

NPBib: OLYM- 3496
Bibkey# 2210754

Quileute Exploitation and Maintenance of Prairies in Traditional Times

**A report
based on published and archival sources and ethnographic notes
recorded by the author
between 1968 and the present
at LaPush and Lower Hoh River, Washington**

Sci 7/16
Fraser
1943

By

J.V. (Jay) Powell

December, 2002

Quileute Exploitation and Maintenance of Prairies in Traditional Times

By J. V. (Jay) Powell, PhD

INTRODUCTION

The Quileute Indians live on the western side of the Olympic Peninsula of Washington. Their traditional territory includes the watersheds of the Soleduc, Calawah, Bogachiel and Dickey Rivers, and extends from the Olympic highlands to the Pacific littoral. The Quileute Reservation is at LaPush, a village located at the mouth of the Quillayute River. Note that various anglicized spellings of *Kwo'liyo't* have come into use over time and are used or quoted herein as they are used: Quileute, Quillayute, Quiliute, Quillehu't.

The Quileute were aware of the value of prairie areas. They maintained them, occupied them and relied on the food and materials they hunted and harvested there. They called prairies *yaqw*. Several of these open flatlands existed within their traditional territory at the time of contact. This report is primarily about the Quileute, but another Quileute-speaking tribe, the Hoh, lives to the south of the Quileutes at the mouth of the Hoh River, whose watershed comprises the Hoh's traditional territory of use and occupancy. I will occasionally refer to the Hoh, as well. That the Quileute and Hoh systematically exploited and maintained their prairies is recorded in the historic and ethnographic record. This report undertakes to document the lore (knowledge, beliefs, behaviors and products) of prairies in the traditional lifeways of the Quileute-speaking peoples. The term "traditional" will be used with regard to Quileute perspectives and behaviours that pertained just before treaty times and, in many cases pertained into this century or continue to the present.

The body of this report, then, is composed of a cultural description of aboriginal prairie use. The Quileute cultural patterns that I present appear to be warranted, based on historical records and the recorded statements of Quileute elders. As recently as the 1980s, I interviewed Quileute old people who had foraged and camped in those prairies in their youth and even seen them burned. It is our goal to reconstruct a cultural perspective, a set of traditional Quileute cognitive definitions that will allow us to project how the *talaykila pots'oqw* ("the old-time Indians") actually thought about their prairies in terms of issues such as ownership, stewardship responsibilities, annual cycle, exploitation of the prairies, and the spiritual world of the prairies. Such a reconstruction of a past and not-clearly-attested aspect of culture is an anthropologically daring undertaking. To the extent that it is successful, readers will be enabled by narrow definitions and logical inference to visualize what traditional Quileutes did in their prairies and to understand why they did these things.

For ease of reference, this report includes an appendix that presents an incomplete set of Quileute ethnographic texts, chronologically arranged. Quotes and notes in the body of the report primarily refer to this appended material. The report is intended to provide a cultural overview rather than an exhaustive ecological treatment of aboriginal prairie use. As such, it may serve as a starting point in considering some broader issues.

THE IMPORTANCE OF PRAIRIES IN TRADITIONAL QUILEUTE LIFE

***Yaqw* – The Quileute concept of prairie.** The term *yaqw* (pl. *yayaqw*; lexical suffix *-lowot*) meaning "prairie" in Quileute refers to a lowland area that is not treed. It does not refer to alpine uplands above the tree line such as the Seven Lakes area (*t'sixil t'lotoqwl'tal*, "high lakes-place"). Nor does it refer to wetlands that were either seasonal marshes or bogs (*loq'wt'ilil*, pl. *lo'loq'wt'ilil*) or year-round swamps (*t'lixa*, pl. *t'lit'ixa'*).

The Prairies of Quileute Country. There were 9 main prairies within the traditional Quileute territory and several small open wetlands. The old people appear to have thought of these prairie areas in terms of five main groupings. They certainly distinguished one prairie from another within each area, though. The main prairie areas and the particular prairies that comprised each area were:

- A) the Forks Prairie (*qit'layaqw*, "upriver prairie") – the large flatland that became the site of the settlement of Forks. It was extensively exploited in traditional times, both for hunting and foraging, especially for bracken roots, which provided dependable carbohydrate sources.
- B) the Quillayute Prairie (*sat'ayaqw*, "downriver prairie" or *chikwyaqw*, "the large prairie") and adjacent Little Quillayute Prairie (*q'wadiyaqw*, "little prairie") – the site of numerous early homesteads and the Quillayute airbase during WWII, these adjacent prairie areas were known as the "camas prairie" (*qwalal'alital*, "camas getting place"). The Quileutes, especially groups of women, visited it often and much of what they needed to round out subsistence diets was available there.
- C) The small Maxfield Creek Prairie (*liwaqq'at'sit yaqw*, "prairie at the corner (where the river turns)" or *k'ikiLti*, "Elk's home" since Quileute tradition holds that Elk lived here at the Time of Beginnings and was created here. Close to the traditional settlement site of Shuwah (*shoxwat'* or *bo'lakw* "turbulent water place"), it was important as a hunting, berrying and digging grounds.
- D) The Soleduck Valley (*t'sixwoqwsogw*, "the high-upstream prairie area, or possibly *t'axital*, "hot area") was a large area of contiguous and interlocking prairies that was cognitively divided by the Quileutes into the following general divisions: (a) *t'loqwolyaqw*, "lakeside prairie", what became known as the Tyee Prairie (a post-contact name, Tyee is the Chinook Jargon word for 'chief'); (b) an area that was traditionally called Beaver Prairie (*qwat'layaxi yaqw*, "Whale-rocks prairie", because it contains a chain of backbone-shaped rocks attributed by Quileute myth to a primeval whale dropped here by Thunderbird; and (c) prairie segments as far up as the mouth of Bear Creek. This was an important hunting area, especially for bear, deer and elk. It was also a foraging area. (d) There were also open wetlands along lower Beaver Creek, Lake Pleasant, lower Lake Creek, and elsewhere in this region that were important reed-collecting areas but they were not considered prairies.
- E) The camas prairie (*t'lot'lopa yaqw*, "lots of blue things prairie", located south of Forks on the east side of the highway, southeast of Dennis the Woodcarver's workyard) and other open areas in this region between the Bogachiel and the Hoh Rivers. It was much used by both the Quileute and Hoh, served by a trail that ran from the south edge of the Forks Prairie to the loop in the middle Hoh River. There are both prairies (*yaqw*) and seasonal wetlands (*loqwt'ilil*) here: (1) the central lower half of Sect. 27 between Hell Roaring Creek and Alder Creek (*Lilotq'achal Loq'wt'liL*, meaning unknown.), (2) the central lower half of Sect. 25, east of Alder creek (name unknown).

Prairie Resources utilized by the Quileute. The prairies were basic to Quileute economic patterns. Their prairies were considered to be both the breadbasket and meat larder of the people. According to a reconstruction of the ten most important aboriginal food categories (based on Ram Singh, p.48), the products of prairie foraging represented the 4th and 5th most crucial subsistence foodstuffs: camas, fern and other roots; and berries and sprouts. Families regularly moved to summer campsites, over which they had recognized use-rights. At other times, women would travel alone or in groups to forage in the prairies. In 1916 Frachtenberg [3:127] remarked "The Quileute, men and women, are good walkers. Even today many women go for camas south of Forks (14 miles)." Men would hunt in the prairies; women, along with the elderly and the young, would forage for roots, berries and other edibles, medicinal herbs and various materials. The following discussion of the economic resources of the Quileute prairies derives primarily from the work of Reagan (1923 & '34), Frachtenberg, Gunther (1973), and interviews by the author.

Prairie Animal Resources. The prairies were important to Quileute for hunting in traditional times. According to Billy Hebaladup, quoted by Frachtenberg (3,37):

The Quiliutes used to hunt along the banks of the rivers....The prairies too were full of game and they hunted especially on Quiliute Prairie (*c'hikwyaqw* or *sat'ayaqw*), Forks Prairie (*qet'Layaqw*), Little Prairie (*q'wadiyaqw*), Beaver and Tyee Prairies (*t'axetal yaqw*), and Lower Bear Creek prairie area (*t'sixwokwotsogw yaqw*). The hunting areas belong to the whole tribe and are available to anyone.

NOTE on
Seal Trade

Although there were "killing zones" or "game runs" through the woods where a few good runners, usually with dogs, would chase elk and deer into narrow ambushes where their hunting partners waited with their bows and clubs, the prairies were favored hunting areas for both large and small game. In the prairies, blinds were commonly used. According to Hebaladup, "A good hunter could shoot (with a bow and arrow) at a target 200 yards (away) and hit the mark," skills that Quileute males learned from a variety of childhood games, contests and constant practice. Besides bow and arrow, spear and hunting club, a variety of traps, snares, springpoles, deadfalls and pitfalls were traditionally used in hunting. The first gun became available to the Quileutes in the late 1850s, acquired by Wastoc'hit, b.1836, the father of David Hudson, according to Hal George; but firearms were not commonly owned by Quileutes until the 1890s, when a trader named Baxter, who took over after Dan Pullen left LaPush, started trading .45.90 caliber rifles for "a stack of fur seal pelts as high as the rifle stood" (JP NB 1978, p.9). Thus, hunting patterns started to change in the 1890s, along with so many other aspects of Quileute life associated with the prairies. Until then, hunting was a primary subsistence activity. In 1916, Arthur Howeattle and Billy Hebaladup told Frachtenberg:

In former days hunting was as important among us Quileute as fishing, but with the advent of the white people, the establishment of the reservation, and the going into effect of state game laws, the Quileutes gave up hunting until today they are almost exclusively fishermen, going out on the hunt only in cases where they are short of fish. In former days the country abounded in all kinds of games, especially deer and elk (3:37).

Ram Singh noted that hunting was not only an issue of being able to shoot straight with a bow and arrow. This is particularly true in the prairies where, shooting from hiding, Quileutes hunted alone or in small groups; whereas, in the mountains and woods, hunting was generally a group activity with runners and ambushers. In any case, it is clear that traditional Quileutes believed that there is a spiritual component to successful hunting.

*Super-natural means of production....*Elk hunters among the Quileute and Quinault were believed to require the help of particularly strong spirits. In order to obtain a spirit power the young prospective elk hunter prayed, bathed in a prescribed manner, and subjected himself to severe discipline and hardship....When he got the power, he was able to lead a party to hunt elk. Indians often hunted elk in the lower valleys and prairies (Ram Singh, p.43).
...Upriver people among the Quileute were expert in all types of hunting....Most elk hunters with elk hunting power lived in upriver communities (Ram Singh, p.57).

In traditional times, late June was the beginning of the elk-hunting season. Bull elk were considered to be at optimum fat "when the devil's club was red". Cows were hunted in July and August when, after rutting, they were at peak fatness. Deer were usually hunted in prairies from June to August at dawn and sunset, and were not chased but shot from blinds and hiding places. Throughout the year, elk, deer, bear, cougar, wolves and lynx were occasionally caught with spring-poles. Large and small pitfalls were dug to trap bear and smaller animals. Rabbits and other small animals, grouse, eagles, seagulls and other birds were snared. Rabbits, raccoons, skunks and other small animals were collected after being incinerated. The meat of large animals was jerked (cut in strips and dried on racks) at prairie camps and taken home to be stored for winter provisions. Smaller mammals were eaten immediately. The prairies provided the following to Quileute hunters:

deer (*hawayishka*), elk (*K'ikil*), bear (*akil*), cougar (*widaxwt'si*), lynx (*da'ida*), wolf (*lawat'sakil*), raccoon (*q'aq'awit*), skunk (*t'sikw*), weasel (*wit'sit'si*), squirrel (*hi'ichiyal*), fisher (*t'sak'aba*) and other small mammals; also, birds including grouse (*hibhib*), ducks (general, *qwid*), and goose (*hohokwal*).

The prairies appear to have been a meat larder. But, as economic anthropologists often realize by studying the subsistence patterns of hunting and gathering peoples, the men usually hunt for a living and live on what the women forage. In traditional times in Quileute country, which was rich in fish and game, this may not have been the case, but the importance of the roots and fruit of the prairies was clearly basic to survival.

Terrestrial Plant life as Prairie Resources for the Quileutes. The first published description of the Quileutes included a description of the Quileutes' camas prairie, *Sat'ayaqw*, which later came to be known as Quillayute Prairie. This first mention makes it clear that the prairie was extensive and rich in ferns.

On ascending this, I found the beautiful prairie stretched out before me, level with the top of the ascent, covered with ferns higher than my head, and extending in a northeasterly direction five miles or more in length and from a half to three quarters of a mile wide [Swan, *Wash. Standard*, Oct 5, 1861].

Ram Singh discussed the importance of prairies to the peoples of the Peninsula in aboriginal times:

In prairies there are camas and ferns with edible roots. There are a few prairies in Quileute and Quinault country; the Makah had none. The Ozette used one prairie but it was only slightly productive. Camas and ferns grew profusely in these prairies; the former were economically important and the amount produced did not meet the demand. It was so highly valued that it was one of the few items purchased by the Makah and Ozette from the Quileute and Quinault. Camas had a special place at feasts and potlatches [p.25].

The inquisitive and observant Albert Reagan, who once interrupted a Shaker ceremony at LaPush to take the pulse of participants, was also not content to simply note that the prairies of Quileute country were rich and fertile. He described them as follows:

As far as the writer knows, the soil of the prairies, treeless areas covering 4,000 acres, has never been analyzed. It is a black loam two or more feet in thickness. It is composed of decayed fern roots that have been collecting since the retreat of the great ice sheet. This soil is known to be as good as any in the state. In fact, the writer has examined the soil in various parts of the United States and he has found none better [Reagan, 1908, p.21].

Reagan had lived in LaPush with many older Quileutes who had been alive in the days before traders and officials and settlers arrived and everything began to change. He was interested in what we now call "ethnobotany", and he interviewed knowledgeable elders about what plants were used and how the old people used them.

While in charge of different tribes of West Coast Indians from 1905 to 1909 and in 1928, the writer made a study of the plants used by them. This included a study of the plants they used for food and medicine and those used in making baskets, mats, in house building, etc. The use of more than eighty plants are given, their descriptions, and uses to which the Indian put them...These Indians were great users of the plants of the region in the old days, and still do use some of them [Reagan, 1934, p.55].

Reagan was not only interested in the fact that the Quileutes used a particular plant found in their prairies, but in how it was used. For instance, he describes the crucially important and highly valued bracken fern, one of the prairie root-plants used by the old people, as follows:

Fern Family. Bracken Fern. Indian name: kakwaput, kah-a-kwa, wot-tsa-a-balk. This fern grows in the "prairies" of the region and burned-over places, especially in the middle upland regions. It is the fern of Forks and Quillayute

Chew
Kot

prairies. It has been carried to the beach with feed and appears in the old graveyard near where the old (Mr. Wesley Smith) schoolhouse used to be at LaPush-Quillayute Indian village. At Forks prairie it grows as high as a horse... They also dug the roots of these ferns, pounded them to a pulp, dried the pulp, mixed it into a sort of dough and baked bread from it, which then claim was pretty good bread. Unluckily, the writer appeared on the scene too late to see any of this fern-paste bread...[Reagan, 1934, p.56].

It is clear that traditional Quileutes knew the plants of their prairies. They knew the uses to which these plants could be put, at what stage in their growth they should be harvested and how to process them for use or consumption. What follows is a brief listing of the prairie plant life harvested and used by the Quileutes in traditional times. Some of them, such as camas, are still used on a ceremonial or medicinal basis characterized by infrequency. Many are not found solely in prairie areas. They are listed by categories: 1) roots, 2) berries and fruits, 3) Other plants used as foodstuffs, and 4) Plants used as materials for manufacture, medicine, cosmetics, and ceremony.

Roots and Rhizome Plants harvested in or around prairies

Ferns (*pilapila*, a general term for ferns taken from a traditional game played by children and adults)

The game is played by holding a long fern frond and, after taking a deep breath, touching each of the leaf-ends, going around the frond counterclockwise as quickly as possible, saying, "Pila" as you touch each leaf-end. You cannot take another breath and must finish in one breath.

Bracken (*k'aqwa'apat*) and **Sword Fern** (*pilapila*) and **Ladyfern** (*t'sikwipat*)- The roots (*t'sikwi'*) were collected, dried, scraped, ground into a paste, made into a loaf and wrapped in skunk cabbage and then cooked under fire ashes (called *t'soq'wo'ot'sit*, "buckskin bread"). Sarah Hines once told the author that after she was married (c1920) she went out and dug a mess of *t'sikwi'* and made them into *t'soq'wo't'sit* like her grandmother did, but she had forgotten how much work it was and she never did it again. Arthur Howeattle told Frachtenberg that the roots were dug over the winter from November to April (a surprising timetable!). Fern roots were rolled up and dried in the house by laying them on racks. The roots, dried like this, lasted a whole year. The recipe: dried fern roots were cut into 2" lengths and roasted over an open fire, then rolled over a mat to scrape off charcoal. Then they were shredded on flat rocks using wooden wedges. The bark was mixed with dried salmon eggs and eaten. (He then says, "The inside meat was thrown away." This is at odds with other reports by Reagan, Ram Singh, Gunther and others). The fronds were used for mattresses while camping and wiping. (Gunther, p.13-14; Reagan, p.56; Frachtenberg 3:25, 3:27, 3:29, 4:81)

Camas or lacamas (*kwala*)- The type of camas in the Quileute prairies has small white bulbs generally 1" long by ½" thick. It was found originally in most prairies of Quileute territory, but most abundant in the Quillayute and adjacent Little Prairies and Forks Prairie. The bulbs are dug by turning the earth around the distinctive blue plants and can be dug at any time of the year. According to Reagan (p.56), "In preparing this food, a pit is dug in which a fire is built. On the fuel cobbles are piled, which, when heated to red heat, are covered over with wet leaves, brush or grass. On this the bulbs are piled and over all wet leaves are spread to the thickness of, say, seven inches. Then over all, clay, earth or sand is heaped. Just before completing the covering over with earth, a quantity of water is poured on the cooking product and then when the covering is completed a small hole is left through the dirt-layer for the escape of steam. The cooking is then permitted to continue for about twenty-four hours. The product is removed through a hole dug through the top of the pit. The earth mound is

left and the shifting sand fills up the hole from which the baked articles have been taken. The mound is then complete, a puzzle for future archaeologists (clams and fruits were also prepared by the oven process). Oven mounds are scattered throughout the Olympic region and northward to the Fraser River country." Camas is still found in the prairie along the highway south of Forks; even using a shovel, it is hard for two people to gather a gallon in an hour. It was considered a noteworthy cultural occurrence when, in 1989, a tractor was turning the earth in an uncultivated area of the Quillayute Prairie; and, Terri Tavenner took the QTS students out and they collected 200 lbs. of camas that was used in several tribal *hayoqqwa* (ceremonial invitation dinners). Camas was an important trade item with the Makah, who had none. Many Quileute myths include scenes in which camas plays a part.

Clover (*la'it'ay*, "gathering hands")- The whitish roots were an important foodstuff, eaten either raw or cooked: steamed and eaten with salmon eggs or dipped in whale oil, or ground and made into loaves for baking. They were often dug and eaten with silverweed roots.

Silverweed (*t'lit'lishit*)- Grows in similar environments to clover. Considered a staple and a basic foodstuff. Usually eaten fresh and collected generally in fall and spring. Only the roots were used: dug and steamed, which was necessary to remove the bitterness, and then eaten with fish eggs or whale oil. There were both long, straight roots and curly roots. In a meal, the straight roots were given to chiefs and headmen.

Tiger Lily (*lilipiwada'yu*) and chocolate lily (*k'wachawada'yu*)- the roots of both were picked and cooked (usually steamed) and eaten. Because of a strong (peppery) taste, they were often mixed with oil. Occasionally eaten with salalberries, with which it often grows, and eaten with fish.

Buttercup (*kik'ilig'axpat*, "elk bone plant")- the bones were dug between September and February and cooked on hot rocks, dipped in whale or salmon oil and eaten with dried salmon eggs.

Thistle plant (*bo'olob*) According to Hal George the old people used to eat the roots of thistles in the old days. The roots look like little white carrots and can be cut up and boiled in soups or boiled and eaten with other roots or with a jelly made of wild bitter cherry fruit.

Berries and fruits common to prairie environs

Salmonberry (*cha'alowa*)- The most common and most anticipated berry of Quileute country, as it was the first berry of the spring and a cherished treat after a winter of preserved foods. The sprouts (*yacht'silat*) were peeled and eaten raw or steamed. The red and orange berries were eaten raw or the juice was extracted and drunk – one of the few juices in the traditional diet.

Red huckleberry (*tilo'ot*)-

Thimbleberry (*taq'achil*)-

Trailing blackberry (*bada'abixw*)-

Wild strawberry (*t'obiya*, “bending over”)-

Elderberry, red (*t'siba*)-

Salal (*kwo'od*)-

Blue huckleberry (*towadak* or *yayaxad*)-

Lowbush cranberry (*p'ap'a'is*)-

Stink currant (*t'lilo'oc'hiyi*l)-

Rose hips (*t'likway*)-

Wild crabapple (*soyoyoxwa'*)-

Wild bitter cherry (the Chinook Jargon term, *pilpil olalie*, “blood fruit” is the only term remembered)-

Blackberry (evergreen or himalaya) (*shipq'it'sa*, “black berry”)- an introduced berry that spread and quickly became a staple.

Other plants found in prairie areas used as foodstuffs

Giant Horsetail (probably *ba'ax*)- Found in wet areas of the prairies, the young shoots were steamed and eaten in the spring. The juice in the reed was sweet and was sucked out if one were thirsty and not close to water. The roots (*t'sixak*) may have been eaten. The juice was used by women as fingernail polish and by men to make bows, paddles and canoe prows shine.

Cow parsnips (*t'lopit*)- One of the most awaited spring plants, along with blackberry and salmonberry sprouts. It was eaten raw by scraping off the outer fuzz and eating the tube-like stalks like celery. It served as a tonic, too, when eaten in quantities. In the late summer, tough stalks could be scorched on a hot rock by the fire and the ashes rubbed on meat or fish as a condiment. Stems were split and woven into a type of basket called a *t'lopitbay*.

