native Canoe Project and on-going research efforts. Together we conceptualized WATERBORNE.

The Suquamish Tribal Museum and Cultural Center chose to sponsor this canoeing oral history production during its grant-writing stage and in June of 1988 the Centennial Commission announced its financial backing for the oral history documentary of Indian canoeing culture as a "Project of State-wide Significance." Co-sponsors for the project included the Burke Museum who planned to incorporate it as the audio-visual component of their centennial exhibit, "A Time of Gathering." The Native American Education branch of Washington's central Superintendent of Public Instruction Office also supported WATERBORNE with matching funds. They planned to use this new educational video to inspire students throughout the state.

The project evolved to become the Suquamish Tribe's copyrighted WATERBORNE --Gift of the Indian Canoe. Much of my oral history collection for this thesis became subsumed into the experience of working with the Suquamish Tribe on their audio-visual production.

This was a valuable lesson in the political arena of current Native American cultural projects. The Suquamish Museum has a reputation for being on the forefront of gathering, archiving and making use of oral history research. They also set precedents for arranging the training of their own tribal members to direct, curate and run their own museum.

This hegemony or leadership role for Native Americans to create and represent their own cultural identity was a philosophical basis for the creation of WATERBORNE. The narrative was derived exclusively from Native American voices. The Suquamish chose a cooperative attitude to sponsor the photographic, technical, conceptual and grant-writing expertise of David Current, Anne Rutledge, Susan Blalock and myself. Barbara Lawrence, a Suquamish educator contributed essential protocol expertise for the project and was trained in oral history documentation.

VI. ETHNOGRAPHIC PROCEDURES:

The University of British Columbia Office of Research Services granted this fieldwork endeavor a "Certificate of Approval" (#B87306 dated January 4, 1988 --see Appendix E) in response to my "Request for Ethical Review," required before conducting oral history research.

Letters were sent to the Tribal Councils asking for permission to conduct oral history. They are included in Appendix F. I gave several slide presentations of archival and

contemporary canoe images to the tribal councils and elder's luncheons, creating an opportunity to meet knowledgeable informants and contributing to a growing awareness about canoes.

Many knowledgeable elders (potential informants) emerged during the development of the Native Canoe Project. Tribes involved in carving their own canoes expressed interest in recording their histories and personal experiences. Suquamish involvement gave official status to the fieldwork and ensured access to several informants who were glad their oral testimonies would be archived in a tribal museum.

The group of informants pertinent to this thesis includes about twenty knowledgeable elders, contemporary carvers, and "paddlers" who refer to themselves as "pullers."* A list of featured informants is found in Appendix G. They were recruited from coastal and riverine Coast Salish peoples of Puget Sound, the Straits, the Pacific Coast (Quinault) and from the Quileute tribe. Criteria for their selection included: their voluntary cooperation, their historical knowledge of canoes and their involvement in the canoeing renaissance.

* The term "Pullers" may have evolved from meaning in the Coast Salish tongue. Consider in the Coast Salish language dialects of Saanich and Lushootsed, the term "to paddle" is not related to the implement. In Lushootseed it refers to movement of a paddle beneath the water, "as a fish swims." In Saanich, the center area for canoe racing, their term refers to the paddler's physical movement, the pulling motion of the paddle and means "to pull" (Carlson and Hess 1978: 21).

Another selection factor was to work with informants from representative tribal groups thus covering a wider geographical spectrum. The elders were encouraged to speak or use terms in their native language, though few still used or knew their aboriginal tongue. I gave my informants gifts of smoked salmon which I had caught and had been smoked by North Sea Products (a soft smoke) and by Skagit Indian Foods (who prepared a delicious salmon jerky).

I established most of the contacts, ensured sensitive treatment to personal reminiscences yet aimed to satisfy the rigors of academic scholarship. This was attempted by incorporating a balance of honest rapport with a neutral stance to informant's ideas --"balanced empathy with analytic judgment" (Reimer 1984: 19).

From September through December 1988, I conducted over thirty-five tape recorded sessions, alone and with either Barbara Lawrence, the Suquamish Tribal liaison staff and/or with one or more members of the Current-Rutledge production company. The resulting taped documents needed to satisfy the broadcast quality goals of the production staff, the protocol demands of the Suquamish Tribe and my own research aims --a challenging combination!

Thirty to ninety minute interviews were loosely guided by a questionnaire outline (see Appendix H), a map of local and wider Coast Salish areas and relevant archival photographs.

Background research with tribally specific ethnographies increased the questioning focus of specific technologies and historic details. My thesis committee recommended "casting a wide net" of inquiry --to be prepared for any relevant information. Most Indian people with whom I visited were talented narrators and I learned to listen and keep questions to a minimum.

Transcripts have been made of most relevant discourses by Sharon Prosser, a Current-Rutledge contract employee; Anne Rutledge and myself. The transcripts of the interviews done for the WATERBORNE production were set in typical prose style. Questions by the interviewers were largely omitted. These transcripts have been checked for accuracy, particularly the ones from which I have drawn my excerpts. I listened while rearranging the words into their more suitable poetic format.

The Suquamish Tribe have assumed administrative responsibility for proper archival protection of the cassette tapes. Copies of transcripts, fieldnotes, lines drawings and photographic materials will be stored with the Jacobs Research Funds Collection at the University of Washington Archives. A copy of relevant tapes, transcripts, collected photographs and other pertinent material will be returned to local tribal offices.

VII. THE ORAL HISTORY METHODOLOGY:

Rosaldo in his work Myth, Memory and Oral Traditions, comments that oral history serves a primary purpose --the reconstitution of the past. This work may serve to present the topical interest of canoes in relation to a past Indians are striving to reconstruct. As they were constructing new canoes, their knowledge of the past was being reconstructed too.

There continue controversies on whether and or how oral history compares to documented history. For some, reliability of all documents are suspect. Recorded narratives as well as written history should be checked for factual legitimacy. "Hard facts" are more difficult to verify in documents of recorded voice than in printed histories. Both accounts of the past are interpretations from particular perspectives not direct reflections of reality. Often written histories arise from a most undemocratic accumulation of facts and include many gaps.

Some groups in society had neither the means or occasion to represent themselves by written record and hence our knowledge of them came through impersonal statistics of the observations of a detached and unsympathetic elite (Ibid. 1984: 1).

Working with oral rather than written information represents a continuous and relevant medium for sharing knowledge in Indian communities. Also by recording the remarks of an interviewee in a comfortable setting, the oral historian is capturing the informant's greater expressive power. Informa-

tion sharing becomes another means of displaying verbal property. Indian people realize and insist that their oral history is indeed a "natural resource," which needs preservation primarily for their own benefit and secondarily for the larger world (Efrat cited in Langlois 1976: 11).

Throughout the Native Canoe Project, each tribe has gone to various lengths recording the development of their renewed canoeing culture. For example, the Quileute and Lower Elwha Klallam have used videotaping technology to record hours of information, a rich realm of ethnographic documentation recorded by Native people for their own communities (see Mark Mascarin's film Quileute Nation Paddle to Seattle).

Other factors influencing the reliability of oral history documentation include both the subjectivity and selectivity of elders' memories. Memories may have been influenced by the rapport with the interviewer and the stress of the recording process. In this project, informants enjoyed the memory stimulus of photographs, charts, as well as recent talk with other elders and members of their communities. This fieldwork created source material during a wave of activity. It supported a historic vitality through making the past immediate and promoted community discussion.

During 1989 when most canoes were being built, elders were consulted concerning all aspects of canoeing --for bringing back the cedar blessing songs, information of carving

techniques, tool making, bark use, the launching ceremonies, the paddle songs. Elders' memories are the roots of the re-emerging canoeing traditions.

An apprentice canoe maker once began by picking up cedar chips from the carving site. These chips are like the fragments of stories we now gather. Personal reminiscences, snapshots, historic ethnographies, artifacts in museum collections --these bits of treasured information became the foundation from which this Native Canoe Project grew. These and the Indian people's underlying, enduring sense of canoes were sufficient to support the 1989 resurgence.

Many limit the value of oral history and interviewing to anecdotes, the illustrative incident, the ambience of the time, to clues on where to search further, or a mere feel for the facts....I think it helps get the event itself. Not colour or peripheral facts or a feel for the situation but the guts of the event, the heart of it (Lord cited in Reimer 1976:1).

My philosophy to promote grassroots oral history work was implemented with the WATERBORNE production. I attempted to return understanding by editing a booklet called Native American Canoes PADDLE TO SEATTLE 1989 with project coordinator Emmett Oliver. He elicited written statements from each tribe to explain their canoe building efforts. Editing the booklet was an opportunity to access the unique, personal and varied tribal comments concerning their re-emerging canoeing heritages. Parts of this collected information are presented in Appendix C.

The interest to research, record, transcribe, organize and subsequently interpret this indigenous maritime culture has spanned over five years. Involvement in the Native Canoe Project has opened several doors, including invitations to several potlatches. I received my first blanket at the Lower Elwha potlatch September 1989.

It was through these unanticipated events that I have begun to gain a sense of the Indian's social world. "The ability to translate the meanings of one culture into a form that is appropriate to another culture" (Spradley 1979: 19) is a problematic concern. I have striven to penetrate such difficulties of translation by keeping the ethnographic descriptions as true to Native concepts as possible by presenting comments in the ethnopoetic format. Boas insisted on the importance of ethnographic collecting in the tongue of the people studied.

If it is our serious purpose to understand the thoughts of a people the whole analysis of experience must be based upon their concepts, not ours" (Boas 1943 cited in Spradley 1979: 24).

For these reasons the oral history and ethnopoetic methodology appears a most appropriate research tool to discover and translate the meaning of the cedar dugout canoes in the lives of Washington Native coastal people. I have presented the collected data so Native understandings may express themselves.

The time will tell you well.
The time was right for you to come down,
You're in La Push,
Trying to find what you're seekin' from the people.
The knowledge that they have.
It's so sacred ya know.
Even I believe that the more you're gettin' into it,
The stronger you're gonna feel
 about how the people lived them days.
It's gonna come out.

Thomas "Ribs" Penn, Quileute
October 31, 1989
Recorded by L.L. Transcribed by S.P.

The enthusiastic, broad level of Native American participation in the Centennial canoe project has been of great satisfaction. Thousands of Indian people expressed a resounding belief in cedar dugout canoes. It was a joy to be part of the Quileute crew, to pull a paddle in time with them as they rounded Cape Flattery into the Pacific Ocean, headed south and made landfall. It has been worthwhile to work with the people to bring back the watercraft, "to bring them canoes back home."

CHAPTER THREE:

AN ETHNOGRAPHIC OVERVIEW OF HISTORIC CEDAR DUGOUT TYPES

Well, the water up here,
 That was the only transportaion
 that they've had at one time
 before the white settlers came up here,
 besides going the horseback on the trails.
 You would probably call them the canoe tribes.

Paul Harvery, Sauk-Suiattle

I. ENVIRONMENTAL ORIENTATION:

Evidence of human inhabitation in Western Washington territories spans approximately 8,000 years (Carlson 1984: 18). Adaption to the available resources along the protected salt-water and riverine areas of Puget Sound, Admiralty Inlet, the coastal stretches of the Strait of Juan de Fuca and the Pacific Ocean naturally required the Coast Salish, Makah and Quileute people to develop water transport and water-oriented subsistence strategies. Their various types of dugout watercraft, generally hewn of red cedar, were well-suited for different marine environments and purposes.

Fishing was the basis of the Western Washington Native economy. Dugouts were essential for such a livelihood. Five species of salmon, steelhead, halibut, sturgeon, cod, dogfish, herring, oolichan, smelt and others were caught. Clams, geoducks, mussels, oysters, crab, abalone, scallops, sea urchins, sea cucumbers and many types of seaweeds were gathered along the intertidal shoreline. Harbor seal and porpoise were hunted

from the canoes and some groups even whaled. Many species of waterfowl, geese, and ducks were caught from canoes in the night and by flyway nets strung up along flight routes. The Sound and Straits were rich with resources, the rivers and estuaries were alive with marine life which could be hunted, fished or gathered in its own time. Local populations traveled as a mobile, integrated society following seasonal runs at proven sites.

This basis for the fishing and gathering societies produced commodities beyond immediate need. The catching, preserving and trading of salmon was and continues to be the heart of the economy. Though hunger lurked behind a poor fish run, the usual bountiful catch of returning salmon gave indigenous peoples the opportunity to refine their songs, dances, spirit quests, weaving, carving and art. Coast Salish (and Quileute) art was a private phenomenon loaded with spiritual power, quite distinct from the dramatic totem poles and prominently displayed carving arts of the northern Northwest Coast peoples (Suttles 1987: 104).

The hardy Coast Salish, Nootkan and riverine style canoes made this marine lifestyle possible, indeed successful. The carrying-capacity of the canoes allowed for seasonal migration from central winter settlements to summer fishing camps. Tons of dried and smoked seafood were carried in dugouts back to the winter houses located near the shore. A good beach con-

venient for launching canoes was a vital factor in the choice of a village site.

Large ceremonial canoes could transport whole villages of people and their goods. They made possible the social gatherings, winter ceremonial dances and potlatch feasts. The ability for group travel enabled a high degree of intertribal communication, trade and marriage. Offshore sea mammal hunting, slave raids and retaliatory warfare made demanding use of the seaworthy dugouts.

The canoe was hewn from a single log, generally red cedar in the Coast Salish area, although yellow cedar, spruce and cottonwood were used in upper riverine areas where only these woods were available. Varying in size from extremes of 8 feet to 72 feet, most canoes measured between 15-35 feet.

The western red cedar, Thuja plicata, is eminently well-suited to many purposes. It is light in weight, easy to work yet exceedingly durable. Its bark can be shredded and woven into clothing, waterproof hats, baskets and plaited mats. Its branches and roots can be worked into strong withes and ropes. The wood splits easily into house planks, bends into watertight boxes and may be hewn into graceful canoes. Within cedar's cellular structure is a natural toxic oil, called thujaplicin which serves as a preservative to resist rot in mature trees and contributes to its pleasant aroma (Stewart 1984: 22). Cedar is the arbor vitae, the sacred tree of life.

II. HISTORIC TYPES OF INDIAN CEDAR DUGOUT CANOES:

Little archaeological evidence remains of ancient Northwest Coast canoe forms. They were first documented in descriptions of early explorers, illustrated by shipboard artists and represented in early models collected for museums. The British Museum houses two notable models of a Head and a Nootkan craft collected by the Vancouver Expedition in 1792. Webber, illustrator for Captain James Cook, documented Salish

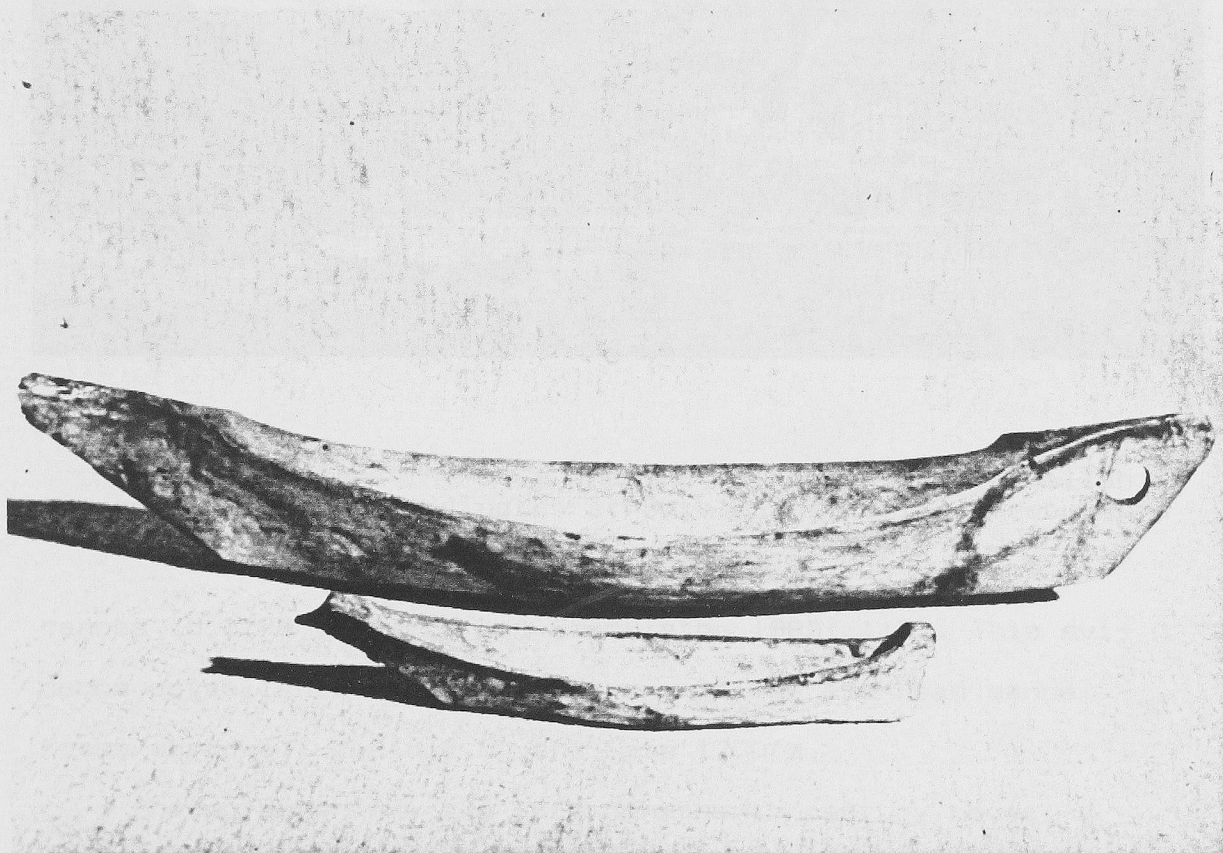


Figure 4: Models collected by the 1792 Vancouver Expedition attest to the ancestry of the Nootkan and Head canoe forms, Courtesy of the B. Holm Slide Collection.

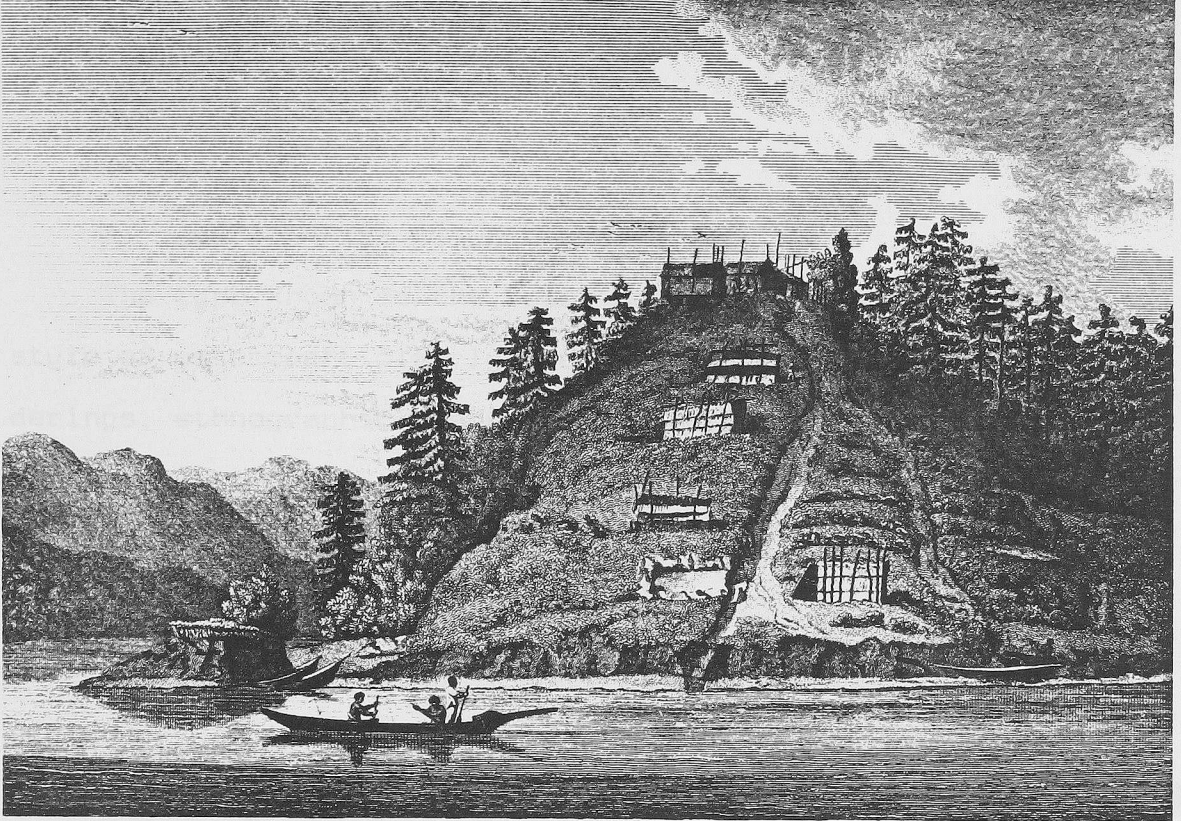


Figure 5: Engraving of a drawing of several Coast Salish canoes by Thomas Heddington at Bute Inlet during Vancouver's Expedition 1792, Courtesy U.W. Libraries #NA 3986

canoes in 1778 (Roberts and Shackleton 1983: 113). This evidence establishes that the Nootkan, Salish and Head canoe forms were well defined by the late 1700's.

Photographs from the late nineteenth century reveal a strict adherence of canoe forms to exact styles. Such stylistic conformity implies the carver's artistic license was checked by cultural conservatism. Yet the builder's identity

was reflected in the design, construction details and adzing techniques of the finished vessel. Perhaps the continuity of styles was of greater importance than innovation.

A. COAST SALISH STYLE CANOE:

The type known as the Coast Salish canoe is an ancient style of watercraft clearly documented in early artists' renderings, ethnographic descriptions and photographs. These

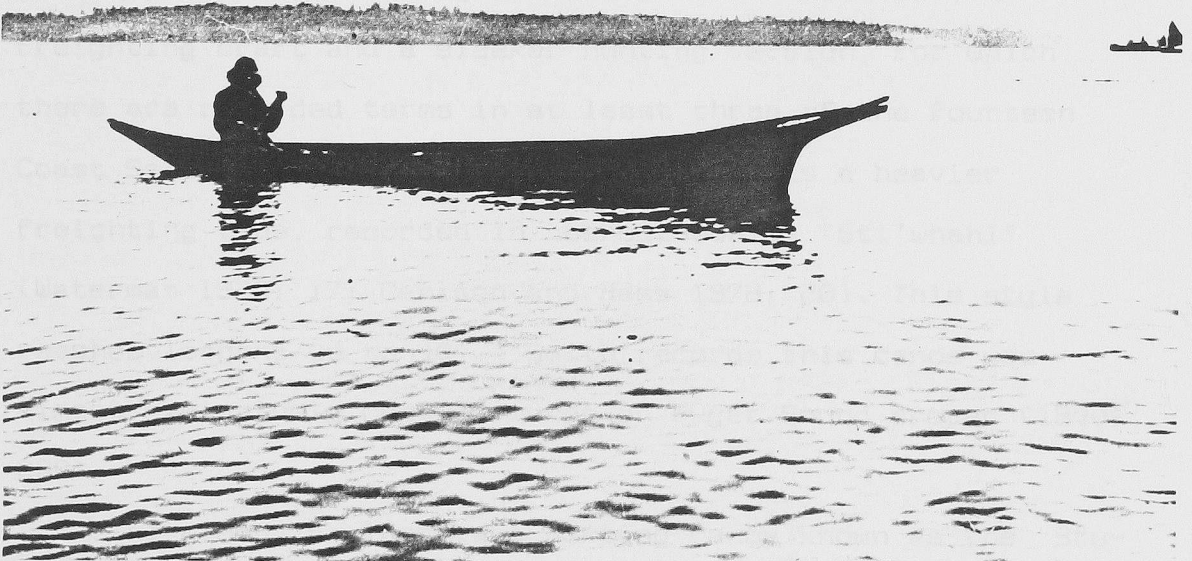


Figure 6: McCurdy photo of a Coast Salish canoe in the Tulalip area circa 1906, Skagit County Historic Archives

hunting and freighting canoes were highly evolved for use in the inland saltwater region. The Suquamish, Lower Elwha and Port Gamble Klallam, Tulalip, saltwater Duwamish, Steilacoom, Skokomish, Squaxin, Swinomish, Samish and Lummi; all are recorded to have used this type. The Nootkan style craft was also commonly used.

The presence of Coast Salish style canoes was described in the first Native American-European encounters along the coast. Though the low sheer of the Salish craft lends itself to inland waterways, this vessel has been illustrated by John Sykes, 1792, to have traveled in Johnstone's Strait and by George Dixon's drawing in 1787 in Queen Charlotte Sound (Henry 1984: 61, 82).

The Coast Salish style includes two variations, a freighting craft and a sleeker hunting version, for which there are recorded terms in at least three of the fourteen Coast Salish languages. The first variant is a heavier freighting type, recorded in Lushootseed as "Sti'whahl" (Waterman 1920: 17; Carlson and Hess 1978: 20). This style reaches lengths up to 40'. Smith records this canoe was almost exclusively used by women on Puget Sound proper (1940: 289).

The second variant is a hunting canoe known as the "Stukwihl" (Waterman 1920: 18, Holm and Suttles personal communication). The stukwihl, a narrower type of Coast Salish canoe

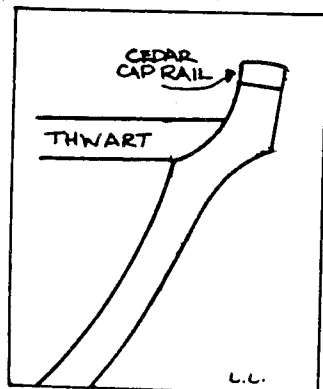
was intended for sea mammal and duck hunting. This term was recorded by the linguist Dr. Thom Hess. Lushootseed speakers feel that the Stukwihl designates not only the Coast Salish hunting canoe but "Indeed that the "Sda'kwihl" is the epitome of all...." (Carlson and Hess 1978: 22). Various transcriptions of this term clearly identify it as the name for the generic Coast Salish canoe (Suttles 1987: 5). This is an indication that the stukwihl may well be the original Coast Salish type.

In cross-section, the bottom of the stukwihl or Coast Salish canoe is nearly flat, rounding upwards to an outward-sloping flare. A characteristic groove runs fore-and-aft on the inside of the gunwale. This groove complements a delicate outflaring gunwale edge which runs along the outside of the hull. This edge has an appearance of an added washstrake though is an integral part of the dugout hull adding lateral buoyancy to the design. The canoe tapers aft to a point where the bottom becomes V-shaped and slopes gently up to the projecting stern (Duff 1952: 57).

The bow characteristically has a notch, "resembling," informants say, "an open mouth" (Waterman 1920: 17). The upper section of the bow's split two-part design connects to the horizontal surface of the gunwale. This buoyant upper prow extreme is carved in the center with a hollow for a harpoon or mast rest. Below the lower section is a vertical fin which at the waterline is designed as a cutting edge for a fine entry.

This forward fin or cutwater is approximately one-inch thick. On many Coast Salish style canoes running several feet along the bottom from the bow's cutwater is a minute though discernible keel. Waterman suggested this keel-like configuration caused the canoe to silently slip through waves enabling hunters to surprise a sleeping seal or catch a porpoise. Neither the uprising bow nor stern were made of separate added-on pieces, such as the technique used in building Nootkan and Northern style canoes.

CROSS SECTION
EXPANDED VIEW



CHARACTERISTIC
INNER AND OUTER
GUNWALE FLAIR

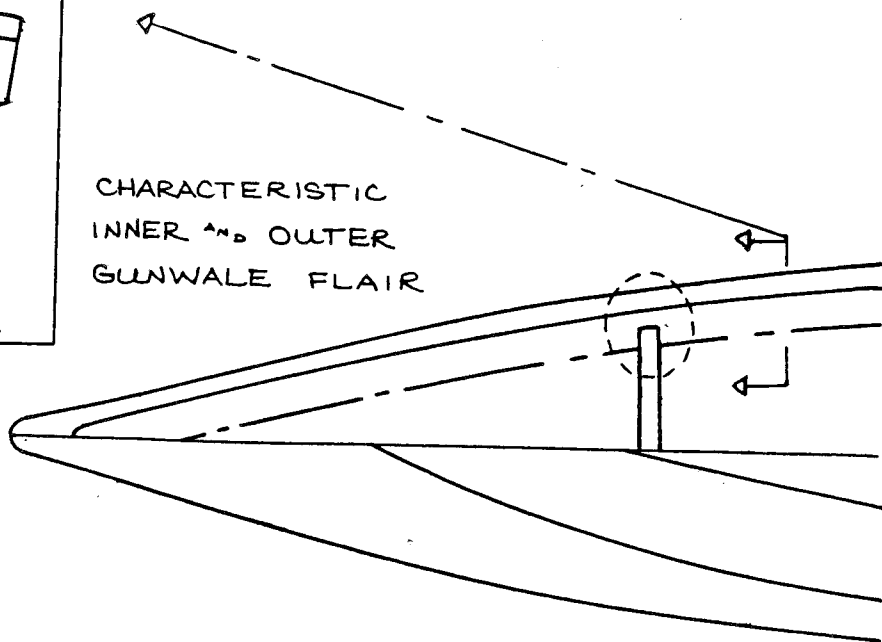
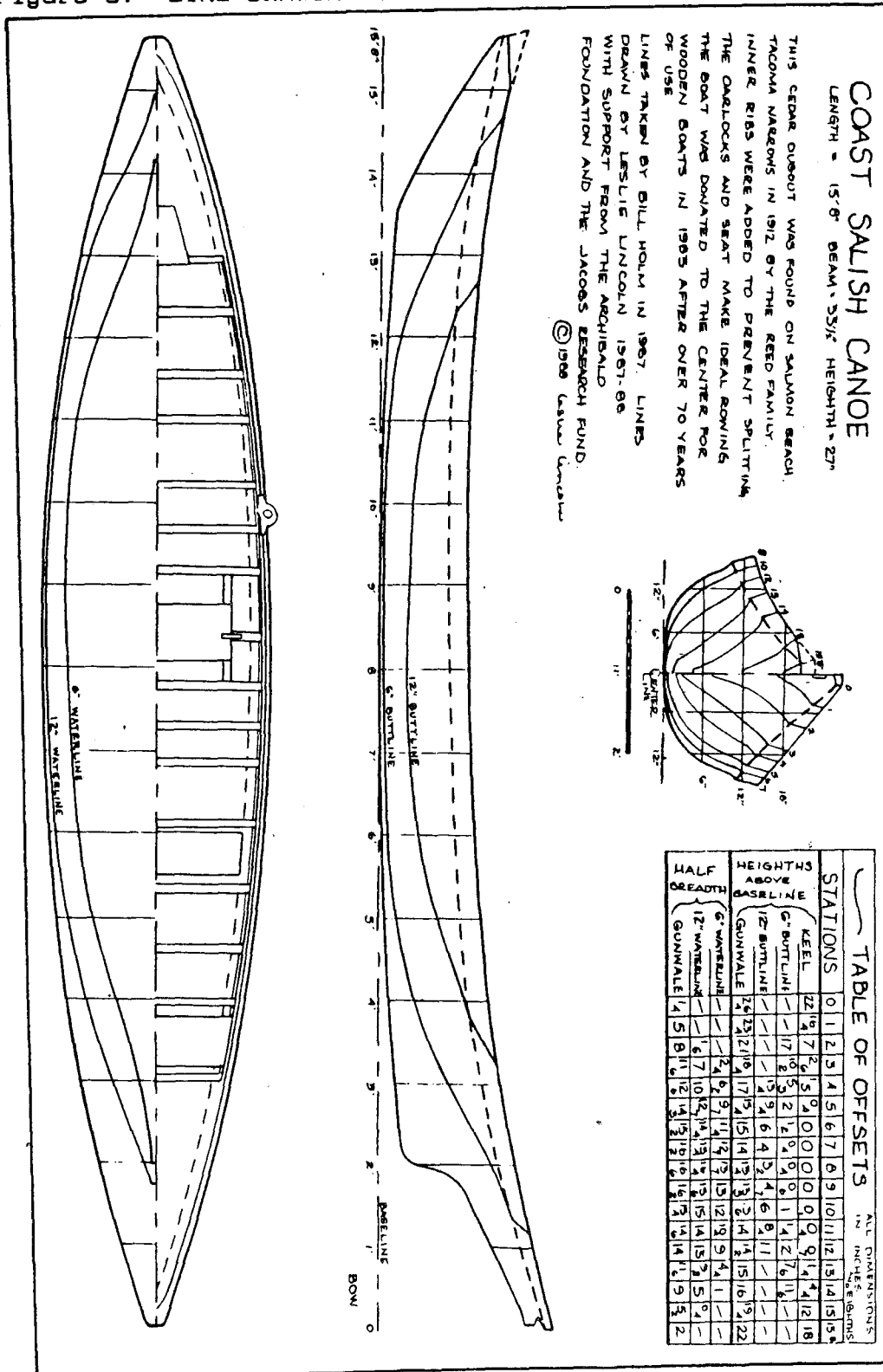
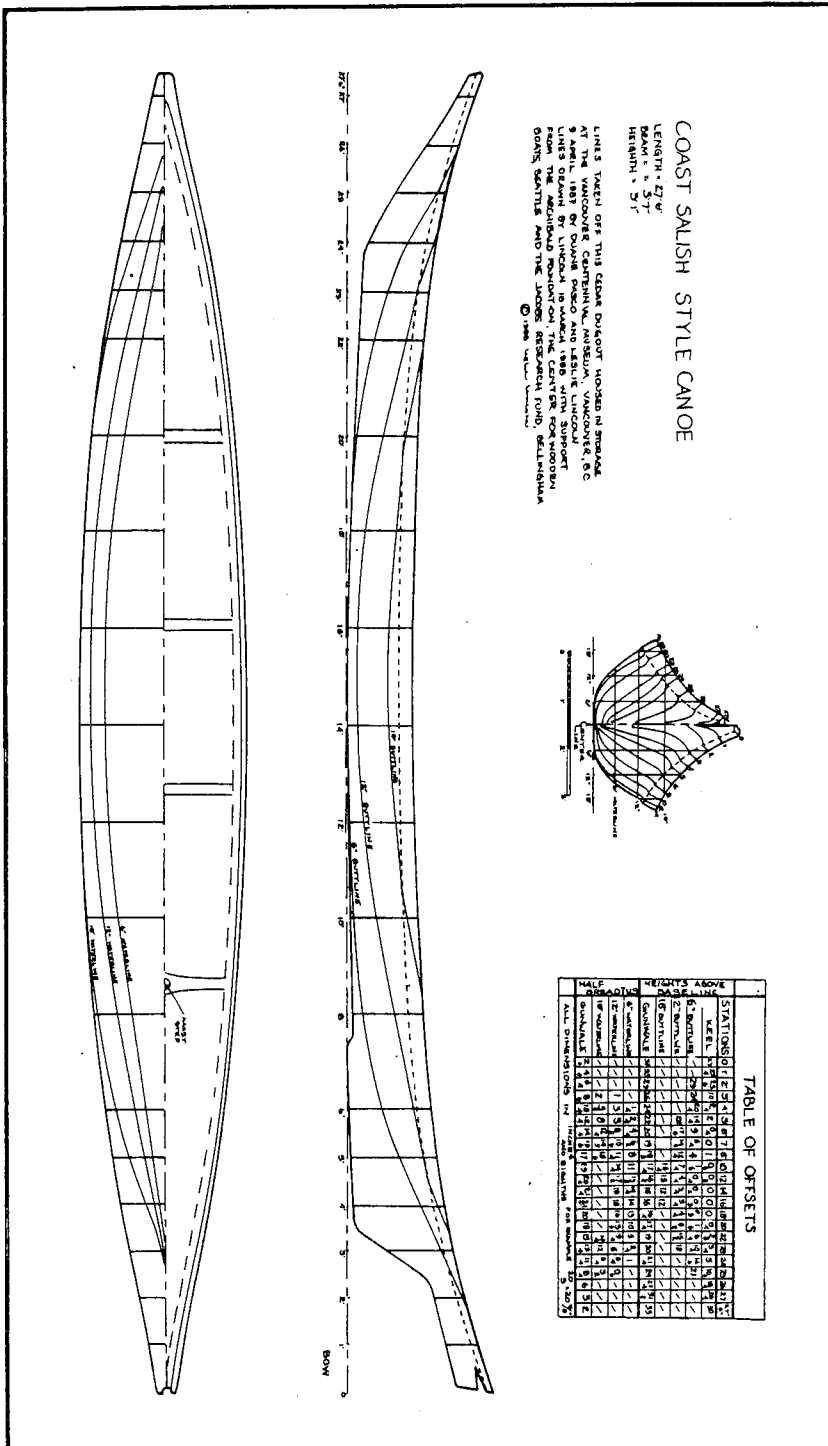


