

ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS AND COMPARISON OF HISTORICAL
SPOKANE INDIAN SITES ON AND OFF THE SPOKANE RESERVATION

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ABSTRACT

The archaeology of post-contact Indigenous peoples in the interior Northwest is not widely studied. The following is a case study comparison of historic Spokane Indian archaeological sites on the Spokane Reservation versus off the reservation using Indigenous archaeology and Critical Race Theory frameworks. The intent of the work was to seek a better understanding of the types of changes Spokane Indians faced during the historic period from their lives off the reservation to their lives on the reservation. The second goal was to collaboratively produce a piece of archaeological work that will be beneficial to that Spokane Tribe of Indians Archaeology and Preservation Program, to the tribe generally, and to the archaeological community. Despite archaeological bias and ambiguous material culture which made identifying historic Spokane sites and site components difficult, several similarities and differences were observed that provide a slightly more vivid insight into the lives of post-contact Spokane Indians.

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As a person without children, I feel comfortable in my ignorance in saying that the process of a thesis is a bit like having a child. It has its highs and lows and takes a village to do it properly. As such, I would like to thank all those who helped me throughout this process. First and foremost I would like to thank the Spokane Tribe of Indians. Of particular note, my gratitude goes to Randy Abrahamson, James Harrison, Christoph Casserino, John Matt, Lynn Pankonin, Al Hubert, and Charles “Scoob” Martin with the Spokane Tribe of Indians Archaeological Preservation Program, and Bill Matt and Tim Leach with the Spokane Tribe of Indians Department of Natural Resources. I would also like to particularly thank my committee past and present including Mark Warner, Rodney Frey, Anne Marshall, Rebecca Jager, and Lynn Pankonin. The fieldwork could not have been accomplished without the aid of Robert Sappington, Mairee MacInnes, Kiley Molinari, and the John Calhoun Smith Memorial Fund. I would also like to thank Rose Krause, Jane Davey, and Jeff Creighton with the Northwest Museum of Arts and Culture, Stan Gough and Sara Walker with Eastern Washington University, Alicia Woods and Dan Meatte with Washington State Parks, Gretchen Kaehler and Stephanie Kramer with the Washington State Department of Historic Preservation, Precilla Wegars with the Asian American Heritage Collection at the University of Idaho, Leah Evans-Janke with the Alfred W. Bowers Laboratory of Anthropology at the University of Idaho, Kristen Griffen, Leroy Eadie, and Tony Madunich with the City of Spokane and Ken Weddle of the Union Gospel Mission, and Brea Franco. Lastly, I would like to thank my parents, my husband Philip, and my cohort who all served as my constant sounding board and motivation.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Project Overview

Across the nation, the forced removal of American Indian peoples to reservations has been fraught with ideological and practical challenges to the various groups' political, social, and economic organization. The peopling of the Spokane Reservation is no exception albeit with their own unique challenges and set of complexities. Many of the historic problems faced by the Spokane Indians who were first confronted by Euro-Americans and their interests during the nineteenth century remain as the backbone to some of their modern troubles. Social science fields such as history, sociology, and ethnography have explored some of these problems, however archaeology has been noticeably absent from the conversation. This project will use archaeology to add to the understandings of Indigenous histories through a comparison of historic Spokane Indian archaeological sites from both on the Spokane Reservation and off the Spokane Reservation, but within the ancestral territories of the Spokane peoples. This project has sought to discover some of the material similarities and differences in Spokane Indian life during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as they are expressed on and off of the Spokane Reservation.

Project Goals

Broadly stated, there are three primary goals for this project. The first, and most fundamental is to conduct and present the "Archaeological Investigations and Comparison of Historic Spokane Indians Sites on and off the Spokane Reservation" project as a case study to develop a better understanding through anthropology of the types of changes Indigenous people faced during the historic period from their lives off of the reservation lives to their lives on the reservation. The second goal is to work with the Spokane Tribe of Indians' Archaeology and Preservation Program (STI APP) to collaboratively produce a piece of archaeological work that will be beneficial to that department and to the tribe. The last goal is to apply Indigenous archaeological methodology and critical race theory to aid in my personal and professional development as an archaeologist that values the beliefs, values, and practices of local and Indigenous communities whose cultural heritage I have and will have the privilege to work with.

Previous Scholarship and Situating the Case Study

Comparing Indigenous life on the reservation with life off of the reservation has been a subject of discussion by scholars in many fields. Specifically, the Spokane reservation has garnered attention through many of Sherman Alexie's writings. Alexie's written catalog includes novels and

short stories based on the Spokane Reservation including *The Lone Ranger and Tonto Fist Fight in Heaven* (1993) and *Reservation Blues* (1995). More recently, Robert “Chick” Wynecoop published his memoirs *The Way it was According to Chick: Growing Up on the Spokane Indian Reservation* (2003). Academic works include a series of taped interviews from 1981 entitled *the City vs. the Reservation* (1981). The interviews are part of the American Indian Oral History Collection at the University of South Dakota. David Wynecoop, a Spokane Indian, was included in the interviews. In 1968, Lynn Carlton White wrote her M.A. thesis in Sociology, *Assimilation of the Spokane Indians: On Reservation Versus Off Reservation Residence* (1968) at Washington State University. While all of these works relate directly to the Spokane peoples and the Spokane Reservation, they all deal with contemporary life. A handful of Spokane histories have been written including David C. Wynecoop’s *Children of the Sun: A History of the Spokane Indians* (1969) and Robert H. Ruby and John A. Brown’s *The Spokane Indians: Children of the Sun* (2006). Anthropologically, a number of ethnographic studies have been conducted with the Spokane (Elmendorf 1935-1936; Ray 1936; Ross 2011; Ross 1991). Notably lacking in the published accounts of Spokane life in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries are historical archaeological contributions. Looking more broadly for archaeological reports and articles regarding historic Indigenous peoples and their reservation lives in the Northwest, I found very little. Of particular note however, is C. M. Davis and S. A. Scott’s 1987 article “The Pass Creek Wickiups: Northern Shoshone Hunting Lodges in Southwest Montana.” The article reports on a site that was encountered during survey where a few wickiup remains were identified. After historical research and ethnographic interviews, the authors suggest that the wickiup site, which dated to the reservation period, was used seasonally by Lemhi Shoshoni Indians, who may have been allowed to leave the reservation because their resource base on the reservation was insufficient to sustain them. Certainly what is presented here is merely a partial list of published or publicly accessible materials. I have no doubt that other reports and documentation are present within tribal archives, but it is important to recognize that there is a great deal that is not accessible to the public as those materials remain the cultural property of tribes.