Ha'hiba, Trees common around the prairies

Hemlock (*tila'*)- various sources have mentioned that the prairies were surrounded by stands of large hemlocks. This shows both that the prairie fires did not burn the surrounding trees and that both the prairies and those surrounding trees had been there for a long time. For the Quileutes, the most important use of large girth hemlocks was to be a source long, wide strips of hemlock bark that were used in the walls and roof of the prairie camp-house, the *log'wati*, prairie bark house.

Red Cedar (*t'sapis*)- The red cedar grew on the edge of some of the prairies. The traditional Quileute uses of this important tree, called “the tree that made Northwest Coast Indian culture possible” are myriad (see Powell and Morganroth, p.6-10). Of special interest with regard to the Quileute use of prairies was the use of cedar bark for berry drying pans and other camp uses, including twined rope. But, even casual acquaintance with the practical details of traditional Quileute lifeways makes it apparent that cedar was a daily necessity of life.

Yellow cedar (*q'alba*)- Yellow cedar was used for carving (esp. bows) and the bark was collected for finer shredded bark manufacturing, in skirts and for use around the collars of vests and cloaks. Medicinally, yellow cedar boughs would be burned

- to cleanse a home or campsite after someone had been ill or ghosted in a dream or some surprising spiritual manifestation had occurred.
- Douglas fir (*t'lixits*)- Especially preferred for poles in camp-houses such as the *log'wati*, hemlock bark houses in the prairies. Also used for spear handles and canoe poles. Fir gum was used to treat abrasions and chewed for pleasure.
- Silver Fir (*t'lixitschaqli*, "similar to a fir")- The silver fir was known as the "helping tree". Quileute myth told how in the Time of Beginnings Silver Fir was the brother of Fir and would always help him out when he needed something. Fir boughs were used in the *kit'lakwal* "elk dance ritual", and when a hunter had not had luck the last time out, he would sleep on silver fir boughs on the nights before going out hunting again.
- Grand Fir (*t'lokwaliyat*, "Wolf Dance ritual wood" or *sibi'yat*, "stinkwood"), preferred for making the masks of the *t'lokwal* Wolf Dance Society ritual. Since the prairies were common places for members of the secret societies to get together, the materials for ritual gear and regalia were regularly collected in prairie areas.
- Sitka spruce (*yaksa*)- Important to basketry were spruce roots that were dug and pulled up, split and then used in burden baskets, especially the large openwork baskets carried by women to the prairies with tumplines. Also used in the weaving of rainhats, nets and ropes. The wood was used in a variety of manufactures. The boughs had a special power to help cleanse the mind of selfish thoughts and defend users against unclean thoughts and evil-intentioned spirits, so bunches of sharp spruce needles were used as body rubs during spirit bathing and sweat bathing. If someone died in a house, a wall of spruce boughs would be set up around the spot of death to encourage the soul of the departed to actually depart and move off to the entrance to the underworld. Spruce boughs were useful to a *kit'lakwal* "elk dance society hunter", who wanted to be free of lustful distractions while preparing spiritually for a hunt, and he would heap them over himself on his sleeping mat while at his hunting camp. The gum was chewed for pleasure after being boiled.
- Yewwood (*xiya'*)- Yew was, because of its hardness, used for arrows, digging sticks, wood splitting wedges, hammers, barnacle-prying bars and other implements that required toughness. Used medicinally, a piece of yew bark from below the level of the ground was used as a poultice for an infected abrasion. Yew needles were mixed with kinnickinnick leaves to make *qaboqwol*, "mixture" used in traditional smoking before tobacco was introduced. Prominently mentioned in Quileute myths, the yew appeared frequently in dreams and would communicate with people when something important was about to happen to them. Thus, it was common for a hunter to use a yew tree as part of a blind or to leave a yew tree growing near the edge of a prairie.
- White pine (*xwaxalpat*)- The pine was sometimes used in fine carving because of its whiteness (similar to the wood of devil's club). The pitch was used medicinally for coughs and for waterproofing baskets. Fred Woodruff told of a dance apron he had seen with the long penile-shaped cones of white pine sewn on the front, so that when the dancer twirled the cones swung out and "became erect".
- Cottonwood (*kwodokw*, also referred to as *t'lixitslo talopat*, "fir tree's sister" because of cottonwood's thick fir-like bark)- In myth logic, at the Time of Beginnings Fir and Cottonwood were siblings, and Cottonwood was an excellent dancer, so when she became a tree, her leaves would shake rhythmically. The cottony seedpods were mixed with cattail fluff, dog wool and feathers for loom weaving in traditional times.
- Willow of various types (*lilaq'a*)- Willow poles were driven into the creek and riverbeds and used for uprights in fish weirs because they would take root under water and hold the weir in place. Willow bark was dried and used for weaving. Acc. to Reagan, willow limbs were split and scraped thin for use in basket making. Willow bark tea was used for tonic and medicine. Good cooks had a bag of willow leaves and would add them to *haxk'isa*, (fish head soup) for flavor.

Vine maple (*t'apsiyogwpat*, "splittable plant", or *lalakwtsil*)- A truly important wood in Quileute traditional life, vine maple poles and stakes were used for a variety of purposes in construction, for racks and frames and implement making. Vine maple withes were split for basket making; the baxwowi basket was made of vine maple.

Broadleaf maple (*la'axal*)- Used for carving larger bowls and pots, which were hollowed out. The large leaves of this maple were used to line the inside of *po'pqw* and *wi'i'is* (small and large alder bark baskets used for storing berries underwater for use during the winter. The thick moss on the north sides of these trees was rubbed on a boy-child's chin to cause a thick beard in adulthood.

Red alder (*kakaliya*)- The alder was common around the prairies, and usually the first to invade an open area, it was the special objective of the burning process to wipe out encroaching alders. The wood was used for carving commonly used (and replaced) utensils, e.g. cups, platters, dippers. The bark was dried and used for red dye used for basketry materials and, even, women's hair.

Dogwood (*bixa'a ha'ba*, "blossom tree")- used in making utilitarian utensils, e.g. hooks and arrows, since the wood becomes hard after it dries. A myth tells why the Quileutes did not eat the berries of dogwood but *mayeat* the similar looking bunchberry, which were called *bixa'aha'bat'sa* "little dogwood".

Cascara (*akilipat*, "bear plant")- The bark had medicinal uses, primarily in the treatment of visceral disorders.

***T'lo'ob*, grasses found in prairie areas**

Beargrass (*iba*)- the most sought after of the basket grasses, not actually recorded as growing within memory in the Quileute prairies, but its habitats suggest it could've been on or around the prairies. It is called bear grass because bears eat the new growth in the spring; the Quileute term, *iba*, has no etymological meaning. Traded by the Quileutes as far north as Vancouver Island. It was picked in July or later and hung in bundles to dry, then split and used for the sidewalls of fine basketry or for basketry designs when dyed.

Basket sedge or slough sedge (*loq'way*)- the most common grass in Quileute country, called "swamp grass" by the Quileute women. It did not grow in the dry prairies, but was common along the streams through the prairies, in the natural and maintained seasonal marshes or bogs (*loq'wt'ilil*) and year-round swamps (*t'lixa*). Picked, hung in bundles, dried, split and woven in small and large imbricated basketry.

Cattail (*sit'say*)- There were areas within and along the prairies that provided the cattail reeds that were brought home by the canoeload from wetland areas. Because the "measure of a traditional Quileute woman" was the quality of her *hokwti*, "cattail mats", women had special places to get quality cattail reeds and took special care to keep the spirits of the area on-side and to avoid transgressing taboo interdictions while harvesting. Most women kept the location of their cattail sites a secret. The finest cattails were remembered to have come from the wetland areas of the Beaver and Tyee Prairie areas.

Tule (*xapo*)- Another mat material were both hard and soft-stemmed bulrushes, used by the Quileutes for mats, as well. The tule mats were considered "outside mats" for the covering of camping shelters and temporary smokehouses. The reeds, sometimes up to 8' in length but usually around 4-5' long, were also common on the edges of the prairie at lower Beaver Creek and around Beaver Lake.

Ryegrass (*kakipat*)- This grass (and *xitsi*, the similar dune rye not found in the prairies) was harvested early in the summer and then dried and long strands (up to 4') were used for basketry and shorter pieces were bunched for scrubbing while bathing or pregnant women rubbed themselves with it in order to have healthy babies.

Scented bedstraw (*hac'ht'ada t'lalapat*)- The vanilla-ish scent of this plant with burrs made it attractive, and the Quileutes had various uses and folkloric beliefs

associated with it. For instance, if a woman wishes to attract a man, she need only get a couple of his hairs and press them together with some of her own and some bedstraw, and he will be magically charmed by her. These types of activities are appropriate to the prairies, which are spiritually active areas and appropriate places for conjuring.

Bedstraw (*t'laapat*)-This burred straw-grass was probably distinguished by the Quileutes from the scented variety above. It was also used by the Quileutes for conjuring and required sensitivity on the part of the user, otherwise it could result in the user having blotches on their face if used selfishly or without gratitude. It was not used for bedding by the Quileutes (the name comes from the tradition that Mary slept on a bed of ferns and bedstraw, and the ferns did not acknowledge her baby and, hence, they do not have flowers; but the bedstraw did and ever since has greenish-white flowers).

***Pilapila*, ferns common to the prairie areas**

Deer fern (*kistolapat*)- Quileute children were taught to find and eat the root of this plant in emergencies, even though it was not tasty. It was used for suppression of appetite between meals (chew up a leaf, spit out the pulp and swallow the juice). Leaves were also boiled and the liquid drunk as a tonic for general ill health. Wet fresh leaves were put on limbs for stiffness or paralysis.

Maidenhair fern (*hapoqlpat*)- The rhizome was not eaten, but it was used for packing (since it was waterproof), and the stalks were used in weaving for designs on beargrass baskets. It was also burned and the ashes rubbed into the hair for tonic.

Other plantlife common to prairies and adjacent areas in Quileute territory

Anemone (*haga'yk'iswa bixa'a*, "frogskin flower")- used by gamblers, who rubbed it on the back of their hands, where it blistered the skin and made their hands look like frogskin, since frogs were associated with the spirits of good luck.

Baneberry (*kwo'loqwol*, "open oneself up thing" or *hat'alichiyil*, "hair seal leaves")- Hair seals and sea mammals were thought to be fond of this and the leaves looked like hair seal skin. Sea mammal hunters carried the leaves in their harpoon pouches. They knew that it makes one sick to the stomach, but sometimes put a leaf behind their upper lip when preparing for a hunt as a cathartic. Pregnant women sometimes chewed a bit for morning sickness with the logic that if one was already queasy, baneberry (which caused intense stomach upset) would neutralize the morning sickness. It was applied to boils to bring them to a head.

Boykinia (*chiwawoxwchi'oxla*)- The leaves were eaten for TB acc. to Erna Gunther.

Coltsfoot (*k'wa'yixpat*)- The root was used to make cough medicine, either boiled in tea or eaten raw. Not only the root, but the flowers were collected in the spring. The flowers were boiled and the infusion of these was rubbed on the skin after swimming.

Columbine (*t'lit'lixlix*, "scar maker")- Since wounds were evidence of experience (that gave men some authority), it was important that a scar was left, so columbine was rubbed on an open wound to insure a visible scar (goat's beard was used on a closed wound). The roots were scraped with a sharp rock and the milky pulp was put on sores to help them form a scab. The leaves are chewed and spit on sores without swallowing the juice.

Daisy, Ox-eye (introduced species, but called *q'abalpilila*, "White faced thing")- the stems and flowers were dried and boiled into a pulp for chapped hands. Girls wove them into skirts for "stone-faced dolls", a children's beach toy made by girls in the old days. The faces of the flowers made old people laugh because they were able to see the images of deceased friends in them, (acc. to Hal George, "It's like seeing a face in the moon". That plantlife such as this daisy were drawn so quickly into Quileute lifeways, pharmacology and folklore.

- Devil's club was used as an indicator of season – when the devil's club is red it's time to go out and get your elk. Although the white wood of larger stalks made it a useful, sought-after resource, the primary uses of devil's club were medicinal and ceremonial. Tea made by boiling whole chunks of the stalk was used as a blood purifier and treatment for illness in general. Nets were rubbed with devil's club so fish would be drawn to enter them. Fishermen carried small carvings of fish from devil's club for luck.
- Fireweed (*k'aliba*)- the stems were steamed and eaten and the sweet syrupy stems were prized. Could also be eaten raw by peeling off the silky outer covering. The sap was sucked out of the stem like a straw and used to sweeten sour things. The fluffy cotton was mixed with other things like cottonwood fluff and dog hair and used for weaving.
- Ginger (*hac'hit'adapat*, “good smelling/tasting plant”)- The big leaves are used in the steam pit. Tea from the leaves was used for depression or loss of appetite. Leaves were dried in the sun for two days before using, but if they got too dry they lost their smell. The leaves are also used in a potpourri with moss for baby cradleboards and mattresses.
- Goat's beard (*t'ililixpat*)- used as a medicine by grinding the root into pulp and smear it on open sores. If the sore is open, drink tea made of ground plants if it won't heal. The tea was also used as a tonic and blood purifier.
- Indian paintbrush (*p'ic'habixa'a*, “red flower”)- The whole plant incl. flowers but not roots was crushed and made into a tea that cause menstruation to be regular, sometimes accompanied by rubbing the vulva with the blood of a male *kwid*, “black surf duck”.
- Kinnickinnick (*qaboqwol*, “mixture”)- leaves were mixed with other barks or the burrs of bedstraw (and later, tobacco) and smoked by the old people in pipes. Quileute smoking involved inhaling smoke inbreathing again and again without allowing any to smoke escape the lungs, causing dizziness and, often, unconsciousness. The berries could be eaten, although considered tasteless, and were sometimes used to stuff birds while cooking (adding a few salalberries that were ripe at the same time).
- Labrador tea (*kwaxwachiyil*, “skinny leaves”)- Used for tea in treatment of chills, illness or for external application for itches and eruptions...the Quileutes did not make tea as a beverage or merely soothing drink; they only made tea as a treatment for a particular malady.
- Miner's lettuce (*p'ip'ic'histsip*, “red on the ground”)- A pregnant woman rubbed her body with it and yarrow to have a healthy, strong baby. Also made into a tea to cause cathartic urination. It was ground and rubbed into the hair to treat dandruff.
- Mint (*k'i'ilt'adapat*, “cool smelling plant”)- Mint leaves were used for a rubbing unguent. Chew the leaf for a nice breath and mix in a leaf with kinnickinnick for a cooler smoke. Not used in cooking.
- Nettles (various types: *pidawaqwol* (small nettles) and *tsitskalowa* (tall nettles)- the stems were dried and split and used to make string traditionally used in tying nets (see Frachtenberg, 2:33 for the process). After the birth of a boychild, a father would hang a string of nettle fibre across the area of the house where the child lay and attach small carved arrows, bows and spears to it so his son would be an accomplished hunter. At puberty, boys were rubbed with old dipnets made of nettle fiber to toughen them. Adults sometimes beat themselves with nettles to make themselves open to contact with the spirit world. Nettle strings were used in cat's cradle games and to wind around tops to start them spinning.
- Ocean spray (*xak'ilpat*, “hard plant”)- Sometimes called ‘ironwood’, as was yewwood, also, it was prized for making arrows, cod hooks, salmon barbecue sticks and other objects that received hard duty. The bark could make people tougher, too, and was sewn into whalers' cloaks. Leaves and seeds were ground up and

mixed with other tea-makings to add toughness to the other benefits of the infusion.

- Pearly everlasting (*sisibala*wa, same as yarrow)- used as yarrow, but also well known as a steam bath plant – Lay it on hot rocks and sit over it with a blanket over your head covering you completely and pour water on the rocks. It was used for tea, and the infusion could be rubbed on sore joints for easing pain. Also, it can be rubbed on an open sore.
- Saxifrage (*chiwawoxwchiyolit* or *qwalichiyil*, “three leaves”)- The leaves were eaten fresh for lung problems and coughs.
- Scouring rush (*tsilachlpat*)- The bushy growth of the rush was used for sandpapering and smoothing spears and harpoon handles after dogfish skin had been used. It was also used in bathing, for scrubbing the body to toughen oneself up (along with handfuls of spruce needles and rough sand). Women polished their fingernails with the juice, which dried shiny.
- Selfheal (*t’lot’lopabixa’a*, “green/blue flowers”)- Believed to have been given to particular families to use as a private medicinal herb, although poisonous to families who have no rights to it by *Q’wati* at the Time of Beginnings.
- Silver burweed, cocklebur plant- The burrs were used in fertility medicines. Smells sweet and was thought to help a person live to an old age, so it was picked by old people and put under their sleeping platform.
- Skunk cabbage (*t’okwa* or *xitsxits*)- One of the most used plants in Quileute territory, the skunk cabbage even had a lunar month named after it: *xitsxitsaliqtiya’a*, “skunk cabbage getting days”. Leaves were used to line steam-cooking pits for cooking elderberries and to line the berry storage baskets. The roots (white part below ground) could be cooked, which takes away the acrid taste, and eaten (but were not highly prized, and considered late winter fare when the larder was empty). In late pregnancy the roots were pounded and boiled and the juice, if drunk, would cause an easy delivery. Leaves were applied to cuts and swellings. A fur seal hunter puts the leaves under the bowpiece of his canoe and when they lie straight the seals will lie flat, too.
- Spaghnum moss (*t’owa’as*)- Spaghnum moss was collected by the canoe load and brought home for use as baby diapers in the cradleboards (often mixed with wild ginger leaves). It was pushed into the cracks between houseplanks as insulation and used to wipe fish. It was used in bending bows, wrapped around the bow and dampened and buried in hot ashes until pliable.
- Trillium (*k’wok’wotstadaqchiyil*, “thieves’ leaves”, called that because the leaves move slowly in a “sneaky” manner)- Used medicinally, the bulb is scraped and the scrapings are applied to boils to bring them to a head.
- Twisted stalk (*ya’wapat*, “snake plant”, because traditional Quileutes thought that snakes ate the berries; and, since snakes are a spiritually liminal creature, if they eat something it is inappropriate for *pots’oqw* (“Indians, people”) to eat it. Leaves were thought to smell good and were mixed with wild ginger and put into the moss used for mattresses.
- Wood sorrel (*ka’alats* or *ki’axlatspat*)- Hunters chew the leaves, though bitter, while lying in wait for game to keep themselves keenly focused. Wilted (steamed) leaves are put on boils to draw them.
- Yarrow (*sisibala*wa, same name as pearly everlasting)- Leaves were eaten by women in labor to ease pains. A newborn was bathed three times a day and rubbed afterwards with cedar bark and yarrow...and then greased with shark oil. Babies were rubbed with yarrow before they were named. Boil the leaves in an infant’s bedspace to make the area smell good damp leaves were laid on rheumatic limbs. Yarrow teas were brewed and drunk as a general tonic.
- Yellow avens (*hat’alichiyil*, see also baneberry, above; there seems to be some Quileute relationship between the two)- Leaves were chewed during labor, because they are supposed to grow where the seals give birth. Sea mammal hunters carry the

leaves in the pouch. Chewed to spit on a boil in order to bring it to a head, but do not swallow the juice.

THE TRADITIONAL CULTURE OF QUILEUTE PRAIRIE USE

Traditional Ownership of the Prairies of Quileute Country: Use Rights and Stewardship Obligations

In this section, we will consider native prairie use in terms of the traditional Quileute concept of tribal territory and individual land ownership, which are the basis for their sense of land-use rights and stewardship obligation. First, let's detail the basis for the Quileute's sense that their traditional territory belonged to them, a premise about which they had no doubts. This assumption derives from their worldview as depicted in their oral tradition. According to the Quileute cosmogony, the world always existed. Then, during the Time of Beginnings a shape-changing transformer called Q'wati went about the region changing living things and features of the natural world into what we see in the world today. At the Time of Beginnings, animals and people were simply beings who had or were given by Qwati the features of the animals that they became. There are narratives, still told among the tribe, that account for many of the focal features of Quileute country. For example, Q'wati created the rivers of Quileute country while escaping from a pack of wolves. Then, later, at the mouth of the Quileute River, Q'wati transformed those same wolves into the ancestors of the Quileutes; and, finding the *p'ip'isodat'siLi* ("upside-down people") living at the mouth of the Hoh River, he created the ancestors of the Hoh people as we know them by showing them how to walk on their feet instead of their hands. Thus, the oral literature that is Quileute tribal history confirms that they were created to inhabit, use, collectively own, and pass on to their descendants the area that includes the drainages of the various rivers that combine to make the Quillayute River. As Jack Ward said in a potlatch speech in 1928 (QT, p.12).

...yix tas t'siq'ati yix hicha'wataxw hilokiL xi' chiLqwat'oqw hixat
xwa'tchi:qa'axw xwa'tchiLqwat'oqw.

...the land, as it belongs to our children as well as to our children's children.

There is some tension between many published assumptions about native land "ownership" and the traditional Quileute concept. In order to make the Quileute customary perspective on land ownership clear, we will discuss it in terms of:

- (a) the Treaty of Olympia's term "open and unclaimed" land;
- (b) Quileute Use-ownership -vs- American legal real property ownership;
- (c) Quileute Use-ownership based on building or a continuing improvement on the land;
- (d) Quileute concepts of Alienable and Inalienable property;
- (e) Permissive utilization of a property's resources -vs- users in common

Were the Quileute Prairies "Open and Unclaimed land?" The terms "open" and "unclaimed" were regularly used in discussing Indian land ownership on the Olympic Peninsula from treaty times up to the present. The anthropologist Ronald Olson, implied such a generally loose sense of property ownership when he described Quinault boundaries as follows:

In theory, the tribal territory embraced the whole region drained by the Quinault River....But, the feeling of ownership or exclusive right to this territory was unheard of, and if expressed would no doubt have been considered a great joke. Anyone had the right to travel along the beach, to dig clams where he pleased and to hunt where the game was most plentiful (Olson, p.13).

The Treaty of Olympia implies the same thing in its use of the term "open and unclaimed" with regard to a guarantee of privileges secured to the signatory tribes:

Article III. The right of taking fish at all usual and accustomed grounds and stations is secured to said Indians in common with all citizens of the territory, and of erecting temporary houses for the purpose of curing the same; together

with the privilege of hunting, gathering roots and berries, and pasturing their horses on all *open and unclaimed lands* (emphasis added).