Figure 7: Author's Drawing of Characteristic
Coast Salish Gunwale Groove

Figure 8: LINE DRAWING OF 15' COAST SALISH "STUKWIHL"





B. SHOVEL-NOSE RIVERINE WATERCRAFT:

In the literature a wide distribution of riverine craft generically called the "shovel-nose" canoe exists. This name describes one type of craft found in the Puget Sound and Fraser Valley Salish area (Duff 1952: 52; Waterman 1920: 19). This "shovel-nose" type was once essential to the tribes who live along the numerous Washington rivers. It was used by the Nooksack, Upper Skagit, Sauk-Suiattle, Stillaguamish, Puyallup, Nisqually, Muckleshoot, freshwater Duwamish and other riverine peoples. These craft were useful for frequenting the marshes and intertidal areas. Riverine people generally poled upriver and paddled downstream from their villages. The saying goes, "You push your pole and pull your paddle." The term for the shovel-nose riverine dugout in Lushootseed or the southern Puget Sound Coast Salish language is "Tl'ai" (Waterman 1920: 19; Hilbert personal communication).

The shallow riverine Tl'ai ranges from 15-40 feet long. Fore-and-aft ends are symmetrical. The wide, scooped bow and stern for which it is named do not catch in rapids of swift moving rivers, yet are sufficiently buoyant to support a fisherman with spear poised on the bow.

Although ideal for gliding over swift cross-currents of interior rivers and tributaries, Duff described the shovel-nose's limited usefulness on main rivers as it was not designed for rough wind or seas (1952: 52). Many who had only the

shovel-nose type of watercraft preferred the safety of an inland portage to crossing the more exposed saltwater regions. Typically these shallow vessels were poled up to headwaters where goods and canoes were portaged to another nearby river or creek, following established interior trade routes. Inland people hunted above the river beds in mountainous country by foot and then by horse after its spread west of the Cascades in the mid-1700's (Boxberger in Taylor 1984: 114).

My parents portaged the canoes from Concrete,
 They went up the water ways
 and then they had to carry the canoes
 from some spot there up to the Baker River,
 and I don't remember how long a distance that was.
 I remember that, being three years old,
 The canoe pullers and my dad's crew took turns
 packing me on their shoulders
 from one place to another
 while they portaged the canoes.
 And then had to carry --
 We had to carry all of the food and things,
 The provisions across a long railroad trestle
 I remember up in the Concrete area,
 And so this was a very very hard business.

And I remember that we didn't time it right one time.
 And there was a train coming,
 So we had to get underneath the trestle
 to get away from the train.
 We didn't have time to run
 to one end or the other of the trestle,
 So we had to get underneath
 And that was very very frightening,
 Because it would have been a drop
 of several hundred feet down
 to hit bottom
 if we had lost our footing.
 So I can remember that was a hair raiser.

Vi Hilbert, Upper Skagit
 October 27, 1988
 Recorded by L.L. Transcribed by S.P.

An industry reliant upon the shovel-nose canoes developed in the wake of the logging boom along the Upper Skagit River in the 1910's. Skagit Indian crews worked moving down river the cedar shingle bolts --the huge cedar log sections which had been left behind by loggers. Indians were chosen for the



Figure 10: Shovel-nose riverine cedar dugout being poled up the Upper Sauk River circa 1914, Courtesy of Jean Bedal

RESEARCH FUNDS, BELLINGHAM



work crews because they could handle the river currents and withstand snow melt temperatures of the Skagit River (Jenkins 1984: 154-56).

Suttles mentions that the Coast Salish Straits, Lummi and Nooksack hunted in simply-made bark boats on interior mainland lakes. Their improvised canoe was made of a single piece of cedar bark stripped off the trees and turned inside out so as to have the smoother surface in the water (1974: 308).

C. NOOTKAN STYLE CANOES:

In contrast to sheltered saltwater Straits and Puget Sound regions; the Makah, Quileute and Coast Salish Quinault tribes live along more exposed coastal waters. They launch the capable seagoing canoe variously known as the Whaling, Chinook or Nootkan type. The canoe is famous for its use as a whale hunting boat by the Makah and (Canadian) Nootkan or Nuuchah-Nulth people.

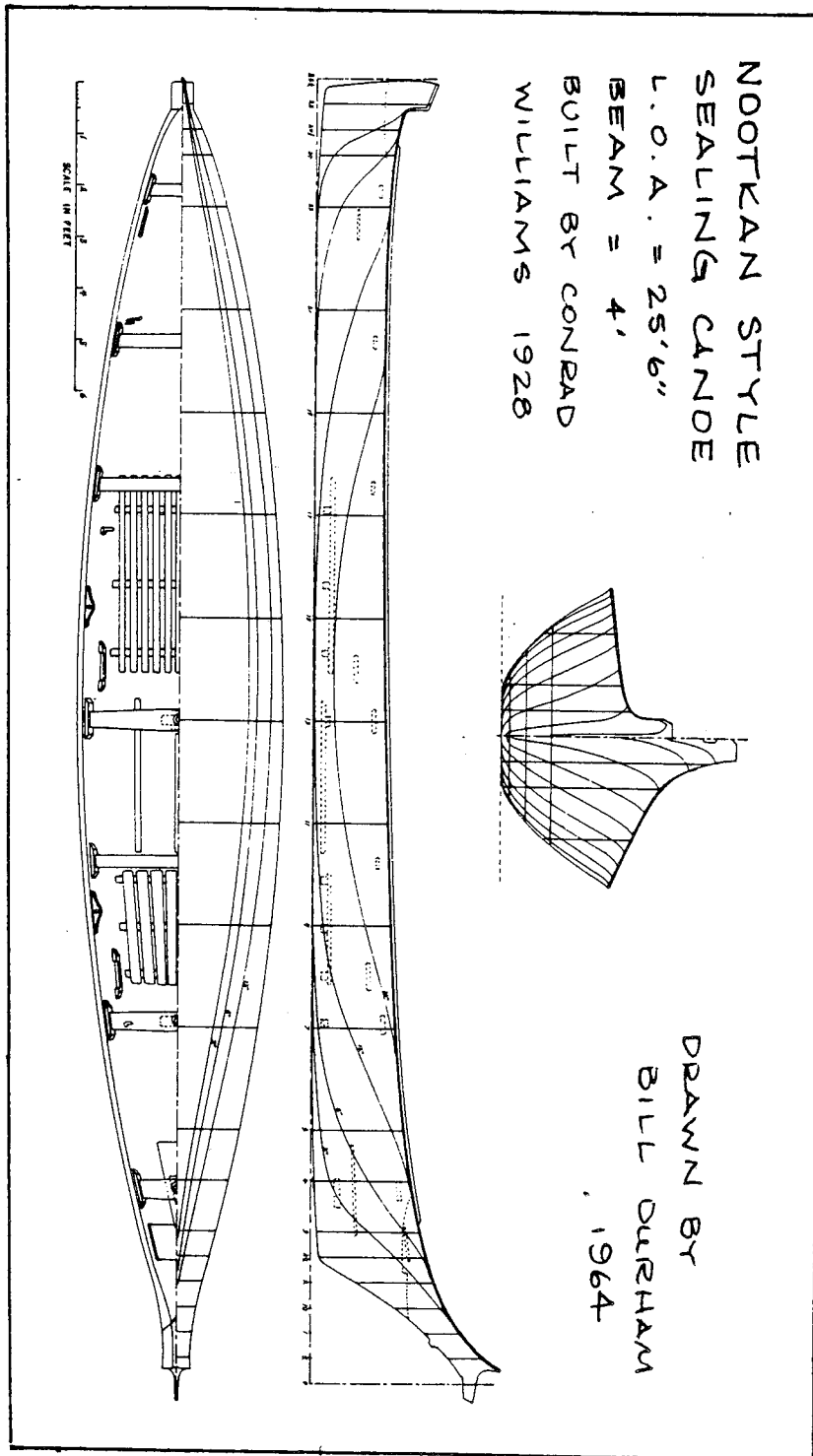
The Nootkan dugouts first built along the west coast of Vancouver Island were able sea boats, so well-designed for freighting, fishing and sea mammal hunting that their style diffused widely and became the dominant type of watercraft in the nineteenth century for the entire Coast Salish area and inland along the Columbia River (Arima 1975; Durham 1960; Waterman 1920).

These ocean-going vessels have an almost flat bottom, little to no rocker with a small radiused turn of the bilge and flaring sides which results in a stable vessel of good load-carrying capacity. The high projecting bow consists of a separate bow-piece joined or scarfed into the hull. This bow has a shape reminiscent of an animal head with characteristic projections known in the lore as ears, snout and Adam's apple or "uvula" (Duff 1981: 202). Between the forward and uppermost



Figure 12: Nootkan style dugouts gathered along Seattle's Waterfront on Ballast Island, J.P. Soule photo, circa 1888-1895, U.W. Libraries # NA 680.

Figure 13: LINE DRAWING OF A 26' NOOTKAN STYLE "SEALING" CANOE



sheer extremity or "ears," is a notch in which may lay the harpoon or mast.

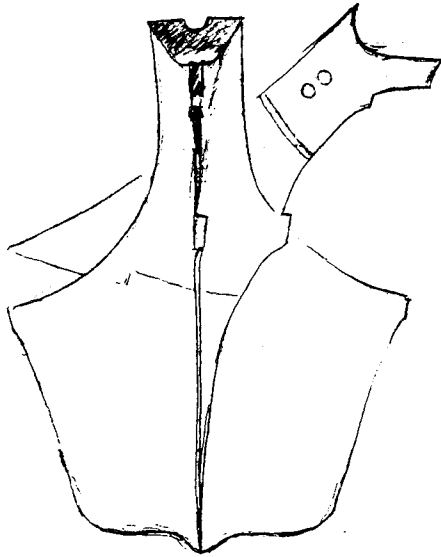


Figure 14: Author's Sketch of Front and Side View of Nootkan Canoe Bow From Makah Cultural and Research Center, 1984.

The Salish and Nootkan canoes were distinguished in Native terminology by differences in their stern designs. Marion Smith's ethnography The Puget Sound-Nisqually aptly records that the Nootkan stern "came down straight" while the Coast Salish stern "curved up like a duck's tail" (1940: 288).

A variant of the Nootkan canoe once carried the Cowlitz and Chehalis along rivers flowing into the Columbia River and Pacific Coast. A sharp bowed river canoe was used by Quinault and Quileute river fishermen. To this day they continue to work an evolved dugout hull form with the added propulsion of gasoline outboards. These came into common usage in the 1940's.

III. DUGOUT RACING CANOES:

Coast Salish, Nootkan and shovel-nose indigenous watercraft had almost completely disappeared from use before their reintroduction during the 1989 Native Canoe Project. However cedar dugout racing canoes --both the motorized riverine type and the more common paddle dugouts endured.

A. MOTORIZED CANOES OF THE COAST:



Figure 15: Evolved Cedar Dugout Racing Canoes
Equipped with Outboards Still Compete along Washington's
Pacific Coast, Courtesy of Quileute Tribal School Archives.

Along the Pacific Coast there evolved a racing canoe circuit in the 1940's. These racing canoes were equipped with outboard engines. This is documented through a recorded conversation with Phil Martin in the Quinalt Fish Hatchery and corroborated through stories recorded with Ribs Penn.

The skills that our people had in the old days
handling these canoes,
They lived in their canoes.

Now most of the people that are working with the canoes
like myself,
We use 'em with, you know, outboard motors.

Oh gosh I don't think I ever been outside a canoe.
I grew up in a canoe.
Course that's all there was,
was canoes and row boats
And my brother had a canoe and my,
Everybody had a canoe
And we wouldn't steal 'em,
We'd borrow 'em.
And we'd paddle and pull.

We didn't have enough knowledge
on the old outboard motor back then.
Then when we got to learn those,
Then we would get some gas and use those.
We'd run up the river and stay all day.
That was our T.V.
And it's never, never left.

I've fished hook and line, commercial, sport,
Then I started guiding about 1946....
So that was a start
and I been guiding off and on ever since.
But I've used the canoe up until this last year.
I built my own canoe and
I had it designed specially for steelheading.

There's a lot of canoes in Tahola
but they're mostly all race canoes now.
Now they changed 'em to the outboard.
These canoes here, we used 'em years,

When we first started racing
 It was to promote the guide service on the Quinault
 and they used to get people from the,
 invite people to come in
 and ride on the canoes, go up the river.

The guys would race with the outboard motors
 from Tahola to Lake Quinault,
 Every year that was the only race.
 La Push and Hoh River'd come down and race
 and we had some good competition.

Then it evolved to where a little more horse power
 and a little faster.
 Said well, we'll get rid of the passengers
 and just the canoeman,

It was gettin' fast enough then
 to where we had to make the guys wear
 life jackets and helmets.
 So if they went over they didn't get hurt.
 And then they added the planing board.
 They come out like that and they just end at a blunt end
 So they would plane and they'd go fast!
 That's when I quit racing!

We used to just use the old work horse,
 Maybe overhaul it a little bit, put new rings in it,
 Put new spark plugs in it,
 Pound the nicks out of the prop and race with those.
 Then they got too sophisticated!

When they get planing,
 It's exciting, a thrill,
 Almost 30 miles an hour,
 The planing surface is what?
 Eighteen inches wide and four 'n a half, five foot long,
 The rest of the canoe's out of the water!

There's a big back eddy down there
 And if you go downstream and your bow hooks into that,
 It could turn you around on a dime,
 Usually ends up turning you over.
 So you gotta know how to read and handle water.
 I done my share a tippin over,
 Anybody whose raced those little canoes tip over,
 'Cause if you got a cigarette in your mouth
 and you put it from right-hand to
 left-hand side of your mouth,
 you'd probably tip it over !
 [Laughter]

That's what the guys'd tell you,
That's how critical they are,
It's a balancing act all the time.

Phil Martin, Quinault
October 31, 1988
Recorded by L.L. Transcribed by S.P.

B. COAST SALISH RACING CANOES --AN EVOLVED FORM:

British Columbia Coast Salish groups have continued to be involved in the indigenous racing circuit include the East and West Saanich, North Vancouver, Musqueam, Cowichan, Chemainus, Chilliwack, Ladysmith and Chehalis peoples. Before the Centennial in Washington, the Lummi, Nooksack and Makah (the only participants who are not of the Coast Salish linguistic group) had continued to race the canoes. Following the Centennial project, the Upper Skagit, Swinomish, Suquamish and Tulalip rejoined the canoe racing scene. Several other Washington tribes have old racing canoes: the Skokomish and Sauk-Suiattle. There may be other tribes as well.

The sport of racing has kept the Coast Salish canoes as a focus for many. As Ralph Jefferson, a Lummi racing skipper explained:

For me, canoeing now, has been a way of life.
not only in the spring time, but in winter time,
and summer time.
Only time we take off is late summer, fall to go fishing.
It's really affected my life well,
I met my wife canoe paddling.
She's from Chilliwack, B.C.
And that's what we do,

All our extra money goes into buying paddles and canoes,
 Something good for our money
 --something positive.

We're out there for our people.
 It's really helped the community,
 young and old people alike.

Not only for each individual
 but for Lummi as a reservation.

The Lummis will be going strong for the years to come.
 But the art of canoe paddling is here to stay,
 and will be as long as we have a few dedicated,
 enthusiastic people to keep it going.

Other people like myself, I make paddles
 and help the crew out that way, just make paddles,
 everyone has a good paddle to race with.

Ralph Jefferson, Lummi

April 18, 1989

Recorded and transcribed by L.L.

As many as twenty-two of the 50' eleven man racing cedar dugouts can be found gathered together during the summer circuit. They remain as the focus of many central Coast Salish communities who host racing circuits each summer. The canoes are loaded atop trucks, vans, and trailers and taken to the site of competitive get-togethers.

One person "singles," two person "doubles" and six person "42'" canoes are part of the week-end events. Women actively race these types. The circuit lasts from May through August. Races are held most every week-end, hosted by different Indian bands or tribes. Gathering on the beaches, evening dances, Slahal gambling bone games and delicious food make the races an enjoyable community festival for all ages.

Competitive showings of canoes have probably been occurring for as long as the cedar canoes have been afloat. Fleets

joined together during winter dances, potlatch gatherings, abundant fish runs, at portage sites and during warfare. Feats of seamanship and quick passages have been cause for fame, prestige, rivalry and survival.

"Like the Potlatching, it was competition with the canoes," Bill Blaney of Campbell River recalled. "We built our canoe for a visit from King George and Queen Elizabeth who watched the races from Stanley Park in Vancouver, B.C."

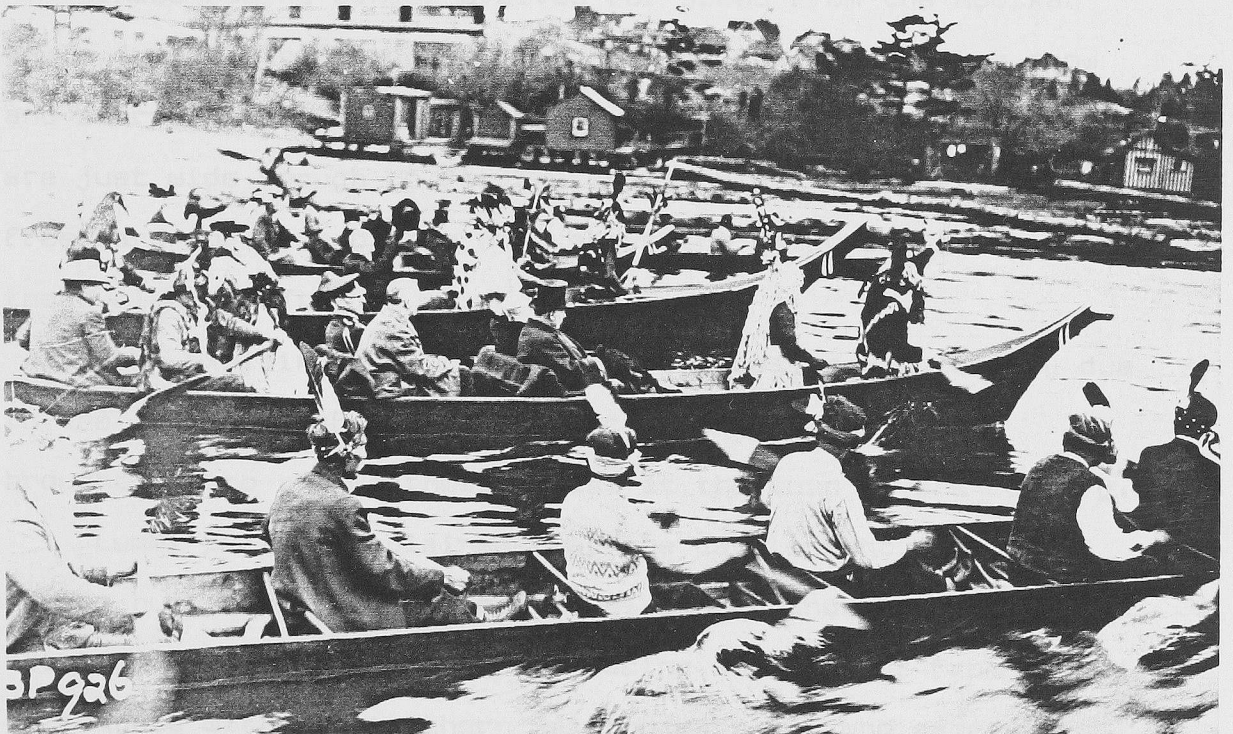


Figure 16: Festive Competition of Songhees Indians,
Courtesy of Royal British Columbia Museum PN16760.

One of the earliest documentations of the canoes is a painting reproduced in the Beautiful British Columbia magazine which shows "Indian canoe races on the Fraser River in front of Government House at Sapperton [now New Westminster] on May 24, 1867." Here the canoes are assembled in racing formation though the paddlers are depicted to be two abreast in the canoes, so evidently this was a race held in the earlier Nootkan style craft, rather than the more modern, narrower-hulled eleven men racing canoes popular in the early 1900's.

These racing canoes evolved for speed from the Nootkan style dugout. The large 50' canoes show the distinctive prow and stern. The hull is of minimum breadth, the narrowest craft are just wide enough to fit the crew's hips. There is little freeboard (or side of the hull above the water's surface) on these sleek craft.

Some explain that the evolved hull design was largely due to the influence of collegiate racing shells which were brought out to the Northwest Coast at the turn of the century.

Lummi pullers explained that the development of the 50' racing hull has evolved its radical length and narrow beam, not from the influence of white racing shells, but from a need to compete with the northern raiding warriors who came after their women and children in beamy fifty foot Northern style seagoing craft. The Coast Salish canoe builders made their canoes longer and narrower to overtake the raiders. For this warfare strategy in restricted channels of the lower inside

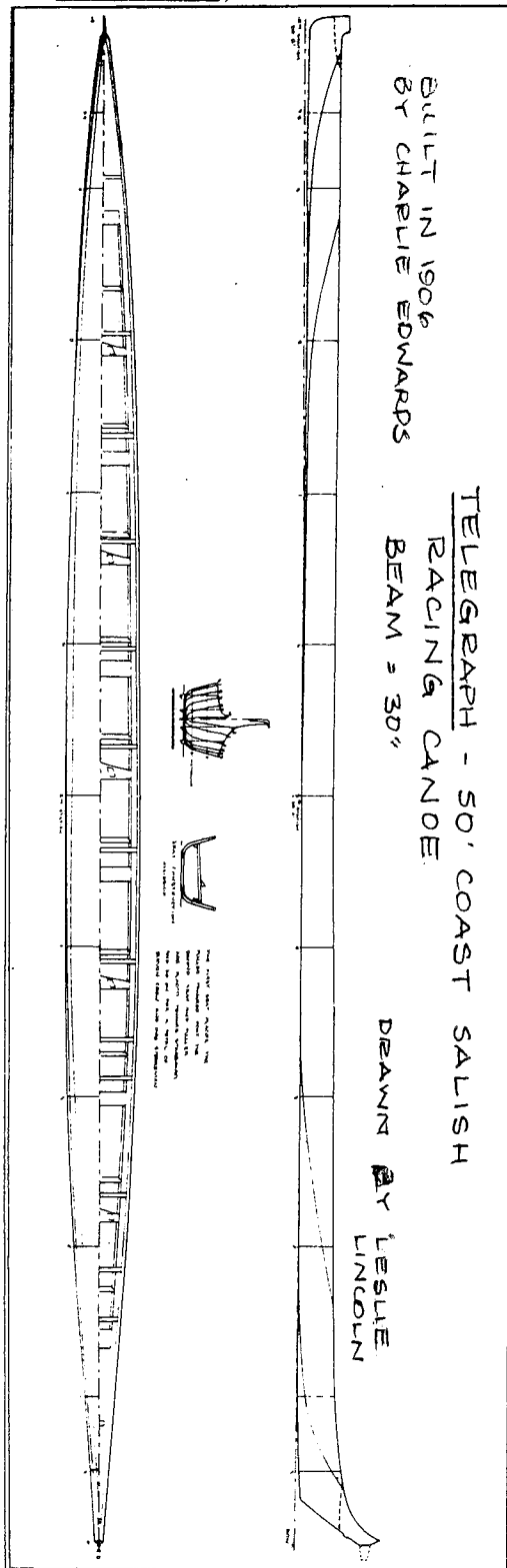
warfare strategy in restricted channels of the lower inside passage, speed was more important than seaworthiness. That is the Indian explanation. Hence the popular term for their racing craft: "War Canoes."

The TELEGRAPH was a successful prototype for the fifty foot racing canoes. This particular canoe was built in 1906 by Charlie and Dick Edwards on the Swinomish Reservation:



Figure 17: The TELEGRAPH, A Champion Racing Canoe, circa 1935
Courtesy of Swinomish Tribal Archives.

Figure 18: LINE DRAWING OF A 50' COAST SALISH RACING CANOE
TELEGRAPH, THE CHAMPION



She was rushed to completion in about three weeks in an attempt to win the big 4th of July races at Anacortes from their old rival, the VALDEZ from Valdez Island, B.C. Despite the best efforts of the crew, the TELEGRAPH proved to be too new and heavy in the water and lost the race to VALDEZ. She was re-modeled in 1909. By 1910 the men of the TELEGRAPH were ready and handily defeated the VALDEZ on a five mile course. The TELEGRAPH remained champion until about 1930 sometimes competing with as many as twenty 11-man canoes in a single race (Skagit County Historical Museum archives, circa 1931).

Finally this veteran canoe had worn so thin it was feared she would crack through on the bottom so a sister ship, the QUESTION MARK, was built to replace her and also performed well. The QUESTION MARK is reputed to be in the Smithsonian. Recently restored, the TELEGRAPH now rests on display under shelter at Coupeville's Island County Historical Museum.

In Lummi, a relatively new eleven person racing canoe is named the TELEGRAPH II, bringing forward a legacy of success. The Lummi challenge the current West Saanich champion canoe, the GERONIMO. GERONIMO has won the eleven man race for the last five years, holding title to the Coast Salish "World Championships."

There are a few Coast Salish carvers who have continued building canoes. Roy Edwards of Kuper Island is a renowned carver who received his instruction from old-timers with hand tools and hand measurements. He has built more than twenty canoes for many racing groups including the Lummi. Harlan Sam from Upper Skagit commissioned Edwards to build his tribe's new Centennial canoe, the ROLLING THUNDER. Edwards was commis-

sioned to finish the Suquamish Tribe's racing canoe. A number of carvers build the smaller one and two person racing craft.

Racing canoes may be shaped though not finished in the first year. The hull may be left as much as 3" thick as any slight warping and twisting is quite noticeable in a fifty foot craft. During the following years a bit of the hull thickness is adzed off, lightening the weight of the competing shell, until eventually it will need frames and patches for strength and structural integrity.

Debating the thickness of the hull, George Swanaset, a Nooksack canoe builder explained: "With a heavier hull it's harder to get going at first, but once underway she will go faster, carrying her momentum. So there are some advantages to having a heavier hull."

The hull is not the only aspect for racing canoes. The crew and their training are crucial. Rick Edwards, a trainer for the Lummi's women's crew, has pulled for twelve years and has trained crews for three. He comes from a strong heritage of canoeing fore-fathers. His father, grandfather and great-grandfather were all pullers. Edwards' grandfather built the TELEGRAPH. Rick's work with Lummi Community College includes instructing a credited physical education course in canoe racing. Tips for success from his training techniques follow.

Training begins in January with road running, general stamina building and attention to healthful diets. Fund raising projects are planned to finance weekend trips to the

hosting competitors throughout the lower British Columbia inner coast waters and recently into inland Washington waters as well.

It is particularly challenging to train to be on the main men's racing team. It often takes seven years of practice and endurance building to get on the main crew. The crew for the central men's competition is selected with care. Six of the eleven pullers are chosen from the best trained men. Five of the next best race on Saturday and then the next five race on Sunday, Trophy Day. This gives those of the best stamina the privilege of racing both days, yet new strength of the other men is also gained. Prize money is put up for the winning team. For example, over \$6,000 in prize money was put up for the Chief Seattle Day canoe races in Suquamish in 1989.

Another veteran Lummi racer, Willie Jones shared his philosophy of canoe racing:

How do you want to feel and look when you get there?
 I think you should be proud,
 and look in time as a team.
 It won't look any good if you're fighting,
 or if someone has a heart attack on the way
 'Cuz they were drinking the night before.
 You got to take some pride in it now,
 not two days before.
 I am really proud when I step in that canoe.

The expectations and standards we set for ourselves
 are excellence.
 To me --that's Indian,
 To me --that's human, being well.
 I think them are the goals we put for ourselves,
 to be well and to be together.

Even if it's a small scale,
 It's a model we can look at
 And our community can take pride in that.

To me --that's the real winner,
 not coming first,
 but them two things in combination
 --HEALTHY and TOGETHER.

Willie Jones, Lummi
 April 18, 1989
 Recorded and transcribed by L.L.