This project addresses a very specific group of people, the Spokane Indians, at a very specific period of time, the historic period surrounding the peopling of the Spokane Reservation (circa 1881). Even within the narrow scope of this subject matter, only a handful of sites are being addressed which further limits what can be said about the potential material culture change associated with life on and off of the Spokane Reservation. While the nature of this project is limited, hopefully this endeavor will help to draw more attention to historic Indigenous archaeology. As noted above, very little work has been done by archaeologists in the interior Northwest regarding the reservation induced culture changes associated with introduced goods, beliefs, practices, peoples,

and hostilities, as well as a severely modified land base, traditional resource access, economy, and mobility in the post-contact period.

Furthermore, it cannot be stressed enough that this project is not an exercise in measuring acculturation. L.L. Scheiber and J. B. Finley challenge archaeologists to look beyond the incorporation of new cultural technologies as acculturation, and instead address how historic Indigenous and Euro-American populations interacted with each other and how they interacted with their changing material culture. They write that historic Indigenous peoples creolized materials and incorporated the introduced materials and technologies, and ascribed symbolic meaning to those cultural goods in a way that fit within their existing cultural frameworks (2010:131). Scheiber and Finley continue saying that their approach "...involves more than creating artifact lists and acculturation ratios at contact period sites" and that by looking beyond the simplifying façade of acculturation, a greater understanding of the symbolic connection and meaning of things can be reached (2010:136). The Spokanes have had a long history of cultural exchange with people from both ends of the Columbia River and on both sides of the Continental Divide. This exchange can be seen throughout the archaeological record; the Spokanes at 1900 remained open to, or unreceptive of different cultural groups, their materials, beliefs, and practices, as they had prior to Euro-American contact. By attributing all changes to Spokane culture in the historic period to acculturation robs the Spokanes of their agency and their rich heritage of cultural exchange and the choices they made to incorporate some things while excluding others. Taking up the call made by Scheiber and Finley, this project is quite simply a study of culture change.

Statement of Research Questions and Site Introductions

The principle objective of this thesis has been to observe differences in archaeological sites associated with the Spokane Indians during the historic period as they transitioned to life on the Spokane Reservation. Research questions include: What can be inferred about the lifeways of the Spokane after their removal to the reservation? Can potential material changes be related to diminished mobility, changes in subsistence/occupation, relationships with agency personnel, and growing Euro-American settler populations? Did access to traditional and non-traditional goods change, and how was their use of traditional resources impacted by their new lives on the reservation? Did the division of labor between men and women change? If these types of changes are identifiable in the archaeological record, what inferences can be made in regards to culture change and continuity? These questions will be asked of two sites along the Spokane River on the reservation near the historic location of Detillion Bridge as they relate to one long term habitation site at the confluence of Latah Creek with the Spokane River and a small cluster of sites at the

confluence of Tschimakain Creek with the Spokane River. The number and nature of these broad scale questions are very ambitious and not all have been answered with the data I collected during this investigation. Instead, these questions are framed to orient this project within the broader archaeological landscape whereby future archaeologists may be able to better address these overarching questions with additional research, and a landscape based perspective. Where the data applied I strove to answer these questions.

Personal Development and Collaboration

A secondary objective of the project has been to develop myself as an archaeologist using theories and methodologies that relevant Indigenous communities determine to be appropriate. To this end I have pursued a collaborative relationship with STI APP. This relationship influenced the methodologies I used, the cultural resources I had access to, and the presentation of my results. In their 1998 article “Intimate Relations with the Past: The Story of an Athapaskan Village on the Southern Northwest Coast of North America”, Madonna Moss and George Wasson open a dialog about cultural heritage, and the role of the foreign archaeologist. Wasson is a descendant of the Athapaskan village and was one of the original archaeologists who worked at the site in the 1960s. Moss is a Euro-American archaeologist. Together, the authors present their work as a collaboration and as an example to encourage other archaeologists to relate to any given archaeological site in a way that is inclusive of and respectful to the people who are descendent from those places. This article not only presents an applied example of Indigenous archaeology theory, but also applied critical race theory. Across the American landscape, the archaeology of American Indians predominates. Throughout my career as an archaeologist, I hope to act thoughtfully and respectfully during my interactions with archaeological materials in a manner that is consistent with the wishes of descent communities.

The tenets of Indigenous archaeology served as the framework I employed throughout my project. A defining characteristic of Indigenous Archaeology is its recognition of the considerable variation in epistemology, pedagogy and methodology between culture groups, and/or projects (Watkins 2000; Silliman ed. 2008). In all archaeological situations, the specific needs of Indigenous people should always be in constant dialog with the archaeologist and the archaeological project. It is not the culture that is variable; it is the archaeologist, and the archaeological project that is variable. To this end, it is critical when working within an Indigenous archaeology paradigm for the archaeologist to engage, listen to, and collaborate with the culture group in a thoughtful, honest, and respectful manner (Watkins 2000; Frey N.d.).

Logistical and Theoretical Challenges

A great many practical and theoretical problems plagued this project from inception through interpretation. On a practical level, the ancestral homeland of the Spokanes, and of particular note, the areas that they most intensively used along the Spokane River, have been heavily impacted by the damming of the region's rivers, the development and growth of urbanized areas, (most notably Spokane city), and the intensive privatization and agricultural use of the landscape. Inundation and development have buried or destroyed the places where the Spokane once fished, camped, celebrated and lived. Many of these changes happened well before laws were enacted to protect archaeological sites obliterating many of the most significant archaeological sites within the Spokanes' homeland. A second problem was the difficulty I encountered when trying to identify historical Spokane related archaeological collections, and previously documented sites. As will be discussed below, there was an unexpected lack of existing archaeological data related to the historic Spokane Indians.

The major theoretical problem that dogged this project is the false duality of prehistoric and historical archaeology. This problem has been well established in archaeological literature. In Kent G. Lightfoot's 1995 article "Culture Contact Studies: Redefining the Relationship between Prehistoric and Historical Archaeology", Lightfoot presents the issue of the compartmentalization of and within prehistoric and historical archaeology, which he argues detracts from and adversely manipulates the study of long term culture change through inconsistency of theoretical frameworks. He breaks down his argument by addressing the dichotomies between prehistoric and historical archaeology, how ethnographic and ethnohistoric sources should be used, how culture change is measured in multi-ethnic environments, and in larger scale regional studies. In Lightfoot and Martinez's article "Frontiers and Boundaries in Archaeological Perspectives" (1995), the authors write that frontiers inherently possess diverse and complex interethnic cultural interactions that create ambiguous material remains. Within the cacophony of these multiethnic, cross-cultural frontiers an open exchange of materials, practices, and beliefs becomes commonplace which can severely muddle the historical archaeological landscape. Even before I started sifting through site forms looking for archaeological sites to work at, this paramount problem presented itself in very real ways. The quandaries I was faced with were the questions of "have previous archaeological investigations in the ancestral Spokane territory employed a prehistoric-historical duality that may have affected the interpretation of sites?", and if so "how will I be able to locate historical Spokane sites or components of sites from site reports with that potential false-duality?"