In fact, we can distinguish two senses of "open and unclaimed" territory in the Quileute (and, probably, neighboring tribes') traditional sense of their territory: 1) open and unclaimed territory on the liminal edges of their territories where they bordered the territories of adjacent tribes; and 2) "open and unclaimed" areas within their territorial boundaries which is not claimed as private property of a Quileute individual or family and therefore available for other tribal members to claim or to use (along with their alien guests) without permission. Based upon their location well within the member-recognized boundaries of Quileute territory, the prairies listed above were clearly areas of the second type, since they were used collectively by tribal members without permission and by alien guests *with* permission.

Quileute Use-ownership. When we read Frachtenberg's ethnographic description of Quileute pre-contact land ownership, he seems to contradict himself. He reports, "Land was neither individual nor family property. It belonged to the tribe" (p.4:57) but, yet, later he speaks of "fishing grounds as the inviolable property of individuals" (p. 4:59). This self-contradiction appears to result from failure to distinguish between use-ownership and the Western concept of legal private property. Quileute use-ownership can be characterized as *the community-recognized right of a person or family to exclusive control over property (i.e. a parcel of land or resources)*. Exclusive control implies that others may not visit the land or hunt/fish/forage the resources of the land without permission of the use-owners. Thus, while all land is seen as belonging to the tribe, clear use-ownership rights are recognized by tribal members as inheritable and continuing for as long as the property use-owners inhabit even seasonally or utilize the property (with the exception of beach rights, which must be validated by periodic potlatching). Use ownership in traditional times was a claim to use that was recognized by members of the community.

Quileute Use-ownership based on building or a continuing improvement on the land. Use ownership in traditional times was usually based on an individual or family building a structure (e.g. house, smokehouse or drying rack, fishing weir and, later, a garden or simply by improving part of a prairie by burning it) and their use ownership was then recognized by others as long as that structure stood. There are several references to this perspective and practice that make it clear:

A man or family, however, was looked upon as the proprietor of the place on which he built his permanent fishing, digging or hunting houses. These houses could be inherited. A man wishing to build or settle on a place asked nobody's permission provided it was occupied by no one else. All fishing grounds, whether on the beach or on the river, were the property of a family (who built a weir on it) and no one else could fish there without the consent of the head of family. The hunting grounds up the several rivers were also family inheritable and indivisible property (Frachtenberg, p.4:57).

The property of the river was more or less assumed by the villagers who had a weir there. No other person would come and exploit it unless he had been granted permission. Moreover, a stranger never dared to fish in another man's area...Beaches were not communally owned by the Makah and Quileute. The individual families owned them...the beaches were inherited like property. If a person wanted to acquire a new beach he had to give a potlatch and announce his intentions. After the potlatch, the beach became the family property, and others accepted it as such (Singh, p.117).

A very explicit expression of this Quileute canon of claiming ownership of unused lands by improving them (in this case, opening and maintaining a garden on the land), was given by Pettitt.

In 1915, the Quileute absorbed more knowledge concerning the difference between white ownership of property and the traditional Indian concept that ownership continued only as long as the property was used. For several years a

number of the Quileute had been planting vegetables on a piece of riverbottom land within the area belonging to Harvey Smith. When Mr. Smith fenced his land and evicted the Indians from this gardening area, the Indians felt that they were wronged because the land was not in use when they took it over. The matter was explained, but not to their satisfaction (Pettitt, p.29).

With particular reference to claiming prairie areas, Ram Singh gave this statement:

Each family had an occupancy right in a great prairie such as O'took Prairie or Quileute Prairie. The family burned over its part of the prairie in the spring so that dead ferns would be destroyed, giving way to camas. Generally no outsider would trespass unless he received permission from the family which "owned" the site (Singh, p.25-6).

Quileute Concepts of Alienable and Inalienable Possession. To suggest that the Quileute did not recognize ownership as exclusive possession overlooks a grammatical feature of their language, which emphatically recognizes the heritable, ascribed nature of land-use holdings. Quileute grammar requires that speakers distinguish between things which are "alienably possessed (*i.e.* things which can be acquired, lost, given away, or in some way removed from the individual's ownership) from "inalienable possession" (*i.e.* things which are inherited and which cannot be taken away from a person or lost to them). The category of alienable things are those that one acquires in life, which are often destroyed at one's death, *e.g.* clothing and items of adornment, gear, weapons and tools. Inalienable things are those ascribed things which one inherits and which aren't destroyed at death but are passed on to descendants, *e.g.* names, songs, re-incarnated features and spirit powers, one's house and (surprisingly) dogs, canoes (and automobiles!) and, especially, rights to tribal and family lands and grounds. The inalienable possessive marker is *-lo* or *-t'ot* (for relatives) and the alienable possession marker is *-ya'as*. So, one says in Quileute, for example:

Hix-as kwo'liyt'-lo t'siq'ati.
This-is (the) Quileute's-inalienable land.

but

Hix-as kwo'liyt'-ya'as t'sikbai.
This-is (the) Quileute's-alienable basket.

Quileute grammar clearly appears to indicate that traditional-thinking Quileutes conceptualized possession as real and that it implied ownership and control.

Permissive Utilization -vs- Users in common. So, the traditional Quileutes can be characterized as recognizing tribal territory, and the inheritable exclusivity of use-ownership within their territory. Land and resources that were recognized as use-owned by tribal members could be used by permission of the owners. Thus, to understand Quileute ownership patterns, we must distinguish between *permissive users*, who are those who use lands (*e.g.* for hunting, fishing, and gathering) with implied permission of those who have recognized ownership of the land, and *users in common*, who are those who use lands which are recognized by members to be tribal open areas that nobody has exclusive ownership of, which can be used by tribal members (and their alien guests) without asking permission.

Summary: Traditional Quileute Conceptions of Prairie Ownership and Use Rights. Based on the above definitions, we can suggest precisely how traditional Quileutes conceptualized the prairies of their territory. The Quileute prairies, then, can be characterized as viewed by the Quileutes to be open tribal areas which can be used without permission by tribal members (and their alien guests), and that sites on those prairies may be recognized as inheritably use-owned by tribal members who have built houses or drying racks on particular sites. This clarifies the tribal access to the prairies, and why these resource areas were so consistently and completely utilized by Quileute families in traditional times. The prairies were commonly held tribal resource areas.

THE QUILEUTE CONCEPT OF STEWARDSHIP OF THE PRAIRIES

Stewardship of the Prairies as a Responsibility – Who was Responsible? As we have characterized or defined Quileute common ownership of the prairies within their traditional lands, we can see that traditional Quileutes thought of the prairies as belonging to all of them. One could argue that if the prairies belonged to everyone, then, in fact, they really belonged to no one in particular. That brings up a question with regard to maintenance of the prairies and the stewardship function that motivated the Quileute old people. If the prairies didn't belong to anyone in particular, who among the tribal members had the responsibility to maintain them? First we have to attempt to clarify the concept of stewardship from a traditional Quileute perspective.

Webster's definition (*New Collegiate Dict.*) of steward is "...An officer or employee...on a large estate, to manage the...concerns, etc...An administrator, or supervisor; a manager." What is clear from that definition is that in contemporary English we understand that the concept of a steward and his/her responsibility (*i.e.* stewardship) is that the person is in charge of outcomes. Stewardship involves managing things and making sure that things work out the way they are supposed to. However, when we use the term stewardship for Quileute "management" of their prairie areas and resources, we will think ethnocentrically unless we bear in mind two aspects of the traditional Quileute belief system. Firstly, the old people believed that outcomes were in the hands of the spirits, and that it made the spirits indignant when mortals arrogated unto themselves responsibility for the outcome of events or for the future in general (Powell, *Aborig. Value Cont.*, p.12; *Quil. Relig.* p.27ff).

Stewardship assumption #1- Outcomes of activities should be in the hands of the spirits. The following example might illustrate this sense of how traditional Quileutes felt that outcomes should be left in the hands of the spirits:

I asked Hazel Bright, said to be 90 years old, why she felt the Quileutes didn't maintain the welcoming figures (a T'ist'ilal, "Thunderbird" carving) at the entrance to the village done much earlier by Sixtis Ward. She answered, "It's our responsibility to put those traditional figures up. It's the spirits' obligation to keep them up" (paraphrased from the author's Quileute field notes, 1969).

This aspect of the traditional Quileute perspective, where outcomes were in the hands of the spirits, relates to individual responsibility. In mainstream contemporary society, individuals are responsible for the outcomes of most of their actions, so before acting one considers the consequences, weighs the alternatives, and decides on a course of action. A second example amplifies this issue. It appears that the traditional Quileute approach may have included a sense of activities as appropriate or not, and that was the most important consideration.

In 1969, I visited Teddy Hudson at Hoh River, who was carving a canoe in front of his house. I asked him, "What kind of animal is that head on the front of the canoe?" I was referring to the traditional design feature on the nose of the canoe, which resembles a head with ears, nose and chin. Teddy responded, "I don't know what that is. It's just that the canoe isn't made right if that's not on it" (paraphrased from the author's fieldnotes, 1969).

Ritual has such an aspect, that one need not consider the reason for an action. It is the appropriate thing to do, so one does it. In the traditional Quileute perspective, such actions will be noted by the spirits, who can be expected to be pleased and to take responsibility for the consequences. Thus, the old people may not have perceived themselves as taking on a management role when they engaged in prairie stewardship activities. There seems to have been an important aspect of "doing the appropriate thing."

Stewardship Assumption #2 – The need to avoid waste or lack of gratitude for resources. A second Quileute spirit-based belief was that *T'siq'ati*, the nature spirit became indignant when nature was wasted or used without thankful respect and ritual (*Ibid.* p.33ff; *Don't Spoil the Nat. Env.*, p.5,10ff). Spirits offended by waste and disrespect could cause the salmon, elk and subsistence plantlife to withhold itself from the Quileutes. Thus, each Quileute had an obligation to avoid offending the spirits and each Quileute would feel inclined to do things that were known to cause the spirits to find favor with the tribe. Since the

prairies were such a critical resource to traditional Quileute subsistence, it was vital to avoid offending *T'siq'ati*, who could visit scarcity or famine upon the tribe. It was the obligation of each Quileute to ingratiate the spirits and avoid offending them. The activities that derive from the perceived need to placate the spirits would probably be referred to as "religious", since they have to do with beliefs relating to the spirit world, ritual and prayers. There was certainly an overlap between the traditional belief system and the customary economic system with regard to this area of subsistence. In order to understand the Old People's concept of the spirit world, it is useful to internalize three basic assumptions.

The Spirit world was presumed to be Natural rather than Supernatural. Traditional Quileutes presumed that spirits were just as natural as the physical world. You simply couldn't see spirits (unless you had the gift to do so). This shouldn't be hard for contemporary readers to understand, since we believe on the basis of scientific evidence that radio waves are invisible and still are passing imperceptibly through us on the way to our Walkman receiver. Thus, the term supernatural is inappropriate for the native spirit world. Nowadays, we feel that there is something miraculous about interventions of the spirit world in everyday life. Traditional Quileutes thought it was natural and ordinary. Some examples which suggest that traditional people didn't see interactions with spirit figures as remarkable or "un-ordinary" (paraphrased from the author's fieldwork journals at LaPush, 1969-72):

(In August, 1971) Nellie Williams told me that she had been "ghosted by my son" ('Bugsy', who had died and was covered by name taboo, so she could not mention him by name). In the dream, he had told her that he was missing his ball cap and could she also get him some cigarettes. So, she was taking it down to burn on the beach just east of Lonesome Creek mouth. I asked was she troubled (meaning saddened or frightened, I guess) by the visit and she looked at me like I wasn't following the conversation and said, K'yiyakwopqalaxw ("He was just asking for some help").

(In June of 1970) the old man (Woodruff) and I were speaking to a woman called Laloose at a funeral...lived around Olympia, claimed to be a descendant of a Chimacum mother. They were speaking about how powerful the old people used to be when they were young, and that when she was a little girl she saw a man turn into a wolf. I agreed how real it looks when wolf mask dancers sweep their blanket in front of their face. And when they lower the blanket they have their mask on and are dancing with wolf-steps. She said, "No. I saw a man change into a wolf."

It is probably because the spirit world is considered to be natural that many rituals and references to spirit beings treat those spirits as if they were motivated by ordinary human appetites and motives, and that they are subject to being fooled or at least won over by blandishments that are quite transparent.

Humans were "At Cause" rather than "At Effect" with regard to the spirit world. This is a distinction that is critical to internalize if one is to understand the traditional Quileute worldview. Contemporary North Americans are largely schooled in the sciences and, for the most part, use an "at effect" perspective. That means that they presume that most non-social phenomena are governed by predictable natural processes, e.g. rain is caused by evaporation and condensation of water vapor acted upon by winds and temperature or that pregnancy happens due to conception caused by an egg being fertilized by sperm, usually as the result of a sex act. And humans are "at effect" in that the processes are predictable...we can, in the latter case, for example, engage in activities to keep it from happening, but we cannot change the process itself. Traditional Quileutes saw themselves as "at cause." That means that they believed that the spirit world paid attention to what humans did, and therefore whatever happened, it was presumed to be in response to something that humans had done. As an example,

A contemporary person with a scientific perspective and a traditional Quileute are both at home when an earthquake hits. The contemporary, with an "at effect" viewpoint will probably think, "Ah! They said we are overdue for a quake. Those tectonic plates keep moving and sooner or later our area was due

for a good lunch. I wonder what the effect of the quake was...any broken windows or things shaken off the shelves?" The traditional Quileute with the "at cause" perspective would think, "I wonder what I did to cause that quake...and if not me, who in the community could have offended the spirits to that extent?" (Don't Spoil the Environment, p.10).

Such an "at cause" perspective resulted in very different presumptions about the reasons for occurrences and outcomes than would seem logical to contemporary observers with an "at effect" viewpoint. And, depending on the worldview different success strategies would seem appropriate. For instance:

If a contemporary, "at effect" person wishes to prepare for running a track and field event, he would eat wholesome food and work out regularly because muscles develop due to diet and exercise. The traditional Quileute using an "at cause" approach would've assumed that you won races because your spirit power caused it to happen. Thus, he/she would've done what was necessary to achieve and maintain a proper relationship with his/her *t'axilit* (spirit power): breaking no taboos, doing rituals that were known to be pleasing to particular spirits, staying clean and avoiding other effrontery to the spirits. Often that involved fasting and other activities that today's coaches would say are detrimental to physical conditioning (Ibid.).

This difference in perspective between contemporary "at effect" people and the traditional Quileute "at cause" viewpoint certainly had effects on the type of stewardship activities that would seem appropriate for maintenance of the prairies. Nowadays, for example, scientific conservation techniques emphasize balancing amounts harvested with growth capacity for sustainability, while traditional Quileute logic presumes that resources will continue to be available in plenty as long as the harvesters do not offend the spirit world. Contemporary conservation uses biological cause and effect logic to validate maintenance techniques, restricted access to prairies and regulated exploitation of prairie resources. Traditional Quileute perspectives handle all of those issues by appropriate ritual and prayers, avoiding taboo behavior and other activities known to be pleasing to the spirit world.

The effects of taboos, ritual, prayers, song, amulets, personal cleanliness in an "At Cause" world.

Traditional Quileutes, using an "At Cause" perspective, felt that the spirits (in particular the great Nature Spirit, *T'siq'ati*) rewarded people who honored them and who avoided behaviors that offended the spirits. Old Quileutes knew that various activities were pleasing to the spirits and kept them in a "right relationship" with the spirits. Among these were the following:

Attention to taboo – Traditional Quileutes knew that the spirits could be displeased by various activities. Such proscribed actions are said to be taboo behavior. Breaking a taboo, even if it were innocently done out of ignorance, irritated or angered the spirits with the effect that hunters came home empty handed, fishers were not lucky, foragers found little to gather, people became ill or had accidents, babies were born deformed, and natural disasters such as storms and high tides might be expected. Among taboos relating to the use of prairies for instance, were the following discussed by Frachtenberg:

Pregnant women could not eat or touch *t'sikwi* ('fern roots') because if she did, she would have pains as if stung by needles. She could not eat or touch fern roots (that were long and skinny), because these travel like a snake through her body. She could not eat or touch *kwala* ('camas'), otherwise she would have lumps in her belly. Nor could she touch *t'lopit* ('cow parsnips') as these would cause sores on the woman's and child's skin. She could not eat or touch *cha'aLow* ('salmon berries')...*tak'achiL* ('thimbleberry')...*yacht'siLat* ('berry sprouts')... etc. Pregnant women in the prairies could not look upon a dying or dead animal. She could not eat or touch any type of game. Her husband, too, was not allowed to hunt for any type of game (pp.4:81-3). Children were not allowed to go near the head of a killed elk (p. 5:37).

Taboos were a clear expression of the “at cause” perspective used by traditional Quileutes. The old people assumed that the spirits knew when taboos were broken and would be offended, causing embarrassment at best and famine, storms and accidents at worst. The prairies were so important to the Quileute that they were especially careful to avoid breaking taboos in any activity that related to prairies.

Ritual – We are using the term ritual to refer to actions that were traditionally carried out by the Quileute in order to precipitate a particular spiritual reaction. We know of some rituals that related particularly to the use of the prairies, but there were probably many of them. For example, while hunting:

A bear caught and killed with a bow and arrow or caught in a pitfall was taken in(side the *lok'wati*, ‘hemlock bark camping shelter’) and a plate full of food placed before him. Earrings and a headband were put on him and also a few feathers on his head... They also talked to him thus, “You are given these ornaments so that you may tell your brother to come here also. We will dress him thus likewise.” Then the meat was cut up (Frachtenberg 5:37-8), or while hunting elk with dogs [usually done in *t'lxaliktiya'at*, “elderberry gathering time”, the month of August, when people went to the prairies and the elk were everywhere and fat] the dogs faces were pointed red with ochre. It was believed that this would protect the dogs from wolves, as it was believed that wolves would not attack dogs whose heads were painted (op.cit., p.3:47).

Rituals seem to have been facts of economic life for traditional Quileutes. They seem to have been considered necessary in order to assure success in the critical subsistence activities (hunting and gathering) that were carried on in the prairies.

Prayers – According to Frachtenberg’s field notes, interviewing Wibaxad Jones and Dixon Payne (5:35),

The Quileutes prayed to the Sky only. They prayed every morning early and also late at evening. While praying “talking to the sky” the prayer faced the rising sun or the moon, raised his hands above his head occasionally, and dipped some water into his hands and blew the water out of his mouth, talking at the same time to the sky. Of course, in these prayers they asked for (the help of) certain guardian spirits and they received these, but all praying was addressed to the sky directly.

Lillian Pullen claimed that as a daily ritual and whenever she went foraging, she said a prayer such as the following, which she felt was the “right thing to do” (Powell, NB 1989, p.10; Conversations with Nature, p.4ff).

O yix chikw T'siq'ati. Oqalik sa'a. Hac'hikiyatilo'oL.
Oh, great nature spirit. You are here. Help me well.

Kiyi'atilashiLlich xaxi xi' paqitti'l. Wataxw ti as'o'osto'o ishas xi' q'iq'it'sa.
Help me now with my work. Thank you for the many berries.

Song – The Quileutes used song in various circumstances: as part of a mythic narrative (the songs that spirit characters sing in the narratives), for entertainment (e.g. courting songs and, later, drinking songs), and when an individual was communing with his/her guardian spirit (spirit songs). The latter songs were especially important.

Amulets - Charms were often carried by traditional Quileutes to keep them in a right relationship with their spirit guardians. Hunters, especially, carried amulets, often in a small woven *wistay*, “power bag”. According to Frachtenberg:

Every hunter carried in his bag “a certain medicine” (powdered roots, small newborns or fetal forms of the animal he is hunting, which will draw the animal

to the hunter). A hunter having bad luck prayed to the sky and tried to obtain the right medicine, such as baby lizards, baby suckers and baby squirrels (5:30).

Hal George told that "people used to carry pretty stones or a bone or shell they found where they had good luck. They also carried a little carving of their spirit guardian if it was something they'd seen like a little elk with great big horns" (NB 1978.1, p.40).

Personal Cleanliness - Personal cleanliness was especially important to traditional Quileutes. Hal George expressed it like this: "Bathing was important, especially when you wanted to get in a right relationship to your spirit power. Scrub your body with fine sand and then coarse until it bleeds. Spirits don't like unclean people and won't come around. They wouldn't come near you if you weren't really clean, in your heart and outside. Lucky people were always scrubbing in streams" (NB 1978.1, p.47). Hal used to bathe before going hunting. We can see how this practice related to subsistence activities, since a hunter or gatherer's success was so clearly related to the help of that person's *taxilit* 'spirit power'.

Summary: Traditional Quileute Perspective on Prairie Stewardship Obligation. For traditional Quileutes, then, we can suggest that stewardship behavior would be *appropriate actions and activities that maintain the prairies and allow them to be exploited without waste or disrespect that would offend the spirits*.

This attentiveness to ingratiating the spirit world as a factor in traditional Quileute folk science leaves me uncertain as to the logic behind stewardship activities in the prairies. It is clear that the old people were aware of the cause and effect relationship of regular burning to keeping the prairies open. The question is whether they were primarily motivated by this realization of useful ecological cause and effect or whether the focal motivation was spiritual. An example might help clarify the distinction.

In 1968, I was invited to go out collecting seagull eggs by Hal George and Harvey James, two old men who had been to school but who were *taLayikila potsogw*, 'oldtime people'. We went by outboard boat, pulling a canoe to an island south of La Push. Reaching the island, where hundreds of seagulls were nesting, Hal and Harvey got out and, talking appeasingly to the seagulls that were angrily screeching and diving at them, they walked around the island and stepped on every egg on the island...crunch, crunch, crunch. Then we got back in the boat and went to Queets for two days, visiting friends of Hal's. On the morning of the third day, we went back to the island and, after singing a song of praise to *T'siq'ati*, collected every egg in the island on the island until the canoe that we were pulling behind was full of eggs. When I asked the men, "Why do you break all the eggs?" Their response was that by breaking the eggs first is the only way that they can be sure that the eggs they actually collect are fresh. But, when I persisted, "There won't be any seagulls next year(!)", Hal looked at me and essentially said, "Oh, Jay, you're such a Whiteman. Don't you realize that if there are seagulls next year, it won't be because of some biological cause and effect but because we are good people for the spirits to send the *kwalel* ('seagulls') to" (paraphrased from Quileute NB#2(1969) p.101ff).