III. CANOES IN A POLITICAL CONTEXT:

Though canoes were once central to the coastal Indians' way of life, drastic changes in the last one hundred and fifty years had caused the canoes to become peripheral. The arrival of Euro-American settlers, the introduction of new technologies and value systems, increasing population pressures to the limited environmental resources --these suppressed the ancient canoeing lifestyle. Salmon and other seafood necessary for the first settlers were originally caught from canoes. Early transportation was provided by the dugouts during the first decades following Governor Stevens' 1854-55 Treaty negotiations. But a harsh federal assimilation policy began to encroach on the indigenous lifestyle.

As the Commissioner of Indian Affairs said in 1889, 'This civilization may not be the best possible, but it is the best the Indians can get. They cannot escape it, and must either conform to it or be crushed by it' (Cohen 1986: 35).

Various institutionalized policies restructured the Indians' right to their land and their access to their children.

An enforced education system which removed children to boarding schools was one of the core efforts to modernize, Americanize and dismantle the indigenous life. The 1887 Dawes Allotment Act eliminated the practice of tribal land ownership declaring "surplus" land could be sold to whites. The 1934 Indian Reorganization Act reversed this trend, ending the allotment of Indian lands. Yet in the 1950's:

A new, postwar Indian policy was developing as the federal government shifted its stance from tribal development to tribal dissolution, under the policy aptly named "termination." The National Congress of American Indians lobbied vigorously against the termination policy (Ibid. 63).

Many serious challenges confronted the American Indians, the canoes were but one more minor aspect of the fragmented life, struggling to remain intact, to survive.

Other modes of water transport superseded the canoeing technologies. Roads and the increased presence of automobiles in the 1930's furthered the demise of the canoe as an efficient transport system. Most remaining stands of cedar trees were clear-cut, decimated. The old context for building and using canoes to fish, to travel, to trade, for ceremony, for warfare, for burial, even for pleasure --these contexts were destroyed, discredited.

The Nisqually continued to use their canoes to fish in order to feed their families. A Nisqually woman remembered her father's purpose during the thirties: "He was fishing for us to exist" (Ibid. 59).

In the sixties a new civil rights social protest emerged,
a method of challenging state interference with federal treaty
obligations. The protest was popularly known as the "fish-in."

And all durin' the fishin' fighting around here in 1960,
A lot of us had canoes.
And the game wardens and the State of Washington people
that was after us all the time,
They didn't have very good boats at that time
when we started the fight,
And our canoes would go up the rivers,
and we could get away from these people,
But they got better and better with these jet boats
and the faster, high powered boats
that they come up with.
And they took my canoe
in 1964.
And they took me along with it.
But I, I come home.

[In reference to years later]
The director at that time
was a director by the name of Gordon Sanderson
for the State of Washington Department of Fisheries
And Gordon said,
Times were changing,
as the communication between the Indians and
the state of Washington were changing
slow but sure.
The attitudes were changing about our people
And we were gettin' more and more involved
in managing the resource
And we were gaining a little bit of trust,
from one another, in the state.

And he said "I'll find that canoe."
And he found that canoe in Pier 91 in Seattle
and he brought the canoe back.
The canoe, as canoe builders know,
the canoe was no good anymore.
But we still have that canoe today.

Billy Frank, Jr. Nisqually
PADDLE TO SEATTLE Keynote speaker
July 20th, 1989
Recorded and transcribed by L.L.

These cedar dugouts had been a means to a livelihood, the vehicle for survival. An account of the cultural endurance and new purpose for canoes continues as a central theme for the next few chapters.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE 1989 NATIVE CANOE PROJECT AND A SOCIAL BACKGROUND OF ITS FORMATION

We have to educate this society again who we are.
They don't understand us.
But we're doin' that,
We're Indian People
We're very proud to be Indian people.

Billy Frank, Jr., Nisqually

The following three chapters give a descriptive documentation of the 1989 Native Canoe Project. Seventeen tribes became directly involved in building and using their own new or renovated cedar dugout watercraft for this project. Each tribal canoe was one of many constituent elements of the encompassing Native Canoe Project. This chapter presents an overview of the social conditions from which this canoeing movement emerged.

A log of activities of the project covers a time span from 1985-1989. The log offers a condensed reading and general orientation for the many related individual tribal efforts and the culminating "Paddle to Seattle" voyage which together comprised the Native canoeing renaissance.

I. LOG OF NATIVE CANOE PROJECT EVENTS:

November 1985: "First Proposal for the Centennial Native Canoe Heritage Project" submitted to Washington Centennial Commission's Maritime Committee meeting. Greig Arnold, then director of Makah Cultural and Research Center, served as interim spokesperson for upcoming canoe project.

Early 1986: Emmett Oliver, a Quinault tribal member, serving on the Centennial Commission's Maritime Committee became co-ordinator of the project.

Spring 1986: Letters sent and meetings arranged by Oliver to invite Western Washington tribes to help develop the Native Canoe Project.

Early 1987: Identification of key participants and resource people. Funding needs and requirements for carvers assimilated. Required donation of old growth logs addressed. Project statement created.

Summer 1987: Tribal Access to United States National Forest cedar old-growth at "nominal cost" for centennial heritage project secured.

August 1987: \$28,000 budget established for Washington Centennial Commission's Maritime Committee's Native Canoe Project.

September 1987: Cedar felled in Olympic National Forest for Quileute, Quinault and Lower Elwha Klallam tribal participants of the Native Canoe Project.

October 14, 1987: Cedar felled for Lummi, Nooksack, Samish, Swinomish and Upper Skagit tribes at the Mt. Baker -- Snoqualmie National Forest near the Baker River Dam.

November 3, 1987: Maritime Committee met. Feasibility of matching funding, project progress and upcoming events discussed.

November 20-21, 1987: Native American Conference concerned Native involvement in the Washington Centennial Celebration. Presentation of Native Canoe Project and call for involvement by Oliver.

March 22-23, 1988: Canoe Symposium at Lummi Community College. Plans shared for upcoming canoeing voyage.

April 27, 1988: Tulalip, Suquamish, Duwamish, and Seattle-based United Indians of All Tribes Foundation gathered for felling of cedar canoe trees in Mt. Baker-Snoqualmie National Forest near Darrington.

October 10, 1988: Native Canoe Project Steering Committee formalized plans for the "Paddle to Seattle" voyage.

October 30, 1988: First centennial canoe launching of a 54' Quileute dugout, carved by David Forlines.

March 7, 1989: Tulalip steam-spread their 35' dugout from a beam of 41" to 59".

March 25, 1989: Puyallup, Muckleshoot, Port Gamble Klallam and Skokomish felled cedars in National Forests along mountainous stretches of the Skokomish River.

May 17, 1989: Native Canoe Project Steering Committee Meeting organized hosting tribes for upcoming encampments and welcoming ceremonies.

May 19, 1989: Swinomish dedicated new racing canoe and hosted First Salmon Ceremony.

May 20, 1989: Upper Skagit dedicated new racing canoe, ROLLING THUNDER.

June 3, 1989: Tulalip launched new 35' Nootkan style canoe.

June 17-18, 1989: Lummi Stommish --an annual canoe racing weekend event sponsored by Lummi Tribe.

June 21, 1989: Port Gamble Klallam launched new 35' Coast Salish style canoe called NUWHQ'EEYT.

"PADDLE TO SEATTLE" VOYAGE

July 12, 1989: Quileute and Hoh canoes began "Paddle to Seattle," voyaging from La Push fifty miles to Makah territory at Neah Bay.

July 14, 1989: Quileute contingents traveled from Neah Bay to Clallam Bay. Also, a Canadian group, the Heiltsuk Bella Bella embarked from Vancouver, B.C. and paddled south to Lummi Reservation.

July 15, 1989: Quileute voyaged to Lower Elwha area at Port Angeles.

July 16, 1989: Quileute joined by Elwha in their new 32' Coast Salish style canoe and the flotilla traveled to Jamestown Klallam.

July 17, 1989: Quileute contingents reached encampment at "Tsetsibus" at Chimacum Creek south of Port Townsend.

July 18, 1989: Bella Bella Heiltsuk hosted on Swinomish Reservation.

July 19, 1989: Quileute contingents paddled to Suquamish. Canadian canoeing group traveled from La Conner area to the Tulalip Reservation.

Thursday July 20, 1989: Bella Bella joined by Tulalip and together ceremonially arrived at Suquamish. Port Gamble voyaged to Suquamish. More than 17 tribes gathered for feasting, speeches, dancing and an encampment at Suquamish's Chief Seattle Days Park.

Friday July 21, 1989: Friday Morning 11:00 a.m. an unprecedented flotilla departed for seven mile cross-sound parade to Seattle's Shilshole Beach. Substantial escort of civilian boats, airplanes and helicopters. Quileute, Hoh and Lower Elwha crews traveled past downtown Seattle to land at Alki Point where first Euro-Americans settled Seattle and then smaller fleet ceremonially landed with others at Shilshole.

Duwamish Tribe hosted encampment with salmon barbecue for more than a thousand guests.

Saturday, July 22, 1989: Indigenous style canoes paraded and raced. Native American's displayed crafts and had food fairs. United Indians of All Tribes at Seattle's Daybreak Star Center hosted a recognition dinner for participants.

Sunday, July 23, 1989: Continued canoe racing competition at Shilshole followed by awards and closing ceremony. A few tribes paddled homeward while others traveled with canoes loaded atop vans and trailers.

Monday, July 24, 1989: Quileute, Hoh and Lower Elwha resumed waterborne pilgrimage on homeward trek and reached Fort Townsend 3 p.m.

Tuesday, July 25, 1989: Flotilla headed out at 5 a.m., faced headwinds and bucked incoming current through fog and rough waters. Native mariners arrived in Port Angeles well after dark with assistance from Coast Guard.

July 27, 1989: Quileute (and Hoh) took canoes to safety of Lower Elwha River mouth and rested for several days.

August 2, 1989: Quileute resumed voyage homeward from Elwha River to Clallam Bay.

August 3, 1989: Quileute reached Neah Bay.

August 4, 1989: Flotilla successfully arrived at La Push for Quileute completion of 340 mile "Paddle to Seattle" round-trip.

August 5, 1989: 25' Hoh sealing canoe and crew of five reached Hoh Reservation.

August 19-20, 1989: Chief Seattle Days, Annual Suquamish Canoe Races and Pow Wow Dance competition.

August 26-27, 1989: Makah Days, Annual Makah Weekend Festival and canoe races.

September 24, 1989: Lower Elwha Klallam "Paddle to Seattle" Potlatch.

October 28, 1989: Quileute Nation "Paddle to Seattle" Potlatch.

II. A SOCIAL CONTEXT --THE NATIVE AMERICAN PRESENCE IN CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS:

To better understand the welcomed re-emergence of canoes, a presentation of the social background is worthwhile. Before the Native Canoe Project, only a small group of Indians in Washington on the Lummi, Nooksack and Makah reservations were racing canoes and few retained knowledge to carve or use them. The Native Canoe Project was a turning point, a shift in attitude for Indian communities to make greater efforts to protect their limited existing knowledge, to research available information, to relearn, to salvage and in some cases to re-invent their canoeing ways.

The keen interest lately surrounding canoes reflects the current priority for cultural preservation within Native Amer-

ican communities. The re-emerging presence of Coast Salish and Quileute carvers and craftspeople in preparation for the Centennial year reversed a general trend that Coast Salish carving traditions were less prominent than those of northern Northwest groups (Suttles 1987: 100).

During the sixties and seventies the issue of greatest pertinence to the overall socio-economic well-being of Washington Native peoples was access to salmon fishing grounds and re-establishing treaty contracts, not a focus on maintenance of material cultural skills such as art and carving (Cohen 1984: 65). Civil rights social protests challenging state regulation evolved into "fish-ins." Following the 1974 Boldt Decision and the 1979 Supreme Court's decision to uphold that controversial ruling, Indians reclaimed greater control of their financial base in the commercial salmon fishing industry.

In the seventies and eighties Native and Euro-American artisans, craftspeople, anthropologists, and museologists among others, created a renewed recognition of high quality art forms of the Native Northwest Coast. This resulted in the development of more museum spaces. Before the Centennial local Indians were typically under-represented within Washington's large public interpretation centers.

Personal involvement doing background research on indigenous watercraft in these institutional settings has height-

ened an awareness that there exists an interplay between the Native presence in public cultural centers and their own cultural heritage development. Often the finest cedar dugouts were protected within museum storage facilities while few remained accessible to, or located on, Indian Reservations.

A discussion of relevant institutions creates the background and social context necessary to understand the recent movement for Indian peoples to represent themselves and strengthen their own indigenous expertise. Coast Salish and Quileute preservation and oral history efforts have been part of cultural emancipation. The success of the Native Canoe Project is a dramatic manifestation of a growing trend for self-determined cultural preservation and direct Indian community involvement.

Several notable museums in Canada developed solid working relationships with local First Nations peoples. The Royal British Columbia Museum in Victoria worked closely with Nootka or WestCoast or Nuu-chah-nulth people (Arima 1975) and the Kwagiulth. In Vancouver the UBC Museum of Anthropology has a mandate to collaborate with indigenous groups whose cultures they interpret and display. As a critical public space, their institutional authority affected the revitalization of Coast Salish carving and weaving practices. They have developed a Native Youth Project to perpetuate self-knowledge and to train Native students in vocational cultural heritage tourism.

The U'Mista Cultural Center in Alert Bay, B.C. and the Cape Mudge Museum near Campbell River are two other notable examples of Native heritage preservation efforts. These Native centers house repatriated Kwagiulth potlatch and ceremonial pieces previously seized by the Canadian government in 1922 during attempts to end potlatching. The Native demand for, and eventual return of collected artifacts reflects the persistence of Native people to value and insist on the presence of their own material culture. These cases of repatriation exemplifies an increasing cooperation between national museums and First Nations people.

Contrasting this rapport in Canada, museums in Western Washington reflected less collaboration. Two exceptions are notable --the Makah Cultural Resource Center at Neah Bay and the Suquamish Museum on the Suquamish's Reservation across the Sound from Seattle. Though their staff were trained at the Burke Museum and they display artifacts loaned from the Burke, both cultural centers, located in Indian Country, developed under direct guidance of their own communities and hire their own professional Native staff. They are setting standards for First Nations self-representation.

Built in 1977 the Makah Cultural Resource Center was funded to house extraordinary archaeological findings of the excavated Ozette site, a prehistoric village circa 1000 a.d. (Kirk and Daugherty 1978; Greengo 1983). The Makah museum portrays a unique view of precontact Northwest Coast cultural

artifacts usually lost to degradation --a village frozen in time.

A canoe project was conducted with the Makah in 1975. Steve Brown, a student of Bill Holm, worked with Makah carvers --Lance Wilkes and others, to build four Nootkan style dug-outs, all beautifully executed --using indigenous tools and exacting details such as cedar with lashings (Lewis 1975: 10). They replicated the ancient carving styles apropos of the pristine past which this museum displays.

In contrast to this, the emphasis of the Suquamish Museum is a portrayal of Indian people as real people of today, coping with changes --a culture in flux. The book Eyes of Chief Seattle (Suquamish Museum 1985) captures this reality. In their museum the Suquamish story is presented through labels and an audio-visual production derived from oral histories conducted with elders who recall with warmth and humor the determining agents and causal factors of their social evolution, particularly the influence of boarding schools (See Come Forth Laughing, Voices of the Suquamish Elders). In 1989 they added a second audio-visual production WATERBORNE --Gift of the Indian Canoe.

However, a contemporary and local Indian presence was lacking in many other cultural institutions. For example, before 1989 the emphasis of display and research at the University of Washington's Thomas Burke Memorial Washington State

Museum was upon the cultures and arts of northern Northwest Coast. Each major language area was represented in an exhibit case: the Tlingit, Tsimshian, Haida, Bella Coola, Bella Bella, Kwakiutl, Nootka, and Coast Salish. Poles and large sculptural pieces were from the northern area. This was due to the available artifacts collected from that area:

The traditional arts of the Indian people of Western Washington State (The Makah, Quileute, Chinook and southern Coast Salish groups), are not as numerically well represented in most museum and private collections as are the arts of Indian people from the central and northern Northwest Coast....

At the time that most museums, ethnographers and private collectors were beginning to collect Northwest Coast Indian art in the late 19th century, far fewer examples of southern Northwest Coast material culture existed due to an early and severe population loss in this area, differences in the motivation for and function of the arts, and acculturation through early settlement in the area by Euro-Americans.

There are many early collections of Western Washington Indian art that despite their small size, offer an excellent resource for the further appreciation of southern Northwest Coast arts (Wright in Native American Art Studies Association Conference Abstracts 1987: 41).

The emphasis on northern Northwest Coast art at the Burke Museum was a result of the character of the institution's collection. Also, their then senior curator, Bill Holm, a gifted carver, created a series of high quality replica northern style poles and welcome figures which further emphasized the magnificent northern Northwest Coast art rather than the styles of the Coast Salish, Quileute and Makah tribes native to Washington state.

In 1958 Holm carved a museum quality replica of a 24' Kwagiulth cedar dugout according to specifications recorded by Franz Boas (Holm 1961: 29). As a museum bred craftsman, Holm learned from the ethnographic descriptions of traditional techniques. Naturally, his canoe differed markedly from the few existing canoes being used with outboards in the then current 1950-60's "acculturated" Indian communities.

Holm's purpose in building his replica style canoe was most likely derived from his art history background --an effort to reproduce fine craftsmanship of an earlier era. This was quite distinct from the Indian purpose to create an economically efficient canoe with which to carry on routine activities --transporting goods and fishing.

Other talented Euro-American artists learned to carve canoes in the Northwest Coast Indian style. Two individuals were featured restoring and carving canoes at the Pacific Science Center in Seattle. The first was restored by Steve Brown in 1972 and another was carved by Duane Pasco in 1985. Why were Euro-Americans employed rather than Coast Salish, Quileute and Makah Indian canoe builders? Where was support to further Native involvement and representation?

The notable absence of employed First Nations carvers within professional cultural perservation projects revealed an accumulating need for Native Americans to train and rediscover their own carvers and for them to be accepted in that role. Such a lack of Native involvement has since changed.

Barbara Lawrence, a Suquamish Tribal member and representative for the Centennial Commission's Native American Committee expressed concern for Indian involvement in the centennial. She warned: "It won't be a birthday party if the Indians aren't included." This sounded a note of truth with Centennial Commission staff who became committed to support increased Native involvement.

The obvious need for representation of Washington Native Americans gave impetus for a focused exhibit of local First Nations tribes during the centenary year. The Thomas Burke Museum was selected to house a special exhibition as it is located in the densest population center, Seattle. The Washington Centennial Commission financially co-sponsored the exhibit titled "A Time of Gathering," the largest and most expensive single centennial cultural event.

In cooperation with the Centennial Commission's Native American Committee, the Burke Museum set a new pattern -- a precedent to collaborate with the Indian peoples whose cultures and life they display.

Issues such as the display of sacred objects and human remains and the repatriation of collections have led historical museums to view Native Americans as constituents rather than mere objects of study. This change in attitudes has often led to new approaches in interpretation, with increased sensitivity to accountability to this new constituency (Hilbert in History News Sept.-Oct. 1989: 39).

The Burke brought inside their institution the authority of two Native American curators, Cecile Maxwell, Duwamish

Tribal Chairperson and Roberta Haynes, a Colville educator. These women worked to involve Native Indians throughout Washington state and updated thirty-seven tribal councils and associated elders' meetings about Native American artifacts considered for use in the "A Time of Gathering" exhibit.

Some objects had been collected by the Vancouver and Cook expeditions two-hundred years previously. Tribes "welcomed home" canoe models, masks, ceremonial regalia, exquisite skin dresses and goathorn implements.

A Native American Advisory Committee was created to insure sensitive treatment to displayed artifacts and to encourage greater Indian involvement in the museum's activities. This was a significant change for the Burke Museum, a prominent authority of Northwest Coast culture. This collaboration begins to address decades of racial and cultural tensions over unequal powers of display and commentary (Ames 1986; and Asad 1986: 163 in Clifford).

Barbara Lawrence, a Native American educator and former member of the Centennial Commission, recalled that before the exhibit there was a "difficult struggle between the non-Indian museum community and Indians. Now there is a deep trust finally, as a result of this tremendous struggle" (Craig 1990: 16).

This discussion of the inter-relatedness of cultural museums and the First Nations peoples has highlighted the critical juncture which took place during the centennial. Indigenous people of Washington affirmed their authority during this

time. The renaissance of the Indian canoeing traditions complements this empowerment.

The following is an excerpt from a speech given by a Nisqually leader referring to the overall canoe project. His vision gives direction for the Native's re-emerging presence. He recommends self-determination:

We have to educate this society again who we are.
 They don't understand us.
 But we're doin' that,
 We're Indian People
 We're very proud to be Indian people.
 And this tonight shows an example of what you can do
 with the help of the state of Washington,
 of the DNR, the forestry,
 of people working together,
 of the tribes all coming together
 and doing somethin' real positive.
 Starten' to challenge that ocean from Quileute,
 and along the coast to the Makahs,
 and clean on in the Straits of Juan de Fuca.
 Challengin' from the Bella Bella people clear down here.
 Ya know, that takes a lot of Indian-ish in ya to do that.
 But we can do it.
 We can do anything that we set out to do.
 We need them people to understand us
 and we gotta understand them
 if we're to exist and work together.
 We do not have time to be fightin' each other.
 Or we don't have time to fight the governments anymore.
 We're only here for a little while,
 We're just walking through,
 and then we come to an end.
 But we gotta put in time to make sure
 that we're gonna be here.
 Our children is gonna be here,
 Our resources gonna be here.
 Our clean air and our clean water.
 We gotta make sure that that happens.
 And the people in this state is gotta understand
 that we're here to stay.

Billy Frank Jr., Nisqually
 "Paddle to Seattle" Keynote Speaker
 July 20th, 1989, Suquamish
 Recorded and transcribed by L.L.

III. FORMATION OF THE NATIVE CANOE PROJECT:

In 1982 the Washington Centennial Commission began to plan events and determine budgets for a grand 1989 state centenary celebration. The Commission created a Maritime Committee and it was through this committee that the concept for the Native Canoe Project was formulated in 1985. Greig Arnold, then director of the Makah Cultural Center attended early Maritime Committee meetings with Joseph Waterhouse and myself. In 1985 we conceptualized this project and distributed a first proposal to the Maritime Committee who expressed interest in developing projects to promote awareness of Washington's rich water-oriented heritage.

During 1985-86 a needs assessment and more complete proposal were drafted by both Native Americans and Centennial Committee members. Indians expressed the need for cultural preservation projects. In 1986, the Maritime Committee determined a budget and officially created the Native and Euro-American collaborative undertaking, the Native Canoe Project.

A project coordinator was needed to organize acquisition of funds and donations, to schedule workshops, to contract with carvers and to plan and implement resulting canoe activities. Initially \$15,000 was suggested to be allocated for the coordinator's salary and \$500 for administrative support costs. Two years of more than full-time volunteer efforts of the project coordinator were required to orchestrate the pro-

ject. Numerous volunteers worked many hours. Mark MacIntyre, Centennial Commission staff person, worked half-time to make it a successful event. The Maritime Committee's operating budget to administer the Native Canoe Project was \$28,000.

The Maritime committee asked Emmett Oliver to be the Centennial canoe project coordinator. What sparked Oliver's participation on the Maritime Committee was his position as a retired commander of the Coast Guard Auxiliary. Oliver, a member of the Quinault Tribe, holds a Master's degree from University of Washington in Public Administration and was a key Native American Education Officer for the state.

I was asked by the Maritime Committee to pursue this.
 It wasn't my original design,
 I simply fell into it when another person
 was going to undertake it
 and didn't follow through,
 didn't want to do anything.
 I've spent a lot of effort and time
 in trying to arouse awareness
 of the Native culture being lost.

And that probably comes from a personal experience too,
 and I have traveled so much amongst Indian people
 who would speak their language very fluently
 and who knew the English language
 and yet, I never learned.
 And so I think my missing some of those things
 as a growing up person....
 Felt that void of something missing in native culture
 that here was a chance to maybe get back into it.
 And so I saw this as one aspect of a culture,
 perhaps the last one being lost.
 Language for the most part is almost extinct
 except for a few fragments here and there.
 Canoe-making itself is almost totally lost.
 We do know and have to recognize
 that some of the so-called experts
 of canoe making are Non-Indians who have taken up
 and in their own right
 have been very adept at using that.

Whereas in the Native culture
 it's a real threat of being lost.
 So I think I saw this
 as something that could be restored.
 You can appreciate the forest and the big trees,
 and this can become alive again in a canoe.

Emmett Oliver, Quinault
 November 18, 1988
 Recorded by L.L. Transcribed by S.P.

Oliver's enduring belief in the value of the canoe project came from his personal experience pulling on an Indian racing canoe in 1932-1934, an experience more thrilling to him "than playing in the superbowl!" This gave him the commitment to persevere throughout the trials of the project.

Initial enthusiasm came from the Centennial Commission whose goals for the statehood commemoration and celebration fit neatly with Native goals to revitalize an Indian Canoe heritage. It was foreseen that through team training on racing canoes, a healthy Native American movement would be supported. It would be an opportunity for grassroots development of moral discipline, regained self-esteem and sense of positive identity.

We all seem to be fightin the same thing,
 you know, with the new things comin' on this earth
 like drugs and alcohol, misbehavior.
 We're trying to back up and say,
 Where'd we go wrong?
 What happened?
 What did we do wrong?
 Why are our young people going the other direction
 when they should be going--
 They got everything--
 They got better education,
 They got cars,

And we're thinking,
maybe they don't know who they are.

Harlan Sam, Upper Skagit
November 1988
Recorded by B.L. & L.L.
Transcribed by S.P.

Another motivation may have been for the state legislators and funding committee to "redeem themselves" for an on-going sense of responsibility:

The white man is somewhat uncomfortable under a conviction that 'a century of dishonor' has not been redeemed. If in any degree he can convince himself and his red brother that he is willing to do what he can for the race whose lands he has occupied, a new step toward social justice will have been taken (Hertzberg 1971: 37).

A related motivation may have been to promote the strengthening of the Native American's heritage to thereby increase statewide tourism, a growing leisure class industry.

The "Plans for an Indian Canoe Project" were presented as an appeal for support from leaders of the State Centennial Commission.

Canoe races can be the Indian contribution to a patriotic and enjoyable centennial program. Let the cedar canoe become a symbol of Washington's Indian people and their cultural expressions. Lawmakers and bureaucrats may never again have such an opportunity to make a meaningful contribution to the preservation of Washington Indian culture (Oliver in "Maritime Committee's Planning Papers" 1986).

Other selections from the "Plans" are worthy of citing to express the original purpose of the Canoe Project. Concepts originated from a distillation of comments independently spoken to Centennial staff and committee members. The document

provided an important first step in formalizing Centennial support.

In a response to the query: "Why should Centennial Programs feature canoes?" Oliver justified the focus. There appeared to be a consensus:

Canoes could, in the state centennial, be used as a rallying-point around which substantial Indian involvement could be mustered. The revival of canoe building and racing appears to be representative of a renaissance of many positive aspects of Indian culture (Ibid.)

Seventeen tribes and thousands of individuals carved, raced, voyaged or otherwise became involved. Cedar dugouts in Washington are emblematic:

Canoe racing is something which in Washington, only Indian people do. It is a natural source of pride and honor in a world often otherwise beset with difficulties and strife (Ibid).

Thus in the planning stages, instigators appealed to promote positive "Indian-ness" during a time when many youth were uncertain of the implications of their Native identity.

From Oliver's work among Indians, he knew that pride was the result of Indians' creating and financially contributing to their own projects. Also he and the Maritime Committee recognized the limited financial support from the Centennial Commission and the need for other sources. Affordable access to the cedar logs was a crucial concern.

It is suggested that this project be conducted on a grassroots basis, with support (funding, time and materials), from a wide variety of sources, thereby allowing the project to be developed on a relatively small budget.

There are no uniform estimates for the cost of carving a canoe, for they are rarely made today and apparently never made for a [current] commercial market. But a rough estimate would place the costs of the cedar log and labor anywhere from \$5,000 to \$15,000. Naturally, these cost could be manipulated in many ways, including the acquisition of federally donated logs or offering school credits for apprenticing canoe carvers. One thing is clear though --there will be no canoes made without direct organizational and monetary support (Ibid.).

Oliver's first task was to locate old growth cedar and to rally government support for making it available to tribes who chose to participate in the Centennial event. He urged leading officials to use their influence to "grant access" to federally designated resources. Ralph Munro, Secretary of State and Jean Gardner, Co-chairman of the Washington Centennial Commission, on behalf of the State of Washington, asked the U.S. Forest Service for old growth red cedar trees for the Native American canoe preservation movement. Tribes were granted access.

Each tribe requested logs suited for their particular project, be it a planned racing canoe or a replica traveling style craft. The U.S. Forest Service recommended the tribes pay a "nominal" price of \$20-40 per 1000 board foot, rather than a market value price of \$300-400 per 1000 board foot for the felled cedar.

The estimated market value of the logs and delivery was projected to be at least \$10,000 per log, a substantial investment in the natural resources.

This project has brought attention to a moral and legal concern: should tribes, or in fact, do they have a legal right to continued access of old-growth cedar for cultural preservation projects?

Once the trees were felled, each tribe funded their own log delivery or were helped by the National Guard or found other contributors. Each was expected to raise funds to support their own carver, to house their canoe, to train their crew and use the craft. Expense and energy were expended for ceremonial purposes such as tree blessings, dedications, launches, feasts, racing events and in the end, follow-up potlatches.

The substantial involvement of hundreds of Native Americans was due at least in part to Oliver's philosophy of conducting it in the "Indian Way." Plans for the events came from tribal members and participants rather than from the Maritime Committee. One particular gathering, the Native Canoe Symposium, served as a formative occasion for participants to coordinate their goals for the 1989 events. As this envisioned Native Canoe Project developed, two major phases of activities became apparent: phase I -- Crafting New Canoes & Restoration of Existing Ones; and phase 2 -- Voyaging and Racing Canoes in the "Paddle to Seattle."

IV. NATIVE CANOE SYMPOSIUM AT LUMMI COMMUNITY COLLEGE:

Supported by funds from the Maritime Committee, the Lummi Community College held a Native Canoe Symposium March 22-23, 1988. The symposium was the best attended Native Canoe Project event before the "Paddle to Seattle" voyage which followed eighteen months later.

An implicit power statement is expressed by the location of events. Though the symposium was originally planned to take place at the University of Washington, it was the Lummi Community College who hosted the two-day symposium. By channelling Native Canoe Project's funds through the Lummi Community College, greater control and lasting benefit shifted toward the participating coastal Indian people. The numbers of enrolled students at the college increased. Carving and tool making workshops were later sponsored through the college. Throughout the tribes teachers were eligible for college funding if sufficient enrollment of Native youth was mustered.

This forum brought together at least ten tribes: the Lummi, Nooksack, Upper Skagit, Swinomish, Suquamish, Port Gamble Klallam, Lower Elwha Klallam, Tulalip, Quileute, United Indians of All Tribes, a Tlingit canoe carver from Glacier Bay, Alaska and other interested individuals. There was a notable absence of Makah carvers Lance Wilkes and Greg Colfax who are skilled in canoe carving. Colfax is also accomplished in contemporary cold-mold epoxy technology applied to adapted Nootkan hull forms (Marples 1987: 18).

The two day forum featured approximately sixteen presentations. A brief inclusion of these in my thesis reflects the active carvers and recognized specialists who contributed with differing capacities during the project. This serves as a synchronic commentary on "who's who" in the Western Washington canoe world in 1988.

In opening speeches, Lummi leaders expressed this gathering was a blessing, a good cause to bring Indian people together. A common goal to revitalize canoeing was distinct from on-going disputes over fishing rights, allocations and regulations (Cohen 1986: 170).

Richard Dalton, a 63 year old Tlingit was brought down from Hoonah, Alaska, to share his experiences with canoe carving. His 96 year old father, George Dalton, motivated the 1986 building of a Spruce canoe in Glacier Bay with carvers Mick Beasley and Steve Brown. Dalton was an inspiring exponent of ancient cleansing rituals, techniques and meanings inherent in canoe crafting.