Once I began sifting through the archaeological site files to identify appropriate sites for this project, I found that the dichotomy of pre-contact versus historical was very common in the recorded archaeological literature of northeastern Washington. Within the context of modern archaeological

practice, it has become standard to employ multiple lines evidence (Lightfoot 1995; Rubertone 2000); even within the rushed world of contract archaeology, any interpretation of an archaeological site requires an interdisciplinary approach spanning the academic spectrum from geology to ethnography. I found that as I worked my way through the Washington State Department of Archaeology and Historic Preservation's (DAHP) site files, a significant number of site forms, particularly from the 1990's forward, did include mention of ethnographic, ethnohistorical, and/or historical materials. Yet even within these contexts where there is documentary evidence to suggest a historical Indigenous component, the inclusion of such materials in the interpretation was either significantly downplayed or excluded. Teasing out the sites that would best fit this project, particularly off of the reservation, proved to be my defining challenge.

A Note on Relevant Terminology

Within the field, there are basic understandings of commonplace language—'prehistoric' and 'historical' archaeology are paramount among that language. As discussed above however, 'prehistoric' and 'historical' archaeology are imbued with value, and the terms themselves possess inherent meaning. Prehistoric archaeology is the study of American Indian people prior to indirect or direct contact with Europeans or European-Americans. Conversely, historical archaeology is the study of "post-prehistoric cultures" (Society for Historical Archaeology 2013). As previously established, in order to move away from this sort of limiting duality, culture history has to be looked at as a continuum. Drawing out a piece of that continuum does not necessarily have to contribute to increased specialization, segmentation, or compartmentalization of the archaeological record. Considered within the spectrum, special study of one component or another can add significantly to the vivaciousness of the spectrum. Within the specific context of Spokane Indian peoples during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (a "pre-contact" culture group during the "post-contact" period), a baseline of terminology needs to be defined. This terminology has previously been considered by a number of scholars (Scheiber and Finley 2005; Silliman ed. 2008). Patricia Rubertone employs the broad scale use of the term "historical archaeology of Native Americans" (2000). It is from this term that my use of language in this study is derived. Most of the archaeological sites incorporated into this study are long term habitations and a few have Spokane and Euro-American components. In order to be clear when referring to the site components relevant to this case study, I have used the term historical Spokane.

Introduction to the Document

The following document consists of five body chapters including an overview of Columbia Plateau and Spokane history, archaeology, and culture (Chapter two). Chapter three discusses the cultural and environmental landscape of the Spokanes ancestral homeland. Chapter four outlines the theoretical and methodological parameters that defined how the work was undertaken. Chapters five and six present the archaeological sites that were investigated for this project, and interpretations of the findings. Chapter seven is the conclusion of the document and aims to situate this case study in the broader archaeological spectrum of both the culture of the Spokane Indians, and the archaeology of post-contact Native Americans.

Chapter two presents an overview of the archaeological, historical, ethnographic, and modern scholarship relevant to the Spokanes. According to the Spokanes, the Interior Salish speaking Spokane Indians have lived on the landscape that is now northeastern Washington since time immemorial. Organized at the village level, the Spokanes traveled across their landscape on their seasonal rounds with particular emphasis on salmonoid fish resources. These practices, which began generations before contact, lasted well after the first fur traders and missionaries came into the area. A period of less than 80 years from contact to reservation marks a rapid transition for the Spokane People, as well as all other interior Northwest native groups, during which many found Jesus, guns, farming, and a multitude of other Euro-American materials, practices, and philosophies. The rapid fire imposition and incorporation of foreign goods and ideologies altered interior Northwest Indigenous groups. The sum of this cultural upheaval reached its crescendo for many Spokanes in 1881 when the Spokane Indian Reservation was established by executive order. Not all Spokanes moved to the newly created reservation-- others ended up on the Coeur d'Alene, Colville, and Flathead Reservations, while others did not remove to a reservation at all. Yet once the Spokanes settled on the reservations, the impacts of encroaching Euro-American settlers continued with policies such as reorganization and dam developments.

Chapter three presents a discussion of the physical and cultural geography of the Spokanes' ancestral homeland. The Spokanes' homeland has been carved out, according to geological studies, by large scale floods, glacial scouring, and volcanic eruptions. The modern landscape, having been defined by such catastrophic forces, is much more serene with rolling hills, broad flats, meandering rivers and creeks and small mountains. The rain shadow effect from the Cascade Range to the west dictates low to moderate precipitation. This landscape has provided ample game, roots, berries and herbs for the Spokanes throughout the years. The Spokane River, the heart of their territory, is perhaps the defining geographic element and the primary habitat for many of the most important resources that the Spokanes have relied on both for bodily and spiritual sustenance. In more recent

years, the river has become a source of contention with the construction of a series of dams that have stopped the fish from swimming upstream, and has inundated low lying river-side communities. The alterations of the rivers that define the Spokanes' homeland have impacted the lifeways of the Spokanes forever.

Chapter four presents a discussion of the theoretical and methodological frameworks that defined the ways in which this project was undertaken. This project attempts to incorporate several strands of evidence to explore change in the Spokanes' lifeway over time. While primarily archaeological, I have also incorporated alternative lines of evidence. For the comparative fieldwork portion of the project, two sites were recorded on the Spokane Reservation and four sites were recorded off of the reservation. The on-reservation fieldwork was determined and guided by STI APP. I used a combination of STI APP and personally devised site recording forms as well as photographs and mapping. The work was completed over four days during which time I was accompanied by a tribal monitor. The off-reservation sites were recorded using a combination of DAHP and personally devised site recording forms, photographs, and mapping. The sites I worked at were approved by personnel at STI APP, as well as land owners and managers. I was aided by one to two graduate student volunteers during the fieldwork which was undertaken over the course of two weeks. No sub-surface investigations were undertaken. Dr. Robert Sappington served as principal investigator.

Project development required that I maintain open and frequent communication with personnel at STI APP. While it was I who proposed the project, it could not have happened without tribal approval, support, and enthusiasm. Once the foundation of the project was laid, I provided periodic update reports to inform STI APP on the work completed and to allow for feedback. In addition to those outlets for communication, I set up an evaluation for myself with an archaeologist from the tribe and the tribe's historic preservation officer so that I could get feedback on their perception on the effectiveness and successfulness of the project. These methods were undertaken to ensure that I met the goals I set forth for this project.