Such an explicit statement of the cultural logic underlying Quileute aboriginal folk-scientific reasoning makes us insecure, presuming that even the most basic assumptions of contemporary conservation can be applied to the logic underlying aboriginal cultural patterns. Based on the ethnographic record it seems that traditional Quileutes responded to interconnected spiritual and folk-scientific understandings, resulting in a satisfyingly logical technology (a set of tools and techniques for maintaining their livelihood and caring for the world). Since the spiritual world was perceived as natural and real, it made sense to relate obligation to the spirits, who were responsible for outcomes. But, traditional Quileutes were also responsible for the other living things of the world, which they relied on for subsistence. This interconnection of obligations seems to have provided the basis for the logic of traditional Quileute stewardship of the prairies.

TRADITIONAL QUILEUTE PRAIRIE STEWARDSHIP ACTIVITIES

Prairie Stewardship Activities The Quileute clearly engaged in prairie stewardship activities. Some of these involved prairie maintenance; some of them related to conservation of prairie resources. All seem to have been validated by traditional natural science, a set of natural generalizations and spiritual rationales. That these were recognizable patterns to the Quileute is indicated by the fact that there were particular names for these activities:

- (a) Burning of the prairies, *hokwoyakw*, "prairie burning".
- (b) Selective burning to leave some resources (e.g. crabapple trees) unharmed.
- (c) Taking (only) what the *T'siq'ati*, the Nature Spirit, provides, *piLil'al*, "taking our enough".
- (d) Restricting utilization to avoid over-exploitation,
- (e) Rituals for assuring that the Great Nature and personal spirit powers would provide.

Burning of the Prairies as a Stewardship Activity.

- 1) The family burned over its part of the prairie in the spring so that dead ferns would be destroyed, giving way to camas. (Ram Singh, p. 25)
- 2) Each family had a part of a prairie where its members could go to dig roots. The prairies were burnt and weeds were kept under control by means of fire (Ram Singh, p. 11). The Indians who dug roots in prairies burned over such sites in order to give useful roots a chance to grow instead of weeds and ferns. They took precautions not to burn the surrounding trees and bushes, and burned the prairies section by section. Their methods of fire control were so effective that in the Olympic Peninsula, except for a small area of forest near Little Prairie, none of the forest surrounding a prairie shows any sign of fire. (Ram Singh, p. 112).
- 3) Bracken fern grows on the "prairies" and burned over places, especially in the middle upland area. The burning of this fern year by year was what kept up these prairies and extended their area. The Indians burned the prairies over for the purpose of clearing out the area so they could shoot deer and elk when they came to feed on the young sprouts. The prairies, about ten in number, probably were started as camping sites, which were gradually extended by the annual burnings. (Albert Reagan, 1923, p. 203).
- 4) The Indians burned the ferns for the purpose of clearing out the prairies so they could shoot the deer and elk when they come to feed on the young fern sprouts (verbatim repeat of #3 above, Reagan, 1934. p.56).
- 5) Thought they were going to burn the prairie because his father talked about it a lot and he was excited and a little scared about a big fire, but there was no fire. They didn't burn it that year. The whitemen didn't like them setting fires in the prairies. Later he saw them burning part of *Sat'ayaqw* (Quileute Prairie), but they only burned a small area, burned when the grass was damp and it didn't make a big fire (Bill Penn).
- 6) It was burned every fall to encourage further growth. Mark Williams was trying to burn the prairie (*hokwalillowot*, "burning the prairie) and get matches from a Whiteman. (Hal George, p.44).
- 7) Yes, they used to burn both prairies so they could get the little bulbs at the bottom like onions. They would come up after the burn you see and burning (sic). But the principle reason they burned them was to get the rabbits and things that lived around in this tall grass (Royal Pullen).

8) The Indians knew how to handle fire and it never got away (Mattie Howeattle).

There is now considerable interest in the aboriginal practice of maintaining the prairies by burning. There seems little doubt that the prairies would not have existed if the native people had not burned them regularly to keep them open. Both Swan [1861] and Frachtenberg [2:46] mention that the prairies were surrounded by stands of great hemlock, suggesting that the prairies, as well, would've been forested with hemlock except for the process of regular burning. It may be worthwhile, though repetitive, to include the general and inclusive statement about prairie burning from the cultural Resources Module of the Sitkum and South Fork Calawah Watershed Analysis (p. 2.1-15).

Although Quileute use of fire in maintaining the prairies and some other wetland collecting sites is inarguable, the ethnographic record is not totally clear about the details of traditional burning strategies. Albert Reagan [1934, p.56] does not tell what time of year the prairies were burned, but writes "The burning of (the bracken) fern year by year was what kept up the prairies... The Indians burned the ferns for the purpose of clearing out the prairies so they could shoot deer and elk when they came to feed on the young fern fronds." Ram Singh mentions, "The (particular) family burned over its part of the prairie in the spring so that dead ferns would be destroyed, giving way to camas" [p.25]. Hal George remembered that the prairies were burned, on the occasions that he witnessed it during the 1890s, in the lunar month of *T'saq'it'sa*, "no berries time", late September in the season of Early Fall (the Quileutes recognized five seasons, including Early and Late Fall). By then, families had already foraged for roots and berries and the grasses were dry.

Bill Penn remembers that his elders did *not* burn the prairie at the end of their camping on the prairie, which was probably in the later summer, although he does make the point that only a small area was burned. This concurs with Ram Singh that the prairie was burned section by section, and the implication that, since individual families had rights to sections of prairies, each family would burn their own area. Both Ram Singh and Mattie Howeattle mention that the old people were skilled and careful not to allow the fires to get out of control. Only Bill Penn suggests a strategy of setting fires when the grass was damp as a means of controlling the blaze.

Selective Burning to Leave some Resources Unharmd. Little is known about the degree to which the practice of prairie burning took into account tactics to leave important resources unharmd. For instance, many prairies included stands of crabapple trees, which do not survive burning. Burns were made in such a way as to avoid injuring these important features of the prairies. The same is probably true of cranberry bushes and other plants. It is certainly an issue in the maintenance of the prairies.

Taking Only as Much as is Needed. No ethnographer can conduct research on the economic practices of contemporary Quileutes without realizing that it is a strongly held continuing community value to take only what is needed from the natural world and to avoid wastefulness. These statements from Lillian Pullen clarify what they mean by "taking what one needs".

1) I never waste what I take or what somebody gives me. We're only supposed to take what we need. If you waste what you are given, you won't get as much as you need next time. We say, *Wa t'akw dokwłita* (Don't waste [said to a woman]) and my gramma told me that again and again when I was a girl (NB1993-4, p.62).

2) We only take as much as we need. When I'm going out, I always have a little prayer for guidance to go here and there and do this and that. It's possible that ...you could take too much and be wasteful and ruin it for everybody or the kids could get sick (NB 1978, p.89).

3) We never waste like the *hokwat'* (lit. 'drifting house people', Euro-Americans, were called that because their sailing ships were thought to be drifting houses by the early

Hal
George

Bill
Penn

Quileutes). That's the reason that our people are so lucky. *T'siq'ati* knows that we are good people to be caught by.

However, as we mentioned above, the traditional concept of "only what is needed" may include amounts sufficient to allow ceremonial or personal generosity on a dramatic scale. Furthermore, there appears to have been a traditional assumption that the spirit world would make it clear how much was needed by causing fish, animals, plantlife and materials to make themselves available to Quileutes in the amounts that were really needed. An example is the following, paraphrased in fieldnotes from an account by Hal George:

Fish and animals, especially sea mammals (seals and whales) and elk give themselves to men in the quantity that they are really needed. Old man Harold Johnson, *Ta'axawil*, told him that when he was young he was hunting and a bunch of elk just came up and looked at him. He shot one, and then he shot another and then another. They didn't move. And he knew that they were sent by his *Kit'lakwal* (Elk-dance society) spirit. So he shot them all. He used that meat to give a big naming feast for his nephews, to get them initiated into the elk song society, *Kit'lakwal*. (J. Powell, NB 1978, p. 19)

Contemporary Quileutes speak nowadays of taking only as much as is needed, implying or overtly claiming that this was done to avoid a negative impact on the environment by over-fishing, over-hunting or over-harvesting. They suggest that this conservation-approach was followed by the old people, as well. However, Old Man Fred Woodruff once attempted to clarify the difference between contemporary and traditional Quileute views as follows:

These guys (current Quileute young people) are always talking about culture. They don't know about culture. In the old times there was so much of everything we never thought about taking too much. We filled up a wagon full of *ya'likala* (razor clams), and when it was full we got another wagon. We filled up the smelt nets until the canoes sank. But, when we took something, we used it or gave it away or sold it. We never left it to waste. Them old people was like that (J. Powell, NB 1969, #1, p.33).

According to Mr. Woodruff, the traditional Quileute sense of *dokwlita* (to waste something by taking more than one will use) was an offense to the spirits rather than an upset to the balance of nature. Although we are attempting to clarify a historic, traditional perspective, we are lucky to have other extant statements that give us insights into this aboriginal worldview. For example, when the linguist Manuel Andrade visited LaPush in 1928, Jack Ward offered to dictate a speech with a message to non-Indians if Andrade would publish it in his book. The speech, called "Don't Spoil the Country" seems to use this *talaykila* (old-time Quileute) perspective. However, Andrade had had little exposure to Quileute culture and he provides a translation that uses the perspective of Western scientific environmentalism rather than viewing Ward's statements from the viewpoint of the traditional Quileute worldview. The following excerpts from Mr. Ward's speech are provided with Andrade's translation and an interpretive comment by Eleanor Wheeler (a Quileute woman with an extremely traditional viewpoint), that gives us an insight into the Quileute traditional perspective, which she presumed Ward would've been using.

(Jack Ward original) *ItcaqLasqalo sa'a luwo hat'citaLetili tcaqLaqalou kiya'atilawociL xe' itsappaqetik hequ xo'o yix ot'oqu t'ot'sa luba' po'oq. (2) Tso'ot'e sa'a xaba t'atca xe' t'sixa xwa' itcaqayilakiLt'oqu kiyaxat tciali xe' xabat'so' oxo'o yix tas t'siqati yix hetca'wa taxu helokiL. Xe' tciLqwatoqu hexat xwa' tsiLqa'axw xwa' tsiLqwat'oqu... (3) Iso La dakiL taxu wait'coli s yokiL wa'alici uxwat'so' o xe' qabaLuwat qale xe' k'eki: hawayicka hexat s xabat'so' o xe' qabaLuwat... (4) ALa dakiL yix hokwat' qaxayootaqwa ...pawa-Lakskeda LaxuLe toqowa xwa' t'Laatilayaxu xwa' t'Laxataqwayo'.*

(Andrade translation) Thus, we bring this message of good-will to you, wishing to be of service to you in whatever work you undertake in this land where we Indians were born and raised. (2) That is the reason we all should know the right way to act, helping each other to observe conservancy of the products of land, as it belongs to our children as well as to our children's children. (3) Otherwise, all the animals of the woods may disappear, such as the elk, deer, and others. (4) But, you White people are wasteful...acting wantonly, persisting in breaking the laws of the lawgivers [ed. *i.e.* the lawmakers of the state game laws and game wardens].

(Wheeler interpretive comment) He [Ward] says to the Whitemen, "So I'm giving you the good word so you can be successful because, unless the spirits like you, things never work out; and we were born and raised here, so we know what the spirits don't like and what wins them over." (2) And he says, "So I'm helping you know how to survive around here, because the spirits can make it really tough if you take more than you need and waste it." That's what he's saying. Don't waste the things *T'siq'ati* gives you or he'll take it away. And not only from you but from your kids and your kids' kids. (3) If you waste food, sure enough you'll lose your luck. Maybe the whole village, that's what the old people thought, that unless you're right with the spirits the animals will just go somewhere else. That applies to everything we get from the land. (4) And he says, "Them Whitemen waste a lot all the time and aren't grateful in the ways the *taxelits* (spirit powers) like you to be grateful. That makes the spirits upset, mad enough to ruin the whole country for everybody. You can't disrespect the great *t'laxa'a*. The *t'laxa'a* is the great plan of *T'siq'ati* that tells what is natural for each living thing: people, animals, fish, trees, birds. Everything. Break the *t'laxa'a* and the spirits make the fishermen go broke, the hunters get skunked, the people go hungry. That's what Ward was saying.

Mrs. Wheeler gives a very different sense of what Ward was trying to say than the message implied in Andrade's translation. Mrs. Wheeler presumed that Ward was using a traditional Quileute perspective. We are grateful for such an eloquent expression of her people's viewpoint on taking what one needs from the environment. (See J. Powell, "Don't Waste the Environment" and Jay Powell and Dell Hymes, "Don't Waste the Environment – An Interpretive Reconsideration of a Quileute Discourse on the Natural World")

Restricting Utilization to those with Occupancy Rights to avoid over-exploitation. It seems clear that the Quileutes recognized that restricting utilization in the prairies was a conservation issue that maintained the valued resources of the prairies. According to Ram Singh:

Each Quileute family had an "occupancy right" in a great prairie such as Quileute Prairie. The danger of excessive exploitation of food resources seems to have been recognized for (only) a few species. The restriction of hunting or gathering food in a particular territory to the members of one's own group or family was at least partly motivated by the realization that production by outsiders would diminish the available supply (p. 29)). There were some other kinds of property which were owned by the individual family. The prairies were such examples. The private ownership of prairies was based on the principle that a person owned whatever he had made or improved by means of labor. Each family had a part of a prairie where its members could go to dig roots. The prairies were burnt and weeds were kept under control by means of fire. All of these acts involved labor. (p. 112)

Ceremonial Life Calculated to Keep the Prairies Producing.

(a) *Giving the spirits credit.* Traditional Quileutes gave credit to *T'siq'ati*, the nature spirit by invoking that name orally. Hal George made that point while generally discussing that life was not without hard work in the old days.

They think that it was easy, but we had to work hard. Sure, the *talaykila pots'oqw* (old people) just gathered what the great nature provided. They'd say, "*T'siq'ati, t'siq'ati, t'siq'ati*" (It's the nature spirit, nature spirit, nature spirit) when they were picking or eating food. (NB 1978. 1, p. 68).

(d) *Feeding the dead.* One of the ceremonials still maintained by the Quileutes is *alitsish xwa' loba'a*, "feeding the dead". A plate of food is burned while remembering someone who has died. The ritual is believed to both insure that the ghost has sufficient food (in the underworld) and to keep the ghost interceding with the spirit world on behalf of the living. There is sometimes also the assumption that the ghost will frequent the area where food is burned in its name, exerting its good offices to influence the spirit world in favor of the living.

Big Bill remembers lots of the names and stories about his ancestors because they talked about the old people when he was young. The old people put aside food for the ancestors and would burn it, especially up in the prairies because that would keep the ghosts up there making things go right. Food that you burned for the dead was multiplied and kept the ghosts eating well (J. Powell, NB. 1978, #1, p. 61).

(c) *Avoidance of tabooed behavior in the prairies.* Traditional Quileutes believed that various behaviours would offend the spirit world. Most taboos had to do with avoidance of activities: not doing, looking at, eating or touching certain things at particular times. We have already enumerated a few of the taboos, which Arthur Howeattle told to Frachtenberg, having to do with things done or harvested in the prairies. Attention to taboo interdictions was mentioned by Sarah Woodruff Hines in a thoughtful comment relating to an early (c.1920) trip to harvest in the prairies.

We got there early 6:30, 7:00. Aubrey and Henry Taylor took us over in a big canoe to above *K'i'il* (Rialto Beach). Worked, too. We were all barefoot except Ida Taylor, who carried her shoes. Some had digging sticks. Mary had a bunch of *k'woyokws* (digging sticks) in her *baxwuy* (burden basket, usually with tumpline) that weren't sticks, they were cut off elk horn tips. It was easy to dig if you stuck it down in the right place. We mostly dug *t'sikwi'* (bracken and sword fern roots) and *la'it'ay* (clover roots). Effie (sister, Eli Ward's wife) couldn't dig *t'sikwi'* because she was pregnant. Everybody laughed. I don't think they really believed it would hurt the baby. But they thought *t'siq'ati* didn't like it, so she just went and dug more *la'it'ay*. The baskets got real heavy. (J. Powell, NB. 1978, p.75)

digging
Beaver

Other Maintenance activities relating to prairies. For much of Quileute life, it was presumed that the natural world would, with the help of favorably disposed spirits, maintain itself. Thus, the old people spoke of few activities, which involved their intentional intervention in the course of the natural world. Among these are the following:

(a) *Trail maintenance.* Keeping up the trail to the prairies other than simply by use. According to Ram Singh [p.25], "The trail to a prairie was kept up by the people who used it". Other trails resulted from the wear and tear of use, but those to the prairie were actually maintained. It is clear from Hal George's comment below that to maintain a trail was a departure from the Quileute old people's usual patterns.

Now, the old people said *btsatsqal yix t'siq'ati* (the land takes care of itself) and that means everything. They didn't plant gardens or build fences to keep deer out. They didn't make *la'wqwoł* or *lotoqwl'i*

(roads/trails or bridges) never chopped down trees to cross rivers. (J. Powell, NB 1978, p. 71)

QUILEUTE MYTHIC REFERENCES TO THE PRAIRIES

The Prairies in Quileute Mythic Narrative- The importance of prairies to the traditional Quileutes is apparent in their many mentions in Quileute myth and in the degree to which the prairies were considered to be the haunt and home of spiritual beings. Because spirit powers were considered to be both near and responsible for the many benefits to be reaped from the prairies, the old people felt an obligation to demonstrate their gratitude for the gifts and enabling powers. Thus, the prairies were places for prayer, cleansing and ritual. And, in return the people were able to see the results in their success at hunting and foraging. The old people felt that spiritual approval and assistance was most clearly visible through successful hunting and provision gathering. If you pleased the spirit powers, they made you skillful and successful. And, since the hunting and gathering done in the prairies was critical to making it through the annual cycle, the spirits were seldom out of mind while camping in the prairies or making foraging daytrips. As we know, the spirit world was natural and real, but simply couldn't be seen. The old people had heard the stories and learned the traits of the various prairie spiritual beings since childhood. A visit to the prairies was a trip to a powerful part of their territory where unpredictable things could happen and the unexpected was not surprising. As Hal George would smile and say, "*Hixas k'itaqli xaba okil chi yaqw. K'idiloqwalich chikwliqaqlas o cha'a yaqwo'wa.*" (It's different up on the prairie. You feel-strange too-greatly-different in the prairie.)

Quileute cultural narrative: myth, legend and folkloric accounts - In this section I attempt to discuss what we know about the mythic history of the Quileute prairies that explained their special spiritual qualities to the old people's satisfaction. I will be treating only myth that refers to prairies or is located at least partially in prairies. The cultural narratives that we refer to were primarily recorded from the following sources.

1) [AR] Albert Reagan. "Some Myths of the Hoh and Quillayute Indians", Transactions of the Kansas Academy of Sciences, 1935. 40 stories recorded while Reagan was sub-agent and teacher at LaPush between July 1, 1905 and Oct. 15, 1909.

2) [R&W] Albert Reagan and L.V.W. Walters. "Tales from the Hoh and Quileute", *Journal of American Folklore*, Vol. 46, #182 [Oct 1933]. 52 stories, all but seven of which were collected between 1905-9 by Reagan. Walters edited them for publication and, "to have a few type myths to use as a standard of the Quileute English-speaking narrative style," he went to LaPush in 1932 and collected seven stories from Hal George. Just before publication, Walters had discovered that Andrade was preparing *Quileute Texts* for publication, so he dropped nine stories "to avoid needless duplication" since the stories "were almost identical versions" of those published by Andrade. This suggests the degree to which Quileute mythic narratives were consistent from teller to teller.

(3) [QT] Manuel Andrade, *Quileute Texts*. Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology, Vol. 12 [1931]. Contains the Quileute and English (side by side) versions of 70 Quileute mythic, legendary and folkloric texts. 26 were collected by Andrade in 1928 and 44 of them were transcribed by Leo Frachtenberg in 1915-6 and, later, edited by Andrade for inclusion in this corpus.