Marvin Oliver (Emmett's son) and Duane Pasco gave recommendations for canoe carving tools and techniques. A basic list includes: a chainsaw, a double-bitted axe, a two-fisted ship adze, an assortment of D-adzes and elbow adzes (both for rough and finish work), crooked knives, not-so crooked knives, a drill for plugs, spoke and end shaves, wedges, mauls, and other assorted equipment. Pasco shared tips on advantages of

certain tools and warned the cedar log must not be debarked until carving begins or the wood will dry out and be more difficult to work.

Some separatists were less willing to accept Euro-American advice. For them the project was a matter of racial interest --an Indian Movement. However, as urged by Nisqually leader, Billy Frank, Jr., most were keen to relearn carving skills and gained from the experiences and work of Euro-American Northwest Coast artists and anthropologists.

Pasco discounts alleged resentment among tribal members against him because he is a non-Indian. He commented "People want information. This is about art and culture, not genetics" (Lawhead Seattle Times 11 July 1989 E-4).

Bernie Whitebear, director of the United Indians of All Tribes Foundation in Seattle which serves urban and Alaskan Natives and is a focal location for Indian heritage tourism, advocated the canoe as a symbol through which the Coastal Northwest Native American presence could be promoted. The Plains, Whitebear explained, are represented by the Pow Wow dancing circuit. He suggested hosting a "Potlatch Days" festival which would incorporate the Native Canoe Project with the Plains Pow Wow, thus popularizing the presence of Coast Salish tribes through racing canoes.

This did not materialize, probably because of the disparity between Whitebear's purpose and those of the Coast Salish and Quileute. Essentially, the canoes were built FOR Indian communities BY Indian communities rather than for out-

siders. Results for increased Native American popular acclaim and heritage tourism were secondary rather than primary in purpose.

The Quileute proposed the "Paddle to Seattle." Their vision was to build a 56' voyaging canoe and have it carry them on a long distance voyage around the Pacific Coast and down into Puget Sound. They hoped other voyaging canoes would join them in a flotilla which would reach the once popular Indian gathering site at Old Man's House in Suquamish and journey onward to Seattle.

Tulalip, Lower Elwha Klallam and Port Gamble Klallam expressed interest in building traveling style canoes and joining the envisioned "Paddle to Seattle."

Willie Jones, Lummi Tribal Vice-Chairman, a veteran racer and captain, presented the history and continuum of the Lummi racing circuit (see Chapter Three: Coast Salish Racing Canoes --An Evolved Hull Form). Each year they host a week-end racing festival known as the Lummi "Stommish," --a word meaning "warrior." As is the custom, Jones told his own story. He started racing when fifteen and has skippered men's and women's crews. His whole family continues to be active in the racing.

Other tribes expressed interest in joining the ongoing central Coast Salish racing circuit. George Swanaset, a Nooksack, planned to build a six person racing canoe and carving

shed. The Upper Skagit, Suquamish and Swinomish wanted to build the eleven person, fifty foot racing canoes. The Tulalip still had a large racing canoe named KLA-HOW-YA and looked forward to getting back into the circuit.

Leonard Forsman, Suquamish Museum director, explained that in the 1930's their canoes and many cultural traditions were lost. In an attempt to salvage remaining knowledge, he proposed a canoe-oriented oral history project to be called WATERBORNE. With assistance from Susan Blalock and myself, Suquamish sought funds to produce it. This audio-visual presentation was a particularly appropriate undertaking for the Suquamish as their cultural center's specialty are photographs and oral history work.

I distributed a bibliography of relevant canoe literature and a list of dugouts still found in Washington. I shared copies of five naval architectural drawings of representative old style "classic" canoe forms. The drawings included: a 16' and a 27' Coast Salish style canoe; a 50' racing craft taken off the champion TELEGRAPH; a 27' Shovel-nose or riverine style craft; and a 50' Haida canoe, LOOTAAS, illustrating the "before and after" dimensional changes inherent in spreading the canoes (see Appendix I).

Perhaps it is ironic that in 1988 a maritime anthropologist was passing around drawings that illustrated the specific dimensions of canoe hull forms, a knowledge of forms once passed down generation to generation. This shows the

striking change in ways some traditions are transferred. The form is constant though the process of transference is altogether new.

Bill Durham, author of Canoes and Kayaks of Western America, 1960, spoke of the earliest recorded hull forms and the significance of models. He presented blueprints of two Nootkan style vessels, both a 16' and a 27' rendering.

Joseph Waterhouse, Jr., a Klallam archaeologist, gave a stimulating slide show of First Nations canoeing activities in Polynesia. He told of the vigor of canoe racing on the islands, emphasizing the mana or spiritual power which accompanies those who pull. He also extended an invitation for canoe paddlers to join an international Pacific racing meet in Australia in 1990.

The story of Bill Reid rediscovering how to carve the fifty foot Haida canoe, LOOTIASS, was presented by the CBC film Only a Canoe Can Do Honor to Such a Tree, written and directed by John Wright.

Stan Green from the Stalo at Chilliwack, showed how to make a 26' one person racing canoe with a chainsaw. This technique drew mixed responses from the symposium crowd. Several older carvers were concerned with wastage of the log. Others keen to learn how to make the modern, competitive racing craft noted the process of splitting the log, squaring the sides and determining the center line with width markers fore-

and-aft along the emerging canoe hull. With the chainsaw, the modern dugout was roughed out in approximately 3 hours.

Dalton and Swanaset demonstrated the techniques to hollow the center of a canoe and to finish adze the sides of the hull. Participants had an opportunity to try the tools and techniques.

A diversity of canoe crafting technologies were presented from using all hand tools and spiritual preparation for the Dalton canoe to the modern chainsaw technology. Tribal members voiced plans, learned of funding possibilities for classes and met with resource people. Accomplished carvers recommended tools and equipment. Initial tribal budgets were formulated. This forum provided a solid grassroots foundation. That the knowledge emerged to guide this undertaking reveals that the artifice, the cultural know-how, remained even though the artifacts, the old-style canoes had long been absent.

CHAPTER FIVE:

TRIBAL CASE STUDIES OF CONTINUITY AND INVENTION

I was seeing my dream out there,
 Them thirty canoes out racing, just in one race.
 Eighteen canoes in the next race.
 Literally a thousand people there to race,
 just in one day.
 That's alot of people, from all over this area.
 Really want to see more tribes in Washington
 get involved in that.

Willie Jones, Lummi

For an overall perspective of the accomplishments of the Washington Centennial canoeing revival, Table 1 presents essential information about the participating Native Canoe Project tribes. This chapter then focuses on five case studies which offer descriptive and interpretive material of the aims and experiences of the tribes with whom I have had greater contact: the Lummi, Suquamish, Tulalip, Port Gamble Klallam and Quil-eute.

Further information concerning the seventeen tribes involved, which was originally published in the booklet, Native American Canoes Paddle to Seattle 1989 Washington State Centennial has been included as Appendix C: Synopsis of Tribal Plans for the Native Canoe Project.

TABLE I. 1989 NATIVE CANOE PROJECT TRIBAL PARTICIPANTS

<u>TRIBE</u>	<u>CARVER(S)</u>	<u>SIZE & TYPE</u>	<u>LAUNCHED?</u>
Duwamish	Frank Fowler	20' Shovel-nose	
Hoh	(Chief Hudson)	25' Sealing canoe (1940's)	
Lower Elwha Klallam	Richard Mike	32' Coast Salish NA-KE-TAH	yes
Lummi	Verne Johnson	Racing canoe?	
Muckleshoot	Louis "Doc" Starr Marvin Starr, Sr.	20' Shovel-nose	yes
Nisqually	Tommy Dunstan	18' Shovel-nose	yes
Nooksack	George Swanaset	42' Racing Canoe?	
Port Gamble Klallam	Duane Pasco Jake Jones	35' (& 16') Coast Salish NUWHQ'WEEYT	yes
Puyallup	Don McCloud, Jr.	Shovel-nose?	
Quileute	David Forlines	54', 43' & 24' Nootkan & Sealing	yes
Quinault	Wally Bumgarner Phil Martin	Nootkan & Motorized Racing Canoe	
Samish	Jack Cagey	27' Coast Salish Canoe (1986) & Racing Canoe?	
Skokomish	Joe Anderson	Approx. 25' Canoe	
Suquamish	Joe Waterhouse Roy Edwards	50' Racing Canoe (1990)	yes
Swinomish	Tim Paul	50' Racing Canoe	
Tulalip	Jerry Jones Joe Gobin	35' Nootkan Canoe	yes
United Indians of All Tribes	Marvin Oliver Steve Brown	Approx. 40' Ancient War (Head) Canoe	
Upper Skagit	Harlan Sam	50' Race Canoe ROLLING THUNDER	yes

I. A FRAMEWORK FOR DISCUSSION OF FIVE TRIBAL CASE STUDIES:

The descriptions of five case studies illustrate how various canoeing traditions have been passed on, how carving knowledge was relearned or replicated from existing models, adapted from available ancient lore, or rediscovered in cooperation with anthropologists, art historians, and Euro-American carvers.

Bronisław Malinowski wrote extensively on the integral nature of Trobriander's canoes in island culture in his classic Argonauts of the Western Pacific. His discussion of social organization of labour in constructing a seagoing canoe gives a framework for understanding material presented in the case studies. Malinowski distinguishes the sociological differentiation and functions of the owner, the expert and the workers:

All the stages of work, at which various people have to cooperate, must be co-ordinated, there must be someone in authority who takes the initiative and gives decisions.

There is the owner of the canoe:

Who takes responsibility for the undertaking. He pays for the work, engages the expert, gives orders, and commands communal labour....

Besides the owner, there is the expert, someone with a technical capacity, who directs the construction. He is the man who knows how to construct the canoe, how to do the carvings, and last, not least, how to perform the magic.

Finally, the third sociological factor in canoe-building consists of the workers. First there is a smaller group, consisting of the relations and close friends of the owner or the expert, who help throughout the whole process

of construction; and secondly, there is besides them, the main body of villagers, who take part in the work at those stages where communal labour is necessary (1922: 114).

The sociology of canoe ownership is also of issue. In the situation of the Native Canoe Project, the Centennial designated each old-growth log to go to a tribal canoe, thus the exact "ownership" of the craft was not specified.

Ownership, giving this word its broadest sense, is the relation, often very complex, between an object and the social community in which it is found. In ethnology it is extremely important not to use this word in any narrower sense than that just defined, because the types of ownership found in various parts of the world differ widely. It is especially a grave error to use the word ownership with the very definite connotation given to it in our own society....Between pure individual ownership and collectivism, there is a whole scale of intermediate blending and combination (Ibid: 117).

Each tribe had rightful possession to their canoe with authority for management vested in the tribal council or with a designated representative. Forlines who initiated the Quileute canoe carving in conjunction with the Quileute Tribal School, addressed the issue of the carver's intimate relation to his created object and collective ownership. "One's state of mind," said carver:

Must be in behalf of the canoe.
The agreement that you made originally
And the intent of providing service to the people
is the end result.
Then the people have to own that.-
They have to come forth and claim their seat,
is what they say traditionally....
It's not a matter of building a craft.
It's working for the Creator.
I mean you get an opportunity to help or
to share with so many people.
You give a lot of your personal life in the process,

But for God's sakes,
What's going to happen to all the people?
Because they're going to own it.

David Forlines
October 30, 1988
Recorded by D.C. A.R. S.B. & L.L.
Transcribed by S.P.

During the Native Canoe Project this question of ownership of the canoe manifested itself in a range of possibilities. In several cases there was an ambiguity of who initiated the project, who took responsibility for the undertaking, who consequently paid for the work, gave orders, engaged expert advise and so on. Naturally, the relations between tribal council members, the carvers and the consulted experts were critical for the successful completion of the watercraft.

Generally the dugouts were not finished when these critical working relations were not maintained or when one individual did not assume responsibility for the project. The carver was but one of many integral participants in each endeavour. To have successfully carved and launched a canoe did not guarantee its continual use. Ongoing care and storage of the vessel, selection of a captain and cooperative training of a canoe crew were other demanding aspects of the project. With lack of community support or clarity of the finished project or numerous other potential problems, at least one third of the canoes started were not completed in time to celebrate in the Centennial races or "Paddle to Seattle" event.

According to some, the Indian way of doing things is not measured by whiteman's clock or timetable. Ribs, another Quileute carver explained his time orientation: "You do not carve that tree until it's ready for you." Several of the canoes begun for the Centennial project have been finished at a later date. For example, the Suquamish racing canoe was launched June 9, 1990.

Each of the five tribal accounts examines particular scenarios which influenced the tribes' canoe production and emerging place in the social milieu. Voiced or hidden agendas and needs inspiring each undertaking are suggested as I have interpreted them.

II. THE LUMMI --A CASE IN CONTINUITY:

The Lummi will be going strong for the years to come.
The art of canoe paddling is here to stay.

Ralph Jefferson, Lummi
18 April 1989
Recorded and transcribed by L.L.

The Lummi, originally speakers of the Straits or Lkungen dialect of the Salish language family, primarily live on the northwestern shore of Bellingham Bay and along eastern shores of the Strait of Georgia, approximately 20 miles below the Canada-United States border. The Lummi Reservation was established by the Point Elliot Treaty and enlarged in 1873 to incorporate the Nooksack and Samish. In 1984 there were 1,472 reported tribal members (Ruby and Brown 1986: 111).

The Lummi never ceased canoeing. Their racing canoe circuit remains central to Lummi life (see Chapter Three: Coast Salish Racing Hulls --An Evolved Form").

Lyn Dennis-Olsen, a Lummi Tribal member wrote that the original "Lummi Stommish:"

Was held in the late 1800's to commemorate an ancient Lummi victory over Haida warriors from the Queen Charlotte Islands. Stommish means "Great Warrior." The Stommish was revived after World War II by the Lummi American Legion Post to honor Lummi servicemen who fought in the war (manuscript papers for the Burke's 1989 "A Time of Gathering" Exhibit Catalogue).

Racing is so prominent that there are three competitive canoe clubs on the Lummi Reservation. Within the one tribe, members of different clubs compete with one another.

One club is trained by Rick Edwards, grandson of the renowned canoe builder Dick Edwards who carved the champion race canoe TELEGRAPH in 1906. Rick skippers the women's and buckskin's (teenage) canoe crews. Edward's canoe club recently named a new canoe TELEGRAPH II. It races the annual circuit, "packing around" the pride and prerogatives of its namesake, the same way Indian people carry their Indian names with prestige and duties.

The Lummi continue to be the most active tribe in Washington in the essentially British Columbian Coast Salish racing circuit. Willie Jones, another Lummi skipper, expressed advice for other tribes eager to join the Native racing scene:

I think Lummi's gonna be the teachers....
because of the experience we have.

I feel good about canoe racing,
 You're fighting low self-esteem,
 drugs and alcohol,
 boredom.
 Canoe paddling counter acts
 and gives you something worthwhile to do.
 And it's not easy,
 its the hardest thing to do
 Because you have to earn your own money,
 You don't come first
 --you get put down,
 You have to maintain a crew,
 You should have subs in case someone gets hurt,
 You have a hard time 'cuz everyone is so busy,
 upkeep of the equipment.
 You have to go across the ferry to Vancouver Island.
 Expense is really high.
 And so the commitment really has to be there.

I wouldn't trade it for anything.

Willie Jones,
 Lummi Tribal Vice-Chairman
 April 18, 1989
 Recorded and transcribed by L.L.

The Lummi were active in the Centennial Native Canoe Project. The local Lummi Community College (renamed the Northwest Indian College in 1989) hosted the popular Native Canoe Symposium and supported paddle carving and tool making classes through Native education funds. Yet as far as I know, they have not yet completed a new "Centennial" canoe from their National Forest log. Verne Johnson represented the tribe during the tree felling in the Mount Baker National Forest. He planned to build a traveling canoe in conjunction with the college. With canoes already fulfilling vital roles in the social life of the community, the need for crafting old style watercraft was probably less acute. Also with estab-

lished competition between the differing canoe clubs within the tribe, it may have been more difficult to rally members together for one collective tribal canoe project.

III. THE SUQUAMISH

--A REVITALIZED CONTINUITY OF CANOE RACING:

The Suquamish, originally speakers of a Salishan dialect closely related to Lushootseed, mostly live on the Port Madison Reservation established in 1855 under the Point Elliot Treaty for Suquamish, Duwamish, and Muckleshoot Indians. The reservation is located on the west side of Puget Sound across from urban Seattle, named after Suquamish's famous Chief Sealth. In 1985 the Suquamish Tribal membership was estimated to be 577 (Ruby and Brown 1986: 226).

The Suquamish actively participated in cultural preservation during 1989. Canoes fit well into their established cultural milieu, especially the annual canoe race and gathering which they host, known as "Chief Seattle Days" first held in 1911. The summer weekend includes canoe racing, Pow Wow dance competition, bone games, a Kids-Off-The-Dock Fishing Derby, arts and crafts booths, food concessions, softball and horseshoe tournaments, storytelling, a grave site commemorative of Chief Sealth, the selection of a New Miss Chief Seattle Days Princess and Her Court, giving of awards and a salmon bake.

Prior to 1989 they did not have their own 50 foot, eleven person race canoe so the re-introduction of a racing canoe filled an important void in this context.

The question lingers --Why did the Suquamish let their canoes lapse? The answer must be found within the community. To protect a canoe and train a crew requires commitment on the part of several individuals or a dedicated family. In the recent history the Suquamish's priority must have been toward other activities, such as developing a tribal fish hatchery, cultural center and museum.

The Suquamish youth expressed a real desire to develop a canoe club, inherently as a need for their own positive self-image and as an outlet for healthy competition. Specifically, they wanted to create a drug and alcohol free canoe club as part of a larger Native American drug and alcohol free movement (known locally as NAYSAPP).

The community also expressed a need to develop carving skills and a center for that purpose. The tribe needed a canoe carver, not having had one for at least a generation. From my limited understanding I believe there was a split in the desires of the community, on the one hand to hire a local skilled Euro-American and on the other hand, there was a concern to hire a Native carver. Before having secured tribal funds for the project, Joseph Waterhouse entered the situation

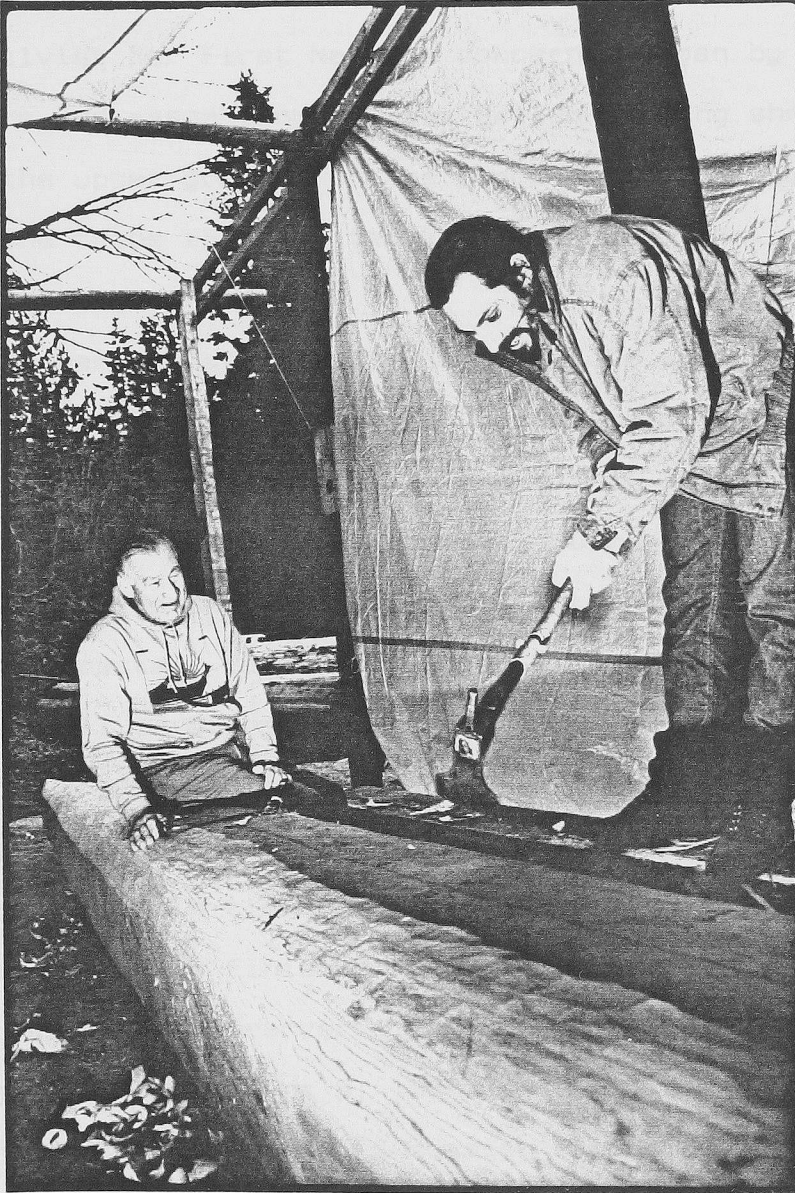


Figure 19: Emmett Oliver watches as Joseph Waterhouse carves the Suquamish racing canoe, 1988, Joe Rogers photograph.

with a vision to bring the healing spirit of the canoe onto the Suquamish Reservation. In this way the carving of the Suquamish race canoe was undertaken by Waterhouse.

Waterhouse, a Klallam carver, archaeologist and an articulate activist for First Nations concerns, began by carving house posts and assembling a Coast Salish carving shed/canoe house on the upper grounds of the Suquamish Tribal Cultural Center. The tribe then awaited the arrival of their old-growth cedar log.

The Suquamish watched with interest the efforts of the Klallam carver. However, perhaps because he did not have an officially sanctioned position by the tribal council, it was difficult to secure financial support. During the winter of carving before the Centennial events, Waterhouse was asked and then contracted, to carve a Chief Kitsap Totem Pole for the Kitsap Mall in Silverdale (Craig 1990: 26) supplanting his efforts for the Suquamish canoe carving. Due to a variety of community priorities and interactions, the new racing canoe was not completed in time for the Centennial. A year later the tribal canoe was finished by Roy Edwards, the talented Canadian racing canoe carver. The craft was celebrated at a launching ceremony on June 9, 1990.

Even though the new 50' Suquamish canoe was not finished during the Centennial year, other needs were met. Canoe building was reintroduced by another community member, Steve-Old-Coyote who made a child's canoe and named it during a special dedication ceremony at Chief Seattle Days 1989.

The canoe club revived several other smaller one- and two-person racing canoes. A 42' six-person craft was also

brought back to use for evening training practises which re-emerged that summer. Waterhouse found and repaired a 16' Nootkan style canoe for the Suquamish.

The canoe club, organized by Marilyn and Gene Jones, attended and competed in numerous racing events of the 1989 season. The Suquamish were also actively involved in the "Paddle to Seattle" event, sponsoring a large gathering and encampment on their tribal grounds (see Chapter Six).

Another priority on the inter-tribal level was a financial display of \$6,000 in prize money put up for the Chief Seattle Day canoe races held August 18-20, 1989. The Suquamish have shown themselves to be generous and active members in the Indian Country canoeing scene.

In a related though separate canoeing-oriented project they have contributed to the re-emerging collective understanding of the significance of canoes through sponsorship of fieldwork to collect these oral histories and through their presentation of the audio-visual production entitled WATERBORNE --Gift of the Indian Canoe.

IV. THE TULALIP CANOE -- A CASE IN SALVAGING THE FORM:

And I'm telling them,
 You learn everything that that man is teaching you.
 Everything.
 And then you'll be the teacher
 and then you'll teach your children.
 And then we got it back again.

Billy Frank, Jr., Nisqually



Figure 20: Brady photograph of boys racing "stukwihl" canoes in the Tulalip area, circa 1900, Courtesy of UW Libraries #NA 1463.

The Tulalip Tribes, an assembly of Coast Salish speakers: the Snohomish, Stillaguamish, Snoqualmie, Skykomish, Skagit and Samish (Ruby and Brown 1986: 244), were removed onto the Tulalip Reservation under the Point Elliot Treaty, January 22, 1855. Approximately 1,100 tribal members live near or on the Tulalip Reservation located on Tulalip Bay near the small town of Marysville north of Everett. An early Indian Boarding School established by the government was located on the Tula-

lip Reservation, and so became a gathering place for many Indians throughout the Washington area. In the early 1900's many canoes were photographed in the area by Ferdinand Brady. Yet there has been a hiatus of old style Tulalip canoe use among the Tulalip people for several generations.

The new Centennial canoe manifests the Tulalip's desire to preserve and perpetuate carving skills of earlier generations for those of the future. Stan Jones, Tribal Chairman and Bernie Gobin, an activist for fishing rights and a skilled wood carver, served on the tribal council promoting the canoe and cultural heritage projects and especially the idea of a Tulalip cultural center and museum.

Experiences of losing valued knowledge in the past exerted a motivational force for the protection of remaining Tulalip resources and skills. After a difficult period of confusion, contemporary youth are now being told both by their elders and by the larger Euro-American world that they have a perishable tradition worthy of restoration and pride. The canoe became a tangible focus for this renewed interest to learn and perpetuate the authenticity of the Tulalip's own indigenous skills. In essence through the Native Canoe Project, the Tulalip conducted their own salvage ethnography. Stan Jones' and Gobin's positions of influence on the tribal council gave them the authority to hire the carving skills of tribal member and boat-builder, Jerry Jones.

A simple though fundamental incentive for the project was expressed by Jones: "The canoe will bring happiness to the people." He further explained:

[Our Centennial canoe is] a family canoe, 35'6".
 My mother used this type of canoe,
 She had a settlement down
 on the south end of Whidbey Island,
 Seasonal fishing here and there.
 We hope to use this canoe in a new museum
 and three to four times a year
 for ceremony celebrations
 which will be good for our people.
 Generations down the road will know
 how our people traveled.

For shape we copied Wayne Williams old canoe
 down in his shed,
 Made at the turn of the century.
 I can look at it anytime I need refreshment
 for what I was trying to achieve.

Jerry Jones, Tulalip
 October 11, 1988
 Interviewed by D.C. and L.L.
 Transcribed by L.L.

The Tulalip are fortunate to have protected the Chief Shelton (or Wayne William's) canoe on their own reservation rather than having lost it to a less accessible museum. Shelton's canoe is reputed to have journeyed to the popular site of Penn cove on Whidbey Island.

Like many Indians, Jerry Jones has had a history steeped in watercraft. Yet like others attending boarding schools during the "assimilation period" he experienced pressures to forget his Indian language and the ways of his people. He had not spent time himself in a canoe.



Figure 21: Indian gathering place at Chief Sneaklum's place,
Penn Cove, Whidbey Island circa 1900,
Courtesy of Island County Historical Society.

By profession Jones is an accomplished metal boat welder, skilled in precision fitting. Also Jones has worked in wood "--always been a carver." He had repaired a dugout for his tribe yet it wasn't until the Native Canoe Project that he had the means --tribal support and access to the old growth cedar, necessary to build a classic dugout. The 48 year old Tulalip boat builder:

Had always wanted to make a canoe, but there was no good cedar around. "An old man told me when the trees got scrawnier, the canoes got worse and worse looking and finally they just quit making them altogether" (Mac Donald, Seattle Times, 10 October 1988: D-4).



Figure 22: Jerry Jones & Joe Gobin stand below their old-growth cedar canoe tree, Author's photograph 1988.

For the felling of their old growth cedar trees, tribes were regionally assembled to their nearest National Forest. The Tulalip, Suquamish, Duwamish, and Seattle-based United Indians of All Tribes Foundation gathered in a stand of old growth trees in the Mt. Baker-Snoqualmie National Forest near Darrington on April 28, 1988. The trees were to be felled by

chain saws --a much different approach than ancient style felling.

Jerry Riddle, Supervisor of the all-volunteer logging crew from Summit Timber Company said:

"Many loggers share the Indians respect for the old-growth trees." Riddle was fascinated with the thought of the massive logs being carved into canoes. And for a few moments on Gold Mountain Wednesday, the whine of chain saws and the beat of drums joined in a song of their own (Witmer, Everett Herald 28 April 1988: 18A).

The Tulalip held a blessing for their canoe tree before it was felled honoring the sacred spirit of cedar. United States Forest Service employees dug holes in the soil and Marya Moses, a Tulalip elder, planted cedar seedlings. "When we take from the earth, we must always give something back," she explained. "That is the Indian Way" (Ibid.).

In their quest to relearn ancient skills Jones, the carver and his apprentice Bernie Gobin's son, Joe, sought outside help. They were interested in my naval architectural studies of existing hull forms and consulted Bill Holm to gain from his expertise. Bill Holm became the trusted canoe expert whom the carvers regularly contacted. (See illustrations which Holm created to assist the canoe builders in Appendix J). Jones' demand for excellence and his expertise with blueprints complemented Holm's style --a refinement for exacting details.

Though Jones learned to carve in the Tulalip fashion, he and the Gobins were influenced in the sixties by Holm.



Figure 23: Bill Holm with paddle, Seattle 1987,
Ruth Sundheim photo.

Cuz in the old days
Everyone carved Chief Shelton's style.
Then Bill Holm's book came out
and we've been doin' it that way ever since.

Carving eighteen years together
[Gobins and I].

Jerry Jones, Tulalip
Oct. 19, 1988
Recorded by D.C. & L.L.
Transcribed by L.L.

Among other sources of interest and influence for them were Eugene Arima's ethnography of carving a Nootkan style canoe at Port Renfrew, 1975; Waterman's early classic The Whaling Equipment of the Makah Indians, 1920; Roberts and Shackleton's The Canoe A History of the Craft from Panama to the Arctic, 1983; and a collection of archival photographs which I gathered and shared with them.

One hundred years ago a Tulalip carving shed would have been setup along the Snohomish River or Tulalip Creek. In 1988 the steel framework of their carving shed was covered by large blue tarps and erected upon an asphalt parking lot next to Interstate Highway 5, conveniently accessible to both tribal members and the public. Loggers unloaded two cedar logs, the largest 22 feet in circumference and 76 feet long. A chainlink fence was built around the grounds.

Jerry Jones' toolmaking skill was evident in his work area. His many assorted carving tools were carefully hung upon the wall and ordered in a large chest of drawers. There was an extraordinary assemblage, some borrowed from Bill Holm. Jones picked up the finely carved handle of a steel finishing adze and exclaimed to me during an afternoon visit: "This is the

best finishing adze." I asked him how he liked to use it. "I don't use it," he said simply. "This is Bill's. I only use my own tools!"

Encapsulated in that interchange is the personal integrity that marks Jones' carving style. Jones is learning the secrets of the tools through the process of making them. He and Joe Gobin taught themselves by experiencing all aspects of canoe crafting so that they will be able to make the next Tulalip canoe on their own.

They worked with Holm to copy Chief Shelton's canoe as precisely as possible. Together they transferred the hull form onto paper as blueprints or line drawings. Yet the carvers needed to foresee dimensional changes that were going to take place when they spread their cedar craft into its finished shape, wider than the original log.

These Northwest Coast "dugouts" are in no way primitive. Rather they are a sophisticated shape created by spreading the carved log and increasing the hull's cross-width or beam so the watercraft will be more stable. Jones relearned the secret of this difficult process with assistance from Holm who was experienced in this aspect of dugout technology.

On March 7, 1989 the Tulalip canoe was spread. The carvers planned to spread the canoe hull from 41 inches to a finished width of 60". In the early morning they built a fire and put round rocks in the coals. After 45 minutes the rocks

were red-white, of sufficient heat to be added to the water inside the canoe. As the water turned into steam, it began to penetrate the cedar wood and ultimately the hull became flexible. The bottom of the hull dropped several inches and the sides opened down and out. A transformation was occurring. If properly shaped, the hull would attain a new graceful form with fair curves throughout.

Everything was progressing well on the Tulalip spreading. Many local camera crews shot footage for the nightly news. The canoe reached the new beam of 59 3/8". Holm and Jones were radiant with pride. Then the tension-filled hull suddenly let go with a disheartening crack running 17' along the starboard or right side. Steaming hot water was pouring out all over the floor of the carving shed.

Holm having experienced such a difficult situation before was prepared to salvage the apparent wreck. He hadn't actually worked on the canoe before this time but at this crucial stage while the wood was still heated and flexible he applied pressure to pull in the cracked outside hull using a simple spanish windlass around the outside of the hull, lashed to a timber laid across the gunwales. He used wedges to push out the cracked inside of the hull. After several hours of intensive effort the hull was pulled back together and a synthetic caulking material made the crack watertight. The basic lines of the newly spread canoe were quite fine.