Chapters five and six explore the archaeological sites incorporated in this case study and the interpretation of the collected data. I recorded two archaeological sites on the Spokane Reservation. The sites were located on the Spokane River arm of Lake Roosevelt and work was undertaken during draw-down to allow for greatest possible access to the sites. Despite this, much of the sites remained inundated, and throughout the process of the work, the reservoir levels rose. Both sites are long term habitation sites that had been settled and allotted during the historical reservation period. The sites are affiliated with the Deep Creek Community—a historical Presbyterian Spokane community that was located west of the modern day city of Airway Heights. The community members of Deep

Creek were forced out by railroad development. Many from the community settled in the area of sites studied for this project. Collectively, along with other sites, this area is known as the historic Cornelius Landscape. The archaeological remains, paired with historical documentation primarily indicate domestic and farm related activities.

The off-reservation component of the project consists of a total of four sites. The first site is located in the city of Spokane at the confluence of Latah Creek with the Spokane River. The site is presently a large park. The history of the site is quite extensive. It had been a substantial Spokane Indian village and fishing site. With the development of the city of Spokane, the site became a residential community with a small network of paved streets and sewer lines. The historical Euro-American use of the site area has dramatically impacted the integrity of the Spokane Indigenous component of the site. Archaeological materials from the site reflect the complex temporal and historical use of the location.

The last three sites, collectively referred to as the Tschimakain landscape, will be addressed in Chapter five, however, they largely did not contribute to the study. Site 45ST228 was recorded in 1978 as a pit house village site (Rice 1978). The location of this site also corresponds to one of Verne Ray's village locations. Once we arrived at the location of the site, we were given a tour of other archaeological sites that the land manager was aware of. The other sites, which had not previously been recorded, were documented during the course of fieldwork. These sites included a small trail system, and the remains of a historical stone structure. The shared local knowledge and historical documentation indicates that the larger landscape was used long term by the Spokanes; however the Tschimakain Creek sites did not contribute much to this project.

CHAPTER TWO: HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

The specifics of the Spokane narrative of the coming of the people remain the sole cultural property of the Spokane Indians. While the narrative cannot be included here, suffice it to say that the narrative, which is shared by several other Plateau cultures with cultural specificities (Clark 1960:172; Frey et al. 2001:127), indicates that Coyote created the Spokane people in their ancestral homeland which encompasses approximately three million acres in Eastern Washington (Figure 1). The narrative indicates the Spokanes' continued existence on this landscape since time immemorial. While the specifics of the Spokanes' narrative elude the rigors of scientific inquiry, a scattering of archaeological remains across the landscape tell another story, albeit a limited one, of a people who inhabited the Columbia Plateau long ago.

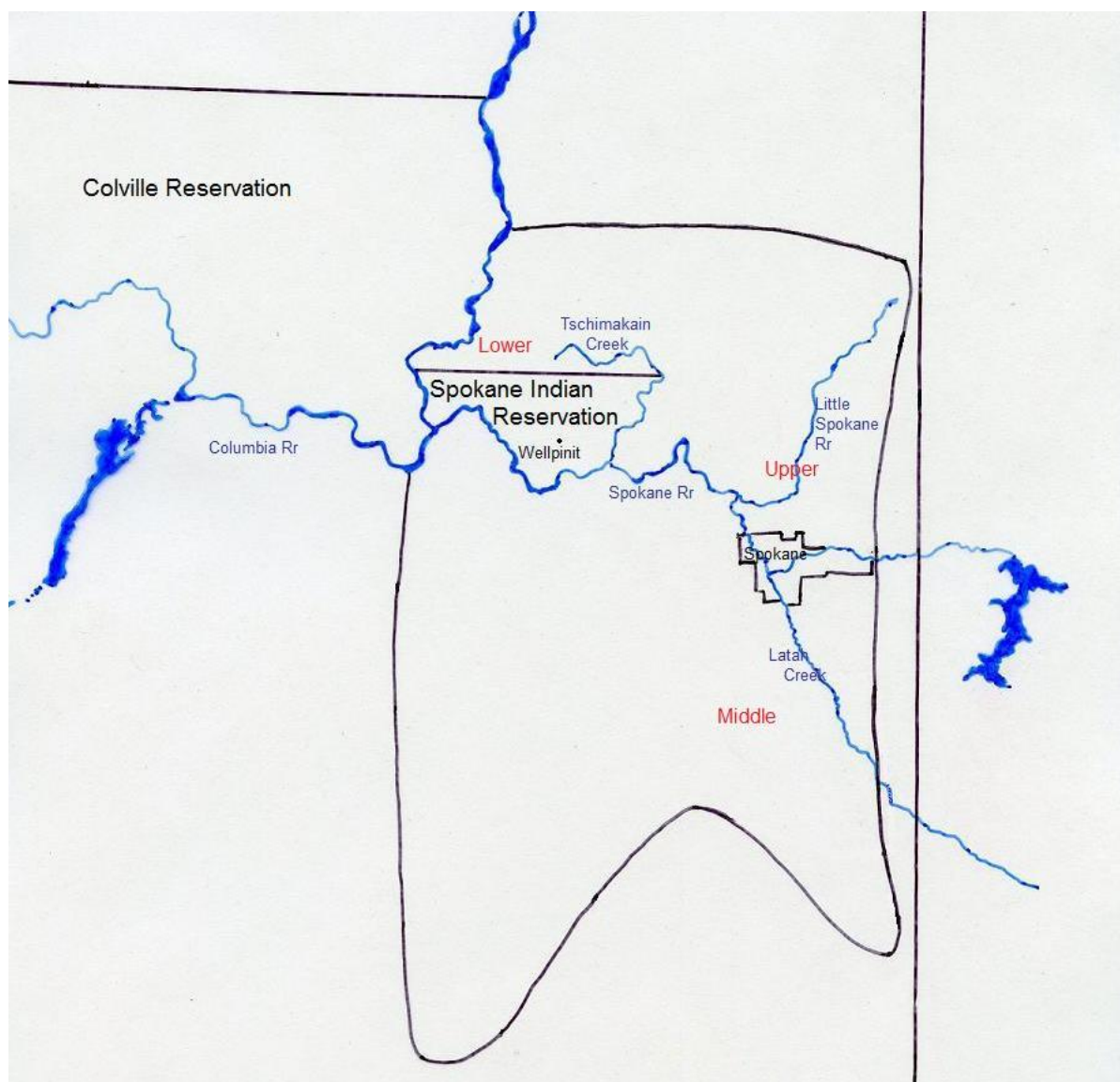


Figure 1. Map of ancestral territory of Spokane Indians (Based on Ross 1998:271)

The Plateau Volume of *The Handbook of North American Indians* indicates that collectively, the Columbia Plateau is united as a geographic and cultural unit by linear riverine settlement patterns, reliance on anadromous fish, game, and diverse root and vegetal foodstuffs, extensive fishing practices, differing cultural groups with overlapping seasonal rounds, regional intermarriage and kinship ties, extensive trade, village and band level political organization, and aesthetic, narrative, and religious similarities (Walker 1998:3). The Columbia Plateau is far from homogeneous however, and the area has been repeatedly subdivided into increasingly smaller culture units to accommodate cultural differences of the peoples on the Plateau. The area inhabited by the Spokane Indians (subsequently referred to as the ancestral territory) falls primarily within the South-Central and Southeast Plateau (two of three sub-sections of the Southern Plateau) and to a lesser extent into the Northern, and Eastern Plateau geographic and culture areas (Ames et al. 1998:103; Pokotylo and Mitchell 1998:81; Roll and Hackenburger 1998:120).