4) Oral narratives as told to the author by Sarah Hines, Fred Woodruff, William "Big Bill" Penn, Hal George, Harvey James, Nellie Williams, Rosie Black, Eleanor Wheeler (Kaikaka), Pansy Hudson, Lela Fisher, Herb Fisher, Helen Lee, Lillian Pullen, Chris Morganroth II & III, Calvin George, Porky Payne

It is, at first consideration, surprising that so many Quileute myths take place in prairies. The prairies are a very small part (less than 1%) of Quileute traditional territory. Yet, no less than ten of the 40 myths in

Reagan [1935] take place in prairies. These stories are focal in Quileute cultural narrative because they do what powerful oral traditions do: they explain the basis for customs and values and they account for the origin of natural phenomena. For instance, Quileute traditional stories give us the following answers:

- 1) **The origin of the Quileutes in Quileute Country-** *Q'wati*, the Changer who went around at the Time of Beginnings transforming the natural features of the world and creating the differences between the species caused the wolves who inhabited the Quillayute River area to be changed into the ancestors of the Quileutes. (see QT, p.82)
- 2) **The origin of the prairies of Quileute Territory-** *T'istilal*, called Thunderbird, formed the prairies by catching whales to take back to his lair on the Blue Glacier or Mt. Olympus, and set the whale down to rest part way home. As soon as it hit the ground, the whale flopped and fought, leveling all the trees for some distance. These level places became the prairies of Quileute country. (see R&W, p. 320, AR, p.63)
- 3) **The Origin of the line of rocks in Beaver Prairie-** *T'istilal* the Thunderbird and Mimlos Whale (Mimlos is the Chinook Jargon word for "to die" or "to kill", *i.e.* Killer Whale) thrashed and fought in the area that is now Beaver Prairie. Mimlos Whale was killed and a group of upriver Quileutes discovered the whale and butchered it. They left the bones, which became the line of rocks in the prairie, visible to this day. The people also died for the effrontery to take a whale that didn't belong to them. (See AR, p.63)
- 4) **How did the practice of burning the prairies come into being-** The Changer, *Q'wati*, introduced burning the prairies by tricking the Quileute women to start prairie fires using torches. "Some young women went to the prairie to dig camas. Each wore a headband, from the front of which there extended a long pointed stick about two feet in length. On the other end of each stick there were tied pitch shavings and the whole formed into a torch. They had these torches lit. *Q'wati* mocked the shy girls, who fell flat on the ground to hide themselves, and they accidentally started the big ferns on fire. The whole prairie burned. *Q'wati* jumped into the river, but it was boiling hot and he jumped out. (See R&W, p.308).
- 5) **Why the weather is warm on the prairies and there are lots of rabbits there-** *Doqwis*, the Rabbit, went up the river and *Ka'olat*, the cold East Wind was busy freezing the world, as was his wont. Rabbit was crafty enough to kill East Wind when he tried to steal a fish from Rabbit's canoe. Rabbit hit *Ka'olat* a terrible blow with his club and split him like a chunk of ice and then scattered him to the other four winds, who moderated the temperatures. Rabbit stayed upriver in the prairies. (See AR, p.77)
- 6) **The origin of the *qit'lakwal*, elk hunting spirit power, in the prairies and how to get it-** At the Time of Beginnings, an *ixwalola* (medicine man) tried to discover whether it would be appropriate for people to hunt the elk (who, after all are descendants of a being who had once been a man and had a soul). In the story, the human goes questing and finds a spirit being who give him a headband and he discovers that if he gets a spirit power, elk will be unable to resist him. It is the beginning of the elk hunters' song society, which often met in Forks Prairie.
- 7) **Why the Quileutes sing and pray in gratitude to T'siq'ati, the Great Nature Spirit-** The Quileutes learned that if they didn't express gratitude to the Great Nature Spirit for providing them with the gifts of the natural world and the skill and luck to avail themselves of these products, they would either be stricken down or have no further luck. They learned this while bringing a whale to shore "but while towing it they did not sing and pray to Se-kah-til, them other earth". And they all died. (See AR, p.69)
- 8) **Why the Quileutes honor the deer (and other large mammals) that they kill in the prairies-** The Quileutes learned that if they did not express gratitude and appreciation to the mammals that they killed in the prairies, that they would lose their luck in hunting. In the myth of Deer and Wolf, "a mother deer and a mother wolf went to the prairie to get fern roots to make into flour." The mother wolf killed and ate the mother deer. From that day on, the other deer warned each other whenever the wolf was near and the wolf had a difficult time finding food. The Quileutes honor the deer that submit themselves to the Quileute hunters. (See AR, p.60)
- 9) **Why the Quileutes are endogamous, marrying someone from their own tribe-** A Quileute woman sleeping on the prairie wishes to marry and that night her suitor comes and takes her away to live in a prairie on the other side of the sea. After years she becomes homesick and returns to Quileute country with her husband to see her parents. She decides not to return and her

husband has to return to his country alone. "That is why the Quillayutes try to marry women of their own tribe." (AR, p.60)

- 10) **Why the Quileutes traditionally practiced the levirate, widows marrying a male kinsman of their dead husband-** The first husband of the woman in the story above died. She was pregnant and unable to feed herself in the isolated place on the immense prairie. "Finally one day when she almost ready to die, there came a rap at the door, and a young man entered the house...He said, 'This place belonged to a relative of mine.' Upon hearing her story, the young man said, 'We live at the other end of this large prairie. I am single. Come with me to my house and be my wife.'" This practice provides a patrilineal social mechanism for a family to keep the children of their son in the event that the son dies. Rather than their son's widow taking their grandchildren away when she returns to her own family, that widow traditionally marries a brother of her dead husband or some other kinsman of her husband's. This custom, called the "Levirate" was common among traditional Quileutes, and had its origin in the prairies. (AR, p.59)

Unexpected things happen in the prairies. There is a sense of the prairies as the threshold to the other world, a quality where the line between the visible world and the invisible (spiritual) world is less defined. In the Quileute cultural narratives spiritual beings seem to appear often on the prairies. A few examples are the following occurrences which, albeit, are recognized to have happened in myth times but exemplify the liminal nature of the prairies:

- 1) A myth starts: Two young ladies were digging fern roots on the prairies. Night came on and they retired, but did not go to sleep. As they reclined on their mats they talked and talked the hours away. As they were conversing, one of them looked up into the heavens and said: "I wish I had that bright star. I would marry him. Hardly had the words been spoken when two suitors from the starry vault came to visit them. As soon as they came, one of them said to the lady who had made the wish: "I am the person you love. Come with me." The suitor was, in fact, a heavenly being and took the woman from the prairies to the heavens. Stories such as this made it clear to traditional Quileutes that in the prairies you had to be careful what you wished for. (AR, p.54)
- 2) A myth starts: A long time ago two girls went to the prairies to dig ferns for flour. As they went they passed by an open space in the woods where the decapitated head of a young man was suspended on a pole-stake...The young lady remarked: I wish that man had been my husband. He has a good looking face. I wish he could be my husband now." They went on to the prairie... they dug fern roots and piled them in piles to dry.... (they were tired and, that night, soon after they had gone to sleep, there came a rap on the wall. "I am here. I am the man you want to marry." The suitor took the girl across the sea to a different world. Again, the prairies are places where women are enabled to wish for their lovers and, magically, their dreams come true. (AR, p.58)
- 3) A myth starts: Once there was a tribe living by the beach. The chief of this tribe had one daughter and they thought a lot of her. In her sleep, this daughter would dream about a dog, a handsome dog. When she grew older, she would go out on the prairie and dig roots for the family. One day she met this dog she dreamed about so much. The girl became pregnant and gave birth to a batch of puppies. She moved away and, alone, tried to forage to feed the dog children. One day she discovered the dog children were ordinary babies who were wearing dog costumes. So she snuck in and burned the puppy costumes and the children were ordinary people ever since. By now, it is no surprise that when a girl dreamed of a handsome dog as lover, she would find him in the prairie. (R&W, p.304)
- 4) A myth says: Two virgins came along the trail going to the prairie to gather fern roots. They heard a child crying. It was *Q'wati*. He was lonely because no woman would have him for a husband. So, he transformed himself into a baby and hid himself on the trail leading to the prairie, where the women found him. They felt sorry for the baby, so the older girl took it and raised it. When *Q'wati* had grown into a man, she became his wife and they went back and forth over the earth together doing good to all people. In this story it is apparent that the prairies are a place where spirit beings can have their own way with the mates they long to have. (R&W, p.309)

It is interesting that people, especially women, who are depicted in myths as doing right and avoiding selfishness or evil actions are often portrayed as digging roots in the prairies. It's as if someone who is digging roots in the prairies couldn't be evil or troublesome. Here are some examples:

- 1) An old time Quileute happens upon an evil medicine man who killed people with his doctoring power. He kills the evil medicine man and goes home. The followers of the evil shaman descend on his house to retaliate, "but he stood them off. So, then they went to the prairie to kill his wives, who were digging fern roots to make into flour. On seeing the armed men coming, the women loaded their baskets with roots and started for home so quietly as to make believe that they thought that everything was alright." In this story, the good man and his wives prevail. After all, the women were digging roots in the prairies. (AR, p.70)

However, not everyone who digs roots in the prairies is upright. The Quileute woman of the woods – the kelp-haired child snatching cannibal, *Dask'iya*, is regularly portrayed as digging camas while she plans her next abduction of innocent children.

Dask'iya was a giantess. She went around eating little children. *Q'wati* went to where she was digging camas on Quillayute Prairie. He offered to carry her baskets, and hung one in front and one on his back. Then he started running, eating handfuls of camas as he ran. *Dask'iya* chased him and when she stopped for a drink, *Q'wati* changed into a minnow and swam where she was drinking. She swallowed the minnow, which immediately changed into a whale inside her stomach. That was the end of the evil *Dask'iya* (one of her many ends). (R&W, p.312)

When a man encounters a being in the prairies, it could either be a good or an evil one. It is up to the man to be circumspect. For instance, in the following story, a man, Tuscobuk, survives a meeting with an evil stranger because he is wary:

Tuscobuk meets a stranger in Forks Prairie who has been killing Quileute hunters and intends to kill him. The stranger has been killing hunters by trading rubbery "magic" arrows with the hunters and then changing into an immense elk that, unhurt by the hunters' rubbery arrows, kills them all. Well, tuscobuk is wary and doesn't trade arrows, nor does he stand behind the tree that the stranger suggests. And, when the gigantic elk comes along and charges the tree, expecting to find Tuscobuk, he is disappointed. Then, Tuscobuk jumps out from hiding and hits the elk with four yewwood arrows. The elk dies and Tuscobuk skins it and throws the hide up into the sky, where light shining through the arrow holes makes the constellation Cassiopeia's Chair. (R&W, p.326)

There are also a few Quileute myths relating to the prairies that seem impossible or uncomfortable to interpret. These stories have images that connote meaning for us, but the story does not lead to an obvious message. For instance:

- 1) ***Q'wati* Gives the Women Bees** – *Q'wati* came along the trail by the prairie with a basket swung at his back. He was singing, "I've got lots of elk meat in my basket." He was singing this for he was passing a place in the prairie where several young women were digging fern roots. He really had a box of bees in his basket. The girls ran out shouting, "Oh, *Q'wati*, give us the meat." *Q'wati* told them to hold out their baskets and look the other way, which they did. Then he let out the bees and they stung the girls, who rolled on the ground and screamed. *Q'wati* grinned and disappeared (R&W, p.308).

Question of Interpretation: By now we understand that women who are digging roots in the prairie connote women innocent of bad intentions. We also know that *Q'wati* can be presumed to be helping the Quileutes in his mythic escapades, even though he is prone to being sexually stimulated by unescorted women. An analysis which simply suggests that this is a myth which explains the existence of bees in the prairies seems to overlook all of the detail which could arguably be sexual imagery. At this point, it is a myth about the prairies with familiar motifs of innocent women digging fern roots.

There were also prairies in the Quileute Land of the Dead. According to Frachtenberg [5:33]: There are prairies in the very heart of the underworld...and beyond this is a prairie full of strawberries, where they

could pick and eat berries. It is clear that the daily lifeways of the traditional Quileutes included knowledge and use of the prairies so comprehensively, that prairie lore was imprinted on their cognitive maps, on their worldview and on their cultural logic. This report has attempted to articulate some of the traditional aspects of Quileute prairie knowledge, belief and use.

APPENDIX: A PARTIAL PRESENTATION OF DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE OF THE TRADITIONAL USE OF THE PRAIRIES OF QUILEUTE COUNTRY

Note: Sources are chronologically arranged according to the date of publication or notation (in the case of unpublished anthropological fieldnotes). This is a partial list and includes primarily material that is not available on library shelves. Excerpts from the author's fieldnotes are presented throughout the body of the text; and, they have generally not been explicitly presented below except for quotes from Sarah Hines, William "Big Bill" Penn and Hal George.

Swan, James G. From *A cruise in the Sarah Newton (July 18-August 24, 1861)*, *Washington Standard*, 5 & 12 October 1861. Reprinted in *Almost out of the World*, William A Katz, ed., Wash. St. Hist. Soc. [1971].

Swan [1818-1900] came to the Northwest in 1852, one of the first Euro-Americans settled in Shoalwater Bay; 1859-66, lived in Neah Bay as agent and teacher. He visited the Quileutes at least three times: (1) in 1855, when the mail-steamer *Southerner* was wrecked at the mouth of the river, (2) on the cruise aboard the *Sarah Newton* in 1861, and (3) in 1879, when he and Chas. Willoughby met the Quileute chiefs Xawishat'a, Tlakishka and Taxa'wil at the mouth of the Quillayute River, all of whom signed an affidavit that they had been misled by the treaty negotiators in 1856.

Swan describes the location and size of the "cammass" prairie in sufficient detail (7 miles from the mouth of the river, on the north side of the river, and bounded on the south by a steep hill about 100 feet high, about 4 ½ miles long by ¾ mile wide) for us to recognize it as the Quillayute Prairie (Sat'ayaqw). He remarks its openness and the immense ferns. Finally, he notes that there was a well-defined trail that led into the prairie, suggesting that it had considerable thoroughfare. Finally, it is of interest that the chiefs decided, of all places in their territory, to take Swan to the prairie that contained the village's most accessible camas beds.

[Part One]

I wrote you, my dear sir, that I purposed a cruise on the coast during the past summer, as far south as Quillehuyt River. I will now give your readers the result of my observation. When the tide rose, we pulled the schooner into the river and anchored in ten feet of water near the Indian village. The Indians immediately came on board in great numbers, all friendly and very curious. I perceived among them some of the Quenaiults, old acquaintances, Mackamus, on the chiefs. He soon made me acquainted with Hawelatl, head chief of the Quillehuyts, who invited Capt. Beynon and myself on shore, where he conducted us through the lodges of his village.

The following day we passed in trading and on Thursday, August 1st, I made arrangements with Howelatl and Wackamus to accompany me up the river to Cammass Prairie.....

QUILLEHUYT RIVER. The Quillehuyte River is a fine little stream, varying from fifty to two hundred yards in width and with a depth of eight to twelve feet of water..... About a mile up from the bend of the river (which looks from the ocean as if it was the real entrance), we came to a rapids extending some 300 feet at the head of which is a lodge and a strong weir for taking salmon..... We proceeded up the stream three-fourths of a mile, when we stopped at the mouth of a small brook and all went ashore to walk, as the current here was two (sic) strong for us to row any further although canoes go miles beyond. The Indians requested me to drink some of the water of this brook, which I did and found it remarkably cool and refreshing, and totally unlike the river water, which is also very pure. After securing the boat, we started off on foot, walking along the river

bank for a quarter of a mile, when we came to another fish weir and an Indian lodge. Here we struck off into a trail which led to the CAMMASS PRAIRIE, which lies in a northerly direction through a bottom of alder, willow and vine maple. We passed several patches of potatoes planted by the Indians, and all fenced in. After walking through a bottom for half a mile over a very good but circuitous trail, we came to a creek nearly dry at this season, but evidently a large water course during freshets. We crossed this by means of a fallen tree constructed by the Indians into a rude bridge, and then passed up to a bench of land almost ten feet higher than the alder bottom. This I found to be a fine level piece of land, which was covered with a heavy growth of hemlock..... After passing through the hemlock forest, we came to the foot of a sharp hill 100 feet high. On ascending this, I found the beautiful prairie stretched out before me, level with the top of the ascent, covered with ferns higher than my head, and extending in a northeasterly direction five miles or more in length and from a half to three quarters of a mile wide. Beyond this prairie is a level forest and beyond that the mountains and hills that make the southern boundary of the Strait of Juan de Fuca..... We walked by a trail through the ferns to the center of the prairie, where the ground rises with a gentle elevation..... I have named the prairie Lughton's prairie in compliment to my friend Joseph E. Lughton, Esq., late treasurer of Jefferson County..... I only remained on the prairie long enough to get the bearings by compass of the various mountain peaks and hills, and at 12 o'clock, noon, I started on my return to the schooner, and reached her at half past three o'clock. I called the distance from the mouth of the river to Lughton's prairie seven miles. [*End of Part One*]

[*Part Two*]

On leaving the prairie, we retraced our steps over the same trail we came, and having reach the brook where we had left our boat, we partook of a lunch of cold meat and hard bread which we washed down with a draught of the pure cold water of the brook and then started down the river.....(describes village, climbs the fortress islet, Alekistet, and names it James' Island).

THE NATIVES The Quillehuyt village is at the mouth of the river, on the little bay behind James' Island. Howeatl, the head chief, is a quiet and very friendly Indian, and was of great service to the whites at the time of the wreck of the Southerner. After the passengers had left, a party sent to take charge of the mails.....remained several weeks and were treated with the greatest kindness and hospitality. Since that time, there have not (been) more than two or three white men passed that way. Ours was certainly the first trading vessel ever there and the actions of the Indians showed how unaccustomed they were to a stock of goods, but they had but little to trade with and our bargains were soon closed. They evinced their kind feelings on our departure by all coming down to the beach and bidding us good-bye, a procedure that I never saw Indians do before on a like occasion.....

James G. Swan [1879]. Documents and notes from a meeting held August 20-1, 1879, in the village at the mouth of the Quillayute River between Chas. Willoughby (U.S. Indian Agent), James G. Swan (interpreter and clerk) and the chiefs and sub-chief of the Quileute.

This meeting, held 24 years after the Quileute speaking chiefs signed the treaty, speaks of the memories, intentions and sentiments of the chiefs who signed the treaty. The chiefs claim that they did not understand the provisions of the treaty and they specifically mention "the prairie land where the camas grows" as a part of their territory which they would never give up voluntarily.

Tahahowtl, Sub Chief of the Quillehute, under the treaty then said: "I told Mr. Simmons that my land was from the island of Upkowis (*i.e.* Tatoosh Is.) opposite Kwedaitatsit (*i.e.* Cape Flattery, lit. "Makah people place") down the coast to the Hooh River. This

was my land formerly, and we would not sell our right to the river where we got our salmon (running) into the land at the mouth of the river where we now live. We always wish to live where we are. We also claim the right to the sea coast as far as our land extends. And we want one half of the prairie land where the camas grows. The rest we will sell to Washington. Mr. Simmons said it was good, and he wanted to do as the Indians wished. Mr. Simmons said I have not bought your land. All I want of you is to look out for any white man who may be wrecked on your coast or come to you in distress. I want you to take care of them.

Mr. Simmons gave us at that time, to each man one blanket and to each woman one blanket, and three yards of calico or white cotton cloth to each child. Mr. Simmons said, "this is a cultus potlatch (a gift) it is not in payment for land....

Signed by Tahahoweth (his mark)

Witnessed by Peter (his mark) & Jessie (his mark)

by James G. Swan, and
by Chas. Willoughby

Reagan, Albert B. [1908] The Olympic Region. Alaska-Yukon Magazine, October 1908. pp. 18-24.

Albert B. Reagan came to LaPush as school teacher in 1905 and stayed four years (he was later there briefly as Indian Agent). He was a man of wide interests and, besides teaching and serving as local Indian Agent, he made notations on Quileute life, community happenings, and the geography and natural science of the surrounding Olympic area. Reagan returned briefly to work for the Indian Agency at Hoquiam later (1928). He wrote a number of articles on various aspects of Quileute life, cultural narrative and ethnobotany. He died in 1936 in Ouray, Utah and many of his papers were placed by his widow, Otilla Reagan, in the Brigham Young University Archives. Reagan also did a short ethnographic manuscript on the Quileutes that is located in the BAE, Wash. D.C.

[p. 18] Railroad activity in northwestern Washington for the past two years has brought before the public eye the Olympic peninsula with its giant timber and fertile valleys and prairies.....Governor Stevens' treaties in the (18)fifties settled the Indian troubles. The scenery here is as striking as any in the state. In the lowlands, it is true, one sees nothing but stately timber, because he is engulfed (sic) in it, except when an occasional prairie is encountered.

[p. 21] As far as the writer knows the soil of the prairies, treeless areas covering 4,000 acres, has never been analyzed. It is a black loam two or more feet in thickness. It is composed of decayed fern roots that have been collecting since the retreat of the great ice sheet. This soil is known to be as good as any in the state. In fact, the writer has examined the soil in various parts of the United States and he has found none better.

Curtis, Edward D. [1913] The North American Indian: Salishan Tribes of the Coast [Vol. 9, p. 141-150] Norwood Publ. (Boston).

Curtis, the photographer and amateur ethnographer traveled and documented Quileutes and their lifeways in the early 1900s. He obtained important historical information regarding the Chimacum, the linguistic congeners of the Quileute, who were largely extinct as a tribal group by then (having been wiped out by Clallam and Suquamish raiding, and later intermarried with those groups). He included in his information regarding Quileute economics and hunting, belief systems, myth and language.

Supplications were addressed to one's own particular guardian spirits, and all persons prayed to the sun and to Tsikati (the universe) asking for long life and for success in any contemplated undertaking. Some would utter the prayers from a hilltop, others standing in a stream or in the sea at a secluded place (p.148).

Thunder is believed to be the clapping of the wings of Tistilal, a huge bird and lightning is the flash of the yellow feathers under his wings. This bird catches whales in his talons. A folktale describes how a man once saw it alight on Beaver prairie with a whale to rest and watched it fly away without the whale. Some people from Qiliyut found the whale and butchered it, but when the flesh was all cut up a great hailstorm a rose. Huge hailstones killed the people, and their bodies and the whale's were turned into stones, which are now pointed out on the prairie as proof of the event (p.149).

Frachtenberg, Leo [1916]. Quileute Fieldnotes (notebooks recorded in LaPush, Summer of 1916) American Philosophical Society MS, Philadelphia. 7 vols.

Leo Frachtenberg taught at Chemawa School in Oregon during WWI. Several Quileute young people attended at that time, and Frachtenberg became acquainted with Hal George, who helped him arrange a summer of interviews in LaPush during 1916 with knowledgeable elders such as Arthur Howeattle, Talicas Eastman, Billy Hebaladup, Frachtenberg's notes include various historical and contemporary references to Quileute residence in and exploitation of the prairies. The material reproduced below represents information that relates generally to traditional Quileute use of the prairies.

[NB 2:1] Arthur Howeattle – *Territory*

Quiliutes lived in former times on James Island....Temporary lodges were put up on Beaver Prairie (NE of LaPush. [2:4] At the time of the treaty (1855 and 1856), they lived in Lapush. According to this treaty made between G. Isaac Stevens and Old Chief Howeattle (an uncle of the last chief), the Indians ceded to the Government the northern half of Lake Ozette and eastern half of Quiliute Prairie, keeping for Indians the other half and also forks Prairie, their camas-grounds and also fishing and hunting grounds. [2:6] Forks Prairie was called qet'La'ayaqw "upper (i.e. upstream) prairie". Quiliute prairie was called sat'a'ayaqw "lower (i.e. downstream) prairie"...Every place along the river had a name and each place was the property of a certain family. The following is a list of names and fishing grounds: ...(#14) ts'ixwo'ot', "above the prairie" on the Calawah River 200 yards upstream from the highway bridge at the north end of Forks, belongs to Po'oqshq' (Dixon Payne, now to Tom Payne). This was the next (2nd) best place because he was liwo'wa a'ach'it ('next to the chief'). [2:9] Although the fishing grounds belonged to particular families, hunting grounds were communal property. These grounds included the prairies and the upper part of each river and reached clear to the Olympic Mountains.