Jones and Gobins sought perfection. Evidence can be seen in the precise finish-adzing on the outer hull. Perhaps this quality of workmanship was a justification for tribal pressures, for the expense involved in the project. The Tulalip invested tens of thousands of dollars in their canoe. Perhaps this is a universal behavior though Suttles' comment referring to an earlier generation of central Coast Salish behaviour is appropriate: "Wealth is converted into prestige by its use in ceremonial displays" (1987: 49). The Tulalip Tribe was able to afford quality craftsmanship and found it a worthwhile investment. Certainly the 1989 Tulalip canoe is a masterpiece of form and symbol of cultural wealth and pride to its own and the wider community.

The Tulalip launched their canoe on Saturday, June 3, 1989. They invited Holm to steer the canoe on its maiden voyage. This was a privileged place. The canoe was incorporated into the Tulalip's annual First Salmon Ceremony June 10, 1989.

Jerry Jones and Joe Gobin gained through their careful efforts to replicate the beautiful form of the Chief Shelton canoe. In consultation with Holm they learned techniques to salvage accumulated skill and knowledge embedded within that watercraft. New life was brought to the ancient hull form.

A different group trained as the canoe paddling crew. Others brought the Tulalip's 50' eleven person racing canoe,

KLA HOW YA back into the circuit. Both the racing and Nootkan style craft, equipped with a sail, participated in the cross-sound "Paddle to Seattle" event.

V. THE PORT GAMBLE KLALLAM

--A CASE OF RE-INVENTING THE TRADITION:

The Port Gamble Klallam people, once Salishan speakers of a Klallam dialect similar to Straits, are commonly referred to as the "Little Boston" people. Scheduled to remove to the Skokomish Reservation in 1855, they remained instead in their settlement on Port Gamble Bay, three miles from original Klallam lands. Following new policy of the 1934 Indian Reorganization Act, the Port Gamble Reservation was established in 1936. 534 Klallams were enrolled at Little Boston in 1985 (Ruby and Brown 1986: 26, 164).

Klallam life was affected by the Pope and Talbot Mill which began operation in the 1850's across the bay from the Klallam village. Among other changes the newcomers brought was a new style of smallcraft, a whitehull rowing boat. In 1987 the only remaining dugout was not a canoe but a transomed dinghy hewn from a cedar log. The hull form was of Euro-American origin though crafted with indigenous technology. At the turn of the century workers rowed this type of boat across the Port Gamble Bay from the village to the mill. The Klallam displayed this watercraft from the ceiling of their gym.

No Klallams with whom I spoke experienced canoeing though several recalled their grandfathers had carved one. For several generations, the Port Gamble had been without canoes.

In 1987 Jake Jones, the tribal chairman and Gerry Kearney, the cultural heritage promoter, invited me to give a slide show of old style Coast Salish canoes. Duane Pasco also shared slides of building a 25' Northern style craft. At that time Jake expressed he had little knowledge of canoes yet was motivated to make use of opportunities with the Washington Centennial to work for the return of canoes and associated carving skills. The Klallam were eager to learn these skills from talented Euro-American artist, Duane Pasco, who lives near them on the Kitsap Peninsula. Likewise Pasco, a self-expressed "slave to the art," was keen to be involved in a Klallam material culture renewal project.

Pasco worked with Jake Jones, Steilacoom Bob and other Klallam men to carve two 16' Coast Salish style canoes in the winter of 1988. Basic carving tools and techniques were introduced. While Pasco carved one, the Klallam carved a second. For payment Pasco received one of the two matching canoes. In the spring of 1989 both were launched in Port Gamble Bay.

Success of this initial small-scale project gave the tribe confidence to build a larger 35' canoe. They undertook building a permanent carving center/canoe house at the same time.

On March 25, 1989, Nick Wilbur, a faller from Skokomish, and his partner, Dick Corey, volunteered their efforts to fell cedar trees along mountainous slopes of the Upper Skokomish River. Awaiting access to these old-growth trees were: the Puyallup, Muckleshoot, Port Gamble Klallam and Skokomish. The Simpson Timber Company moved the felled trees to the road. The trees, some as much as seven-hundred years old were

In a long-rotation stand destined for an eventual clear-cut auction to private companies, and the Forest Service has allowed the tribes to pay a minimum price for them (McCormick Bremerton Sun, 25 March 1989: A-1).

A race developed during Little Boston's 35' canoe crafting. Which would be finished first --the new carving center/canoe house or the canoe itself? After several snow storms their log was eventually delivered on a slab foundation. The outside of the hull was roughed out while the walls for the new carving building were framed overhead. Electricity and insulation went up while the inside of the canoe was hewn out. The building created a lasting space for the revived enthusiasm for carving. This has remained a new center of activity.

Gerry Kearney coordinated community fund-raising and matching support of tribal monies:

So far the tribal council has allocated about \$12,000 for the canoe project. The building erected to house the 35' NAKW' KYIT [sic] costs another \$8,500 (Ibid. A4).

Pasco's talent and charismatic personality drew free labor of other skilled Euro-American apprentice carvers, particularly Doug Smith and Pat Huggins. They donated extra time

to the canoe while the Klallam focused their efforts on the carving shed. Another 50' log rests inside the carving shed. This one the Klallam may make into a racing canoe.

The finish work on the Port Gamble Coast Salish style canoe was innovative. Pasco strove to replicate the watercraft authentically by researching the lines of an existing Coast Salish canoe housed in storage at the Vancouver Museum in British Columbia. He painted an adapted Coast Salish style killer whale design on the outside of the hull and cooperated with Klallam desires to add wooden "ears" to the prow, an inventive decorative element which gives distinct personality to the ceremonial canoe (see Appendix K).

June 24, 1989 the Klallam dedicated and launched the NUWHQ'WEEYT. A sacred cedar bark wreath was laid around the prow. Adorned in a button blanket and elaborately carved frontlet-style headdress with ermine skins, Jake's granddaughter Mandi Jones shook eagle down and danced in time to a song drummed from amidships. No doubt, Pasco's expertise with northern style ceremonial paraphernalia influenced the re-emerging Port Gamble canoeing tradition.

The Klallam appreciate and accept the dramatic flair of more northern art styles. Indeed, they have integrated it into the new Klallam Coast Salish style as their own.

Though important in the past, no one in Port Gamble had any paddle songs. Songs once belonged to certain individuals.

The privilege to sing them or pass them on belonged to a select few. Unfortunately along with the great loss of language use, the paddling songs were displaced.

Tribal members sought Pasco's interest with the Klallam language and his immersion in his adopted culture to help replace the lost songs. He created a few in the Klallam tongue, quite like other Northwest Coast paddling songs with which he was familiar. Pasco taught them to the Little Boston canoeing group. The following, written by Duane Pasco was sung during the "Paddle to Seattle."

PORT GAMBLE CANOE SONG

YA YA NUNG OO TSWH, YAI YA NUNG TSUN
 (Listen I hear)
 NU TAN WO HEY YA HO WEY YA.
 (My mother)

CHORUS: WO YA HEY YA HO WEY YA
 WO YA HEY YA WO YA HEY YA
 WO YA HEY YA HO WEY YA

YA YA NUNG OO TSWH, YAI YA NUNG TSUN
 (Listen I hear)
 NU TSUT WO HEY YA HO WEY YA.
 (My father)

CHORUS

YA YA NUNG OO TSWH, YAI YA NUNG TSUN
 (Listen I hear)
 NU SE'YA HEY YA HO WEY YA.
 (My grandparents)

CHORUS

YA YA NUNG OO TSWH, STANG OOCK TSU?
 (Listen, What's that?)
 NUUWH'QEEYT CHE'WHE'YU, HO WE UN HON ANG HO WEY YA!
 (Little Boston Killer Whale returns again!)

CHORUS.



Figure 24: Mandi Jones shook eagle down from the Port Gamble canoe during a "Paddle to Seattle" landing ceremony, 1989, Ron Peltier photo, Courtesy of the Quileute Tribal School Archives.

On various occasions the Port Gamble take the NUWHQ'EEYT out on the water, drumming and singing their new songs. They paddled from Port Gamble to join the flotilla at Suquamish and made a dramatic arrival during "Chief Seattle Days" in Suquamish. Later they brought the canoe to the annual Port Townsend Wooden Boat Festival and offered spectators the opportunity to go for a paddle aboard the first traditional smallcraft of the Pacific Northwest.

VI. THE QUILEUTE CANOES

-- A FOCUS FOR MATERIAL & SPIRITUAL REVITALIZATION:

The Quileute, once predominantly Chimakuan speakers, live on the Pacific Coast mostly in the village now known as La Push at the mouth of the Quileute River. Approximately 383 Quileute live on their reservation established by executive order in 1889. Members are largely employed as fishermen and as loggers (Ruby and Brown 1986: 171).

The Quileute Tribal School, as part of its Language/Culture Program and its Drug and Alcohol Prevention Programs, collaborated with the Centennial Native Canoe Project to build a fleet of canoes and outfit the crew with paddles and cedar bark regalia.

With the Quileute Council of Tribal Elders' blessing and the support of Lillian Pullen, a leading elder, David Forlines and Terri Tavenner worked to mobilize the community in a canoeing revitalization. They conceived the concept and phrase, "Paddle to Seattle," which became the culminating and most celebrated event of the Native Canoe Project.

Though not members of the Quileute tribe, Tavenner and Forlines became significant participants of the community. Forlines explains that he is one-sixteenth Quileute though he looks Euro-American. He was brought up in Queets by Native people living in the old way. He later developed close relationships with neighboring Hoh elders, Chief Hudson and his

wife Pansy. Forlines attributes his sense of responsibility to teach and care for the Quileute community to the influence of these respected old people. He has done this by working for the Quileute Tribal School as a Drug and Alcohol Abuse counselor. This gave him a stable position within the infrastructure of the community.

Another key figure was Terri Tavenner who worked for the Quileute Tribal School. Having financial security of a two-year contract for tribal school curriculum development, she also had a continuing place within the La Push community. Tavenner coordinated the plans and means for accomplishing the Quileute's vision.

For the last three years
 We've been running a guidance counseling program
 through Title 5B
 Educational services to Indian Children
 to provide alcohol counseling
 and prevention and intervention
 to children of school age families
 and extended families.
 And we're doing that through the culture.

When we started
 We had a drop-in center,
 A place kids could go at night
 that's safe,
 that's their own place,
 providing them some outside activities.
 Since David's been here
 We've concentrated a lot more on carving
 and singing and dancing.

And when the canoe project came up,
 both for the drug and alcohol program
 and for the enrichment program
 It was just a great focus
 for all the efforts up to that point.

The whole canoe just focused in
 on everything we were trying to do
 To get kids off the street.
 Give 'em something to do besides drink and carouse,
 Give 'em something real positive to put their energy into.
 Give the cultural revival a focus.

Terri Tavenner
 October 30, 1988
 Recorded by L.L.
 Transcribed by S.P.

Combatting a high rate of community alcoholism Tavenner and Forlines worked with Quileute children in a safe environment. They created a center where youth, particularly those "at risk" could carve paddles or weave their own cedar bark and raffia baskets, hats, belts, tunics and ceremonial regalia. The challenge was to solve the Indian drinking problem in a culturally relevant way. A converted paddler explained:

I had a problem drinking
 and what's coming out in this is
 what's helped me with my sobriety.
 It's bringing my strength back as an Indian,
 learning the cultures....
 Be in my shoes,
 and you're going to a white man's society
 and they say,
 "Uh, I am an alcoholic and this and that"
 and you sit there and talk.
 You don't do nothing with these [his hands]
 You just sit there and talk about your problem....

When I made my hat, my cedar hat,
 it took me a month.
 I went in to see how they were doing
 and they said,
 "Hey, we got extra room,
 you want to make a cedar hat?"
 I'm going "No, I got other things to do
 and in ten minutes
 they had me sitting down making a hat.

That was good therapy for me.
Kept me busy

and as I watched the hat grow,
I was growing with the hat.

Henry (Morganroth) Indian, Quileute
October 30, 1988
Recorded by D.C., S.B. & L.L.
Transcribed by S.P.

Driven by his own passion, Forlines worked to hew out a 54' "long canoe" while teaching tribal school children. His canoe was a stimulant for community action.

As Forlines worked, a rivalry developed between himself and a Quileute of recognized expertise, Thomas "Ribs" Penn. Ribs, 57, grew up in canoes. As he says, "Canoes are my life." No doubt his fore-fathers as well as his grandfather, uncles and brothers all built and fished in cedar dugouts along the Queets and Quileute Rivers.

Ribs' generation was from a transitional period when outboard motors came in, a technology radically affecting centuries-old river poling tactics (mentioned in Chapter Three).

In the 1930's-60's assimilated Quileute such as Ribs were on the leading edge. They adapted modern technology to their culturally relevant purposes. The Penn family were successfully innovative, incorporating the "planing board" on their riverine racing dugouts to increase speed potential. Ribs was a competitive champion, renowned for his skill, building and racing canoes among Indians of Washington's Pacific Coast.

In the 1970's-80's a growing interest arose to bring back the endangered Quileute language, values and disappearing Indian technologies. With support from the Quileute Tribal School and Council of Elders, Forlines committed himself to bring back the "obsolete" paddling canoes which would serve a completely new function --no longer an economically viable craft. Forlines initiated a Quileute movement toward a seemingly "reverse adaptive strategy," --salvaging an archaic canoe form symbolic of a revitalization movement of associated cultural values.

As Forlines carved the out-dated canoe, Ribs and others in the community watched critically because Forlines was "no canoe builder." He did not heed Rib's carving recommendations. Rather Forlines independently used old photographs to determine the proportions of his unusually narrow 54' whaling canoe, only 38" wide. The Tribal council was advised by Ribs that it was unseaworthy.

The public were invited to a launching on October 29, 1988 and over 200 people assembled. Forlines increased the drama of the situation having decided to launch the new canoe into ocean surf rather than into calmer inside waters of the Quileute River mouth, a protected harbour where the Quileute fishing fleet is located. On an earlier expedition Forlines and others had successfully launched a 24' dugout through surf.



Figure 25: The Quileutes launch a new 54' canoe, October 1988
George Erb photograph, Port Angeles Daily News.

Historically the normal launch of a 54' canoe in three foot breakers would have been sufficiently challenging, even with an experienced crew holding poles to keep the bow perpendicular to the seas. Once out in the largest set of breakers and precariously angled to the waves, the new canoe was caught by the surf and capsized. The drumming and singing of families protecting the mishap continued while the crowd was hushed.

Crew swam and waded to shore. The ignoble canoe was pulled back up. A large potluck dinner was served.

To understand such a dangerous undertaking and the whole challenge of the "Paddle to Seattle," it is necessary to consider the belief system motivating the action. Forlines and the others were undertaking a "Voyage of Faith." Tavenner explained:

What it came down to is individual people facing their fears and making choices. It's scary out there. It has been a leap of faith as much as anything else, to trust the spirit at work in the canoe (Craig 1990: 27).

These committed people were in the process of relearning and sometimes re-inventing canoeing skills to meet the demands of the Pacific Ocean. Lesser determination might have been squelched after the unsuccessful first launch. Yet in the face of the entire Indian community such a shame had to be wiped out. Forlines resolved to carve another canoe. By this time the tribe planned to participate in a Centennial year canoe voyage and needed an ocean-going canoe, so they asked their own hereditary canoe builder, Thomas "Ribs" Penn, to undertake the enormous task of making a safe 50' sea-going dugout from a 500 year-old log obtained especially for the project.

Yeah, when the feeling is there it don't take long.
But this one, ya know, might take a little bit longer.
Because if you are gonna show it to the public
You gonna have to put all your feelings into it.
Because if you're not gonna do a good job,
Don't do it at all.
Don't have that half-hearted feeling.

You do it,
You do it full-heartedly.
Otherwise that canoe will never be built right.

Thomas "Ribs" Penn, Quileute
October 31, 1988
Recorded by L.L. Transcribed by S.P.

Penn had not initiated this project. He had never carved so large a canoe in his life nor was he specialized in the making of this type, as they were little used in his early days. His talent lay in the making of 25' riverine canoes, both the low, beamy ones designed for fishing and the sleek craft for use in motorized racing. Ribs split the large log in half lengthwise but did not carve it for the Centennial. Members of the tribe continued to back him and reserved access to this fine canoe log. Although after the "Paddle" the log was taken to the carving area where others used it to make canoes.

Meanwhile along with continuing classes to teach the Quileute to dance, sing, prepare themselves spiritually and to make their paddles, bailers and cedar bark regalia, Forlines privately acquired another log.

In carving the second canoe, Forlines had continued support from the Quileute Tribal School. This 43' whaling craft was wider and consequently more seaworthy than Forlines' first attempt. It proved to be a capable vessel sufficiently safe to carry its crew on the 340 mile roundtrip "Paddle to Seattle" journey, a veritable pilgrimage of faith.

Chapter Six continues the story of the "Paddle to Seattle." Many others joined the voyage. Forlines was sponsored by the Quileute and received the State of Washington's recognition award as a "Living Heritage Treasure" for mobilizing the Quileute and wider Washington community.

VIII. SYNOPSIS OF THE FIVE TRIBAL CASE STUDIES:

The Lummi case was presented in abbreviated form as their continuous involvement in canoe racing had been discussed in Chapter Three. Their continued canoeing represents a model of health and togetherness within Indian country for other groups who suffered greater losses.

The Suquamish revitalized canoe racing despite the fact that their new Centennial canoe was not completed during 1989. The presence of other restored and new canoes fit an ongoing context of their annual hosted racing event, Chief Seattle Days. The formation of a racing canoe club filled a vital need for the children of their community.

The Tulalip canoe project also filled a void, as no canoes had been used on their reservation for approximately forty years according to the memory of their fifty year old carver. Yet on their reservation the Tulalip had carefully preserved a fine canoe and were able to salvage much existing carving knowledge by carefully replicating that valued artifact. By making many necessary carving tools in consultation with Bill Holm, Jerry Jones will now be able to make more high

quality canoes in the future. Blessing songs and rites of thanksgiving before felling the old growth cedar were brought forth from the memories of their elders.

The Port Gamble Klallam worked with Euro-American Northwest Coast carver and culture aficionado, Duane Pasco. Their "re-invented canoeing tradition" is a synthesis of researched Klallam history, a larger (northern) Northwest Coast carving movement and personal innovation.

The Quileute's is a story of a community's spiritual revitalization mobilized by their desire to "Make Dreams Real." Through a collective commitment to overcome centuries of obstacles and succeed in a potentially dangerous ocean voyage, the Quileute brought back the "obsolete" paddling canoes and the ancient cultural strength to overcome contemporary problems. This seemingly "reverse adaptive strategy," to salvage the archaic canoe form and paddling skills, highlighted a contrast with acculturated, modernized Native people. These new "old style" Indian canoes have become vital components of a forward movement for societal survival.

CHAPTER SIX: A PILGRIMAGE ACROSS THE WATER,
NATIVE AMERICANS CELEBRATE THEIR CULTURE IN THE
"PADDLE TO SEATTLE"

Bring back the way!
Pull your paddle out and set on a good course!

Quileute Paddle Song
David Forlines 1989

I. AN OVERVIEW:

The "Paddle to Seattle" culminated the 1989 Native Canoe Project. People from approximately twenty-five Native American (and Canadian) tribes gathered on the Suquamish Chief Seattle's Camp Grounds July 20, 1989. The following day crews in over thirty canoes paddled in a great flotilla seven miles across Puget Sound to Seattle's Shilshole Beach. For the next two days crews raced canoes, paraded recently built watercraft in ceremonial regalia, sailed canoes, danced, drummed, played slahal bone games, barbecued salmon and displayed arts and crafts. A well-attended encampment on Shilshole Beach celebrated the canoeing renaissance and continued vitality of Native Americans.

Two groups traveled long distances by water to Suquamish before paddling ensemble to Seattle. From the Pacific Coast, the Quileute and Hoh were joined by the Lower Elwha on a

flotilla which voyaged 170 miles to Seattle. The Bella Bella Heiltsuk people paddled in their 40' Northern style canoe from Vancouver, B.C. This Canadian contingent was joined by paddlers from Lummi and by a Tulalip canoe journeying to Suquamish. The Port Gamble Klallam arrived in Suquamish July 20th. A Yurok trailered his California redwood canoe north to launch it for the cross-sound leg. The Muckleshoot, Duwamish, Suquamish, Quinault canoes and at least fifteen other smaller racing craft from other groups joined the flotilla at Suquamish to paddle the seven mile leg to Seattle.

The flotilla consisted of recently crafted, restored or existing racing and voyaging cedar dugouts. The canoes and their crews were greeted by Duwamish and several thousand Native and Euro-American spectators.

The Duwamish, a "landless tribe" of the Seattle area, continue to strive for federal recognition. Their participation was an important opportunity to increase public awareness of the Duwamish's continued presence in their ancient homeland.

II. VOYAGING TO SUQUAMISH:

The voyage started nine days before the culminating cross-sound parade. The Quileute from the small Indian village of La Push on the Pacific Coast initiated and named the event the "Paddle to Seattle." The Quileute crafted canoes to use them

for a long, dramatic voyage. These re-awakened mariners had a hidden agenda, political and spiritual motivation for their voyage. This challenge to paddle 340 miles round trip was an opportunity to reassert Native American rights; for example, to reassert access to landing beaches throughout Western Washington's waterways and to unite their tribe in a successful drug and alcohol free undertaking.

The itinerary of the "Paddle to Seattle" voyage was planned in daily passages of approximately 30-50 miles between tribal territories. The resting sites and landing beaches were reported to be historical "way stations" protected by the 1855 treaties.

The expedition began July 12th at La Push on the Quileute Reservation. The Hoh Nation represented by a crew of five in a restored 25' sealing canoe joined the Quileute's two Nootkan style canoes: a 43' whaling canoe and a 24' cargo canoe. Several small vessels escorted the fleet. Midway through on their first 50 mile day, a seventeen hour endurance test in the Pacific, they stopped at Ozette Island. From Ozette they sailed around Cape Flattery and made landfall at Neah Bay. The Makah community welcomed and fed the coastal voyagers.

The encampments and community mobilization were a major aspect of the voyage. Emmett Oliver explained: "Indians love to camp!" Most of the Quileute (who refer to themselves as the Quileute Nation) accompanied their paddlers. Grand-parents, parents, aunts, uncles, cousins, children, in-laws

and others drove ahead as fellow pilgrims. Those involved at the encampments besides members of the tribe were: photographers, a Danish and Lithuanian film crew, journalists, ground crew who did the logistical support for accompanying escort vessels and most importantly, the cooking crew. The Quileute excluded no one. In the spirit of "communitas" they offered food to enthusiastic on-lookers, drawing outsiders into the heightened extended-family spirit.

Thousands participated. They planned, secured permission for landing sites, accompanied the seafarers by land trek, set up camp, prepared food and built fires on the beaches or simply witnessed the waterborne pilgrimage. The ground crew and welcoming crowds were essential to the success of the paddle.

The experiences of waiting together on the beach with a celebratory meal prepared, and a large fire burning brightly to guide in weary paddlers were tangible, symbolic links to an ancient past.

The availability and vitality of the past, in short, depends on its being embedded in living cultural traditions and on being re-enacted in cultural performance. To participate in such performances, either as organizers, actors or audience is....to make a public declaration of one's personal acceptance of it (Singer 1983: 442).

The paddlers who had confronted an arduous day of paddling were the heros and heroines, honored upon their arrival.

After a day of rest, at ebbing tide the Quileute and Hoh canoes left to paddle east along the Strait of Juan de Fuca to

Clallam Bay. July 15th the flotilla arrived near Port Angeles in Lower Elwha Klallam territory on a beach near the Red Lion Inn. Just behind the beach is a cliff that reportedly collapsed during the last century, trapping several Klallam families who lived in the village there (Waterhouse, personal communication).

The Lower Elwha and Port Angeles community welcomed the pilgrims with a feast and brought out their new Centennial canoe, NA-KE-TAH, a 32' Coast Salish style craft carved by Richard Mike, a Lower Elwha tribal member and Rob Johnson, their drug and alcohol abuse counselor.

The new canoe and a novice Elwha crew joined the flotilla. Danny Cable, a fifteen year old Klallam was in training as captain. His voyage was to become "a rite of passage," in the sense that his social position and competence were tested within public scrutiny. He learned to direct his crew through the trials and jubulations of the journey. His tribe said: "On this trip he has become a man!"

Another fifteen year old, Zach Warner, also went through such a ritual coming of age as he captained the Hoh canoe. Zach also earned manly esteem for his seafaring accomplishments. Both were duly recognized in their communities later at potlatch give-aways.

July 17th this larger flotilla set course east and then south into Admiralty Inlet to Chimacum Creek just south of

Port Townsend. A group called "Wild Olympic Salmon" hosted the searfarers and the accompanying land travelers for several days of encampments on a recognized ancient Chimakuan gathering spot on Hadlock Bay called Tsetsibus. Before construction of the Port Townsend Canal a narrow isthmus joined Indian Island to the greater Olympic Peninsula. It was known as "pull canoes across" and was a strategic Indian portage site and trading center (Waterman 1922).

Mary McQuillen, a Makah now living in Port Townsend looked forward to greeting the canoes. She planned to begin to sing her welcoming song for the paddlers the moment they came into sight:

I'm not waiting for any formalities by the Centennial Committee or anybody else. Paddlers sing to tell those on the beach who they are and why they are landing, and it is important for us to respond (Lawhead, Seattle Times 11 July 1989: E4).

July 18th the flotilla continued southward. As the canoes approached Point No Point just southeast of Hood Canal they encountered an approaching United States nuclear submarine cruising at the surface in escort with another military ship. This most modern of all naval technology, the nuclear submarine, sharply contrasted with the ancient cedar watercraft hewn and powered by the strong arms of the Indian people. The dugout fleet did not cross the warship's bow as this was understood by the Quileute Nation to be a sign of aggression. After a significant moment, the submarine moved ahead.

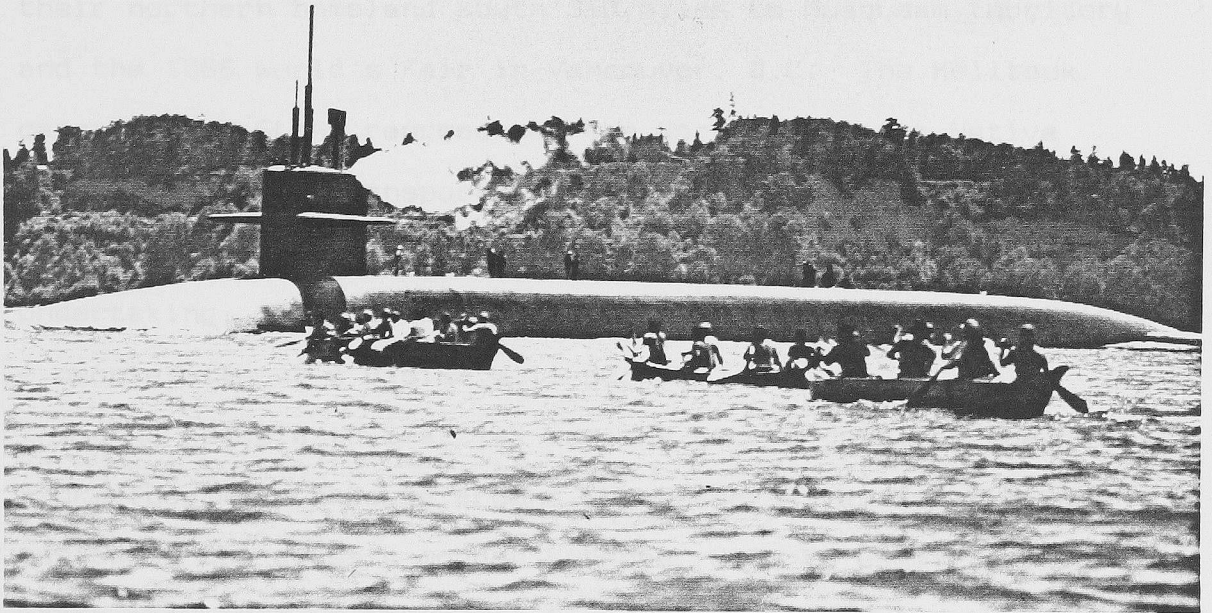


Figure 26: U.S. Nuclear Submarine confronts the fleet of ancient style Native canoes, 1989, Chris Greimes photo, Courtesy of Quileute Tribal School Archives.

At approximately 3 p.m. this Pacific Coast contingent entered Port Madison. A large canoe from Suquamish approached. The Quinault people had borrowed and trucked the Quileute's infamously narrow 54' canoe and put in at Suquamish. These Quinault paddled out to greet the arrivals and escorted them to a crowd who sang and drummed out a welcome to Suquamish.

Also on the 14th of July an international delegation of Native paddlers embarked from Vancouver, Canada. The Bella

Bella Heiltsuk crew of thirteen, canoed south in their 40' Northern style craft. A Heiltsuk ground crew accompanied them by land. This was the Heiltsuk's second "Voyage of Discovery." In 1986 they journeyed on a twenty-two day expedition from their northern homeland south 350 miles to Musqueam territory and the 1986 World's Fair in Vancouver, B.C. The Heiltsuk canoe called GLWA, represented the Northwest Coast Native people's mode of transportation to the World's Fair. The expedition leader, Frank Brown, explained the purpose of their undertaking: "The canoe can be seen. It represents our vision. A people without a vision will perish."

The "Paddle to Seattle" was the second trip for the Heiltsuk. They made passage around the Fraser River Delta, accompanied by the classic wooden schooner ODEN to Lummi territory where they were welcomed and feasted. In the following days the Heiltsuk passed through other tribal territories of the Swinomish and Samish. The Bella Bella were joined by a new 35' canoe when they reached Tulalip. July 20th, Tulalip and Bella Bella crews paddled to Suquamish.

The canoes' arrival in Suquamish was a moving sight. Each of the Heiltsuk crew were ceremonially adorned in button blankets. Elaborately carved maple frontlets with abalone inlay and rich ermine skin headdresses were held high. A lead singer drummed and the crew beat time with their raised paddles. The central singer with carved staff commanded respect and awe.

The northern tribes have a reputation for being raiders. They are said to have killed wantonly, taking women and children as slaves. Though this belongs in the storied past it is possible that these northern peoples were met with mixed feelings.

An undercurrent of tribal competitiveness was incentive for participation. During a potlatch held after the Centennial paddle a Lower Elwha Klallam man publicly spoke of inter-tribal competition. He said that he had planned to throw rocks at the Quileute as they were paddling by. The Klallam felt bad because they were stuck on the beach. The Quileute's challenge motivated them to join in the flotilla rather than to be left behind.

The Lower Elwha Klallam recited the great flood legend. Canoes saved their ancient people when chaos and water came. How could they survive without a canoe?

III. PADDLE TO SEATTLE --A SOCIAL PERFORMANCE:

In the context of social performance the Tulalip canoe and crew can be contrasted with the Bella Bella. While the Tulalip perfected carving techniques, evident in the neat small rows of finish adzing along the dugout's hull, the Bella Bella canoe had been saturated with epoxy and then painted in blue, black and red Northwest Coast style. When the canoes as sculptural forms sat empty side by side on the sand, the

ambience of the two differed greatly. The Tulalip showed highly refined carving skill and the Heiltsuk reflected the mixed look of modern technology and the timeless appeal of northern formline. Seen in action, slipping through the mirror-like quality of emerald water, the impact of the canoes was as much a matter of paddle handling skill and crew performance as a matter of canoe building techniques. The magnificent Heiltsuk regalia contrasted with the simpler matching red headbands and T Shirts of the muscular Tulalip crew.

Finely wrought cedar bark vests, hats, capes and skirts made by Quileute participants were worn proudly. Headbands and belts enhanced the spirit of the ground crew. Baskets, capes and other items were woven during the encampments.

Helen Harrison explained that by wearing cedar bark she felt closer to those who also once wore this type of clothing: "It gives you the feeling you're close to your ancestors -- close to the cedar bark." The centennial canoe gathering was an appropriate place to wear and to be seen in newly woven, ancient styled cedar clothing. More such occasions planned for the future may encourage further production of cedar bark pieces.

Also after exposure to Northern style regalia seen in action, there may be a resurgence in the production of ceremonial garb. For example, a button blanket workshop was of-

ferred to the Port Gamble Klallam by Katie Pasco in the autumn of 1989.