The earliest archaeological evidence of human occupation in and surrounding the ancestral territory is limited to a smattering of surficial Clovis points, and one major Paleo-Indian site called the Richey-Roberts Clovis Cache in Central Washington. Ames et al. suggest that archaeologists have not encountered evidence indicating that the Plateau was continuously inhabited between these early Paleo-Indian peoples and later Plateau-centric populations saying that “while a Clovis presence is documented, it is unknown whether this culture had any bearing on subsequent cultural development in the Plateau region” (1998:103). Conversely in *Ancient North America: The Archaeology of a Continent*, Brian Fagan writes that the origins of Plateau culture derive from “Paleo-Indian times” (2000:213). Regardless of the continuity of occupation, the archaeological record does indicate that Paleo-Indian peoples on the Columbia Plateau were highly mobile foragers with low population densities (Fagan 2000:261; Chatters and Pokotylo. 1998:74).

The following cultural period, from 11,000 years ago-5000/4400 BC (a transition from Paleo-Indian to Windust Phases), is defined by highly mobile foragers with no evidence of prepared structures or dwellings (Ames et al. 1998:103). Typical site assemblages can include expedient and time intensive lithic tools including burins, grooved stones, scrapers, cores, and projectile points; bone tools including needles, and awls; large milling stones; ochre, and beads (Ames et al. 1998:103). Primary activities associated with these types of assemblages include fishing, hunting and vegetal food preparation. Some incised bone artifacts have been interpreted as gaming pieces, other artifacts have been found in association with prepared graves. Prior to 7000 BC, projectile points were typically shouldered and stemmed, or unstemmed lanceolate including Windust points. Between 7000 and 5800 BC, points were frequently laurel-leaf shaped, including the Cascade point series, and after 5800 to the close of this culture period, point types were commonly large with side

or corner notches, including the Northern Side Notched and Bitterroot points (Ames et al. 1998:104). Recovered faunal remains from this period, while rare, indicate a reliance on large ungulates including deer, elk, and bison, which occurred on the Plateau; large rodents such as rabbits; and anadromous fish. Major sites from this era include 45SP266, one of the sites included in this study, Lind Coulee near modern day Moses Lake, and Marmes Rockshelter on the Snake River.

The climate prior to 6000 BC was generally cooler and moister than present day (Fagan 2000:232). After 6000 BC, the climate shifted and was marked by warmer and drier conditions which resulted in expanding spreads of shrub and grasslands and receding coniferous forests. The defining climactic event during this time was the eruption of Mt. Mazama in the Oregon Cascades in 5700 BC (Decker and Decker 2007:144). The eruption of the volcano was said to be 100 times stronger than the 1980 Mt. St. Helen's eruption and much of the Northwest was blanketed in fall out ash (Decker and Decker 2007:145). The resulting tephra layer serves as relative temporal marker for archaeological excavations.

The greatest cultural transitions that occurred between 5000/4400-1900 BC include the appearance of semi-subterranean pit houses, the development of seasonal semi-sedentism, and a greater reliance on fish as a food staple. A notable site from this period, located near Chief Joseph Reservoir, includes eleven pit house remains. The pit houses date from 3200-2200 BC, and the largest structure measures 12 meters in diameter. This particular pit house is impressively large and would have housed several families through the winter months. Elsewhere in the ancestral territory, pit houses were more frequently seven to eight meters in diameter (Ross 2011:203). The semi-subterranean pit house during this period was frequently constructed on sloping terraces, and were constructed with a superstructure of lodge pole pines which were then covered by willow or tule mats, and the whole structure was then covered by earth (Ross 2011:203).

Notable changes in typical artifact assemblages include a decreased frequency of projectile points (perhaps indicating a greater reliance on aquatic protein sources), size increase of milling stones (suggestive of more and more diverse vegetal food reliance), fishing net weights, and "projectile point styles become[ing] more variable in space after about 3800 BC, with some styles having wide distributions, others being more localized" (Ames et al. 1998:108). Projectile points from the previous period are present at the beginning of this phase; however they were gradually replaced by projectile points such as Hatwai-eared and Snake River Corner-Notched points (Ames et al. 1998:110). In addition faunal remains may suggest more frequent exploitation of freshwater mussels in particular and greater diversity of protein foodstuffs generally.

Late in this period exotic materials such as marine shell show up in archaeological assemblages from sites in and around the ancestral territory indicating the early stages of regional

trade (Ames et al. 1998:110). Lithic materials and tools were also frequently traded for, as the most desirable source materials such as obsidian from the Oregon Cascades, and green stone, nephrite, and argillite from the coast do not occur within the ancestral territory (Ross 2011:224). Little can be said about this early trade. Trade networks of this period are not as well established or understood by archaeologists as in later periods when trade became an integral part of the cultural landscape.

The late pre-contact period began at 1900 BC and ended with the expansion of the horse into the region in around 1730 AD. This period is defined by the establishment of pit house villages that lined waterways and an increased reliance on anadromous fish and the exploitation of camas (Ames et al. 1998:111). The archaeological record for this time period also indicates a greater variety of site types, features, and architectural styles. The Columbia Plateau's Indigenous groups were organized at the village and band level (Ray 1936:112). Throughout most of the year the Plateau Indians moved across the landscape on their seasonal rounds in smaller family based bands. A band shared a winter village and the population of a band would expand and contract, typically ranging between 50 and 250 people. Populations fluctuated with the seasons to best take advantage of the necessary resources throughout the annual round (Ross 2011:78). The seasonal round primarily occurred within the village's territory, however groups did move into neighboring territories, and sometimes moved even further beyond for the procurement of more exotic resources or for trade (Ackerman 2003:36). Throughout the late pre-contact period cultural markers that define Plateau culture generally and the Spokane Indian bands specifically become increasingly apparent in both archaeological and ethnohistorical accounts.