[2:39] Arthur Howeattle and Talicus Eastman -*Shelter*

Permanent houses were called t'ik'al... While fishing along the river they occupied permanent homes of the same style and material as those (in the village at the mouth of the river). During the hunting season (i.e. while camping on the prairies) they used houses or lodges made of hemlock bark and called Loq'wa'ati 'bark house'. Hunting and berrying lodges were also built of underbrush and called tsasa'ati, 'brush house'. Hunting lodges were also constructed of elk skins and called hokwodisti, 'hide houses'. [2:46] Loq'wa'ati 'bark houses' were used during summer while they were located at the prairie digging camas and fern roots. These were built of hemlock bark. The prairies are regularly surrounded by hemlock stands. The bark was cut this way. Circular incisions were made at the desired length of the trunk; a similar incision was made at the bottom of

houses
on
prairie

the tree. Then one perpendicular incision was made from the top to bottom and the bark was peeled off. A level spot was chosen. Then, at each end of the desired house-site, a hemlock pole with a groove in the top was set upright. Four such corner posts were set up. The two hind-posts were shorter, thus making the rood slanting just as in the shed-roofed traditional Quileute permanent dwelling t'ik'al. On top of these posts horizontal poles were placed, but instead of four such rafters only two were used, one on each side. The front and back of this bark-lodge had no rafters. The rafters were tied to the posts by means of twigs. These rafters were of the same length as the bark. Then on top of these rafters smaller poles were placed at equal distances and right angles reaching from side to side and tied with malleable twigs or with-ropes to the rafters. They usually used a number of these poles, so as to prevent the weight of the bark from bending them downwards. On top of these poles the strips of bark were laid perpendicularly which were weighed down by means of chunks of wood or stones. The number of bark-strips necessary for the roof depended upon the size of the house. The strips of bark on the roof were placed in the same way as the boards on the roof of permanent houses. The walls consisted of underbrush or small hemlock limbs, which were inserted between two poles fastened at each end with twigs. These poles (one set at the bottom and one at the top), together with the brush were fastened to the rafter by means of limbs; and, as the front and back part had no rafters, horizontal poles were tied at right angles to the two corner posts at a lower distance from the tops, and to these poles the walls were tied. For an entrance, one side of the house was left entirely open, usually in the direction away from the wind, so they often faced NE. These houses were large enough to hold one family only.

A tsasa'ati, 'brush house' was used during hunting season (summer or winter) and in the prairies it could be used both as a shelter and a blind while waiting for game. It would usually be used for a few nights only. These houses were built of brush. A level site under a large tree was chosen. Then two posts (one at each end) were set into the ground and across these, somewhat lower than the top, another pole was tied. This opening served as the entrance to the lodge and also the front part of it. Against each of these two upright poles another pole was leaned, one end resting on the ground and the thinner end tied to the upright pole. Then across these two poles, three other poles were laid horizontally and fastened by means of twigs. One pole at top, one in the middle and one close to the ground. At right angles with these poles layers of hemlock limbs were placed. The front of the house was away from the tree. Two people in one lodge.

Hokwodisti, 'skin house' was a hunting lodge set up by the hunters. It could be put up by hunters if they were in heavy rain because it was more waterproof than bark or brush lodges. The skin of freshly killed animals could be used. Mostly the skins of deer, elk or bear were used. They could either be used in prairies or bush.... The skins were tied on top of a frame, overlapping with the hairy part on the inside. For walls skins or old mats were used. One side was left open for an entrance. One house usually accommodated one family. They were square; not oblong.

[2:55] Away from home, in the prairies or other camps, cooking was done in pots of various sizes and shapes (haxixw), improvised from hemlock bark and called po'oq (square) and wi'ees (oblong shaped). They occasionally cooked in basked of spruce roots, if these were tight enough.

[3:18] Arthur Howeattle – *Subsistence* [Note: this section edited and expanded by Hal George during an interview with Powell, 1978; these additions are included below]. The following roots were eaten. The preferred root-food was camas (kwala). Also, ferns, esp. bracken, sword ferns, ladyferns, and rarely woodfern were eaten. Ferns in general were called pilapila; fernroots in general were called t'sikwi'. Bracken were called (k'aqwa'apat) and licorice fern was called tsqqwa'at, a term later used for chewing tobacco, because it was chewed. The Quiliute also dug and ate clover roots (La'it'ay), camas (kwala), buttercup (k'ikiLiqaaxpat), tiger lily (LiLipiwada'yu),

silverweed (t'Lit'Le'eshit), horsetail (t'sexaq), wild parsnip (saqwsuda'), and thistle roots (bo'olob or Liloq'wa'atapat) and LeLxwac'so'ot, meaning unknown.

The following berries were eaten (most available in the prairies of Quiliute territory): salmonberry (cha'aLowa), red huckleberry (tiLo'ot), blue huckleberry (towadaq or yayaxad), salalberry (kwo'od), thimbleberry (taqachiL), strawberry (t'obiya), elderberries (t'siba'), lowbush cranberry (p'ap'a'is), trailing blackberries (bada'bixw), blackberries (introduced species, evergreen and himalaya, all called shishipq'it'sa), gooseberry (t'ik'wapat), crabapples (soyoyoswa'), stink currants (t'Liloc'hiyiL), rose hips (t'Lik'way), Oregon grape and serviceberry (questionable use, no Quiliute name recalled).

[3:19] Roots were dug by means of a digger (t'iyuq'wot'soqwoL meaning "used for digging the ground"). Made of spruce, yew and vine maple limbs, crooked and pointed at the end. The point was barbed. These had handles occasionally. They were from 4-5 feet long and about a 2-3 inches thick. Elk and deer horn hand-diggers were also used.

Preservation of food. Elk, deer meat was dried. The fat was first cut away and left to dry separately. Occasionally the fat was first partly smoked and dried...Smoke-drying meat was done only during the cloudy months. The upriver prairies were much sunnier than downstream areas and the river mouth, and meat was wind dried up there. In the summer when the sun was bright, the slices were smoked for a short time only to keep the flies away and then they were placed outside on a platform above the ground, whose poles were about a 6 inches apart and left to dry in the sun. At night the meat was taken off and put on again in the morning. Meat dried this way could keep about a year. Bear, cougar, and wildcat meat was cut in long, one-inch thick strips and dried or smoked by being flapped over horizontal poles above the ground. Of course, these meats were also eaten fresh, as was the meat of smaller animals and birds, which were usually not preserved by drying.

[3:25] Fern roots were (taken home, then) rolled up and dried in the house by placing them across two or more poles. Roots dried in this way kept a whole year. Camas was preserved by simply being kept in a dry place. The other roots were dried by laying them on a mat or the ground and exposing to the rays of sun. Gooseberries, salmon and huckleberries, thimble and strawberries and crabapples were eaten fresh. Huckleberries and all other berries were preserved by either drying or steaming. Crabapples were also crushed and mixed with grease (as were all berries) for a sweet treat. Elderberries were steamed (just like camas) in this way: a circular hole was dug in ground or sand about a one-foot deep. This hole was lined on the bottom and sides with rocks. On top of these, a fire was built and into it more rocks were put. When stones were red-hot, the wood was taken away and fire permitted to die out. On top of the ashes were wide straps of alder bark spread on which the berries were spread out, which protected them from touching the dirt of the edges by means of skunk cabbage leaves. The berries were then covered with layers of skunk cabbage leaves which were sprinkled with water to produce steam, and on top of these dirt or sand was piled about 6 inches thick. On top a big fire was made and enough wood piled to make the fire last a whole night. Next morning the berries were uncovered and smashed finely by pounding them with the bottoms of wooden spoons. Then they were put into pikwo' (special elderberry storage baskets). The berries were cooled off and transferred into those baskets made of hemlock bark covered up with leaves of soft vine maple and stored away in the mud of shallow creeks.

Salal and huckleberries were dried either by the fire or in the sun. They were spread on mats (outside, if it was sunny) and left to dry. After being dry, the berries were placed in bags made of cedarbark and stored away. Fresh salalberries were mashed in carved wooden bowls if available or bark containers in the prairies, and made into oblong cakes with rounded corners, some three-inches thick and dried slowly in the house, away from the fire. When dry they were stored away. One such cake was worth a blanket. Fresh

salalberries were also mashed in wooden pots made into long thin cakes and placed high upon skunk cabbage leaves to dry slowly. Huckleberries were only dried on mats.

Roots and berries were dug and gathered by men and women. When the whole family went out, the men usually dug the roots while the women picked the berries. Fernroots were dug in winter from November until April. Camas and wild parsnip was dug during spring from April to June. Wild clover roots were dug in June and July. LeLxwat'so'ot (meaning not known) were dug in March and horsetail roots all year round. When camas time came, they left their permanent homes in March going up to Forks, Little or Quiliute Prairie, staying until a sufficient quantity was obtained. None of the roots were dried at their temporary lodges in the prairies. The berries were picked in their seasons and the women were never absent alone from their homes for more than 2 or 3 days at a time. Gooseberries and salmonberries ripen in the later part of June: blue and red huckleberries in July, likewise elderberries, salal and blackberries in August; thimbleberries in July; strawberries during June & July, and crabapples in September.

[3:37] Billy Hebaladup and Arthur Howeattle, *Hunting*.

The Quiliutes used to hunt along the banks of the rivers....The prairies too were full of game and they hunted especially on Quiliute Prairie (c'hikwyaqw or sat'ayaqw), Forks Prairie (qet'Layaqw), Little Prairie (q'wadiyaqw), Beaver and Tyee Prairies (t'axetal yaqw), and Lower Bear Creek prairie area (t'sixwokwotsoqw yaqw). The hunting areas belong to the whole tribe and are available to anyone. Hunting was done with bows and arrows (taxwLo' hixat ha'itat). They also snared and trapped animals. During hunting, dogs were always used (except when hunting from canoes or waiting at blinds in the prairies). These were the wolf dogs and were highly prized. Tradition has it that they were purchased by trade from the Neah Bays. Usually a bitch was bought and bred by the Quiliute. Dog collars (Lichq'adasqwoL) were used only while in camp. These were made of leather and had a long bark line fastened to it. When ready to start hunting, they painted the dog's head with red ochre. This was to protect them from wolves for wolves would not touch dogs whose heads were painted. Dogs were turned loose when close to game and called in by whistling.

[3:47] The regular and most important hunting season was during the month of June (t'Laxaliqtiya'at).[ed. - Hal George said, "Too early! They'd go get their elk in late July or early August! That's when it was fat."] In that month the bull elks were really fat. After the rutting season, the bulls become lean and the hunters went home. Of course, they hunted at other times and when game presented itself, but were not as successful as in June. When hunting for bull elks in June, a whole party participated consisting of several families. In the other hunts usually one or at the most two families took part. [Elk hunting, butchering, distribution among members of the hunt described.]

Deer were usually hunted on prairies during morning and late evenings. These were not hunted with dogs, but were shot from a convenient hiding place. During mating season elk were hunted with dogs (in the prairies and lower areas) who cornered the animals until the hunters arrived. In these hunts, the hunter's very often caught the bull and cow at the same time, since the bulls did not leave their mates easily. [description of snares, springpole snares, deadfalls and pitfalls, none of which were commonly used in the prairies.] A good hunter could shoot (with a bow and arrow) at a target 200 yards (away) and hit the mark.

[3:127] Arthur Howeattle - *Transportation*

All travel was done in canoes or on foot....River canoes are propelled by means of paddles and long poles, especially on shallow water. These poles were made of hemlock and called t'LixiL). Travel on river was rather extensive, since the rivers were navigable to the small canoes almost clear up to the Olympic range....All overland travel eastwards was done during their journeys to the hunting and berrying or fern grounds. The Quiliute men and women are good walkers. Even today [1916] many women go for camas as far

as Forks (14 miles). Today teams and horses are used occasionally, but owing to lack of pasture lands and to lack of a road from LaPush to Mora, few horses and only two teams are owned in the whole village. Their best salalberry and crabapple grounds were situated about 6 miles east of LaPush....All burdens were carried in canoes or in baskets by means of tumplines (haq'waqstiL) of cedar or, now, rags, worn by the women on their foreheads. Young babies were carried by women in the folds of their blankets in front of them (Likwtipilil). These blankets were tied around the waist of the woman by means of a packstrap, and the two ends of the blanket were fastened together on the right shoulder by means of a pin made of bone. Older children were placed on the top of the baskets (t'axaq'wadasLil), carried by the women with tumplines. In case there were two children, the man usually carried the larger in the same way.

[4:39] Arthur Howeattle and Tommy Payne – *Social Organization*

The village community (wic'hiyolit) was divided into greater families (ho'oLwat), house groups (wiLqpat) and nuclear families (wiLwat). There was no clan system. The whole tribe owned the tribal territory in common due to mythic common origin. Greater families and house groups had rights (usually accorded to the status person in the family or group) to economic resources, names, dances and songs. Individuals had guardian spirits (t'axilit) that were acquired originally by individuals and thereafter heritable to descendants. These crests had nothing to do with the common origin of the family from one ancestor...Thus, Arthur's great grandfather was a great t'axilit-man. His crest was the Thunderbird and Whale (a crest associated with the mythic history of the origin of the prairies). The Howeattle family obtained it from him.

[4:57] Land was neither individual nor family property. It belonged to the whole tribe. A man or family, however, was looked upon as the proprietor of the place on which he built his permanent fishing, digging or hunting houses. These houses could be inherited. A man wishing to settle on a place asked nobody's permission provided it was not occupied by anybody else....Berrying and root digging grounds were also common property. These common grounds were only accessible to the members of the tribe. Outsiders [non-Quiliutes] were excluded from them.

[4:61] *Festivals.*

In former years, up to about 70 years ago, the only presents given during a potlatch consisted of food such as dried salmon, camas, etc. [baskets of camas are always mentioned as preferred gifts at potlatches, e.g. 4:67; and were valued trade items, i.e. 3:142]

[4:81] Arthur Howeattle - *Birth, Childhood, etc. (incl. Taboos)*

A woman with child for the first time and any pregnant woman had a good many taboos (apolaks, "it is taboo for her to ...") imposed upon her. [These affected a pregnant woman or new mother visiting or working in the prairies].

....She could not eat or touch fern roots (t'sikwi'), because she would have pains as if stung by needles, just like the plant has them. She could not eat or touch a certain species [?] of camas, otherwise she would have lumps in her belly. She could not eat or touch horsetail roots (tsexaq) for the same reason. She could not eat or touch fern roots because these travel like a snake inside her body. [Taboo against various types of berries picked on prairies and elsewhere.] She could not eat or touch wild parsnip (saqwsuda') as these would cause in her womb lumps shaped just like carrots. Nor could she touch xa'at'ada (a plant like camas but smaller and very hard [?]). Nor q'a'abat's (a long plant 4 inches wide and one-half inch through [?]), as it will cause lumps in her belly. She could not touch any bird, as otherwise the child would act just like the eaten or touched bird. She could not eat nor touch any kind of game (deer, elk, etc.) because the child will act just like the eaten animal. A pregnant woman could not look upon a dying or dead animal or person, because the child will be dead also. The husband of a pregnant woman is forbidden to see, touch or eat any of the things forbidden to his wife.

[4:107] *Twins*. The parents of twins and young twin children had especially stringent taboos, including camas. The parents of twins could not look at the river or streams or at the ocean. As soon as twins were born the parents and the children moved away into the woods or prairie to avoid the sight of the ocean and river, otherwise there wouldn't be any fish or whales in the water. After eight months all taboos are expired.

[5:13-15] *Orphans and widows*. Orphans were allowed to eat anything after the death of their parent, but the widow or widower could not eat any berries, camas. A woman or man eating berries or camas then would become dried out and skinny like the dried berries or camas.

[5:22] Webb Jones and Dixon Payne - *Religion, worldview, origins*.

Thunder and lightning are caused by Thunderbird....Originally he is a man....He has a house in the snow peaks of the Olympics. Everytime he goes to the sea he puts on his blankets which make him look like a bird. Upon returning he takes off his clothes and becomes a man again. He looks like an eagle, but is much larger. His wings are so large that they extend from the top of a tree to the ground and the feathers are 12 feet long. He causes the thunder by flapping his wings and the lightning by spreading them out. He can still be seen [and heard] today. One day a woman saw him at Forks Prairie (qet' Layayqwoqw). Her husband came to see it and got a feather from the tail. This made him a great elk hunter.

[5:23] The fire and how to start one was shown to the people by Q'wati. [This happened in Forks Prairie area and was the beginning of keeping the prairies open by burning them.]

[5:33] [There are prairies in the land of the dead. In the very heart of the underworld...] Beyond this is a prairie full of strawberries, where they could pick and eat berries. [There are other places in the underworld and the road that leads to it which sound like prairies, as well.]

[7:8] Arthur Howeattle, Webb Jones and Dixon Payne - *Guardian Spirits*.

Men and women had guardian spirits, called taxilit, which were acquired some time during their lives, usually between the ages of 18 and 35. The guardian spirits were divided into two classes. Those "for to sing with" (taxilit), and those to cure with (possessed by medicine men only and called ixwaLola'aqoLowa taxilit).... The qit'La'kwaLi taxilit live upstream on the Forks Prairie, east of Lapush, and they too begin their travels Westward in the winter. The tLokwali guardians live north and begin to travel southward in November. These guardians always travel in air-canoes And can be seen only by those who obtain those spirits. Those who have tLokwali spirits often camp in the prairie alone during clear nights in November, dancing the tLokwali with a small fire, pausing regularly to check the sky for the air canoe of the tLokwali spirit.

[7:9] A person desiring a certain taxilit has to pray for it every morning and night while bathing from new moon until full moon. In former years those who wanted a medicine or hunting taxilit used to go up into the mountains or along the edge of prairies, staying there about a month and even longer. While there they build a platform about 4 ft. high, kindle a fire on both sides of it and lay on the platform waiting for the taxilit. Whale fat and elk tallow are placed on the fire to attract the guardian spirits. As soon as the taxilit comes, the man jumps down and grabs him and hugs him to his breast. Thereupon he faints several times, regains his consciousness and goes home - in possession of the taxilit.

[p. 3] the Olympic Peninsula is a very difficult country in which to do research work. There are but three wagon roads in the entire area west of the Olympics. One of these roads, aggregating some 50 miles in total length, connects Port Angeles with Lake Crescent and Port Crescent and the latter again with Lake Crescent. The second road extends from East Clallam, on the Strait of Juan de Fuca, west to LaPush, on the Pacific front, a distance of about 50 miles. The third road connects the above roads along the line of the Soleduck River. Trails also extend from West Clallam to Ozette Lake and the Dickey Lake country, and from the latter to Quillayute prairie. Another trail connects Forks with the Hoh country. A few short trails also branch off of the main trails here and there. These afford all the means of gaining access to the interior, except by canoe on the various streams.

[p. 8] *Middens.* The middens (of Quillaute country) are of three classes, based upon age: ancient, old and recent. The recent middens were made since the Astoria-Hudson Bay fur trading began, as is attested by the Hudson Bay Company's beads intermingled with the middens....The middens here designated "old", underlie the recent at LaPush and on James Island, scattered patches also occur at several other places...The ancient middens underlie and are found to be intermixed with the more recent middens on James Island (due to the use of these heights as a garden for many years). They are also found on the Pacific water-front, also flanking and capping Pacific Street ridge at LaPush. Middens of this age are also found far inland, at Beaver Prairie, Forks Prairie, Quillayute Prairie, and at various camping places along the Quillayute River and its tributaries; more recent middens are also found at each of these places. These ancient middens, as of the other classes previously mentioned are composed of decaying remains of marine shells, intermingled with enormous quantities of ashes, calcined and fractured rocks and other refuse material, all showing evidence of extreme age. Their age is further attested by the fact that huge trees, hundreds of years old, are growing on them. (Especially in the prairies, parts of which are undisturbed)...many "oven mounds" are found. In outward appearance they resemble the burial mounds above described. Within, however, are the charred remains of fruits or sea species that have been oven-baked. That these are oven mounds, there is no doubt. As the Quillayutes bake clams, wild fruits, and "lacamas" in the same sort of oven to this day. A pit is dug...(description of cooking process)...The earth-mound is left and the shifting sand fills up the hole from which the baked articles have been taken. The mound is then complete.

[p. 20] *This regarding the Waatch Prairie, which was part of the Quileute cession to the United States, but was Makah-speaking territory at the time of European contact.*

Concerning the Flood myth the Makahs say: A long time ago the water of the Pacific flowed through what is now the swamp and prairie between Waatch village and Neah Bay, making an island of Cape Flattery. The water suddenly receded, leaving Neah Bay perfectly dry. For four days the water ebbed out. Then, without any waves or breakers, it rose till it had submerged the whole country, excepting the tops of the mountains at Cloquet [Clayoquat]. The water was warm as it came up to the houses. As it rose the Indians took to their canoes and floated off with the current, which set very strongly to the north, but as there were no landmarks and as the sky was continually clouded, some drifted one way and some another. When the waters subsided to their accustomed level, some of the Makahs found themselves at Nootka, where their descendants now reside. Some found homes at other places to the north. Many canoes came down in trees and were destroyed and numerous lives were lost. The waters were four days regaining their accustomed level.

The Waatch prairie shows conclusively that the water of the Pacific once flowed through it; and on cutting through the turf at any place between Neah bay and Waatch the whole stratum is found to be fine beach sand, intermingled with ocean shells, sometimes collected in piles and ridges as if they had been ancient midden heaps. In some places the turf is not more than a foot thick; at others, the alluvial deposit is two or three feet. As this portion of the country shows conclusive evidence of volcanic action and earthquake disturbances on a gigantic scale, there is every reason to believe that there was a gradual

depression and subsequent upheaval of the earth's crust, which made the waters rise and recede, as the Indians allege.

Reagan, Albert B. [1929] Whaling of the Olympic Peninsula Indians of Washington, Natural History, Vol. 25, pp. 25-32.

[p.25-6] *The origin of the stones in Beaver Prairie.* The Thunder Bird is represented as engaged in dreadful battles with whales. Once this bird, after killing the powerful ocean monster, was nearly robbed of its prey by a group of people who came to the scene and cut up the whale. But scarcely had they done so when it began to rain, snow and hail. The ThunderBird, the flash of whose eyes are the lightning and the flapping of whose wings produces the mighty winds, came flying up in anger. Soon he caused great chunks of ice to fall. The people were scared. Some tried to flee, others concealed themselves under logs and rocks to escape the wrath of this god of the air. But all were stricken and turned to stone as was also the meat of the whale. Whoever visits the scene of their fatal gathering may view their remains, represented by great blocks that form a ridge from one end of Beaver Prairie to the other. One may even see the ribs of the whale's carcass and its massive head.