On Thursday, July 20th, 1989 over twenty voyaging and racing canoes, all the attendant crews, families and other encampment participants gathered at the Chief Seattle Days celebration grounds in downtown Suquamish for a complementary clam bake, salmon barbeque and evening of speeches and dances. More than a thousand people gathered to celebrate the return of strength to their Native American canoe heritage.

The movement reached a new high. At Suquamish people from many tribes expressed their regained confidence and resurgent pride. Individuals were radiant --to have overcome a century of obstacles --to have launched and traveled in new canoes -- to have made paddles --to have gathered cedar bark and learned to weave --to have instilled an interest and encouraged youth to again participate in their own heritage --to share their pride. Community support had been rallied and the successes were shared with relations from other sovereign Indian Nations. They proved their ability to revive ancient ways and where necessary, to create appropriate new institutions to replace those that had been lost.

Until well after midnight many sat in a large circle listening to speeches, watching dances --including Maori dancers who came from as far as New Zealand. The Lower Elwha Klallam held a give-away naming ceremony for their new canoe named NAKETAH.

Secretary of State, Ralph Munro, a supporter of the Native renaissance, said the "Paddle to Seattle" was an outstanding Centennial event:

I want you to know that
 I was raised on the beach about six miles from here.
 And two or three years back
 I asked my 89 year old father and his older brother,
 I said
 "If you could create one picture,
 If you had a time machine and
 you could go back and
 create one picture on this beach,
 What would it be?"
 And they didn't hesitate for a moment,
 They said the picture would be
 The big canoes coming down the Sound,
 Indians from British Columbia,
 from up the coast,
 headin' toward Puyallup to pick hops.
 That's one memory that they wanted to see again.
 Tomorrow my 89 year old father's gonna see
 his dream come true.
 It's because of people all over this state.
 [Loud applause and drumming]

I am so proud of each and every one of you
 and I'm proud to be here.
 This is probably the best Centennial project of all.

Ralph Munro, Secretary of State
 July 20, 1989
 "Paddle to Seattle" Speeches
 Recorded and transcribed by L.L.

As it evolved, the Centennial Native canoe undertaking did not simply support the creation of a stimulating icon, the cedar dugout canoe. It was a positive cause to bring many relations together.

The Heiltsuk expedition leader, Frank Brown appealed to the assembled Native people during that peak gathering in Suquamish Indian Country:

People from the south coast,
 We bring greetings from my village of Bella Bella
 which is located 350 miles north of Vancouver.
 This here is the second leg of a journey
 that we started three years ago,
 1986 durin' EXPO and even before that.

We carved a canoe under the leadership
 of David Gladstone, our head canoe carver.
 And we paddled it down to the World's Fair
 because the theme of that fair was
 transportation and communications.
 And we wanted to show the world
 what we call GLWA or ocean-going canoe.
 And we paddled it down 350 miles from our village.

And when I heard about what was happening down here
 with our brothers and our sisters
 down in Washington,
 And how you're mobilizing because
 the canoe is the cornerstone of our culture
 on the Pacific Coast.
 The GLWA or the ocean-going canoe
 is what binds us all together
 because we are an indigenous maritime culture.
 The canoe has sustained us
 for the last 10,000 years on the central coast.

What I've learned over the last five years
 is that if we can't learn from our old people,
 we have to go out and do it.
 And we see why our ancestors did what they did.
 And we take it and we recreate our culture
 because we are a live,
 living indigenous people
 and are honored
 and grateful to be able to participate with you
 Because we don't recognize that boundary.

We are one people tied together
 through our ocean-going canoe
 and we bring you greetings from the north coast.

Building upon the momentum of the canoeing resurgence, Brown
 challenged the south coast tribes to an extraordinary recipro-
 cal voyage:

We invite all the tribes to come to our village
 because what we've experienced
 over the last 470 miles
 that we've paddled to get down here
 over these last little while,
 It was an Odyssey.

We've passed through over twenty tribes
 on our way down
 And we're challenging you in the next stage.
 In four years we want you to come up to Bella Bella
 And we're going to host an encampment
 of ocean-going canoes.
 Thank you.

[Very loud applause and drumming]

Frank Brown, Heiltsuk Bella Bella
 20 July 1989
 "Paddle to Seattle" Speeches
 Recorded and transcribed by L.L.

Brown's challenge, inviting other tribes to voyage north to a distant territory, left a strong impact on people from many communities with whom I have spoken. Some realize the difficulty and exciting opportunity of traveling northward through the rougher waters and currents. They have another achievable goal after the success of the Centennial endeavour.

IV. A PILGRIMAGE:

The "Paddle to Seattle" was a pilgrimage. One of the central features of a pilgrimage is that it exhibits "communitas." The nature of this social bonding has been carefully developed by Turner in his exploration "Pilgrimages as Social Processes." His study enables us:

To envisage the social process, involving a particular group of pilgrims during their preparations for depar-

ture, their collective experiences on the journey, their arrival at the pilgrim center, their behavior and impressions at the center and their return journey as a sequence of social dramas and social enterprises (1974: 167).

The "Paddle to Seattle" created an inspirational environment, a critical phase in the history of contemporary Native Americans in Washington state. In Turner's terms, the "Paddle to Seattle" can be seen as a pilgrimage of liminality. In this movement, those normally living in accordance with a "cultural script" were liberated from social demands and transcended the dominant society's expectations. Between successive lodgements in the jural political system, tribes set their own precedents.

At Suquamish on July 21, 1989, the morning before the cross-sound canoe parade, thirty tribes came together for the culminating Centennial canoeing event. While assembled the Indian Tribes signed a proclamation asserting that with this hundred years of statehood, Washington had "Come of Age". The document charges Washington with responsibility for the future, with being the caretaker of the land now known as Washington. Portions of "A Message From the First People to Washington State on Its 100 Birthday" follow:

As our ancestors and traditional ways dictate, when a girl becomes a woman, and a boy a man, they are to get up, to work for the people for clarity and responsibility.

On this, your 100th year, the State of Washington leaves its childhood. This is your rite of passage which means you accept the honor and responsibility as caretaker, overseer and protector of our earth.

The Indian people have shared much with the newcomers to this land: medicine, land, generosity, hospitality and even the constitution of this country which is based on Indian law. We have watched. Now we come in our cedar bark dress. We come again in our canoes to remind.

Ours is an urgent time. Many events foreseen by Chief Seattle have unfortunately come to pass. People of Washington, we wait for you to take your place as adults.

We ask you to become true Americans, caretakers of our good Mother Earth, living with not on, this place now called Washington State. We lived and died here for hundreds of generations and we offer our assistance in your coming to balance as adults.

The undersigned representatives of the First Nations collectively present this declaration to Washington State to mark its rite of passage into responsibility and care for the earth and all her people.

[Thirty tribes are reputed to have signed the proclamation.]

New hierarchies of authority and tribal influence were established. New Indian authority with the state, a reconstructed public image and reinforced solidarity with the other tribes emerged. During follow-up potlatches relationships and new status were affirmed and witnessed into community consciousness.

The waterborne pilgrimage can be examined as a social drama where conflicting power structures were confronted in public action:

The issue of respect is important to the tribes because the visit culminates years of contributions of hundreds of people and is viewed as a dignified encounter between two honorable powers, that of Indians and the state of Washington (Lawhead, Seattle Times 11 July 1989: E4).

According to Turner the contestation of a social drama often follows a distinct process of four steps. It begins by a breach of norm-governed relations between persons or groups within the same system of social relations. Following the breach, a phase of mounting crisis intervenes. Third, there is redressive or adjustive action. And fourth, in Turner's theory of social process, is reintegration or legitimation of an irreplacible schism (1974: 134).

Studying the phenomenon of the Native Canoe Project, I propose the original breach of the Indian canoeing heritage took place several generations ago --as the canoes began to disappear and the ancient language and skills eroded.

The crisis emerged as more Western Washington Indian leaders watched elders die and with them saw the loss of pride and cultural know-how. As Euro-American carvers and artists discovered and began to excel at replicating fine Northwest Coast Indian style art and were subsequently hired to carve for galleries and cultural centers, the crisis escalated. Chapter Four has discussed this development in broader terms.

The Centennial year became a temporal focus for redressive action. The re-emergence of canoes as viable components to the living culture began to serve an adjustive-redressive function. Reintegration occurred during the "Paddle to Seattle." The afore-mentioned proclamation which representatives from more than a score of tribes signed, was a "legitimation of an irreplacable schism" between Indian Nations and Washing-

ton State and an opportunity for the citizens of the state to transcend that rift and act with greater responsibility.

During the "Paddle to Seattle," affirmation of Native American values became institutionally supported, indeed, a state sponsored revitalization. The reintegration of Indian ways into contemporary life was celebrated as a heightened event which may be understood as a "festival."

The function of festival has been variously defined: a ritualized break from routine, a joyous opportunity for fellowship with "that infectious spirit of *communitas*," an embodiment of enormous amounts of stored knowledge accessible by the presence of renowned masters and heros, and a formal establishment of values (Ames, Course lectures notes, 1986).

The "Paddle to Seattle" reintegrated Native canoeing traditions into contemporary Western Washington life. When Governor Booth Gardner signed a different Washington Centennial Commission proclamation in recognition of the importance of Native canoes, he further legitimized a collective appreciation and revived pride in the wider Native American way (see Appendix K).

V. THE CROSS-SOUND FLOTILLA AND ENCAMPMENT IN SEATTLE:

After signing the proclamation at 11 a.m. Saturday, July 21, the great cross-sound flotilla departed. Approximately thirty canoes left the shores of Suquamish's Chief Seattle Park. Canoe crews sang their songs. Drums were heard. Likely

twenty escort boats accompanied the indigenous watercraft, careful to keep a distance and not crowd the paddlers.

The ketch KHOYA cruised alongside the cedar fleet with Quileute and Makah elders. Lillian Pullen who is a leading member of the Quileute Council of Elders and a marvelous singer, sang to her great-grandchildren, daughter and other family members in the canoes as we sailed beside them.

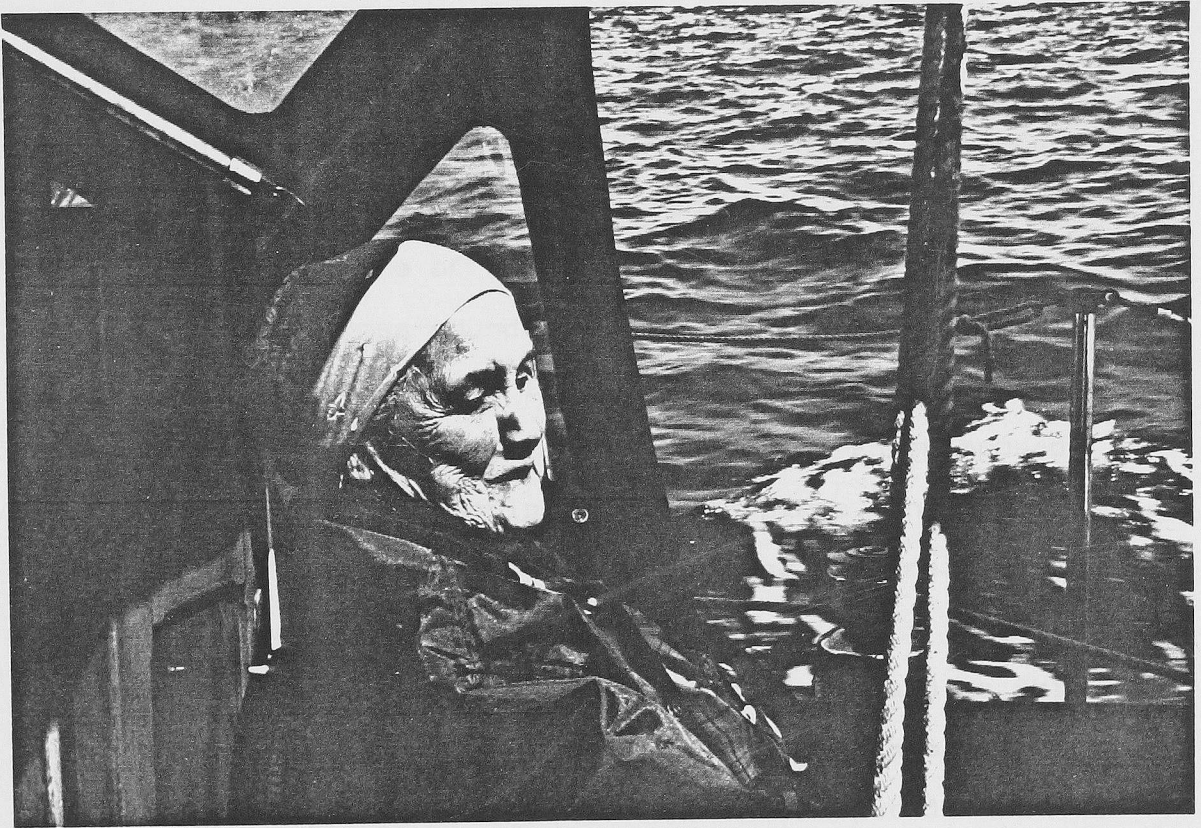


Figure 27: Lillian Pullen, a knowledgeable Quileute elder cruised alongside the "Paddle to Seattle," 1989, Joe Lubischer photo, Courtesy of the Quileute Tribal School Archives.

For the landing ceremonies, the elders wore their dancing shawls or woven regalia. They drummed on the hand-made hide drums and sang ancient paddle songs --songs which were carried in the wind across the water to the paddlers. Helicopters and planes flew by like thunderbirds overhead.

One notable vessel that took part in the crossing was a cedar dugout usually exhibited in the foyer of the Suquamish Museum. This 20' Nootkan style canoe had been built early in this century by Laven Coe, a Quileute. The craft, collected by the Kitsap Historical Society was on loan to the Suquamish Museum.

Having secured proper permission and in the presence of Coe's great-granddaughter Anita Joe, the Quileute patched cracks along the chine of the valued artifact, making it water tight before the cross-sound journey. This was an opportunity for the canoe to be used in its designed function as a craft in the water rather than its contemporary and superimposed function as a displayed sculptural masterpiece. The canoe bouyed up the builder's great-granddaughter and great-great-granddaughter with joy and resurgent pride.

Most paddled straight across the Sound to land at Shilshole. The Quileute, Hoh, Lower Elwha and Suquamish split from the main flotilla and paddled southward past downtown Seattle toward Alki Point where the first colonizing whites landed and then to Shilshole --reaffirming the importance and political implications of landing places.

A legitimized claim to use the beaches for Indian encampments was most evident during the Seattle gathering. Seattle City Parks Department was moved to allow the Native American encampment at Shilshole, a beach named after the saltwater Duwamish village located there. "Shilshole" means "to thread a bead" referring to the tricky navigation once required to travel up shoals in the slough to a nearby fresh water lake, now known as Lake Union (Waterman 1922: 175-194).

This is a wonderful thing
 I'm gonna have to tell you guys,
 That City Parks is never allowed
 Anybody to park or camp in a city park,
 Ever.
 And you know what,
 The Indians are gonna do it this time.
 [Cheers and drumming]

That's ah, that's really a success for us Natives,
 I'm telling you.
 Really,
 And I feel proud to be involved in it.

Cecile Maxwell,
 Duwamish Tribal Chairperson
 "Paddle to Seattle" speeches
 July 20, 1989
 Recorded and transcribed by L.L.

The event, particularly the encampment taking place on Seattle Park's Shilshole Beach and Golden Gardens Park was a breach of regular norm-governed social relations. The Duwamish and wider communities of Indians cooperated to make changes in legal precedents. Native groups were invited to return for another canoe race and encampment in 1990, thus the

"Paddle to Seattle" may become an annual event. "Yesterday's liminal becomes today's stabilized" (Turner 1974: 16).

It was an enormous undertaking for the small, unrecognized Duwamish Tribe to put on an evening meal for a thousand guests. The Small Tribes Organization of Western Washington, the Quileute ground crew and others also helped. Tickets were distributed through the participating tribes. In the evening the Kuteeya Dancers, a local Alaska group, performed. The Bella Bella gave another presentation. The canoes were pulled up together along the beach and tents set up nearby. Slahal bone games lasted well into the night.

Saturday tribal crews paraded their recently built canoes. The Tulalip, Port Gamble Klallam, Lower Elwha Klallam, Quileute, Quinault, Duwamish, Muckleshoot, Suquamish, Yurok, Bella Bella were joined in a magnificent water display by new racing canoes from the Upper Skagit and Swinomish. The Tulalip's 35' canoe showed off her prowess under sail.

Racing canoes vied in many categories the rest of the afternoon. At least twenty-one cedar race canoes competed off Shilshole Beach. Eleven tribes participated: six from British Columbia and five from Washington. The Upper Skagit, Swinomish, Tulalip and Suquamish had not competed in perhaps as much as forty years. Table II. provides a summary of registered tribal racing canoes, skippers and where available, the winning canoes.

TABLE II. "PADDLE TO SEATTLE" CANOE RACES

July 22, 1990 Shilshole Beach, Seattle

<u>CANOE NAME</u>	<u>TRIBE</u>	<u>SKIPPER</u>	<u>PLACE</u>
<u>ONE MAN RACE</u>			
Leonard Morris	Saanich		First
Nobi Silvester	Cowichan		Second
Jeff Edwards	Saanich		Third
<u>ONE WOMAN RACE</u>			
Ivy Seaward	Saanich		First
Ellen Morris	Saanich		Second
Lydia Sam	Saanich		Third
<u>MIXED DOUBLES RACE</u>			
Ellen & Wayne Morris	Saanich		First
Lucy Sawyer & Rick Sam	Cowichan Saanich		Second
Ester & Darrel Edwards	Ladysmith		Third
<u>SIX MAN'S RACE</u>			
LITTLE RUBY	Shell Beach	Roger George	
SAANICH SEVEN	Saanich	Glen Jim	
GERONIMO	Saanich	Wayne Morris	
LITTLE RAVEN	Ladysmith	Danny Edwards	
AMBER STAR	Saanich		
ANNA D.	Cowichan	Ron Daniels	
ROLLING THUNDER	Upper Skagit	Fox Sam	
MELARIE	North Vancouver	Mike Billy	
<u>SIX WOMAN'S RACE</u>			
GERONIMO	Saanich	Wayne Morris	
AMBER STAR	Saanich		
ANNA D.	Cowichan	Ron Daniels	
ROLLING THUNDER	Upper Skagit	Rob Rodriguez	
TELEGRAPH II	Lummi	Rick Edwards	
<u>BUCKSKINS</u>			
TELEGRAPH II	Lummi	Rick Edwards	First
GERONIMO	Saanich	Wayne Morris	Second
SUZANNE ROSE	Suquamish	Dean Williams	Third
SAVAGE WARRIOR	Vancouver	Dick Louis	
NORTH WIND	Swinomish	Richard Cayou	
WINTER HAWK	Lummi	Stan Green	

TABLE II. "PADDLE TO SEATTLE" CANOE RACES, continued

<u>CANOE NAME</u>	<u>TRIBE</u>	<u>SKIPPER</u>	<u>PLACE</u>
<u>ELEVEN WOMAN'S RACE</u>			
GERONIMO	Saanich	Wayne Morris	First
COWICHAN QUEEN	Cowichan	Ron Daniels	Second
TELEGRAPH II	Lummi	Rick Edwards	Third
ROLLING THUNDER	Upper Skagit	Rob Rodriguez	
<u>ELEVEN MAN'S RACE</u>			
GERONIMO	Saanich	Wayne Morris	First
KLA HOW YA	Tulalip	Danny Edwards	Second
COWICHAN QUEEN	Cowichan	Ron Daniels	Third
ROLLING THUNDER	Upper Skagit	Fox Sam	
NORTH WIND	Swinomish	Richard Cayou	
LITTLE RUBY	Shell Beach	Roger George	
SAANICH SEVEN	Saanich	Glenn Jim	
WINTER HAWK	Lummi	Stan Green	
SUZANNE ROSE	Chilliwack	Stephen Williams	

Saturday evening United Indians of All Tribes invited the participants to a Salmon Bake, "Thank You Program," and evening of "Potlatch Dancing" at their Daybreak Star Center in Seattle as part of the annual SEAFAIR "Potlatch Days" program. There was an admission charge of \$8.00 per person for the salmon bake --a different situation than the welcoming hospitality of hosting tribes who had generously fed the paddlers along their coastal water trek. Several hosting tribes had pre-arranged funding in order to host such large dinners. Most people who traveled to the "Paddle to Seattle" event did not attend this function.

For the Centennial Commission staff it was a significant opportunity to give recognition plaques to representatives from participating tribes. Though a competition for the "best

replica canoe" had been announced, no prize was given --perhaps so as to not favor one tribe over another.

More races were held Sunday, though the prestigious eleven man race was cancelled due to rough weather. According to Coast Salish racing protocol each participating canoe club is awarded \$50 traveling costs and each winning team is awarded prize money. Emmett Oliver personally put up approximately \$3,000 of prize money for the event.



Figure 28: Eleven man canoes race at the Lummi Stommish, David Current photo, 1988, Courtesy of Suquamish Tribal Archives.

At 4 p.m. the Duwamish held a closing ceremony with the Twana Dancers. Most of the canoes headed to their homewaters by way of trailers on the highways. Several tribes with traveling canoes returned home on the water.

VI. THE QUILEUTE FLOTILLA PADDLES HOMEWARD:

The Quileute, Hoh and Lower Elwha canoe crews prepared to depart for the less celebrated though difficult return journey to their respective tribal territories. Monday morning, July 24th they caught the high tide and left with the ebb or outflow of tidal waters. It was a calm sunny day. KHOYA cruised northward alongside. The four canoes arrived with little ceremony at Fort Townsend Park at 3 p.m.

Tuesday, July 25 proved to be a challenging day. Aboard KHOYA, I departed Fort Townsend with the canoes at dawn. Fog swallowed the indigenous fleet as they rounded Point Wilson just beyond Port Townsend and entered the Straits of Juan de Fuca. Puget Sound and Admiralty Inlet are calmer waters than the Straits of Juan de Fuca. Here I took leave of the flotilla. On my way into a slip in the Port of Port Townsend harbour, I called the Coast Guard on the VHF radio to alert them that four Native American canoes bound for Port Angeles were heading forty miles against the wind into the Straits. An inflatable zodiac and a 25' sailboat continued to escort the waterborne pilgrims through the fog.

The paddlers were ill prepared for the rough waters they encountered. They were not properly dressed for 20-25 knot head winds. An ebbing current against the wind caused steep chop. Spray and waves boarded the canoes and the crews became quite wet and chilled with exposure to the wind hour after hour. One woman became so hypothermic that it was necessary to take her to shore and eventually to a local hospital where she was admitted. Unfortunately, during the unanticipated beach landing the flotilla became separated. The whaling canoe continued ahead of the cargo, Hoh and Lower Elwha canoes.

Leaving KHOYA, I drove to Port Angeles to await the arrival of the fleet with the Lower Elwha people and loyal Quileute ground crew. After an arduous 16 hour day, the 43' Whaling canoe arrived at dusk. After 9:30 p.m. when the others still had not arrived, we went to the local Coast Guard station and learned they had been alerted to trouble via a VHF radio by Chris Griemes, captain of the 25' sailing escort vessel.

The sailboat aided the exhausted paddlers by inviting them aboard and towing the remaining three canoes toward Port Angeles. Twenty cold, wet people squeezed aboard that little sailboat! A Coast Guard rescue vessel approached them and transported ten of the paddlers back to the Port Angeles harbour at 10:00 p.m.

The Lower Elwha and Quileute ground crew still awaited the arrival of this ensemble. By 11 p.m. we arranged to have

another 40' sailboat in the harbour search for the missing canoes and crews. Several miles out in the darkness of night we found the 25' boat under sail, towing three canoes (a 32', a 25' and a 24' dugout!) against the wind because its auxiliary engine stopped working. The larger 40' searching vessel towed this whole group back to Port Angeles around midnight. Finally everyone was safe ashore. Many of the paddles had been lost and the prow of the Lower Elwha canoe had been broken off. Yet the difficult leg was a valued learning experience. It increased the people's respect for the ocean and their pride in their ancestors. The group shared their concerns and prayed around the campfire until after 2 a.m.

The rest of the homeward trip was postponed. Several of the resolute crew, including Helen Harrison and David Forlines had become ill with pneumonia in their intense effort to reach Suquamish and Seattle. Emmett Oliver asked the group to end their dangerous homeward quest.

Four days later the Quileute and Hoh resumed their determined waterborne trek toward the Pacific. Garry Shalliol from the Centennial Resource Center arranged to have VHF radios for each returning canoe. They voyaged to Clallam Bay and thence onward to Neah Bay. At Neah Bay, as discussed in Chapter Two, I joined them on their triumphant return to La Push.

The Hoh in their 25' sealing canoe paddled fifteen miles further south to arrive safely at their own reservation. An

intimate potlatch dinner to thank those involved and to recognize the accomplishments of the captain and capable crew was served in Pansy Hudson's home.

Forlines shared the captaincy of the 43' canoe. Part of the responsibility was assumed by Fred "Eagle" Eastman, a Quileute tribal member. Eastman emerged after the paddle as a respected canoeman and public spokesperson.

The Quileute's endeavour, to undertake the arduous and dangerous voyage served as a challenge and focus for renewed community spirit. Turner's theory of social drama has accounted for the restructuring of power alliances during such a liminal period. The captains, crew, and ground crew who took risks and gave for the collective tribal good --including some who sacrificed their jobs to have time to participate, attained new status for their contributions to the cultural revitalization. A celebratory "Paddle to Seattle" potlatch was held by the Quileute community on October 28, 1989, to honor supporters and reaffirm achievements.

CHAPTER SEVEN: THE NATIVE AMERICAN VOICE
 --ETHNOPOETIC TRANSCRIPTIONS

I WAS DREAMING

I was dreaming.
 I always have a dream, man.
 I dreamed about three times now.
 I went over a log, pretty high.
 I always wondered where these canoes went,
 that I knew of years ago.
 In my dream I found them,
 "There you are!"

And I was just 'bout gettin' ready
 to go down there again and I'd wake up.
 And I always wondered where that was.

I dreamed that dream again and
 next time I go a little closer.

That big log there and canoes,
 Just 'bout what I dreamed of, same thing.
 Cuz I could see 'em
 All those canoes sitting on top of the logs like that
 I said "Oh, There you are."

Thomas "Ribs" Penn, Quileute
 Oct. 28, 1988
 Recorded by L.L. Transcribed by S.P.

CALL THEM THE CANOE TRIBES

The water was their means of transportation
 in getting down to Mount Vernon,
 They could go down there
 and get their food needs that they had.
 They would have to pole down or paddle down to Mount Vernon.
 And they had to get things.
 That was their means of transportation or go by horseback.
 And the tribe up here,
 you would probably call them the canoe tribes.
 That's all the transportation they had.

My grandmother is the one that traveled by canoe,
 that's the one I used to be real close to.
 That was back, in what, 1937?
 I was with her on a canoe up here,
 Helping her set her net out.
 Yeah,
 My grandmother Martha Tommy.
 And we were not allowed to fish though
 But we'd go out there
 when it was dark and get what we wanted,
 and that's the first time I ever got out there with her.
 Well it was nice to go out with her,
 just to keep her company.
 We had an old horse and we'd ride her down there
 and I used to sit and watch her all the time
 just to keep an eye on her,
 And after she let me get on the canoe with her.
 Now it was a big honor for me at that time.
 I mean I felt like I was grown up now,
 I was able to get out there and help her.

Paul Harvey, Sauk-Suiattle
 November 8, 1989
 Recorded by B.L. & L.L.
 Transcribed by S.P.

CANOES WERE NO LONGER NECESSARY

Life changed so drastically with the coming of the automobile
 that canoes were no longer necessary....

The river canoe was like a trustworthy vehicle
 that could get you wherever you needed to go.
 The only advantage to the river canoe was
 that you didn't have to buy gas or oil or tires for it.
 The tires on my dad's Ford were forever letting him down.
 He never had to change tires on the river canoe!

I don't recall that my dad named his river canoes.
 He had so many of them.
 He was not one to, because we never lived
 in one place for very long,
 He built a canoe and if the river came up and took it away,
 Why it went someplace and somebody else got it.
 And there was no holding on to possessions.
 There never was.
 You use it for the time that you needed it.
 Then it went away.

No that was just not the way with our people about anything.
 They were not possessive about anything
 And I think that this is part of the strength
 and the philosophical, the philosophy that they live by.
 You don't claim anything,
 You don't hold onto anything, you let it go.
 You took care of it, but you let it go.

Vi Hilbert, Upper Skagit
 October 27, 1988
 Recorded and transcribed by L.L

DON'T BE ASHAMED THAT YOU LOST YOUR CULTURE

We gotta be who we are
 and still live and try to live in the society
 and try to keep our culture out there--
 Whether it's building canoe or fishing
 and having our ceremonies and teaching our children.
 That's all got to take place.
 And it is taking place.
 It's getting more and more, better and better.

I went up to Tulalip the other day
 and watched their canoe carvers
 and building the canoes for the centennial celebration,
 And they got this person from the University of Washington
 that comes out and he's a white person
 and he's a very good person,
 professor or doctor or whatever.
 And he comes out and gives free time to the Tulalip tribe
 and he show them
 --actually shows them,
 uses the old tools,
 how to build and how to design that canoe.
 Big giant canoe.
 And I'm telling them,
 you learn everything that that man is teaching you.
 Everything.
 And then you'll be the teacher
 and then you'll teach your children.
 And then we got it back again. -

But you learn from anybody.
 I don't care what,
 whether it's a person at the University of Washington
 or a person over there
 But you learn the Indian,
 you learn.

Don't be ashamed that you lost your culture
 and that teaching.
 Because you're going to get it back
 if you want to get it back.
 You can learn from that person
 and he's giving you the opportunity to show you.
 And, you know, I think that's just really great.
 That opportunity is there
 and we're going to take advantage of it.

Billy Frank, Jr., Nisqually
 February 24, 1989
 Recorded by B.L. & S.B.
 Transcribed by S.P.

WHERE'S OUR CANOES?

Now I hear the cry of the young people,
 "Why don't we get to race?"
 "Where's our canoes?"
 The only answer I have is they're in museums.

"Why'd we quit?"
 And I have to explain the story that was told to me,
 because we were good and we didn't want to be selfish
 and win all the time,
 So we quit so the other tribes would have a chance.
 Which is true.
 We don't come back again for fifty years;
 it's too long, but in the mean time
 all our carvers have passed on,
 and all our canoes have ended up in museums.

All the Lummi use to try to ask me to get in their canoes
 and race with them.
 But I was, I guess mostly bashful
 so I'd never get in with them.
 A La Conner tribe used to ask me
 if I would get in with their young men.
 I was always backward.
 I felt it wasn't my canoe,
 It was theirs so I didn't want to get in it.
 They might win it and I'd be a winner for La Conners or Lummi.
 But I never did get in with the rest of the young men
 because I thought I didn't come from their tribe,
 I shouldn't be in their canoe.
 And now here I am 51 years old.
 It's too late to get in a canoe now....
 I was getting to the canoes,
 and most of all the canoes went to the museums,

And there were two or three families that carved canoes.
 They were fairly good carvers,
 but now its all the grandsons that are alive,
 the ones that's left,
 that are going to do all the carving,
 and I'll be one of them.

We're falling behind schedule
 so we're going to use the rest of our budget
 to hire a carver to finish an 11-man canoe
 so we can make the Centennial in time.
 His name is Roy Edwards,
 and he lives over at Smith River.
 I've been calling him
 and come to find out he's a relative of mine too.
 I bought the six-man from my in-law.
 His brothers married to my wife's sister.
 He's been carving two canoes over there,
 and he had the six-man laying in his yard for years.
 He got discouraged because he made a couple of mistakes on it.
 I thought since I'm the new beginner at carving,
 I'll buy it.
 No mistakes is going to hurt me.
 I offered him some money for it, and he's a carver.
 He's from Duncan.
 I said, "I want this canoe.
 I'm going to take it home and fix it up.
 You'll never know it."
 He says,
 "Yeah, I wouldn't doubt
 if it doesn't come back and beat us!"
 I don't know how but when I seen this canoe partly made,
 I mean it was just roughly formed,
 I felt a sensation that
 there was a reason for this canoe to be mine.
 I sang for it all the way when I brought it home.
 I sang an Indian song for it to seem like to welcome it,
 to let it know that
 I was bringing it home from another land,
 because I feel it has a spirit of its own.
 I wanted to make it feel comfortable
 so that it don't feel like a stranger in our land
 cuz I brought it from another land
 and I'm going to form it.
 I talk to it.
 I say "You're going to see your own when you get in the water.
 You'll see your own.
 You'll get to race with your people."
 Because I know it has other canoes that come from that country
 and it'll be in the water with competition.
 It'll be glad to meet 'em.