Collectively, the Spokane Indians were comprised of three macro-bands, the Upper, Middle, and Lower Spokane. In his 1936 article, "Native Villages and Groupings of the Columbia Basin", Verne Ray cites Gladys Reichard's unpublished work regarding Interior Salish languages. According to Ray, Reichard classified the Interior Salish Linguistic Groups, which the Spokane bands are a part of, into four major sub-groups. The dialect spoken by Lower Spokane is shared by the "Lakes, Colville... Sanpoil, Nespelem, and Southern Okanogan" (Ray 1936:107). The Middle and Upper Spokane are classified together with the Chewelah and Kalispel (Ray 1936:107). In his own work, Ray delineates cultural distinctions among the Salish groups. His categorization indicates that the Lower Spokanes were identified as Central Interior Salish along with the Columbia, Colville, Nespelem, Sanpoil, and Southern Okanogan. He categorized the Upper and Middle Spokane as Northeastern Interior Salish which also includes the Chewelah, Coeur d'Alene, and Kalispel (1936:108). Within these three macro-bands are five smaller bands, the Sin-too-too-lish, centered around the modern city of Spokane; the Sma-hoo-men-a-ish, at the confluence of the Spokane and Little Spokane Rivers; the Sin-slik-hoo-ish, in Spokane Valley; the Skai-schil-tnish at Tschimakain

Creek; the Ske-cher-a-mouse, near Chewelah, WA; and the Schu-el-stish, at the Columbia River (Barry 1927:158). Across the whole of the Spokane's ancestral territory, Ray identified 29 villages (Ray 1936:133-7). These classifications were derived from ethnographic and ethnohistorical research; however the roots of the macro and sub band, and village locations undoubtedly extend to the late pre-contact period.

“The Spokan had developed an essentially riverine-oriented culture: a successful lifestyle in which approximately fifty percent...of a predictable annual caloric intake was obtained from fishing—mainly anadromous fish” (Ross 2011:359). In fact, along the Spokane River, the salmon's run east ended within the ancestral homeland at Spokane Falls preventing further upriver tribes such as the Coeur d'Alene from accessing the resource within their village territories. As a result, Spokane Falls became a significant regional hub. Oral histories recorded by William Elmendorf in the 1930's speak to the importance of the site (Ross 2011:407).

The late pre-contact Spokanes' increased reliance on fishing was accompanied by a more diverse and sophisticated tool kit. The Spokane, like the other Plateau peoples who relied heavily on subsistence fishing, employed both passive and active fishing techniques. Passive techniques included weirs; barrel, wedge, funnel, cone, and suspended basket traps; corrals; and single or stone fishing platforms (Ross 2011:376-385). Active techniques included raised terrace stone-fishing platforms, fish nets, scaffold platforms, drag nets, dip nets, stretch nets, gill nets and double handed dip nets. In addition, they also employed leisters, “a three pronged spear or pronged barbed fishing spear” (Ross 2011:393), spears, harpoons, clubs, line fishing, and gaffs hooks which was “most effective in retrieving exhausted or dead salmon after spawning...every family had at least one such tool” (Ross 2011:394). Frequently, active and passive fishing techniques were used in tandem.

While fishing did comprise a high percentage of the Spokane Indians' diet, collecting vegetal foods was a much more reliable food source “and gathering was as important as fishing” (Ackerman 2003:36). Food gathering was a very time intensive process and required that the Spokane move across their landscape on seasonal rounds. In total, Spokane women gathered around plant foods, utility and medicine (Ross 2011:336). Of utmost prominence among these 250 plant types was camas. The Spokane had different words for cooked and raw camas, and several ways of preparing and eating the different varieties. Young children would give away the bulbs from their first digging experience to ensure that they would become good diggers and providers (Ross 2011:341). Many early Euro-Americans who ventured into the interior Northwest provided accounts of the blue flowering camas fields and of the great import the plant had in the diets of the Plateau cultures. Ray lists five varieties of camas (1932:99). Other notable collected plants included bitterroot, wapato bulbs, lomatium, biscuit root, common sunflower, huckleberry, service berry

elderberry, Oregon grape, pine lichen, mushrooms, coniferous cambium, and pine nuts (Ross 2011:337-341; Ray 1932:100-105). The primary tool used for collecting flora was the digging stick, however picks and hoes were also employed (Ross 2011:333-336). Throughout the collecting season, women would make trips to a procurement area and then return to the winter village where some of the community remained to process what had been collected and hunted. (Ross 2011:337).

During the late pre-contact period, architectural styles and functions diversified. Within winter villages, the Spokane still lived in semi-subterranean pit houses, but they also incorporated subterranean storage pits and long houses. Long houses were used as places for celebrations, and were present at all Spokane villages (Ross 2011:205). The materials used to construct long houses were similar to those used in the construction of semi-subterranean pit houses with log skeleton structures overlaid with reeds and matting which were then covered with earth. Overlying the earth were tule mats. The structures were long with rounded ends similar to a teepee (Ray 1932:32). Gendered architectural additions to the winter village include the women's winter bathing hut, the semi-subterranean women's day lodge, and women's seclusion structures (Ross 2011:209, 212-13). Sweathouses were also important winter village structures for men and were located on the outskirts of the village. Sweathouses were between two and three meters in diameter and constructed using green poles which could be bent into a dome. The structures were covered with deer or elk skins sometimes with overlain tule mats or dirt (Ross 2011:220).

While on seasonal rounds the Spokane employed a number of temporary architectural styles. Notably among these structures was the tule teepee whose influence derives from eastern tribes; however the tule mat covering is an in-situ adaptation. The tule teepee was a more formalized architectural style whereas many of the seasonal round temporary structures were much more expediently constructed using materials that were immediately available in the vicinity of the resource being procured. These short term use structures could typically be built within an hour (Ross 2011:211). Such structures included lean-to's summer tule mat lodges; tule mat ramadas, to offer shade; brush shelters; and "tent-like structures using numerous long sections of bark or tule mats, which were layered over a series of parallel poles laid horizontally with each end secured to two inverted 'V' shaped uprights" (Ross 2011:212). In addition, scaffolds of tule mats were also employed as drying racks for food stuffs procured during the seasonal round.