[p. 32] Whale oil is used (as a condiment) in eating potatoes, camas, roots, dried clams, and boiled or dried fish, which are dipped into it.

Reagan, Albert B. [1923] Flora of the Olympic Peninsula, Washington. (Transactions of the Iowa Academy of Science) Vol. 30, pp. 201-243. [N.B. *The entries in this article duplicate, generally verbatim, the entries in Reagan, 1934, q.v.*]

[p. 201-2] The peninsula is in northwest Washington....The area of the peninsula is about 8,000 square miles. [geology, climate, rainfall]....Growing under this equable climate with such an abundance of rainfall (enough in amount to preserve the forest and shrubbery from general destruction by fire), the peninsula, with few exceptions, is the most densely forested region in North American, and smaller plants do equally well.

[p. 203] *Bracken fern.* Grows on the "prairies" and burned over places, especially in the middle upland area. It is the fern of Forks Prairie. It has also been carried to the beach with feed and appears in the old graveyard near where the old (Mr. Wesley Smith) school house used to be at LaPush. The writer has seen it in the upland regions. At Forks Prairie it grows as high as a horse. The burning of this fern year by year was what kept up these prairies and extended their area. The Indians burned the prairies over for the purpose of clearing out the area so they could shoot deer and elk when they came to feed on the young sprouts. The prairies, about ten in number, probably were started as camping sites, which were gradually extended by the annual burnings. They also dug the roots of these ferns and pounded them into a pulp, which they dried. This they made into a sort of dough when it was needed and baked it into a blackish bread, which they claim was good eating. Unluckily, the writer appeared too late on the scene to see any of this fern paste bread.

[p. 204] *Scouring rush.* The Indians of the coast dig the rootstocks of this rush and eat them. They have a sweetish, not bad taste and are considered a great delicacy by them. They also dry them for future use. They also gather them to be eaten during several of their medicine ceremonies as they are said to be "good medicine".

Selaginella oregano. It might also not be out of place to mention that the fern is the weed of the region and in the prairie sections is one of the hardest weed pests to get rid of. It is about an equal of the Canadian and Russian thistles. The bracken fern is the harder fern to eradicate. At Quillayute Prairie ferns have taken whole farms.

[p. 211] *Skunk cabbage.* A plant resembling a cabbage somewhat; but with larger leaves and no "head"....In the spring the bear feeds on this plant. The Indians also use its leaves. When roasting the cammas (La cammas, as the Indians call it), they cover the cammas heap, which they have collected with layers of leaves of this plant. This they cover with

a light layer of dirt and then over all they pile considerable wood. This they ignite and keep burning till the cammas is cooked beneath it. Sometimes a pit is used for this baking process. The natives say that the cabbage leaves give a good flavor to the cammas fruit; but a white man would hardly think so. The natives also wrap red elderberries in leaves of this cabbage when preparing them by the native baking process. They also wrap fruits, usually cooked fruits, in the leaves of this plant and then bury the whole in the muck of some swampy region. This was their way of "canning" fruit. The old people told the writer that it would "keep."

[p. 212] *Camas*. Called by the Indians *la camas*, pronounced as one word with the accent on the first syllable. Common wherever there is an open area, most abundant in the "prairies", especially Quillayute Prairie. *Scilla fraseri* is also another plant from which the Indians use the bulb roots and call "*Lacamas*", as has been previously mentioned. The bulbs are very similar to those of the *Quamasia* and are prepared in the same way. The Indians have many myths about this plant.

[p. 215] *Nettle*. Common everywhere in clearings, prairies and along the seacoast region. Where it grows the thickest, the squaws pull up the roots by hand and there make their best gardens. The roots are twisted into ropes by the natives and in the old time were woven into cloth and mats and made into baskets. Both the whites and Indians of the region use the tops for greens.

*Scilla
fraseri
called
Lacamas*

Reagan, Albert B. [1934] *Plants Used by the Hoh and Quileute Indians*. (Transactions of the Kansas Academy of Science) Vol. 37, pp. 55-70.

[p. 55] While in charge of different tribes of West Coast Indians from 1905 to 1909 and in 1928 the writer made a study of the plants used by them. This included a study of the plants they used for food and medicine and those used in making baskets, mats, in house building, etc. The use of more than eighty plants are given, their descriptions, and uses to which the Indian put them.... These Indians were great users of the plants of the region in the old days, and still do use some of them.

[p. 56] *Fern Family*. Bracken Fern. Indian name: *kakwaput*, *kah-a-kwa*, *wot-tsa-a-balk*. This fern grows in the "prairies" of the region and burned-over places, especially in the middle upland regions. It is the fern of Forks and Quillayute prairies. It has been carried to the beach with feed and appears in the old graveyard near where the old (Mr. Wesley Smith) schoolhouse used to be at LaPush-Quillayute Indian village. At Forks prairie it grows as high as a horse. The burning of this fern year by year was what kept up the "prairies" of the peninsula and extended their area. The Indians burned the ferns for the purpose of clearing out the prairies so they could shoot the deer and elk when they come to feed on the young fern sprouts. They also dug the roots of these ferns, pounded them to a pulp, dried the pulp, mixed it into a sort of dough and baked bread from it, which then claim was pretty good bread. Unluckily, the writer appeared on the scene too late to see any of this fern-paste bread. The Indians have many myths about the ferns, but space will not permit relating them here.

[p. 57] *Scouring Rush*. The Indians of the coast dig the rootstocks of these two scouring rushes and eat them. They consider them a great delicacy. They also gather them to be eaten during several of their medicine ceremonies. They are said to be "good medicine." They are also eaten during the puberty ceremonies. They have a sweetish taste, not a bad taste. The writer has seen them dried in food preparation.

[p. 59] *Camas* (*Quamasia* *Quamash*). Most abundant wherever there is an open area, though most abundant in the "prairies," especially at Quillayute and Forks prairies. The bulb of this plant is used as food by the Indians of the whole coast. In preparing this food, a pit is dug in which a fire is built. On the fuel cobbles are piled, which, when heated to red heat, are covered over with wet leaves, brush or grass. On this the bulbs are piled and over all wet leaves are spread to the thickness of, say, seven inches. Then over all, clay, earth or sand is heaped. Just before completing the covering over with earth, a quantity of water is poured on the cooking product and then when the covering is

completed a small hole is left through the dirt-layer for the escape of steam. The cooking is then permitted to continue for about twenty-four hours. The product is removed through a hole dug through the top of the pit. The earth mound is left and the shifting sand fills up the hole from which the baked articles have been taken. The mound is then complete, a puzzle for future archaeologists (clams and fruits were also prepared by the oven process). Oven mounds are scattered throughout the region and northward to the Fraser River country. The Indians have many myths about the camas plant, but space will not permit relating them here.

[p. 61] *Red Alder*. In the old times the Indians placed the canoes of the dead, canoes containing corpses, up in alder trees among the leafy branches, where they tied them securely with spruce-root ropes. The writer saw several such "burials." The Indians seemed to prefer the alder to other trees for such interment.

[p. 64] *Crabapple* (and various prairie berries). Indian name for crabapple: tse-yo-yo'k-ke-day-put ("put" equals shrub [actually 'plant']). Common from the head of the Hoh River, especially along its western branch, to the coast. At LaPush it grows in a semiswampy region to the east of the old Wesley Smith schoolhouse site. There are also several patches of the species growing at Quillayute prairie, the largest covering about two acres, two miles east of the Quillayute post office. The Indians eat the fruit of this plant, except currants and gooseberries it is almost the only sour thing which the writer knows they eat. They also use the bark of its roots as medicine, the bark of its limbs and trunk also sometimes being used. Crabapple tea is also given as a remedy for gonorrhea.

[p. 69] (Elderberry use and preservation techniques)

Reagan, Albert B. [1934b] *Some Notes on the Hypnotic Ceremonies of Indians*. Utah Academy of Arts, Sciences and Letters. Vol. XI, pp. 65-71.

[p. 66-7] *Prairies in the Quileute underworld*. The West Coast Indians have three kinds of doctors, principal among whom is the witch-hypnotic type, commonly known as tomanawis doctor....At one of the medicine ceremonies which the writer attended, the old medicine man, on coming out of the trance, gave an account of his journey after the fleeing soul to his credulous listeners, as follows: "I followed the soul on its journey to the land of after-breath-has-left-the-body; the spirit of a person looks just like a person, only very small. The road we were on was crooked and stony. The raspberry bushes were only about six inches high and the berries and crowberries were also very small, as were the strawberries along the way; and the ferns of the prairie were only two fingers high. I saw many people gathering berries and fern roots, the latter to be made into bread. These people were not a finger-length high."

At another time another medicine man, who was doctoring a patient that recovered, gave an account of his journey to those present, on coming out of the trance, as follows: "I passed over the river of the dead to its other side. The people I saw there were large, strong and happy, and the trees were all large. The berries were larger than I ever saw here, and all the bushes were heavily loaded with fruit. There were also plenty of game in the prairies and fern roots for bread; and there were feasts and dances every day in that happy land."

Pettitt, George A. [1950] *The Quileute of La Push, 1775-1945*. Anthropological Records, Vol. 14:1,

George Pettitt spent World War II in LaPush in the Coast Guard. After the war, he attended the University of California at Los Angeles and went back to the Quileutes to gather information for this community history. As far as the Quileutes recall, he never returned to LaPush after finishing his fieldwork among them. His dissertation was, essentially, a community history and sociological study of Quileute acculturation. Unexplainably, he neither

mentions the importance of prairie resources in tribal pre-contact economics, nor does he mention the reasons for their decline in maintenance and usage.

[p. 1] *Quileute Territory* Their territory, starting some thirty miles south of cape Flattery, extends approximately thirty miles south along the Pacific coast and thirty miles inland. Except for a few meadows and prairies of limited size along the rivers, the country is rough and mountainous and covered by a dense tangle of trees and brush....The brush, particularly along the edges of prairies, stream, and roads, contains a high percentage of wild berries, black, elder, salal, salmon, thimble, etc.

[p. 28] *Conflicts with Whites.* There was some friction as land was homesteaded and the Indians found it expedient to move out of the back country and congregate at the mouths of the rivers, but it never came to a dangerous break because very little of the homesteaded land could be cleared and cultivated—it was held for the timber on it and could still be used for hunting, and hunting land animals was a minor part of Quileute food economy in any case. [earlier] Morton Penn recalls that when his family moved from its upper river home to LaPush, the farmer on whose land they found themselves was loath to have them move and several times invited them to move back. Because the prairie areas were not completely settled, there were still areas available for foraging, and quickly the Quileute appetite for traditional roots was replaced with potatoes and other root vegetables traded or received in payment for work on farms, or increasingly grown in the Quileutes' own garden plots.

[p. 29] *Land ownership.* In 1915 the Quileute absorbed more knowledge concerning the difference between white ownership of property and the traditional Indian concept that ownership continued only as long as the property was used. For several years a number of the Quileute had been planting vegetables on a piece of riverbottom land within the area belonging to Mr. Harvey Smith. When Mr. Smith fenced his land and evicted the Indians for this gardening area, the Indians felt that they were wronged because the land was not in use when they took it over. The matter was explained, but not their satisfaction. [p. 42] Under the old Indian system of land ownership no one questioned ownership so long as the land was in use, and there has never been a shortage of building sites. Ownership of houses has been of more concern than ownership of the land on which they were built...one gathers that the Indians see no particular reason for a piece of paper to prove land ownership. Everybody knows who owns what anyway.

[p. 50] *Agriculture and stock raising.* As early as 1862, the Supt for Wash. Terr. expressed the opinion that attempts to introduce agriculture on coastal reservation would not succeed because of the great labor required to clear land and pull stumps. He estimated that it cost \$150 an acre to prepare land for planting. The country was not very suitable for grazing either, except the prairies, which were not part of the reserves and had been first choice lands for homesteaders.....It was probable that there was no interest in agricultural pursuits among the Quileute until after 1890, aside from gardening instruction given to the young people at the school starting in 1881. [p. 51] For nutritional and economic reasons, the government has made a number of attempts to introduce the raising of truck crops. A few years ago [i.e. early '30s] the Indian Agent organized a community garden lot. The govt. paid the Indians to clear other ground for it, and provided the seed. A group of five Indians agreed to operate it. For a season or two the program was reasonably successful, but then interest began to wane. Crops did not grow as well as they had the first year under got. Supervision and cattle or horses or deer managed to get in one way or another. Mark Williams has continued to raise a little corn and a few potatoes because he is an old man and, as others explain it, he has nothing to do but watch them grow. Tyler Hobucket also cultivated a garden for a number of years, but now doesn't attempt much because hi is still sick at heart over what happened in 1937 [a horse ate his garden in a night and precipitated a continuing community disagreement]....Back of the Quileutes' lack of sustained interest in agriculture, of course, lies a long history of dependence on what nature provided in the way of plant and animal food by her own unaided efforts. The Quileute were never expected to feed elk or deer,

or cultivate the wild berries or plow the prairies, which produced and still produce heavy crops of fern roots or camas. What advantage is there in substituting plants and animals, which require so much labor to keep alive.

Howeattle, Mattie [1961], as quoted in the Seattle Times, Apr. 18, 1961, "Schools Needed Says Oldest Quinault". Mattie Howeattle was born on the Hoh River of a Hoh mother and Quileute father. She lived in later years in Taholah, but held a potlatch in LaPush during the 1940s.

The Indians knew how to kill an elk, light the fires and go home while the meat cooked. The Indians knew how to handle fire and it never got away.

Singh, Ram Raj Prasad [1966]. *Aboriginal Economic System of the Olympic Peninsula Indians – Western Washington*. The Sacramento Anthropological Society (Sacramento State College, Calif.).

Ram Singh was a student at the University of Washington and undertook fieldwork on the traditional economic patterns of the Olympic tribal groups (Quileute, Quinault and Makah-speaking groups). At the suggestion of Erna Gunther, with some supervision by Verne Ray, Mel Jacobs and Bill Elmendorf, he conducted fieldwork during 1954-5. His Quileute informants were Mary Ward, Anna Williams, Esau Penn, Mark Williams, Jack Ward, Billy Hudson and Big and Little Bill Penn (p. 8). Although Singh makes numerous mentions of prairies and prairie resources, in his summary initial description of the peninsula he makes no mention at all of this important aspect of the landscape.

[p. 24] *Land Resources*. Some elk come to the large prairies to feed, and a few herds live in the valleys, the quality of the latter being regarded as inferior...were economically important for the Quinault and Quileute, Every part was used—the meat, fat, hide, antlers, and bone. Chisels and other tools were made out of the horn. Arrowheads were made from bone. Women used bone marrow as cosmetic.

[p. 25] *Vegetable Foods*. In prairies there are camas and ferns with edible roots. There are a few prairies in Quileute and Quinault country; the Makah had none. The Ozette used one prairie but it was only slightly productive. Camas and ferns grew profusely in these prairies; the former were economically important and the amount produced did not meet the demand. It was so highly valued that it was one of the few items purchased by the Makah and Ozette from the Quileute and Quinault. Camas had a special place at feasts and potlatches.

Prairies played an important role in the life of the Indians. Entire families went to the prairies nearest the villages, usually with other families of the tribe. Each family had an "occupancy right" in a great prairie such as O'took Prairie or Quileute Prairie. The family burned over its part of the prairie in the spring so that dead ferns would be destroyed, giving way to camas. Generally no outsider would trespass unless he received permission from the family which "owned" the site. Such a request however was always granted. The trail to a prairie was kept up by the people who used it. In the prairie dwelling families did some hunting and also collected cedar bark to make garments, rope and baskets [along the edges]. Men hunted elk, deer, and smaller animals. Women dug roots and collected grass and cedar bark. Berries grow in abundance in various areas, but particularly in prairies, open spaces and river bottoms. If a forest fire or high wind clears a site, berries and vegetables grow profusely. Each patch of important berries such as salmon-berries and blackberries was utilized by a single family. A family might remain near such a patch for several days. Mountain blueberries, preferred by Indians because they were sweeter than valley berries, were picked during elk hunting expeditions. Men hunted while women picked berries. [p. 27] Nettles, whose fiber was used for nets, grow

in abundance in open spaces. The Indians dried the nettles in the sun or, when there was no sun, put them under a mat to dry by the heat of the house. When they were half dry the Indians struck them against the wall or logs to separate fibers.

[p. 29] *Rational Actions.* The danger of excessive exploitation of food resources seems to have been recognized for only a few species. The restriction of hunting or gathering food in a particular territory to the members of one's own group or family was at least partly motivated by the realization that production by outsiders would diminish the available supply. The Indians who dug roots in prairies burned over such sites in order to give useful roots a chance to grow instead of weeds and ferns. They took precautions not to burn the surrounding trees and bushes, and burned the prairies section by section. Their methods of fire control were so effective that in the Olympic Peninsula, except for a small area of forest near Little Prairie, none of the forest surrounding a prairie shows any sign of fire.

[p. 42] *Land mammal hunting.* Elk, principally mountain elk, were hunted with bow and arrow. Cow elk were usually hunted in prairies and valleys with the help of dogs to chase them. Deer were also hunted in that manner. But they and bears were also caught in traps.

[p. 43] *Super-natural means of production....* Elk hunters among the Quileute and Quinault were believed to require the help of particularly strong spirits. In order to obtain a spirit power the young prospective elk hunter prayed, bathed in a prescribed manner, and subjected himself to severe discipline and hardship.... When he got the power, he was able to lead a party to hunt elk. Indians often hunted elk in the lower valleys and prairies, often without having elk power.

[p. 49] *Food Preservation.* Camas, fernroots were put in baskets and washed in running water. They were preserved without other processing. Camas were treated immediately after digging. The Indians baked camas and roots if they wanted to keep them for their own use. They did not process roots, which they wanted to use for trade or exchange... When hunters killed many elk far from their temporary camps, they smoked the meat on the spot. Smoked meat was easy to carry, and there was less of it. But it took almost two days and two nights to smoke elk properly.... Preservation of elderberries required a good deal of labor. When the Indians had collected a few baskets of elderberries, a circular hole was dug in the ground or sand about one foot deep, and lined on the bottom and sides with rocks. On these rocks a fire was built and into it more rocks were put. When the stones were hot, the wood was taken away and the fire was permitted to die out. On top of the ash, wide strips of alder bark were laid and kept dirt-free with skunk cabbage leaves. The Indians laid berries on these leaves and covered them with additional layers of skunk cabbage leaves sprinkled with water to produce steam. Next morning the berries were uncovered and pounded with the bottoms of wooden spoons. Then they were put into baskets, generally of hemlock bark. The Quileute called such baskets po'oq. They covered the berries with leaves of soft vine maple and stored the baskets in the mud of a shallow creek, which had very cold water. Huckleberries and blackberries were not cooked like elderberries but were mashed in a basket and made into oblong cakes about three inches thick. These cakes dried slowly inside the house near the fire. When dried, they were stored. They lasted indefinitely. Such cakes were precious. Salalberries were mashed fresh and then put into a watertight basket, which was set in a ditch, which was maintained by a cold spring.

[p. 53] *Camas and Roots Preservation.* Camas bulbs could be preserved without processing but they had to be prepared and cooked before eating. The Indians prepared them so as to avoid labor at mealtime. They were aware that processed camas lasted a long time. They prepared camas for preservation using the technique employed for elderberries; however, they used leaves of salalberries rather than skunk cabbage. Camas roots then taste like baked sweet potato. They were preserved by being pressed into loaves which, when eaten, were cut in slices like pudding. There was another consideration in the preservation of camas. Camas were dug in prairies in September and October and again from March to April. Although it was easy to dig camas from March

to April, they did not keep well. Camas dug in September and October could be kept for a long time. Fern roots were treated in much the same manner as camas. They were rolled and dried across two or more poles in the house. The Indians dried other roots by laying them on the ground and exposing them to the rays of the sun.

[p. 54] *The Organization of Labor.* The economic units of production were the nuclear family and the group of families who lived under the same roof. These families were mostly of brothers, but sometimes distant relations or family friends lived together. The nuclear family unit and the group of families who live together carried on the important food collecting, food preservation and consumption activities...people from a village generally went together to dig camas and other roots. Each household erected a temporary hut where they stayed until they had secured the items that they wanted. The work was done on a family basis. Women dug the roots and the men sometimes helped them if the ground were hard. Women washed the roots and put them in baskets. Men hunted elk and deer on the prairies, and the women smoked the meat. Men peeled the bark off cedars; women dried it and kept it for spare time work in winter when dresses and other objects were made from it. Men made rope out of it....Members of extended families rarely participated in productive activities.

[p. 55] The collection of vegetables, berries and herbs was the work of women. Men accompanied them if the supply were distant and if there were danger from timber wolves. Women from several families went together to one place. (If they went by canoe to collect shellfish, the men took them because it was too dangerous for women to handle canoes.) Men did little work while the women were picking berries or sprouts. They watched what the women were doing or tried to hunt. They occasionally helped women pick berries or collect sprouts. [p. 56] People from different families hunted elk under the leadership of a hunter, and the kill was divided among the participating groups/hunters.

[p. 57] Labor may be classified into specialized, ceremonial and common labor. Fishing, picking berries and digging roots could be done by everyone. Specialized labor like canoe-making, elk-hunting, shamanism was carried on by a few who claimed the spirit power to engage in such tasks. Ceremonial labor was done only by those who were so entitled by exceptional spirit help or by hereditary entitlement....Upriver people among the Quileute were expert in all types of hunting....Most elk hunters with elk hunting power lived in upriver communities.

[p. 58] Labor was also organized along lines of sex, age and status. Women prepared food, hides and furs; they wove mats and baskets, gathered and stored food, collected roots, picked berries and herbs and firewood, and carried burdens. Men rarely did women's work. If they did and were caught at it, they became a laughing stock. Men worked nettle fibers into nets, Women performed every activity in weaving baskets and mats, from obtaining the raw materials to making the basket or mat. Men made rope of spruce roots, withes, cedar bark or whale sinew. A few activities such as digging roots were performed jointly...During each season, a person had many choices of work. He could select fishing, hunting berry picking, root digging, preservation activities, foraging for manufacturing materials, etc. His decision depended upon (1) what was available or in season, (2) comparative yields, (3) his special ritual power, and (4) the needs of his family.... Myths and stories indicate that skill rather than hard work warranted pride. But the reputation of being a hard worker was useful....Because of abundant resources the tribes had much leisure time beyond economic activities. They did not have to work the year round, and their productive activities did not exhaust their waking hours. There was no great difference between rich, poor and slave in food and living standards.