I talk to it and say
 "Don't be scared 'cause when I get through forming you,
 You'll get to rejoice
 and tell them how you traveled to Skagit.
 You'll get to go in strange waters here
 And some of them has never been into this water
 that I'm going to put you into."
 I'll talk to it,
 and I seem to form it.

When I lost my daughter-in-law a year ago,
 I didn't know what to do 'cause I felt that
 I lost a nice daughter-in-law,
 and I know she's in another place.
 But I needed something to satisfy us, my family.
 It seems like life was cut short,
 and then when I seen this canoe,
 It seemed like it was part of her,
 so I'm naming it after my daughter-in-law.
 Her name was Armina.
 I'm going to name it ARMINA ROSE.

Harlan Sam, Upper Skagit
 November 1988
 Recorded by L.L. & B.L.
 Transcribed by S.P.

WHEN A YOUNG PERSON FIRST SITS IN A CANOE

The feeling in a young person's heart when paddling
 is what canoes are all about.
 When a young person first sits in a canoe
 they are stepping directly
 into an ancient tradition of their ancestors.
 For many thousands of years
 our people have gone forth on these waters
 utilizing the same skills needed today.
 The experience and knowledge gained by a child in a canoe
 contributes not only to knowing who they are
 but also their confidence to be able to face
 the world around them with strength and pride.

Joseph Waterhouse, Klallam
Dsuq'Wub'Siatsub [Suquamish News]
 September 1988

I WANT TO BE ONE OF THE PADDLERS

What I understand is that
 the "Paddle to Seattle" is going to be quite an event
 and I want to be part of it.
 I want to be one of the paddlers.
 And because, I think one hundred years,
 there won't be another chance
 for this community again for another hundred years,
 So now is the time to say
 "I want to be part of it."
 I want to have the feeling
 and knowing the feeling of just being part of it.

Helen Harrison, Quileute
 October 30, 1988
 Recorded by D.C., A.R. and S.B.
 Transcribed by S.P.

SOMETHING MORE THAN JUST CARVING THE CANOES

You know, ah,
 This is a far cry from the opening bell
 when I proposed this canoe project,
 I felt a little bit like Columbus,
 "That's crazy, You're not serious about it are you?"

Some of 'em said,
 "Carve a canoe? Oh man --get lost,"
 But this has exceeded all expectations, really.
 And I'm very humbled,
 I'm very proud to be part of the movement.
 And it touches me very dearly
 because I honestly felt from the very beginning
 There was something more than just carving the canoe,

For lack of better description I called it a "restoration,"
 Of trying to get something back,
 Like Sittin' Bull said,
 when I mentioned it
 so many times already at these launchings,
 when he refered to the Indian path,
 He said, "Keep what you have and if you lose it,
 Try to get it back."
 And I felt this way about the canoes,
 Here was something that we could lose,
 forever
 and it was coming very fast.

And the spirit caught on.
Much greater and much more gratifying than I ever dreamed.
And I must attribute it to what I feel very sincerely.
I think we have seen more
 than just a restoration of canoes,
We are witnessing an experience
 of restoration of people's love and caring,
 that as we care about ourselves
 and we care about our culture.
And that vision that existed in the Indian community,
The vision and fortitude and leadership that was waning
 Somehow came to life.
And there was a instilled ambition that ignited
I think amongst the Indian people
 to do something.
And the canoe happened to be involved in that movement.
And I am very proud that I have been a small part of it.
But the major part has been the leadership in the community
 who had the fortitude
 and the energy
 and the will to get up and say,
 like it's mentioned in the good book,
 "With this, I do."

Emmett Oliver,
Native Canoe Project Coordinator
"Paddle to Seattle" Celebration Speeches
July 20th, 1989
Recorded and transcribed by L.L.

CHAPTER EIGHT: SUMMARY AND CONCLUDING INTERPRETATIONS

What I've learned over the last five years,
 is that if we can't learn from our old people,
 we have to go out and do it.
 And we see why our ancestors did what they did.
 And we take it and
 We recreate our culture
 because we are a live,
 living indigenous people.

Frank Brown, Bella Bella Heiltsuk

The presence of the canoes has gone full circle. In pre-contact times there was a wholeness, an omnipresence of the canoe. Then, for most, a great loss was experienced during the last seventy-five years. And now the canoes have been brought back anew, "Bring them canoes back home."

The Centennial Native Canoe Project became a timely occasion to reintegrate this vital cultural element. Seeking opportunities for Quileute and Coast Salish Native empowerment, the canoe served well "as a basis for Indian solutions to Indian problems" (Suttles 1987: 230). Yet as Oliver emphasized, "There was something more than just carving the canoes." The canoe became both a provocative focus for cultural renewal and a popular symbol of coastal Native American identity.

What are the criteria by which to judge the success of the Native Canoe Project? Perhaps the success is not simply measured in finished canoes but in a deeper cultural awakening.

The canoe has been celebrated because its creation and use has begun to satisfy the following cultural goals.

I. PRESERVATION AND PERPETUATION OF NATIVE AMERICAN SKILLS:

Creating canoes was a hands-on opportunity for the youth to recognize the "advice of their elders" and to get involved in tribal lore. The Native Canoe Project became a direct way communities could save and apply their own history. By knowing one's history, one gains power and status according to early recorded Coast Salish concepts. I draw a parallel with Suttle's interpretation:

In Native theory the lower class consisted of people who "had lost their history," that is, people who had no claim to the most productive resources of the area and no claim to recognized inherited privileges and furthermore "had no advice," that is, they had no private knowledge and no moral training (1987: 17).

Suttles explains that the high class people know their history and can justify their claim to resources through stories and songs which they have inherited. A Sauk-Suiattle man expressed that his sons "come from somebody:"

Well I have two sons right now
and they feel quite honored to see something
[a racing canoe]
That was built by their grandfather.
And their other great grandfather owned it
And they feel that it's a great honor
to come from somebody like that
that had skills,
that was able to make things like that.
They feel that they came from somebody that knew all this
and they're proud of it.

And they're not afraid to walk around with that,
that they come from somebody.

Paul Harvey, Sauk-Suiattle
November 8, 1988
Recorded by L.L. Transcribed by S.P.

The carvers, implementing regained knowledge to bring the canoe out of the cedar, served as teachers perpetuating skills and shaping the substance of the renewed Indian way. What kind of power is demonstrated in the ability to make the canoe? I suggest the carvers and tribal leaders were the liminal thinkers of societal change: "such shamanistic figures are possessed by spirits of change before change becomes visible in public arenas" (Turner 1974: 28). It is through the carvers' work that the vision was materialized.

II. ACHIEVING A POSITIVE IDENTITY:

Canoe racing continues to be a challenging sport to build one's body and self-esteem:

I can remember my roommate during my senior year
[of college]
It was noticeable to him that
I had been doing hard work, you know,
I was in such good shape.
And it never occurred to me that I was,
until he commented on it,
and he looked at me and said,
"God, you're in tremendous shape,
What have you been doing?!"
And I says,
"Well, I've been pullin' in a Native dugout canoe,
Paddling, leaning forward,
and using the chest and arms and back muscles."

So the whole physical effort
 rests on the upper part of your body.
 And that puts a tremendous strain,
 but it is,
 If a person's lookin' for physical development,
 That does it!

Emmett Oliver, Quinault
 November 11, 1988
 Recorded by L.L. Transcribed by S.P.

Paddling or more appropriately "pulling," in a dugout canoe
 has been recognized as a reinforcement of a healthy Native
 American identity:

To paddle in a canoe race is to be Indian --to see one-
 self as an Indian and to be seen as such by others. And
 the image of Indian thus established, is far different
 from the image possible of achievement while walking down
 a city street or living the daily routine of the contem-
 porary reserve. It is made by the Indian largely on his
 own terms in a social situation where he is superior to
 whites (Kew 1970: 289).

Moreover, the renewed presence of older style voyaging canoes
 expressed a positive Quileute and Coast Salish identity that
 dramatically expressed "We are alive."

And I look at today
 and I look and I see the children.
 It is the children that are trained to bring forth--
 reawaken our heritage and our culture.

And I feel very proud of those little kids that
 take their part and dance,
 and take their part in carving....
 They have made the D-adzes for carving canoes and things.
 They are going to be the ones
 that's going to hold up this community once again.
 And its people like David Forlines and Lillian Pullen
 that have the drums and the songs
 that are leading these children
 in the singing and dancing and
 Making them aware once again that
 Hey--
 We are the Quileute people.

We are alive.

We want to stand up once again for our community
and our namesakes that we carry.

Helen Harrison, Quileute
October 30, 1988
Recorded by D.C. & A.R.
Transcribed by S.P.

III. COMMUNITY AND OVERCOMING RESERVATION ISOLATION:

It requires a large crew to paddle a large canoe. In the Quileute village of La Push, Forlines was instrumental in drawing together the community and sustaining their necessary collective energy to succeed in a common goal. Forlines emphasized on numerous occasions that the canoe means "community."

The state didn't realize that
the building of a canoe to a tribe
is a resurrection of Christ.

The reason why is that
the canoe is the only implement
utilized in a community
that forces community cooperation.

Yeah, you don't have to like the person you are next to,
but if you don't work together,
you don't go no place.

David Forlines
October 30, 1988
Recorded by D.C., A.R., S.B. & L.L.
Transcribed by S.P.

Programs of "community development" which Hawthorn, Belshaw and Jamieson (1958: 428-443) saw as the best solution to Indian problems, recommended allowing greater mobility between reserves [reservations]. They pointed to the isolating effect

of the reserve system and the need for a common set of interest with other Indians (Suttles 1987: 209).

I think that with all the Indian people getting together
and they're all doin' something for themselves,
It'll make everybody realize that we're still here.
And we're gonna be here a long time.

I think we're all related, all tribes,
and think we ought to all stick together.
I see other members of different tribes,
and I don't care which tribe it is,
We're all in the same boat,
or the same canoe!

Frank Fowler, Duwamish
November 28, 1988
Recorded by L.L. Transcribed by S.P.

Intertribal racing competition and long distance canoe voyaging are ideal ways for Indian paddlers and ground support crew to move between reservations and across the border. The Centennial event even brought together tribes who did not have canoes but were attracted to participate in the collective encampment, witness the action and visit their relatives.

IV. CLAIM OF ACCESS TO RESOURCES AND LANDING BEACHES:

A legitimized Native American claim to access of the endangered old-growth cedars has been a political issue for Native carvers seeking wood.

All of a sudden,
Somebody came in that realized
timber was worth a lot of money.
And they started bumping the Indians then.
They tried to move everybody down
but the old man,
he stayed in his homestead.
His homestead is at Sam Creek.

His name is Samuel Samuel and he is an old chief.
 And Roosevelt went there in 1931 or 1935, one of the two,
 and stayed with the old man,
 Talked to him about the expansion, the park,
 that they want to come down and preserve this....
 So they talked with the old man
 and made an agreement.
 Roosevelt made it his first statement
 of the establishment of the park
 That the park is responsible to safeguard, protect
 and promote the Native American culture
 and its way of life
 as a national heritage and treasure.

David Forlines
 October 30, 1988
 Recorded by D.C., A.R., S.B. & L.L.
 Transcribed by S.P.

A legitimized claim to use the beaches for Indian encamp-
 ments was affirmed. Richard Dalton, a Tlingit canoe carver
 further explained the importance of canoe landing sites. In
 his own situation, Glacier Bay had been lost from his Hoonah
 clan for a money settlement to the larger assimilated tribe.
 His Glacier Bay people held a resentment about the place once
 called their own. The spruce canoe building project in Gla-
 cier Bay Park in 1986 unofficially claimed the bay as theirs
 once again, because in Native theory --as a canoe was built on
 a beach and a landing site was used, so the area rightfully
 belonged to the users (Dalton, personal communication). Per-
 haps this became a hidden agenda for site selection by indige-
 nous canoe carvers and paddlers with a different rational of
 land ownership.

V. CULTURALLY RELEVANT ALTERNATIVE TO SUBSTANCE ABUSE:

The canoe has come to epitomize "the good life." Once the metaphor for the Native Indian good life was traveling in the canoes and gathering food and goods for trade:

Grandmother done alot of runnin' down to Point No Point
 pickin' blackberries.
 Granddaddy a regular bear.
 Those times,
 Build a fire on the beach and go fishin'
 and enjoy yourself
 All that kinda stuff.
 Was all good stuff.
 [laughter]
 Didn't have to go out and get drunk
 to have a lot of fun there.

Earl Peck, Suquamish
 October 29, 1988
 Recorded by B.L. & L.L.
 Transcribed by S.P.

The "Paddle to Seattle" journey became an important confrontation to an established lifestyle of alcoholism and substance abuse, in Turner's terms --a "contest of a paradigm.

Human social groups tend to find their openness to the future in the variety of the metaphors for what may be the good life and in the contest of their paradigms (1974: 14).

The Quileute, Hoh and Lower Elwha successfully completed their water trek and fourteen encampments drug and alcohol free. This significant shift in what had been an accepted behavior pattern of substance abuse is a model for the what is possible in the future. The establishment of carving centers in numerous communities and quality community time on the water strengthened opportunities for alternative cultural enrichment.

VI. CROSS-CULTURAL COOPERATION:

By creating new canoes Indian communities have overcome many obstacles. After great cultural disruption during this century, the momentum to bring the canoes back required ongoing vigor and influence, applied both from within and without Indian Country.

This regained momentum came from both the underlying structure of the government powers who control access to the resources and from tribal infrastructures to support the means of production to create, use and protect the watercraft. Diffusion of remaining know-how has come from many areas and synthesized into the different re-emerging tribal canoe ways.

Pasco has likened the Northwest Coast Art renaissance of the last several decades to a branch of a tree taking root and growing --of the same essence, yet a new and unique florescence of related form.

Like a tree replanted by its branches, the art is helping to resuscitate the culture, which was yanked out by the roots a century ago. And although whites precipitated it, they have also contributed in its preservation and re-birth (Landis 1989: 178).

In a compelling illustration, Kroeber has compared the process of culture growth to biologic evolution. He sees cultural progress as many intertwining, indeed, interjoining branches, coalescing and emerging changed. This is a fruitful way to apprehend the recent growth of Native canoe traditions.

The course of organic evolution can properly be portrayed as the tree of life, as Darwin called it, with trunk, limbs, branches and twigs. The course of development of human culture in history cannot be so described, even metaphorically. There is a constant branching out but the branches also grow together again, wholly or partly, all the time. Culture diverges, but it syncretizes and anastomoses too. The tree of culture is a ramification of coalescence, assimilation or acculturation.

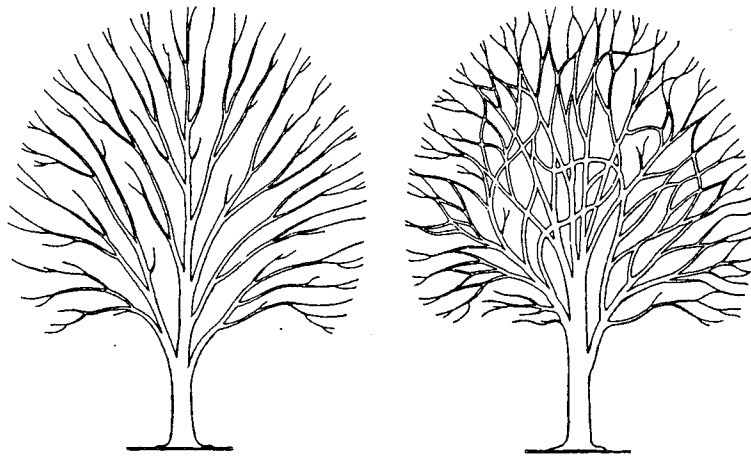


Figure 30: Tree of Organic Evolution

Tree of Cultural Evolution

Kroeber's comparison (1923) offers graphic illustration and a metaphoric explanation for the re-invented canoeing traditions and the merging of cross-cultural art and technological development.

The example of the emerging Port Gamble canoeing ways manifest the concept of 'invention of tradition'. Eric Hobsbawm edited a work concerned with this phenomenon:

The term 'invented tradition' is used in a broad, but not imprecise sense. It includes both 'traditions' actually invented, constructed and formally instituted and those

emerging in a less easily traceable manner within a brief and datable period.

'Invented tradition' is taken to mean a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition which automatically implies continuity with the past.

However, insofar as there is such reference to a historic past, the peculiarity of 'invented' traditions is that the continuity with it is largely factitious. In short, they are responses to novel situations which take the form of reference to old situations. It is the contrast between the constant change and innovation of the modern world and the attempt to structure at least some parts of social life within it as unchanging and invariant, that makes the 'invention of traditions' so interesting for historians (Hobsbawm 1983: 2).

Hobsbawm's insights helps frame the Native Canoe Project into wider socio-anthropological concerns. The problem is comprehending the reconstruction of ancient ways into a modernized world, the return of canoes after several generations of disuse.

Does the recently invented Port Gamble canoe tradition imply an artificial connection -- "A largely factitious continuum" as Hobsbawm has challenged? Certainly the canoe's novel role in recent coastal Native cultures differs dramatically from its enduring role over several thousand years.

VII. UNDERLYING CONTINUUM OF THE INDIAN WAY:

The media and others consistently dramatize that canoeing traditions have been lost, yet the essence of the Indian way has remained amazingly intact. Though the material object largely disappeared, a collective memory endured. Beyond the

object remains an ingenuity inherent in its crafting, use and social place. Even where skill has been lost, societal appreciation, intangible values and implications of the canoe's presence have persevered.

What counts is not the physical ax or coat or wheat but the idea of them, the knowledge how to produce and use them, their place in life. It is this knowledge, concept and function that get themselves handed down through the generations or diffused into other cultures, while the objects themselves are quickly worn out or consumed. It is the ax itself that is effective in chopping, the idea of the ax that is effective in getting axes made and available for use (Kroeber 1923: 103).

There remains the "artifice" which underlies the artifact (Ridington 1990: 86). The artifice, social attitudes and behaviors --the canoe's place in life, have resurfaced through community action, ritual purification before carving, honoring of cedar trees, tribal support for the carvers, making of tools and paddles, launching and dedication ceremonies, care and storage for the canoe, time on the water in training, paddle songs, welcoming feasts on the beach, encampments, and potlatches in recognitions of accomplished voyagers.

The canoe has provided a material focus around which contemporary social activities and the creation of arts has occurred. Shawls, blankets, T-shirts, pins, caps, basket weaving designs, and numerous other saleable or give-away items have been created --all incorporating the canoe motif.

It took the conviviality of the 1989 Washington Centennial Commission, the United States Nation Forest, the Maritime Com-

mittee, the Native Canoe Project staff, more than seventeen participating tribal nations and numerous individuals to create the opportune means for the canoe's production and use. Native cedar dugouts have attained status as a symbol of ethnic survival and vitality. Though no longer economically viable, the racing and traveling canoes are greatly valued.

The love I have for the canoe, you know,
All canoes are just--
Make my heart swell up.
To see 'em all out one more time,
That would be the biggest thrill of my life.

Thomas "Ribs" Penn, Quileute
Oct. 28, 1988
Recorded by L.L. Transcribed by S.P.

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APPENDIX A:

LIST OF NATIVE DUGOUTS IN WASHINGTON STATE

1. CAMP NORWESTER, Lopez Island,
 35' Northern style canoe built by Bill Holm 1968.
 24' Kwakiutl type built by Holm 1958.
 26' Two man racing canoe MOUNTAIN BOY from Darrington.
 42' Six man racing canoe MALAHAT ROSE.
 13' Coast Salish "stukwihl" built by Holm 1990.
2. CENTER FOR WOODEN BOATS, Seattle,
 32' Nootkan style built by Serwood Martin 1987.
 15'8" Coast Salish canoe.
 9'6" Nootkan style child's canoe.
 16' Nootkan variation.
3. FORT NISQUALLY POINT DEFIANCE PARK, Tacoma,
 Nootkan canoe made in 1940's.
4. HOH RESERVATION,
 25' Sealing canoe.
5. ISLAND COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Coupeville,
 Four fully restored racing canoes plus working canoes and
 several privately owned canoes, including the champion,
 50' TELEGRAPH racing canoe.
6. JEFFERSON COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Port Townsend,
 20' Nootkan canoe on display under shed on beach.
7. LOWER ELWHA RESERVATION,
 32' Coast Salish craft NAKETAH, built by Richard Mike 1989.
8. LUMMI RESERVATION,
 50' TELEGRAPH II, Eleven person racing canoe.
 50' WINTER HAWK, racing canoe.
 Many other 42' six person, 26' two-person and one person
 racing dugouts.
9. MAKAH CULTURE AND RESEARCH CENTER, Neah Bay,
 Four Nootkan style canoes (32', 25', 16' & 10') built
 by Lance Wilkie and Steve Brown in 1975.
10. MARYMOOR MUSEUM, Redmond,
 Two dugout canoes.
11. MUCKLESHOOT RESERVATION,
 20' Shovel-nose riverine craft built by Louis and Marvin
 Starr 1989.

12. NISQUALLY RESERVATION,
 20' Nootkan sytle craft.
 18' Riverine canoe.
 Other working canoes equipped with outboards.
13. NOOKSACK RESERVATION,
 42' Six person racing canoe built by George Swanaset.
14. PIONEER FARM MUSEUM, Eatonville,
 Shovel-nose canoe built by Ev Woodward.
15. PORT GAMBLE KLALLAM RESERVATION,
 35' Coast Salish Style canoe, NUWHQ'WEEYT, built by Duane Pasco and Jake Jones 1989.
 16' Coast Salish style craft built by Pasco and Jones 1988.
16. PORT ANGELES NATION PARK VISITOR'S CENTER, Port Angeles,
 25' Nootkan hunting canoe, 6 paddlers-2 per thwart,
 (18' yew spears & 2 sealskin floats).
17. QUINULT RESERVATION, Tahola,
 26' Motorized riverine racing canoes.
18. QUILEUTE RESERVATION, La Push,
 54' (narrow) Nootkan style canoe built by Forlines 1988.
 43' whaling canoe built by Forlines 1989.
 24' cargo canoe built by David Forlines 1988.
 Numerous older 26' motorized fishing and racing dugouts
 built by Ribs Pen and relatives.
 (In 1990, eight new "canoe carvers" are building dugouts).
19. ROCKPORT STEELHEAD MUSEUM, Rockport,
 40' Shovel-nose canoe.
20. SAMISH TRIBAL PRESERVATION FUND, Anacortes,
 27' Salish canoe carved by Tracy Powell and Joseph Waterhouse 1986.
21. SKAGIT COUNTY HISTORIC MUSEUM, La Conner,
 40' Shovel-nose riverine dugout.
 (Also under cover along the Swinomish Canal is a
 24' 6" Shovel-nose canoe, perhaps built by Andrew Joe
 in 1908.
22. SKOKOMISH RESERVATION,
 50' CHIEF JOHN eleven person racing canoe.
 42' SKOKWON six person racing craft.
 18' Coast Salish "stukwihl" built by Henry Allen 1938.

23. SNOLQUALMIE VALLEY HISTORIC MUSEUM, Northbend,
Three canoes on pedestals under eaves.
24. STEILACOOM TRIBAL MUSEUM, Steilacoom,
27' Nootkan style canoe with a stern equipped
for an outboard motor.
25. SUQUAMISH RESERVATION AND MUSEUM, Suquamish,
50' Eleven person racing canoe built by Roy Edwards and
Joseph Waterhouse.
42' Six person racing canoe.
25' Quileute Nootkan style sealing canoe built by Laven
Coe.
16' Nootkan style sealing canoe repaired by Waterhouse.
13' Coast Salish canoe on loan from the Burke Museum.
Bow of Nootkan style on loan from the Burke Museum.
26. SWINOMISH RESERVATION,
50' racing canoe built in 1989.
27. THOMAS BURKE WASHINGTON STATE MEMORIAL MUSEUM, Seattle,
37' Kwagiulth (Northern style) canoe, built before 1896.
13'8" Haida canoe built by John Wallace.
35' Shovel-nose.
Small double ender.
2 "shell-like" racing canoes from Snolqualmie.
3 Coast Salish style "stukwihl" canoes, one acquired by
Roger Ernesti in 1941.
28. TULALIP RESERVATION, Marysville,
36' Nootkan canoe, once owned by Chief William Shelton.
Approximately 35' Nootkan style canoe presently owned
by Wayne Williams.
Also in the Tulalip area: Steve Philipp's peapod dugout
canoe & collection of carved models.
29. WASHINGTON STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Tacoma,
50' Nootkan style whaling canoe.

Many other canoes exist as well, particularly racing canoes on
the Tribal Reservations.

APPENDIX B:

KEY TO ORAL HISTORIANS AND TRANSCRIBERS

- A.R. = Anne Rutledge, Current-Rutledge Production Company.
- B.L. = Barbara Lawrence, Suquamish Tribal Member, Liason staff
for WATERBORNE Documentary.
- D.C. = David Current, Technical Director & Photographer for
WATERBORNE, Current-Rutledge Production Company.
- L.L. = Leslie Lincoln, Oral Historian, Photographic Archives
for WATERBORNE Documentary.
- S.B. = Susan Blalock, Project Coordinator for WATERBORNE
documentary, employee of Current-Rutledge.
- S.P. = Sharon Prosser, contracting transcriber for Current-
Rutledge Company.

APPENDIX C:

SYNOPSIS OF TRIBAL PLANS FOR 1989 NATIVE CANOE PROJECT

(FOR THOSE NOT INCLUDED IN CHAPTER FIVE)

1. DUWAMISH:

Previous to the Centennial in 1987, the Duwamish Tribe held a launching ceremony for a 32' Nootkan style whaling dugout carved by Sherwood Martin and his Renton High School vocational class.

For the Centennial, Frank Fowler, a Duwamish Tribal member undertook to carve an 18' shovel-nose dugout for his tribe. He used carving tools belonging to an elder Duwamish canoe carver, Dr. Jack, who had carved canoes with Fowler's grandfather. Fowler learned carving from his father who carved everything: spoons, bowls and rifle stocks.

2. HOH:

The Hoh completed more than 340 miles on the "Paddle to Seattle" voyage in their own restored 25' Nootkan style sealing canoe. The canoe originally belonged to Hoh's Chief Hudson. Zack Warner, a fifteen year old trained by Forlines, was Captain for the voyage.

3. LOWER ELWAH KLALLAM:

Richard Mike, a Klallam carver, completed carving a 32' Coast Salish style canoe behind the Lower Elwah tribal center. Though he was allergic to cedar, Mike managed to complete the craft with the support of Rob Johnson, a Lower Elwah substance abuse counselor and with continued support of the tribal community. The newly hewn 32' canoe carried a crew of six on the "Paddle to Seattle" journey. These Klallams joined the flotilla in Port Angeles, traveled to Seattle and returned. Danny Cable, a fifteen year old, was captain. The craft was named NA-KE-TAH in a naming ceremony and give-away held at the large Suquamish gathering July 20, 1989. A Potlatch was later held to honor all those involved.

4. MUCKLESHOOT:

In accordance with the tradition of passing knowledge from father to son, master carver Louis "Doc" Starr, born in September 1898, taught his son and apprentice, Marvin Starr, Sr. the specialized skill of canoe building. They built an approximately 20' shovel-nose cedar canoe and participated with it in the 1989 cross-sound flotilla.

5. NISQUALLY:

As of May 1989 the Nisqually Tribe, last to join the Native Canoe Project, wished to participate but had not received a log. The Nisqually planned to use their own 20' ocean-going canoe and 18' riverine canoe in the flotilla. Tommy Dunstan is their canoe craftsman.

Many Nisqually canoes were seized by Fisheries enforcement officers during the 1960's and 1970's. Their supported return is loaded with implications of future cooperation.

We have the opportunity now
 working with the governments
 to start building these canoes and
 Start telling our children what canoes really mean.
 And bringing that back into our culture.
 That's really powerful.

There's cedar available for our people and
 having their ceremonies,
 and it's very important to us.
 And here all of a sudden,
 Here we come to 1989
 And we got canoes being built
 throughout all these reservation
 on this side of the mountain!

Billy Frank, Jr., Nisqually
 February 24, 1989
 Recorded by B.L. & S.B.
 Transcribed by S.P.

6. NOOKSACK:

George Swanaset, an experienced racing canoe carver, looked forward to making his community their own 42' six-person racing canoe. The Nooksack continue to race canoes. As a smaller inland tribe, they do not usually host a large

weekend event yet do participate in the ongoing annual Coast Salish circuit. Swanaset's club train on a freshwater lake near their reservation.

7. PUYALLUP:

Don McCloud, Jr., tribal carver and fisherman explains he has been honored by taking on the major responsibility of carving his tribe a riverine canoe. The project "will keep them on the Red Road as Caretakers of Mother Earth."

8. QUINAULT:

Wally Bumgarner and Phil Martin, both racing canoeemen used the evolved Quinault style sharp bowed coastal riverine dugouts with outboard propulsion. For the Centennial they selected a cedar tree wide enough in its girth to make an ocean-going Nootkan style craft. Though both are unfamiliar with carving such a whaling canoe after a hiatus of more than a generation, they plan to relearn the technique.

The Quinault also plan to build a riverine canoe suitable for use with an outboard engine, the type favored by Phil Martin who still used this type in 1988, until it was lost in a flood. Their motorized riverine dugout will be a sports fishing guide boat, ideal to cast for the large Chinook and steelhead that spawn in the Quinault River.

9. SAMISH:

In 1986 three years before the Centennial, the Samish built the first Coast Salish style canoe made in as much as thirty years (Holm, personal communication). With combined efforts of Tracy Powell, Ken Hansen and Joseph Waterhouse, the Samish completed their dugout, displayed at the Samish Cultural Preservation Office in Anacortes, their federally unrecognized homeland. For the Centennial Jack Cagey planned to build a racing canoe.

10. SKOKOMISH:

One of the last great Coast Salish style canoe makers, according to Bill Holm, was Henry Allen, a Skokomish. Allen's skill was recorded in Elemendorf's salvage ethnography of the Twana or Skokomish (Elemendorf 1960). Henry and his brother Frank Allen were Elemendorf's two main informants. Allen's

son, Joe Anderson assumed the carving of the Skokomish Centennial canoe. Anderson learned this craft by watching, helping and listening to his respected elders. The Skokomish community welcomed the return of canoe building. Two race canoes, CHIEF JOHN, an eleven-person and SKOKWON, a six-person craft, are displayed in the retail grocery store/gas station in the small town of Skokomish.

11. SWINOMISH:

The Swinomish goal to build a 50' racing canoe was accomplished. They relied upon the design of the famous racing champion TELEGRAPH on display at Coupeville on Whidbey Island as the model for their new racing canoe. They launched it and held a First Salmon ceremony May 19, 1989. They planned to build a longhouse for ceremonial use. The Paul brothers also aimed to carve several totem poles with the upper end of their cedar canoe logs.

12. UNITED INDIANS OF ALL TRIBES FOUNDATION:

United Indians of All Tribes at Daybreak Star Center planned to carve an extinct war canoe called the Head canoe. These canoes once plied the coastal waters in great numbers though they disappeared in the nineteenth century after American and British gunboats arrived (Durham 1960: 55).

United Indians of All Tribes proposed to use the unique Native American cedar canoe as a "floating classroom." It is suggested that aboard this historic vessel, students will participate in a comprehensive training program --highlighting indigenous trade routes, local fishing and gathering sights and other ancient skills.

13. UPPER SKAGIT:

The Upper Skagit were represented by Harlan Sam who was interested in making a new eleven person racing canoe. Though one or two of the tribe's youth raced with the Nooksack team, the tribe had not raced their own canoe since 1942. They stopped racing after the Post War era, having been one of the champion racing crews. They launched and dedicated the new ROLLING THUNDER in May 1989. They participated in the "Paddle to Seattle" racing competition with new men's and women's team.

APPENDIX D:

LIST OF PHOTOGRAPHIC ARCHIVES ACCESSED
1983-1989

CAMPBELL RIVER & DISTRICT MUSEUM, Campbell River, B.C.
 Not to be overlooked for northern Coast Salish and
 Kwakiutl photographs.

ISLAND COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY Coupeville, WA. Muriel
 Short, Director. Good collection of early racing
 photos and newspaper clippings re: racing circuit
 1910-30's.