[p. 61] *Capital.* Capital is conceived here as a factor of production. It has value and may yield income to its owner or users. Capital includes equipment, tools, and other agencies of production. Through the use of capital, the Indians were able to produce commodities...Another form of capital included knowledge of tools and natural resources and potencies conferred by spirits. [p. 63] Capital was owned by the individual, family, or village. Ownership depended upon the nature of the capital goods.

Weirs...canoes...Helpers were given shares of the product. He never employed a person for wages....Slaves and dogs were inherited, not killed. Sons received all the slaves and daughters inherited wool-producing dogs.

[p. 64] *Seasonal Economic Activities.* Intensive economic activity followed periods of relaxation and social activities. The year was divided in eight or more phases or months named according

to food supplied such as "salmon-berry days". [p. 70] Spring: many varieties of roots were collected in the prairies, principally by Quileute and Quinault. Roots were boiled, dried and stored for the winter. Cedar bark was peeled off for baskets, mats, raiment, etc. On such expeditions Indians lived in temporary shelters of hemlock bark or mats. Bark for such abodes was cut on the spot, but sometimes the Indians carried mats woven of cedarbark. [p. 71] Summer: Some people traded or bartered. Mountain and valley elk were fat in July and August and Indians hunted them in the mountains. Hunters built brush shelters at convenient places for a few nights only. Often they carried along skins for shelter roofs if they had many left from previously hunted elk or deer.

Late in summer (August) storage activities started again. Women went out for berries and sometimes stayed away for several days. The berries were put into large baskets and some these containers were sunk in the cold spring bed, which kept the berries fresh for a long time. The Indians ate such preserved berries when there were no fresh berries in winter. [p. 71] *Fall.* At the end of summer, the Indians were anxiously looking forward to fall fish....The Indians were as interested in a variety as in an abundance of food. For instance when they were producing fish substantially but estimated that they had more than enough for consumption, they went berry picking although it might not be equally productive. As one Quileute informant told me, "The Indians did not want all fish or all whale, but liked to get some of everything which they wanted to eat. An Indian did not care if he could catch more fish than he could dig camas." Choice in production gave the Indians a freedom unknown to most hunting tribes the world over. [p. 74] An equilibrium had been established between production and social requirements. Indians had never heard of "full production". They did not need it. They wanted enough to eat, of course, but they never thought in terms of maximum utilization of natural resources. Competition played a part in production. Boasting about ability was a cultural feature. Quantity and efficiency of production were both well regarded.

[p. 76] *Exchange.* Exchange is simply customs and institutions which transfer ownership of goods and services from one individual to another. Potlatches...baskets of camas were a common gift at potlatches. Trade...intertribal exchange of surpluses. Quileutes exchanged (material from the prairies: camas and other roots, elk meat and fat, elk and deer hides, cedarbark and articles thereof, and bear grass.

[p. 89] *Consumption.* Consumption in its broadest sense means the destruction of commodities through various activities including eating, using and trading away goods as needs are satisfied...taboos...rituals...secret societies and initiations, feasts, potlatches...

[p. 110] *Property.* The study of the mode of control of things, land or customary property relationships and wealth. The winter household as the most clearly distinguishable large unit. The winter house was capable of holding four or more families. The hunting and fishing grounds were owned by the family or by the household. [p. 112] There were some other kinds of property which were owned by the individual family. The prairies were such examples. The private ownership of prairies was based on the principle that a person owned whatever he had made or improved by means of labor. Each family had a part of a prairie where its members could go to dig roots. The prairies were burnt and weeds were kept under control by means of fire. All of these acts involved labor. Hunting grounds (except in the prairies) usually consisted of the watershed of the streams of valleys well-enclosed by hills or high mountains. The Indians knew that nobody owned the land, but it was their property in the sense that they had knowledge about it.

Hazel Bright [1969] The last Quileute monolingual speaker, Hazel spoke very little English. She was in her 90s in 1969. Speaking of when she was a small girl through her daughter, who interpreted.

When I was a girl (1870s & '80s), we used to spend a lot of time in the prairies. Then, it stopped all of a sudden.

William (Big Bill) Penn [1971] Big Bill Penn was born in 1888. He was called "Big Bill" to distinguish him from his bother, William E. Penn, Little Bill. He was for many years the last member of the Sibaxwolayo, Quileute whalers' secret society called the "oily voiced song"; and claimed to be the last person alive that had been part of a successful traditional whaling crew.

(Description paraphrased from oral description by Penn, p.519, J. Powell Quileute Notebook #4, 1970; taken down as part of the discussion of Quileute placenames that served as the basis for Placenames of the Quileute Indians by J.V. Powell, William Penn and others, Pacific Northwest Quarterly, Vol. 63:3, pp. 105-112.)

When Bill was young (c1895?), he remembers his family spent time during the summer (hot berry time, August?) camped up on Forks Prairie, qit'layaqwoqw. There were whiteman houses up in the prairie already and a number of Quileute families lived up there in old t'icik'als (smokehouses) along the Qalo'wa and Boq'wac'hi'l Rivers. They camped, fixed up a bark hut shelter that they had used before (Loq'wati). They lived off the land: elk, deer, buried bread (a ground bracken root paste loaf wrapped in skunk cabbage lvs put in the ashes under live coals), berries. There was a drying rack for meat, big one. (Bill) Thought they were going to burn the prairie because his father talked about it a lot and he was excited and a little scared about a big fire, but there was no fire. They didn't burn it that year. The whitemen didn't like them setting fires in the prairies. Later he saw them burning part of Sat'ayaqw (Quileute Prairie), but they only burned a small area, burned when the grass was damp and it didn't make a big fire. Everybody worked hard. Must've been there for two weeks.

Big Bill remembers lots of the names and stories about his ancestors because they talked about the old people when he was young. The old people put aside food for the ancestors and would burn it, especially up in the prairies because that would keep the ghosts up there making things go right. Food that you burned for the dead was multiplied and kept the ghosts eating well (J. Powell, NB. 1978, #1, p. 61).

Harold (Hal, Hallie B.) George [1978, notes in various Quileute notebooks, esp. J.Powell Quileute Notebook 1978:#1] – Quileute & Makah born Aug 15, 1894, along the Fraser River in B.C., although his parents were Makah and Quileute. "Hal was born up on the Fraser River. They used to go there fishing every year, certain time of the year—the Makahs and from LaPush. There's an Indian village there and that's where they went. There weren't any doctors and she (Hal's mother) bled to death. It as her first baby. So that's why Hal's aunt and grandmother (Quileute extended kinship categories) raised him. Sally Payne Oby (usually Oby, 1st husband, Yashik Oby) Brown (2nd husband, Tommy Brown) had no children and raised Hal along with Mrs. Old Man Gray, who also had no children [Verne Ray, random notes c 1954]. Hal met Frachtenberg at Chemawa School and served, while a youth, as ethnographic informant, later working with numerous other anthropologists, as well, and finally Jay Powell in 1978. Powell's notes on Hal are written in NB 1978.1 and on facing pages of a xerox copy of Frachtenberg's Quil. fieldnotes which George and Powell reviewed and annotated liberally in 1978-9.

I heard (that around 1890) women used to be put to work for quarreling by the police, e.g. putting in the road from LaPush to Mora, so many days punching the road for an offense. In those days there was no Thunder Road trail, it was swampy back there and to get to Mora you took a canoe from the basin. Men were put to work ringing the trees, the village area was still overgrown [note in Fr. NB 1.3].

A trail led from old Mora to Sat'ayaqw and as far as "little Prairie". It was burned every fall to encourage further growth. Mark Williams was trying to burn the prairie (hokwalilowot, "burning the prairie) and get matches from a Whiteman. Kwadis was a black bulb, peeled and cooked by steaming and eaten. Kwala, "camas", and t'obiya, "strawberry" were picked in the prairies. Katil ("medicine") crabapple bark was used for a spring tonic mixed with licorice from the alder and bearberry bark. q'aq'wa', a type of fern roots (p.44).

They think that it was easy, but we had to work hard. Sure, the talaykila pots'oqw (old people) just gathered what the great nature provided. They'd say, "T'siq'ati, t'siq'ati, t'siq'ati" (It's the nature spirit, nature spirit, nature spirit) when they were picking or eating food. But, we needed lots of food to get through the winter and sometimes even more because winter was the time when there were potlatches and meant we'd have to have enough put up to feed hayoqwqwa (guests) for days, a week. (NB 1978. 1, p. 68).

Women stopped digging roots and much else in terms of aboriginal economic patterns when the use of fish traps was declared illegal. This forced the people to move to LaPush for a living or take jobs working for the whiteman, which allowed purchase of groceries rather than digging. In Hal's youth, the women still used a digging stick (k'woyo'), but had made it out of a steel bar (p. 70).

Now, the old people said bitsatsqal yix t'siq'ati (the land takes care of itself) and that means everything. They didn't plant gardens or build fences to keep deer out. They didn't make la'wqwol or lotlqwli (roads/trails or bridges), never chopped down trees to make bridges over the rivers. (p. 71).

Royal Pullen [Feb. 1980, an interview transcribed by Heather Hennum in 2002] – Royal Pullen was the son of Dan Pullen and Harriet Smith Pullen. Harriet was the oldest daughter of A.J. Smith (the brother of A.W. Smith, first schoolmaster at LaPush, starting in c1883). A.J. Smith moved to Neah Bay from New Brunswick, following their son A.W. Harriet, their oldest daughter married Dan Pullen (trader at LaPush), and stayed there until the fire of 1889 (which various historical sources concur was set arson started by Dan Pullen in order to support his homestead claim that the area at the mouth of the Quillayute River was no longer an inhabited Indian village). Harriet moved to Skagway at the time of the Klondike gold rush and built Pullen House, a famous hostelry, the fireplace of which is still standing with PULLEN visible in inset pebbles...Harriet's grave is 100 yard away along the White Pass RR tracks. Dan Pullen moved to Port Townsend and Royal and his two brothers, Chester and David, shuffled back and forth between the parents and finally set out on his own, ending up in rest home in California.

Female Voice: [p. 2] When your father came in, did he help them learn to farm a bit?
Royal Pullen: Oh, yes. Well he didn't teach them to farm. They never farmed. The Indians wouldn't farm. But my father would plant a crop. He went up to the Little Prairie and he plowed it all up and planted it with potatoes. See potatoes were their big food. And the Indians would come up and harvest it. And he would give them Indians half the crop for picking them and sacking them and bringing them down to LaPush. See, they would take the boats up the river to Balch's place. I don't know what they call it

now. They call it something else. But Balch used to have a store up there and that was the landing place...

FV: You told me once about going to visit your mother's family, the Smiths, at the Little Prairie and coming home sometimes at night and it was kind of scary?

RP: Oh, that was the Big Prairie. The Smiths were all in the Big Prairie. And my father and Mark owned the Little Prairie. And we ran cattle on it all the time...And hay and oats. We grew an awful lot of oats. In that country the fern is awful bad...It's kind of a bush fern. And he plowed it all up and he kept plowing it up until he got it killed and then he put [p. 3] in pasture and oats and hay. We had a big hay barn over there. But the potato was thing that intrigued me. He would plant the potatoes and the Indians...and they would plow up the potatoes when they were ripe. And then the Indians had to sack them and carry them down to the wagons and load them in. And then he would take them down to Balch's place and load them onto canoes. The Indians did all of that...

FV: [p. 5] You were telling about the Indians keeping the Little Prairie, a prairie, by burning it.

RP: Yes, they used to burn both prairies so they could get the little bulbs at the bottom like onions. They would come up after the burn you see and burning (sic). But the principle reason they burned them was to get the rabbits and things that lived around in this tall grass. They would drive them out...[p. 6] They would drive them out and then they would get them. Catch them. And that would give them a lot of meat all the time. Easy meat. They didn't the money for that.

FV: And I expect there wasn't a great danger for a forest fire because the trees were up. There wasn't any brush because the trees were up.

RP: No, no brush under there to speak of. Even if they did have a forest fire that didn't mean anything to the Indians.

FV: Well, I know but it might have burned down their houses and so forth if it got out of hand over there I would think.

RP: Well, there were no houses there. There was nothing here...See the Little Prairie and the Big Prairie; there wasn't anything there. And then of course when the whites came they cleared off the area and there wasn't any danger of burning then. But they quit that after the whites came you see because the whites settle then you see. Just as soon as the government laid out the land and sold it, well then the whites took over you see. And of course the Indians were more or less nomads. They didn't go anywhere. They didn't care. But father got them to settle around there for trading purposes you see. And he would buy their seals and they would buy clothing and things like that from father. So he did a pretty good business. He made pretty good money.

Sarah Ward Woodruff Hines [1980, Jay Powell Notebook 1978-82, p. 75] – Sarah was a Quileute born 1906, married to Fred "Old Man Woody" Woodruff, daughter of Sixtis & Mary Ward, traditional owners of Dixwodachtada (Dickey River).
[Source: J. Powell fieldnotes, (June 1980) Notebook 1978 - #1, p. 75]

One time, I remember, a bunch of us went up to Sa'tayaqw, Quillayute Prairie. At the top of Thunder Road. The kids got ferried across the (Quillayute) River to Mora in the morning by J.E.L. James (or James Rudolph, only some kids went over there to school), but we went from the village in a canoe. You could walk up to the prairie in about 45 minutes. There was a road when I (she) was a girl. We went up there, my mother (Mary Ward) and sister (Effie, later Gray) and a bunch of ladies, girls. A few had baxuwis (pack baskets) and hak'waqsti] (forehead tumplines), gunny sacks. Maybe 12 of us. Walked fast. I sometimes run to keep up.

There were already old farms in sat'ayaqw (Quil Prairie) and on the way up there. They had plowed up some of the prairie and fenced some of it. We weren't allowed to burn it anymore. The old ladies told stories about it, old days. People still came there a lot. Even walked to Forks along the path in dry weather, so the River was low to cross Cullitt's ford across the SolDuc (la'watkwal latol) to get to qet'layaqwoqw (Forks

Prairie) but we usually got a ride. Never saw them burn the prairie. Old man Sixtis said they burned them on dry days when it was going to rain. They could tell when it was going to rain. I never heard of a fire getting out of control, burning the woods. None of the prairies had burned trees around the edge back then. The old man told how prairies were formed by whales flopping around to get away from Tist'ilal (Thunderbird).

We got there early 6:30, 7:00. Aubrey and Henry Taylor took us over in a big canoe to above K'i'il (Rialto Beach). Worked, too. We were all barefoot except Ida Taylor, who carried her shoes. Some had digging sticks. Mary had a bunch of K'wuyokws in her baxwuy that weren't sticks, they were cut off elk horn tips. It was easy to dig if you stuck it down in the right place. We mostly dug t'sikwi' (bracken and sword fern roots) and La'it'ay (clover roots). Effie (sister, Eli Ward's wife) couldn't dig t'sikwi' because she was pregnant. Everybody laughed. I don't think they really believed it would hurt the baby. But they thought t'siq'ati didn't like it, so she just went and dug more la'it'ay. The baskets got real heavy. We left them and went to K'wadiyaqw (Little Quil Pr.) and dug camas for 3 hours. We went home about 3:00. Got a ride in the gasboat at Mora. Mary had a baxwuy and a gunny sack (that she was) carrying. No lunch. This was in summer, I guess. In springtime you could sometimes get camas easier when they plowed up there, plowed new places.. No digging. Just pick it up when they plow. In summer the kwala is bigger and tougher. Lacamas them old men said. Sunny and hot.

[source: transcribed interview identified only as "by Dori", March 9, 1984, in Quileute tribal archives. Pp3-4.]

.....My aunt used to take a tent out there and camp for two or three days and just dig. Just dig all day those little bulbs. It takes a long time. She'd come back with a whole bunch and tell everybody to come and eat in the big lodge, everybody. She was a great one for that."

Jackson, Johnny. (Johnny Jackson was a Quileute, born of a Quileute woman who married a Nuuchahnulth (Nootka) man from Port Alberni. John was raised in Port Alberni, where he is remembered by elders as XXX. His mother died there, and John moved back to LaPush in his teens. [source: transcribed interview identified only as "by Dori", March 9, 1984, in Quileute tribal archives. p.1]

.....they camp overnight, them old ladies, three or four of them old ladies used to camp over there and get some of this. Lacamas. Then everybody had big eats when they come home, invite everybody... Yeah, and I know they used to have some kind of seal oil, too, they dig, you know, when they eat it, some of them use it, they use that seal oil for it...and us, we used to dip it in the sugar. We used sugar to make it sweet...I bet it'd be good with syrup. Dip it in the syrup...

Wahlgren, Iva Hosack [n.d.] "Memories of a Quillayute and Sol Duc Country Pioneer", unpub. interview notes prepared by the Forks Logging Museum staff.

Iva tells of moving to the old log cabin on the west end of the Quillayute Prairie (probably in the 1870s), and of the Indian women gathering camas there when she was young; she also mentions cow parsnips and horsetail (scouring rush) and the way they were prepared by Quileutes in traditional cookery.

This was the homestead cabin of John Hagadorn on the west end of Quillayute Prairie. The walls had so much ivy growing on them they couldn't fall down. There was no window or door and no floor. I don't know if it ever had a floor in it or not. There were several bushy trees close by and several vines of little white roses, which I call the Old Homestead rose, and a row of gooseberry bushes.....

We used to enjoy watching the Indian women gather camas bulbs in the spring. When the farmers plowed, there would be five or six women follow behind picking up and digging out the camas bulbs, which are not much bigger than onion sets. The soil on Quillayute Prairie is black loam and the little white bulbs were easy to see. They worked all day and would get, I would guess, twelve or fifteen pounds apiece. Then they had to walk back to Mora and from there they took their canoe down the Quillayute River to LaPush.

The Camas blooms in May and June around here and have from 10 to 30 flowers on a stem like a hyacinth. They open from the bottom and only have four or five open glowers at one time. Most of them are blue, but you may find a white one once in awhile. They like damp ground but flourish on the prairie in the West End. They are also thick in the peat moss bogs between Forks and the Hoh River. In the earlier days the Indians used the camas in place of bread. They dug a little pit and lined it with flat stone(s) and made a fire in it. When the stones were red hot, they took the fire out, then lined the hole with a special kind of grass they gathered in the mountains. Then, they put in the camas bulbs and put more grass over the bulbs. Then they covered it up tight with hot sand and built a fire on top. They had to keep the fire going steady for about 36 hours. They couldn't open the pit before the bulbs were done or they would be spoiled. I suppose they would go flat like a dumpling goes when you take the lid off before they are done.

They also boiled the camas with a few fish eggs or whale oil. In later years when the Indians had sugar, they cooked them like pudding and put sugar and cream on. The camas bulb must have a thickening substance in it, as it is also called sago.

Another food we watched the Indians gather was the cow parsnips or *Heracleum canatum* and the horsetail blossom. Mrs. Tommy Payne showed me how they ate the cow parsnips. She gathered the new blossom stalks before they bloomed. Then she stripped the skin off, which comes off like the skin of rhubarb, and started eating on one end like a stick of celery. I didn't like the flavor. The blossom of the horsetail is light yellow and brown, about six or seven inches high when they gather it. It is cooked like asparagus and the herb books say it is high in Vitamin A. It is a shame that civilization has made the Indians feel embarrassed to be caught gathering some of these wild foods. I have seen some stop along the highway and run to the bank and grab a couple of handfuls and then run for their car before anyone caught them.....

Bibliography:

- Daugherty, Richard D. (1948-9) Notebooks #1-4; unpublished ms notes on the Quileute and Hoh, taken at Lower Hoh River.
- Farrand, Livingston. (1919) "Quileute Tales", Vol 32. *Journal of American Folklore*, p.251-79.
- Frachtenberg, Leo (1916) Unpublished ms notebooks on the Quileute in the American Philosophical Library, Philadelphia.
- Gunther, Erna (1973) *Ethnobotany of Western Washington* (Rev. Ed. with Appendix by J.V. Powell and Fred Woodruff) UWPress: Seattle).
- Pettitt, George A. (1955) The Quileute of LaPush: 1775-1945. Vol 14:1 *Anthropological records*.
- Powell, Jay V. (1969-present). Quileute ethnographic and linguistic notes, taken in LaPush.
- ____ (1997), "Don't Waste the Environment" QTS Cultural Enrichment Big Book.
- ____ and Fred Woodruff (1976) "Quileute Dictionary". *Northwest Anthropological Research Notes*, Vol 10:1.
- ____ and Dell Hymes (1993) "Don't Waste the Environment – An Interpretive Re-consideration of a Quileute Discourse on the Natural World", unpub paper given at 25th ICSL, Vancouver.
- ____ and Lillian Pullen (1989) "Conversations with Nature" QTS Cultural Enrichment Big Book.
- Pullen, Royal (1980) an unpub. interview transcribed by Heather Hennum in 2002.
- Ray, Verne F. (c1954). Quileute Ms Notes (random notes in author's archival files made while preparing the Quileute case for the Indian Court of Claims; reviewed by Powell in 1988) c1954.
- Reagan, Albert B.(1935) "Some Myths of the Hoh and Quillayute Indians", Transactions of the Kansas Academy of Sciences.
- ____ and L.V.W. Walters (1933). "Tales from the Hoh and Quileute". *Journal of American folklore*, Vol. 46, No. 182, October-December, 1933.
- Singh, Ram Raj Prasad (1966) Aboriginal Economic System of the Olympic Peninsula Indians, Western Washington. Sacramento Anthr. Soc: Sacramento.
- Swan, James G. (1861). *A cruise in the Sarah Newton (July 18-August 24, 1861)*, *Washington Standard*, 5 & 12 October, 1861. Reprinted in *Almost out of the World*, William A Katz, ed., Wash. St. Hist. Soc. [1971].
- ____ (1879). Documents and notes from a meeting held August 20-1, 1879, in the village at the mouth of the Quillayute River between Chas. Willoughby (U.S. Indian Agent), James G. Swan (interpreter and clerk) and the chiefs and sub-chiefs of the Quileute.
- Wahlgren, Iva Hosack (n.d.) "Memories of a Quillayute and Sol Duc Country Pioneer", unpub. interview notes prepared by the Forks Logging Museum staff.