MAKAH CULTURAL AND RESEARCH CENTER, Neah Bay, WA. Ann
 Reinke. Documentation of 1975 building of Nootkan
 canoes.

MUSEUM OF HISTORY AND INDUSTRY, Seattle, WA. Carolyn Marr
 324-1125 Photography Archives, Mon. & Wed. 1-5 p.m.
 ONLY! Appointment required, room full of boxes,
 ordered by subject and when possible, under collec-
 tion by photographer. Photos from Puget Sound Mari-
 time History Society. McCurdy Collection circa
 1890-1910 is excellent.

QUILEUTE TRIBAL SCHOOL (AND ARCHIVES), La Push, WA.
 Terri Tavenner 374-6163, Extensive video documenta-
 tion and growing photograph collection of development
 and actualization of "Paddle to Seattle."

ROYAL BRITISH COLUMBIA MUSEUM, Victoria, B.C. Dan Savard.
 (604) 387-2434. An excellent collection, full for
 each culture area, coverage of cultures crosses
 international border. Reasonable (\$2 Cdn.) reproduc-
 tion costs.

SKAGIT COUNTY HISTORICAL MUSEUM, La Conner, WA. David Van
 Meer 466-3365. Some fine photos otherwise unavail-
 able.

SUQUAMISH MUSEUM, Suquamish, WA. Leonard Forsman or
 Charlie Sigo 598-3311. Excellent new colour slide
 collection taken for production of WATERBORNE 1988-
 89 by David Current.

THOMAS BURKE WASHINGTON STATE MEMORIAL MUSEUM, Seattle,
 WA. Robin Wright 543-5595 Useful photos in note-
 books divided by culture areas.

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON LIBRARIES--SPECIAL COLLECTIONS, Seattle, WA. Richard Engeman, photo librarian 543-1929. Best collection in Washington, Native American photographs accessible in microfiche form, indexed under topic and culture area.

VANCOUVER MARITIME MUSEUM ARCHIVES, Vancouver, B.C. Len McCann, curator. Photo archives not easily accessible, reproduction is equally difficult.

VANCOUVER CITY ARCHIVES, Vancouver, B.C. Janette Mac Dougall, Office Assistant. Well organized, good collection of Canadian area.

WASHINGTON STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Tacoma, WA. Elaine Miller. Originals and copies in boxes. Many were missing.

WHATCOM MUSEUM OF HISTORY AND ART, Bellingham, WA. Craig Garcia. Photos reproduced by WMHA must be returned. Emphasis on Lummi Reservation. A small collection, not indexed, and not easily accessible.

OTHER SOURCES:

BILL HOLM SLIDE COLLECTION, Excellent source, extensive collection, if approached (through Burke Museum) for specific topic, Holm is generous with his knowledge.

JEAN BEDAL FISH, Sauk-Suiattle Tribal Elder with fine shovel-nose riverine photographs. Darrington, WA. 436-0210

PHIL MARTIN 288-2508, Photographs at Lake Quinault Fish Hatchery Interpretive Center of dugout sports fishing tours and assorted early photos.

LESLIE LINCOLN COLLECTION, Many photographs and slides have been collected during these last years, (206) 385-9599.

NOTE: MANY EXCELLENT PHOTOGRAPHS WERE TAKEN DURING THE CENTENNIAL NATIVE CANOE PROJECT AND MAY BE ACCESSED THROUGH LOCAL NEWSPAPERS AND OTHER SOURCES.

APPENDIX E:

REQUEST FOR ETHICAL REVIEW

The University of British Columbia
Office of Research Services

B87-306

BEHAVIOURAL SCIENCES SCREENING COMMITTEE FOR RESEARCH
AND OTHER STUDIES INVOLVING HUMAN SUBJECTS

C E R T I F I C A T E o f A P P R O V A L

INVESTIGATOR: Ridington, R.

UBC DEPT: Anthro & Sociol

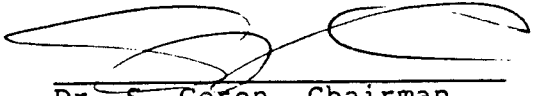
TITLE: Oral history research of Puget Sound Coast
Salish Canoe culture

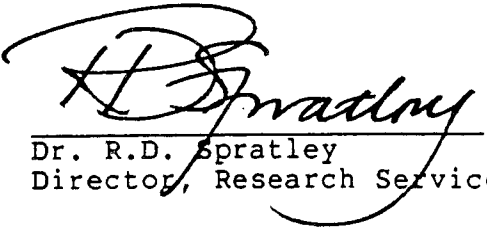
NUMBER: B87-306

CO-INVEST: Lincoln, L.

APPROVED: JAN 4 1988

The protocol describing the above-named project has been reviewed by the Committee and the experimental procedures were found to be acceptable on ethical grounds for research involving human subjects.



Dr. S. Coren, Chairman
Behavioural Sciences
Screening Committee

Dr. R.D. Spratley
Director, Research Services

THIS CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL IS VALID FOR THREE YEARS
FROM THE ABOVE APPROVAL DATE PROVIDED THERE IS NO
CHANGE IN THE EXPERIMENTAL PROCEDURES

APPENDIX F:

EXAMPLE LETTERS SENT TO
TRIBAL COUNCILS AND INFORMANTS**THE SUQUAMISH TRIBE**

P.O. Box 498 Suquamish, Washington 98392

Waterborne: Washington Indian Canoe Revival

An Oral History Project & Documentary of Tribal Heritage

The Suquamish Tribe is sponsoring an oral history project to document the canoeing and water-oriented heritage of tribes throughout Washington state in terms of the past, present and future. This work is meant to honour the achievements of Indian people, to inspire in our children greater involvement with these traditions, to preserve valuable information, and to educate the public about tribal cultures statewide.

Through tape-recorded interviews with many different Indian people and a combination of historical and contemporary photographs, the project will result in an audio-visual documentary which highlights the building and racing of canoes, historical water travel, trade routes, fishing, and cultural values associated with this native heritage.

Funded by the Washington State Centennial Commission, WATERBORNE is a cooperative project between interested tribes, the Suquamish Museum, the Burke Museum, the Yakima Nation Museum, and the state's Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction (Indian Education Division). Current-Rutledge who worked with Suquamish to produce the acclaimed "Come Forth Laughing: Voices of the Suquamish People," will again join Suquamish to produce WATERBORNE. This documentary is intended to complement the Centennial "Native Canoe Project" by recording and promoting the efforts of participating tribes that are presently working to keep canoeing traditions going strong. This statewide project will also represent the Plateau cultures, including such things as the impact of one hundred years of changes to the eastern riverine environment and the continued sacredness of water.

In addition to exhibiting the documentary at the above museums, and distributing it in the public schools, each tribe in the state will receive a videotape copy of the show for its own use; the collection of oral histories will be preserved at the Suquamish Tribal Archives/Museum, and copies of the recordings, transcripts, photographs and maps will be made available to participating Indian informants and their tribes to the greatest extent possible.

APPENDIX F: (continued)

-2-

We want to document information with people of all ages, including experienced canoe carvers and racers; young people in training for this work; elders having historical knowledge of canoes, fishing and seamanship skills, travelling and trade routes, portage sites, legends, stories; as well as those who have witnessed the decline in canoe use or those who have helped bring about this revival.

We would like to involve as many tribes in the project as would like to participate! Ways to become involved include:

- joining our advisory committee meetings,
- helping us identify people within your tribal community who are knowledgeable and/or interested in these subjects,
- volunteering to be interviewed yourself,
- letting us know about related activities and events that we may photograph to include in the audio-visual presentation,
- incorporate this audio-visual show or associated tapes, photographs or maps into your tribal education programs.

The product of this work promises to be a powerful, artistic and compelling documentary of tribal culture, created entirely from the insights and voices of Indian people--and a lasting collection of valuable research materials. Please join us in the first phase of our project, as we travel to tribal communities and gather these important oral histories!

Leonard Forsman, Suquamish Museum Director (206) 598-3311
 Leslie Lincoln, Oral History Researcher (206) 324-7530 or 385-7018
 Susan Blalock, Documentary Coordinator of Current-Rutledge Studio, Seattle (206) 324-7530
 Barbara Lawrence, Suquamish Tribal Liaison Person (206) 598-3311



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THE SUQUAMISH TRIBE

P.O. Box 498 Suquamish, Washington 98392

30 September 1988

APPENDIX F: (continued)

Waterborne: Washington Indian Canoe Revival

An Oral History Project & Documentary of Tribal Heritage

Dear [POTENTIAL INFORMANT]

I am the oral history researcher for WATERBORNE: WASHINGTON INDIAN CANOE REVIVAL -An Oral History Project and Documentary of Tribal Heritage, funded in part by the Washington Centennial Commission. In conjunction with this, I am also doing field work/research for a Master's thesis documenting remaining knowledge of the Coast Salish canoeing culture and the significance of the present canoe revival through tape-recorded interviews.

In keeping with both the Tribe's and the University of British Columbia's research policy and ethical guidelines, I am seeking tribal approval before I conduct the oral history conversations with knowledgeable elders, canoe carvers, racers, or others from water-oriented lifestyles. I will take special care to record only appropriate information, honoring the privacy of sacred knowledge. I look forward to interviewing approximately twenty-five individuals to represent a statewide Indian perspective for the WATERBORNE documentary; and a smaller group for the focus of my Coast Salish Master's thesis field research. The WATERBORNE documentary must be finished in the spring of 1989, thus my oral history work will need to be completed in December 1988.

Enclosed is the WATERBORNE project description, a "Tribal Participation Form" and as well as a copy of the "Individual Cover Letter" and an "Individual Consent Form" which you may want to forward to an appropriate knowledgeable elder or canoe enthusiast or fill-in yourself! If you have any questions, please contact me either in Seattle (206) 324-7530 or through a Port Townsend message phone (206) 385-7018.

I would appreciate your returning the "Tribal Participation Form" and/or the "Individual Consent Form" as soon as possible. Thank you for your consideration of this project.

Best Regards, .

Leslie Lincoln

Oral History Researcher for

the Suquamish Tribe's WATERBORNE Project

APPENDIX G:

LIST OF FEATURED INFORMANTS

Frank Brown, Bella Bella Heiltsuk, recorded public speech at Paddle to Seattle celebration at Suquamish, July 20, 1989.

David Forlines, Quileute Tribal School Substance Abuse counselor, canoe carver, reputed to be one-sixteenth Quileute Indian by blood, knowledgeable about Quileute language, dance, songs, names, native plant use and other cultural issues, WB #5A-B interviewed 10/29/88.

Frank Fowler, Duwamish, (non-federally recognized tribe) canoe builder WB #17A-B interviewed 11/28/88.

Bill Frank, Jr. Nisqually leader and Northwest Fisheries Chairman, eloquent speaker, interviewed by B.L. & S.B. 2/24/89 and recorded public speech by L.L.

Helen Harrison, Quileute Tribal School staff, Quileute paddler, grandmother, interviewed 10/30/88.

Paul Harvey, Sauk-Suiattle tribal fisherman and experienced canoe racer, WB #10 interviewed 11/8/88.

Vi Hilbert, Upper Skagit knowledgeable elder, Lushootseed expert, WB #2A-B interviewed 10/27/88.

Henry (Morganroth) Indian, Quileute paddler, recovered alcoholic, interviewed 10/30/88.

Ralph Jefferson, Lummi canoe racer, trainer, and paddle maker, interviewed 18 April 1989.

Jerry Jones, Tulalip canoe builder, WB #1 interviewed 10/11/88.

Willie Jones, Lummi Tribal Vice-Chairman, lifelong canoe puller, interviewed 18 April 1989.

Phil Martin, Quinault river fisherman, canoe builder WB #7A-B interviewed 10/31/88.

Cecille Maxwell, Duwamish, recorded public speech at "Paddle to Seattle" celebration at Suquamish, 20 July 1989.

Ralph Munro, Secretary of State (Washington government), recorded public speech at "Paddle to Seattle" celebration at Suquamish, 20 July 1989.

Emmett Oliver, Quinault Tribal Member, Coordinator of Native Canoe Project, eloquent spokesman, WB #13 interviewed 11/10/88 and recorded public speech.

Earl Peck, Suquamish elder, interviewed 10/29/88, WB #3.

Thomas "Ribs" Penn, knowledgeable Quileute canoe builder and motorized canoe racer , WB #6A-B interviewed 10/31/88.

Harlan Sam, Upper Skagit carver, tribal leader, excellent story-teller, WB #12A-B interviewed 11/8/88.

Terri Tavenner, Quileute Tribal School, Program Coordinator WB #5A-B interviewed 10/29/88.

NOTE: WB # = Waterborne Tape Cassette #,
Tape Cassettes are archived at the Suquamish Museum.
Transcripts are archived with the Jacobs Research Fund,
University of Washington Libraries.

APPENDIX H:

ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEW QUESTION GUIDELINES

A: CANOE TYPES:

1. What different types of canoes were still around your village when you were a child? What were the various uses of different canoes? Which canoes do you remember using?

2. What are the Indian names of the canoes and the parts of the canoes. Did you name individual canoes?

B: CANOE CONSTRUCTION:

3. Have you seen any canoes of this type being built? Recently? Were there many people you knew who could build a good canoe? What makes a canoe "a good canoe?"

4. Where was the lumber found to build canoes with? Where were the canoes built?

5. How would a carver go about building a canoe? What was the spreading like?

6. Do you remember the first time you saw a chainsaw? What difference did this make?

C: TRAVELING AND NAVIGATION:

7. Where were the traveling and trade routes near your home? Can you show me on this map? Are there names for these passages?

8. What are your memories of moving to your family's summer fishing (or gathering) places?

9. Did the tide or time of year make a difference to the traveling? What type of seamanship and navigating skills do you remember? Did anyone use the stars to steer with? How did you find your way in the fog?

10. Which rivers have you traveled on? Did you pole or use paddles? What were some of the important portage sites?

11. Did you ever sail in these boats? What type of sail?

12. When do you remember seeing your first gasoline engine? What changes did this bring?

13. Did you have any paddle songs? Could you share any canoe legends or any favorite stories?

D: RACING CANOES AND THE NATIVE INDIAN CANOE REVIVAL:

14. Have you ever pulled in the canoe races? Which canoe did you use? Do you know what has happened to your racing canoe?

15. What was the training like? What other preparations were necessary? What would be the best way to train new pullers?

16. What will this 1989 canoe revival bring to the Indian people? What do traditional dugouts mean to today's children?

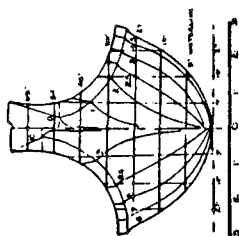
DESIGN DYNAMICS FOR LOOTAAS BILL REID'S HAIDA CANOE

WITH BILL REID'S GUIDANCE THE LOST KNOWLEDGE OF CANOE CARVING AND SPREADING HAS BEEN REDISCOVERED. LOOTAAS, OR WAIVE EATER, SPONSORED BY BOTH THE BANK OF BRITISH COLUMBIA AND THE SKIDGATE BAND COUNCIL WAS BUILT FOR THE 1986 WORLD'S EXPOSITION BY CRAFTSMEN/ARTISTS GEORGE RAMMELL AND JACK CARSON. STACEY BROWN DIRECTED HAIDA WORKERS: TUCKER BROWN, CLAYTON GLADSTONE JR., GORDON RUSS, GARNER MOODY AND NELSON CROSS.

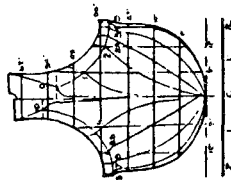
THIS SEAWORTHY CEDAR DOGOUT REFLECTS TODAY'S PROGRESSIVE HAIDA IDEALS, INCORPORATING ANCIENT AND MODERN TECHNOLOGY INCLUDING: OAK-OVER-STAINLESS STEEL RIBS, LEAD BALLAST AND EPOXY SATURATION. LOOTAAS, DRIVEN BY 14 HAIDA PADDLERS SUCCESSFULLY MADE HER "VOYAGE HOME" FROM VANCOUVER TO "HAIDA GWAII" (THE QUEEN CHARLOTTE ISLANDS) DURING THE SUMMER OF 1987.

THESE LINES, DOCUMENTING THE HULL'S REDISCOVERED DESIGN DYNAMICS, WERE TAKEN IN 1987-87 AND DRAWN IN 1988 BY MARITIME ANTHROPOLOGIST, LESLIE LINCOLN AT THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA.

©1988 LESLIE LINCOLN

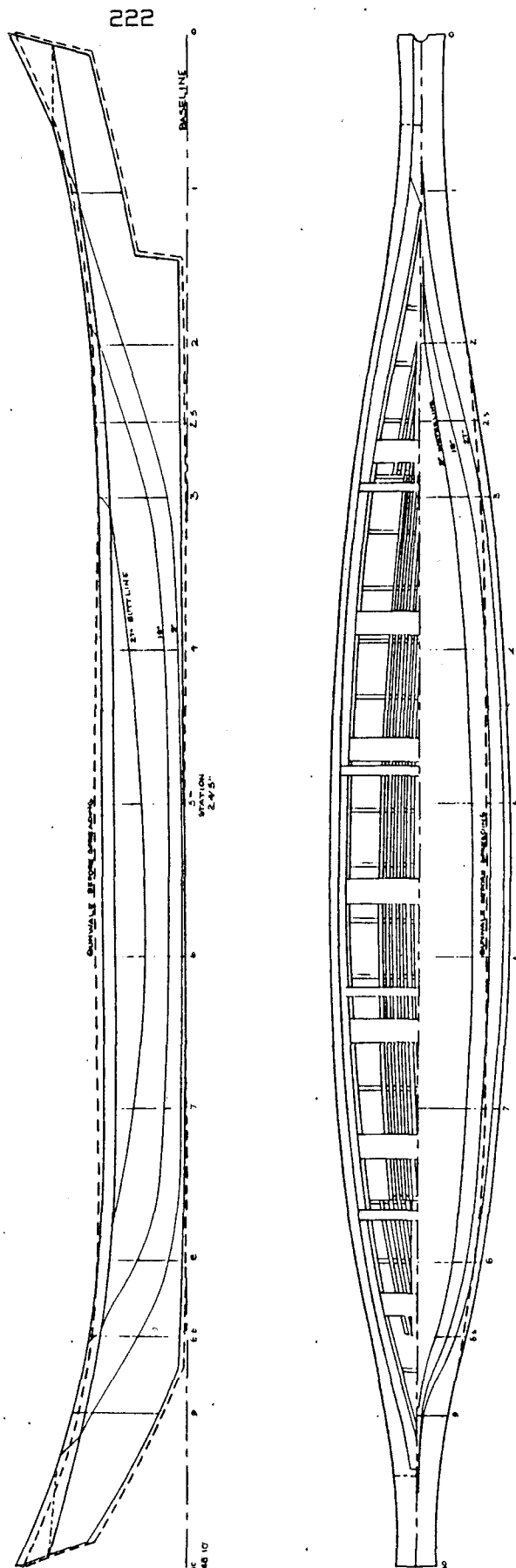


AFTER SPREADING
BEAM = 6'1"
LENGTH OVERALL = 48'10"



BEFORE SPREADING
BEAM = 4'5"

NOTE: THE HULL WAS SPREAD BEFORE BOW AND STERN PIECES WERE ADDED



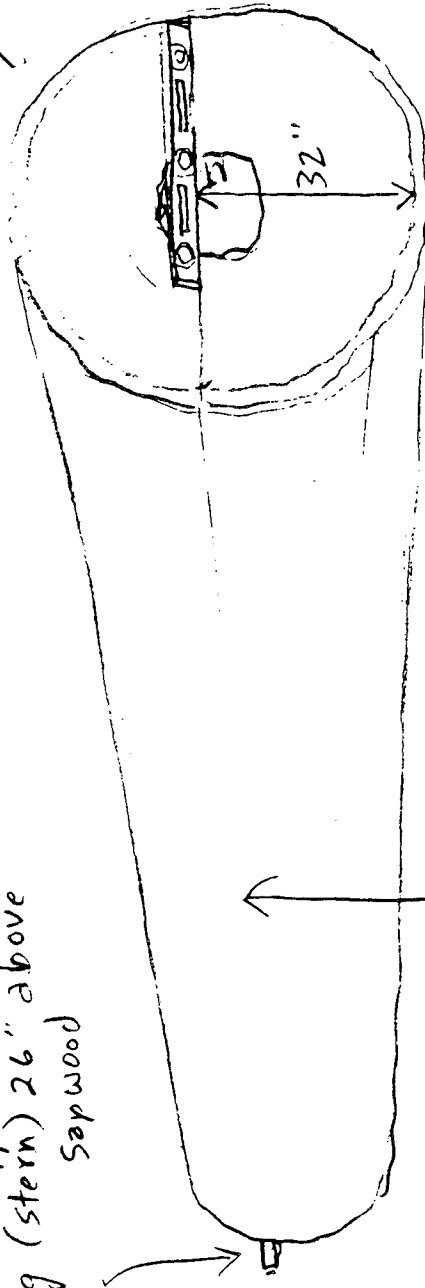
APPENDIX J:

BILL HOLM SKETCHES FOR FIRST CUTTING OF CEDAR LOG

(Created for Tulalip Centennial Canoe Project 1988-89)

Draw level line
across butt 32"
above sapwood

Draw level line
across upper end of
log (stern) 26" above
sapwood



Butt (Bow)

Snap chalk line from

level lines from end to end, both

sides. The chalk line probably should

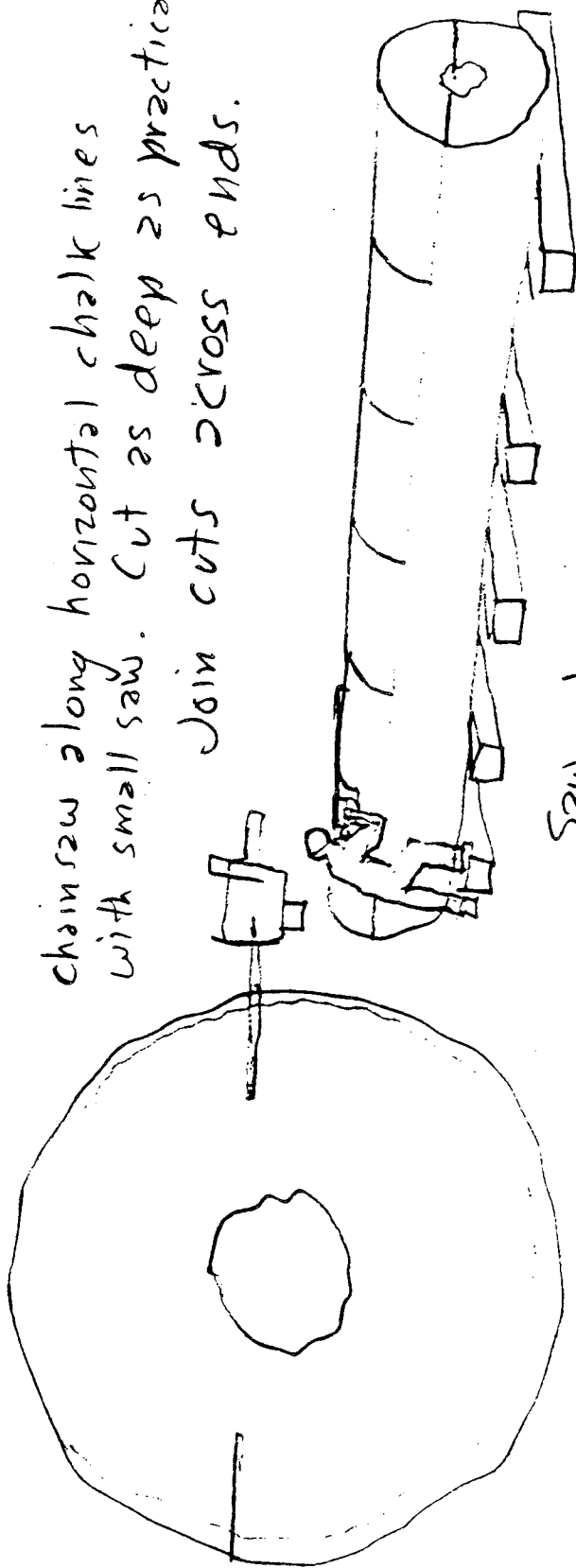
be supported in the middle with a nail. Sight

the position of the nail to keep the chalk line straight

Pull the chalk line straight out (horizontal) when

snapping, not necessarily perpendicular to log surface.

chainsaw along horizontal chalk lines
with small saw. Cut as deep as practical.
Join cuts across ends.

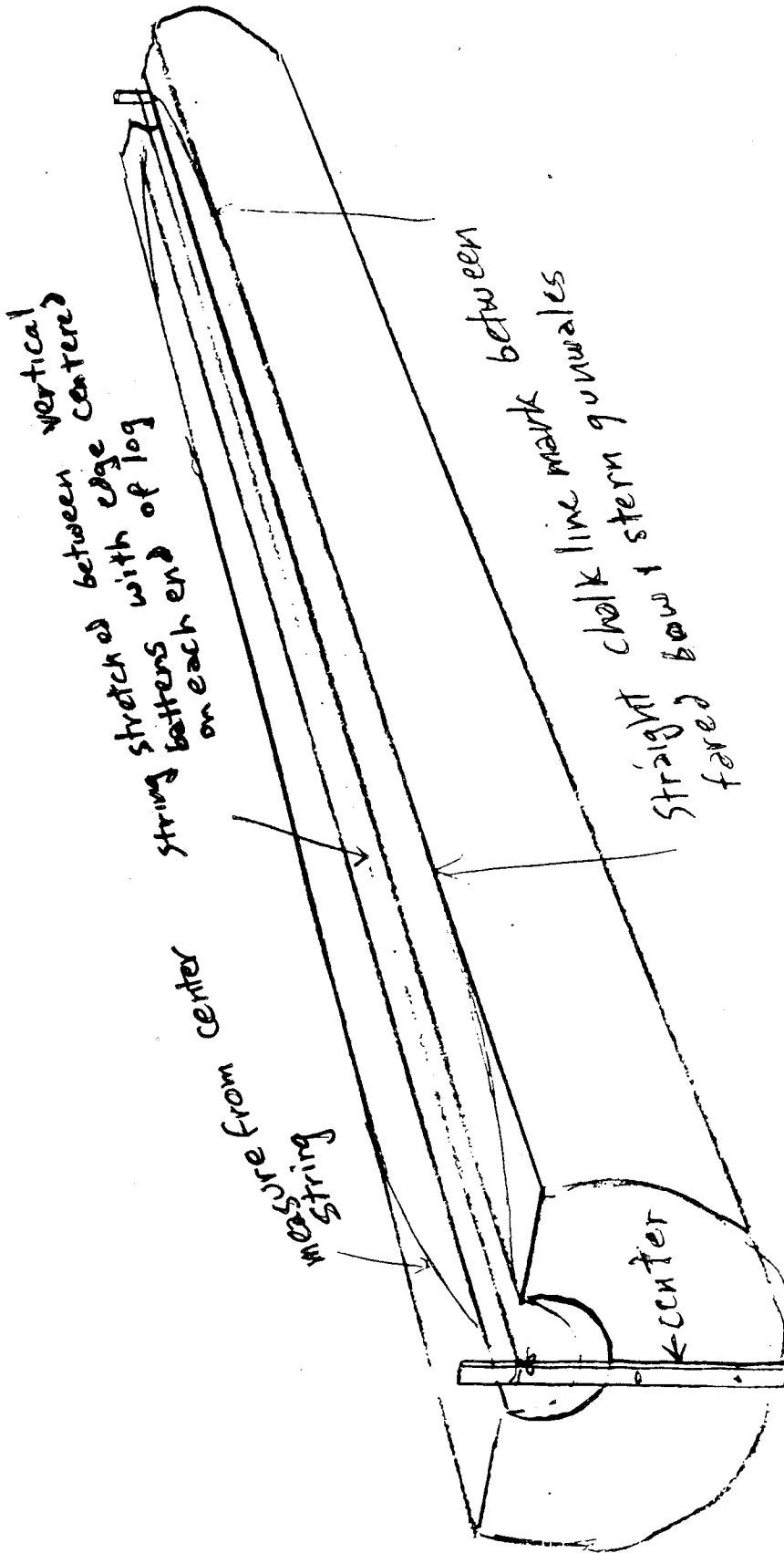


Saw down to horizontal cuts at
intervals. Spacing depends on how
well the blocks will split off.
Shorter is safer.

split off blocks with wedges. Wooden wedges work
fine, if they start in saw cuts.

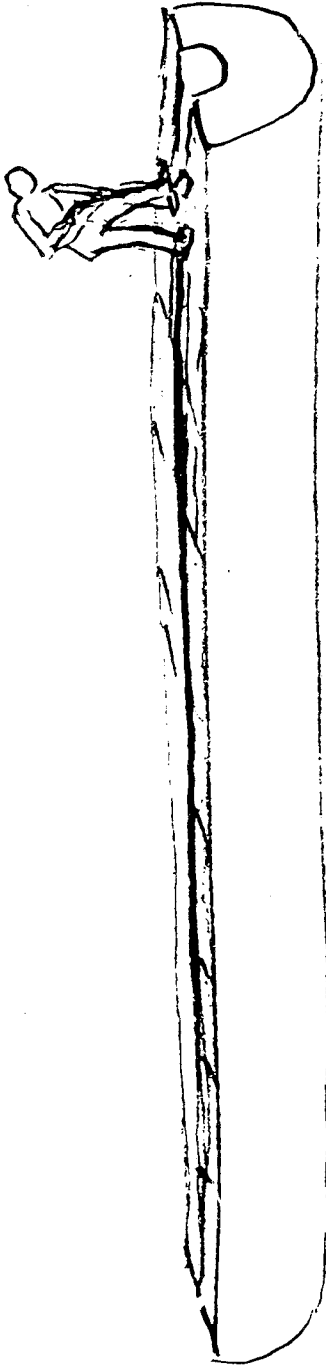


APPENDIX J: (continued)

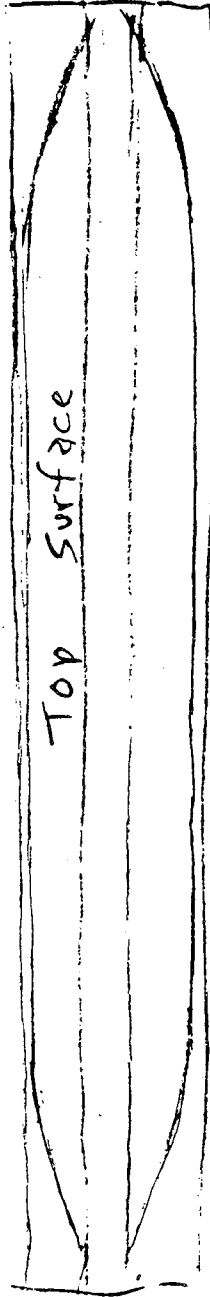


Since we're following the Shelton canoe, we had better not use the long bent batten, because the stern is a bit more abrupt. The measurements on pages 243 should be close to the Shelton canoe.

APPENDIX J: (continued)



edge top flat & level.



Draw gunwale lines on smooth top surface.
 (I'll get the measurements to you as soon as I get the drawing of the Chief Shepton canoe finished). Chainsaw.
vertically along the gunwales. Chop enough wood away so gunwale line can be easily seen when log is turned bottom up.

Turn log over and level —

Bill Abn

The State of Washington

APPENDIX



Proclamation

WHEREAS, the 1889 Washington Centennial Commission has developed programs to acknowledge and celebrate the contributions our maritime industry and heritage have made and will make to Washington's past, present and future; and

WHEREAS, in one such program, Mr. Emmett Oliver encouraged and coordinated over a dozen Native American Tribes as they joined the centennial by carving cedar canoes; and

WHEREAS, numerous Tribes have responded by crafting canoes and participating in the "Paddle to Seattle" event; and

WHEREAS, the canoes are a powerful demonstration of the importance of retaining the rich Native American heritage and culture in Washington; and

WHEREAS, the canoes serve as dramatic reminders of the time when they were the only watercraft on the waters of Puget Sound; and

WHEREAS, the canoes are strong symbols of the importance of the seas and symbolic of bringing people together;

NOW, THEREFORE, I, Booth Gardner, do hereby proclaim July 19 - July 26, 1989, as

Paddle to Seattle Week

in the State of Washington, and I urge all citizens to join in this celebration.

Signed, this 19th day of July, 1989

Governor Booth Gardner