The protohistoric period was ushered in by the introduction of the horse, the arrival of European derived diseases, buffalo hunting, and wider trade networks. Upon learning of the Lewis and Clark expedition, two Spokane runners were sent down to the 'bend in the river' where they acquired a couple of unique items including a possible mirror, and an "'ornament not made of sea shells or bone'" (Ruby 1966). This interaction in 1805 technically closed the protohistoric period;

however, following this event, the Spokane encountered Euro-Americans infrequently at best. Even after initial contact with the first trappers who had settled in the region, interaction was not very intense and it is likely that many Spokane had no interaction with Euro-Americans until missionaries came into their lives (Ross 2011:47). According to Verne Ray, the Central Interior Salish, of which the Lower Spokane are a part, were not affected by “pre-white cultural influences and historical factors result[ing] in modification of marginal Basin patterns of life to so great an extent that the relatively uninfluenced Central Interior Salish took on the appearance of a culture island” (Ray 1936:109). As a result, the protohistoric period is slightly more extended for the Spokane than for neighboring tribes, however the Spokane had known of the appearance of white men into the region.

The introduction of the horse into Plateau culture contributed to the development of a number of other defining protohistoric elements. The increased mobility from horses enabled travel to the Northern Plains to hunt buffalo, brought more Indigenous groups to regional trade sites, and increased the frequency of visits to those sites. Horses unfortunately also enabled swifter movement of diseases. Horses had expanded onto the Columbia Plateau by 1730, however the Spokane didn't begin to utilize the horse until approximately 1750 when most Plateau Indians acquired them (Cebula 2003:28), and by 1800 they had amassed large herds. The Spokane had acquired them from the Sahaptin speaking peoples living to the southeast, who in turn had acquired them from the Shoshone (Ruby and Brown 2006:24-25). “The horse was adopted as if the Indians had long awaited its coming.... The horse was mobility epitomized. It did not radically change Plateau life so much as it accelerated existing patterns by enhancing this mobility” (Hunn 1990:24). Incorporation of the horse increased intertribal fighting on the Plateau, however the horse also brought tribes together to accomplish goals that benefited all, and staved off invasions from Plains tribes (Ross 2011:37). Generally, the horse complicated power dynamics both cross-culturally, and within bands. The horse enabled the Spokane to travel great distances and acquire resources which had previously only been known through trade (Ruby and Brown 2006:25). To exemplify this point, the Spokane would engage in horse stealing, an activity that was undertaken against enemies frequently on the Plains. Demonstrations of bravery during horse stealing expeditions came with rewards of power or more horses, which further demonstrated power.

The Spokane, like all of the Plateau Indians, were adversely affected by the plagues of small pox, influenza, malaria, tuberculosis, measles, whooping cough, scarlet fever, mumps, and chicken pox which continued well into the historical era. The waves of sickness, which disproportionately killed the elderly and children, and could wipe out entire villages was termed č'łqwumptin “when many people die at one time” (Ross 2011:47). Prior to the smallpox epidemics of the late eighteenth century, the Spokane population was estimated to be between 2500 and 1400 (Ruby and Brown

2006:29), however a pre-contact Spokane population cannot be fully determined. By 1805, it was reported that the Spokane numbered 1300, and by 1853 their population had dwindled to 600 (Ross 2011:49). By the time Lewis and Clark reached the Northwest, they had encountered elderly Indians with pock marked faces, a telltale sign of small pox survival. On 22 November 1805, William Clark wrote of the Clatsop Indians on the Oregon coast, “this nation is the remains of a large nation destroyed by the Small pox or Some [sic] other which those people were not acquainted [sic] ...” (Clark and Lewis 1805). Initially, the Spokane, like other Plateau peoples attempted to cure these foreign ailments with sweats and cold water plunges, however this solution, which had been largely effective on their traditional illnesses, brought death with even more swiftness (Ross 2011:654). Because of the interactions between the different Northwest groups due primarily to trade and fishing, the spread of diseases in the protohistoric period was rapid.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Spokanes were traveling east to hunt buffalo on the Plains. While Buffalo had been present in the ancestral territory, buffalo migrations west of the Bitterroot Mountains were ephemeral at best. Furthermore, once buffalo were on the Columbia Plateau, their presence as far north at the Spokane homeland was even spottier. In “Buffalo in the Pacific Northwest” C.W. Kingston quotes W. S. Lewis in saying “years ago in talking with some of the older Spokane Indians, they told me that their fathers had surrounded and killed the last buffalo in the Spokane Valley somewhere up near the Idaho line. I figured that that was sometime along about 1810 to 1820” (Kingston 1932:170). Kingston goes on to reference Duncan McDonald who was told by a Spokane Indian that a number of buffalo had been killed near Moses Lake or Grand Coulee (Kingston 1932:170). Even with occasional advantageous buffalo hunts within the Spokane ancestral homeland, buffalo robes and meat were primarily acquired through trade prior to the use of the horse to travel to the plains (Ruby and Brown 2006:24). Buffalo hunts could easily last a year or more. Travel required hunting parties to move through territories of hostile western Plains tribes such as the Blackfeet. This interaction frequently resulted in inter-tribal conflicts that lasted well into the historical period (Hunn 1990:24-25). The increased interaction with Plains tribes, and the influx of buffalo meat and robes had a profound effect on Plateau architecture and trade.

Trade was an integral part of Plateau culture prior to the adoption of the horse, however the nature of the items traded, the frequency of trading expeditions, and the distance traveled for trade changed dramatically once Plateau people began to use the horse. In fact, the horse was first acquired through trade. The protohistoric period saw an expanded trading market, when more Plateau Indians would bring more goods and a greater range of goods to market (Stern 1998:645). This increase in trade opened up economic avenues for both men and women who did not trade in the same goods. Women traded in food, basketry, skins, and ochre (Ross 2011:237); and men traded

in horses, weapons and fishing gear, as well as “feather regalia and other handicrafts” (Ackerman 2003:87-88). Because the Spokane’s ancestral territory was never along a trade route, the Spokane primarily acted as middle men as they traveled both east and west for exchange of goods (Stern 1998:643).

In 1966, while conducting research for the book *The Spokane Indians: Children of the Sun*, Dr. Robert Ruby interviewed Ella McMarty, (born in 1916) whom as a child suffered from infantile paralysis which kept her out of school. According to Ruby’s notes, McMarty told him that during her childhood infirmity “old people in the tribe would come down to the house where her grandfather was and they would tell [her] tales and since she was unable to get out of the house she listened to all these” (Ruby 1966). As she aged, she became something of a tribal historian. During her interview with Ruby she told him a story of the prophet Yur-ee-rachen. In his notes, her story reads as such:

One day Yur-ee-rachen lost his little son, he died, and so Yur-ee-rachen told his brother, the leader that if the creator was so great, why did he take his little son who had committed[sic] no crime, and leave bad people on the earth. The leader brother said to Yur-ee-rachen that there is a reason for it. Yur-ee-rachen did not go for it, he went wild and talked against the creator, saying we are born and die like animals because he took my son. He so stirred up the people that the chief leader said to his brother-Yur-ee-rachen all right we will [live] as animals, we will disband our laws. First you must go to the top of Spokane Mountain and fast for four days and four nights, then you come back the fourth day, just before noon and if you can find no proof of our creator, then we will disband our laws and live like animals. Yur-ee-rachen did go and wore only a breech cloth, he built himself a fire up there because [sic] Smoke carries messages to the creator, he sat down, and beat sticks, he cried and sang. He begged the Creator to show himself. On the fourth day, early in the morning, before daylight, he saw, just at the beginning of daylight, he heard a voice. It was like a wind sound, kind of like a whirl wind, then there was glow, a light, and then a voice came to him and said look down hill and into the future. Yur-ee-rachen did look and saw strange and many lights and he saw the future of his people, and it was then that he got a vision of the white people coming and of the changes to take place... [Ruby 1966]

As mentioned previously, the transition from the protohistoric period to the historical period was not cut and dry. While some Spokane Indians did encounter Euro-Americans within the first decade of the nineteenth century, others probably did not until the trappers and traders established themselves within the Spokanes’ homeland a number of years after Lewis and Clark’s trek through the region. In 1810, at the confluence of the Spokane and Little Spokane Rivers, Spokane House was established by the North West Company headed by David Thompson. Two years following, John Jacob Astor’s Pacific Fur Company established Fort Spokane at the confluence of the Spokane and Columbia Rivers. These two companies however did not have a monopoly in the area as the Hudson’s Bay Company (HBC) and the American Fur Company also had established trading forts in the surrounding areas. The establishment of these two outposts within their homeland ushered in the

trading and trapping era for Spokane Indians. Early in 1812, Ross Cox gave the first written description of the Spokane Indians (Chalfant 1974:8) saying “The Spokans we found to be a quiet, honest, inoffensive tribe... Their country did not abound in furs, and they were rather indolent in hunting. Their chief, Illimspokanee, or the Son of the Sun, was a harmless old man” (Cox 1832:104). The lives of the traders became inextricably linked to the Plateau Indians whose homelands they entrenched themselves into. Not only did the new Euro-American and non-local metis trade with the Plateau Indians, they went to war with, married into, lived with, died with, and made decisions for and with Native peoples. In the autobiography of Mourning Dove, a Colville woman, she relates “the first invaders were the fur traders selling firearms to the Indians of the Northwest, who enthusiastically adopted their use” (Mourning Dove and Miller 1994:3). The traders did exert a great deal of influence over the lives of the Plateau Indians. In his journals, David Thompson wrote of his influence among the Indians. In one particular account, in July of 1808, he wrote that no liquor will be sold to the Indians despite the profit that may have been procured through its sale (Thompson 1962:287). As the Plateau Indians began to trap for hides to trade with the white trappers, an unequal supply and demand relationship was established which resulted in a heavy reliance by the Indians on the traders. Through this exchange, fur bearing mammals in the region were decimated, and the cost of those animals gained the Spokane access to guns, wool, beads, horses and other Euro-American derived trade goods (Ross 2011:58).

In David Haydn Chance’s 1973 master’s thesis entitled “Influences of the Hudson’s Bay on the Native Cultures of the Colville District”, he details the types of materials that were provided by HBC that were popular among the Plateau Indians (Chance 1973:36-45). In his analysis of HBC records from 1826-1865, Chance determined that as furs were regionally depleted, the commercial demands made by the local Indians changed. Chance found that there was a high demand for trinkets (beads, buttons, rings, and mirrors) (Chance 1973:36) at the beginning of this period, but that sales of these items decreased over time. Chance suggests that the decline in demand for these items can be related to the over exploitation of fur bearing mammals and to an increased need for clothing, guns, and gun related paraphernalia (Chance 1973:37) as the Plateau Peoples became increasingly reliant on those tools. This increased reliance on Euro-American derived goods is illustrated in the book *Into the Stream* (1985). Perkins Wynecoop writes “It was not long until Able-One’s money was all gone. She had no more with which to buy the supplies that the coming of the white man was rapidly making necessities” (Perkins Wynecoop and Wynecoop Clark 1985:89). Similarly, in August 1814 Ross Cox wrote:

The trading goods had been exhausted long before, and the Indians had been upwards of two months without ammunition. Our arrival, therefore, was hailed with great joy. The whole

tribe assembled round the fort [Spokan House], and viewed with delight the kegs of powder and the bales of tobacco as they were unloaded from the horses. A large circle was formed in the court-yard, into the centre of which we entered; and having lit the friendly calumet, smoked a few rounds to celebrate the meeting. A quantity of tobacco was then presented to each of the men, and the chief delivered a long oration; part of which, addressing us, ran as follows: — ‘My heart is glad to see you: my heart is glad to see you. We were a long time very hungry for tobacco; and some of our young men said you would never come back. They were angry, and said to me, “The white men made us love tobacco almost as much as we love our children, and now we are starving for it. They brought us their wonderful guns, which we traded from them; we threw by our arrows as useless, because we knew they were not so strong to kill the deer as the guns; and now we are idle with our guns, as the white men have no firepowder, or balls, to give us, and we have broken our arrows, and almost forgotten how to use them: the white men are very bad, and have deceived us.’ [Cox 1832:163]

The infiltration of the fur trade into the Plateau not only altered the Spokanes’ relationship with their environment and initiated a substantial alteration to their material culture; they also facilitated new social interactions in society including a shift in the roles and rights of women. Women were the owners of many of the goods in Plateau culture and as such actively traded food, baskets, mats, cured skins, and decorated skin clothing (Ackerman 2003:87). These exchanges intensified the autonomy of women in Plateau culture, and allowed them direct access to Euro-American goods. Marriage between trappers and Native women also produced new roles. In the autobiography of Nancy Perkins Wynecoop, *In the Stream: An Indian Story* (1985), Perkins Wynecoop relates the story of her Aunt Sophia’s marriage to a white man who abandoned her and took their children. After a period of toil and loss, she married another white man (Perkins Wynecoop and Wynecoop Clark 1985:86-87). Perkins Wynecoop relates another story of another family member who married a white man as well (1985:91). Ross Cox mentions in 1814 that Finan McDonald had a Spokane wife with whom he had had two children (Cox 1832:164). In these cross-cultural marriages, women served to convey traditional Native cultural practices and values to children, as well as the values of their husbands. Furthermore, these relationships were mutually beneficial. Native women, in some instances, were granted prestige for having a white husband and were given new roles as cultural intermediaries. Conversely, marriage tied many foreign men (although not all who married Native women) to the Northwest landscape and to their Indian wives’ familial and tribal networks (Ross 2011:59).

In the introduction of Mourning Dove’s autobiography, she writes that her father had Scottish ancestry (a matter of scholarly debate) and that she bought a plot for herself in a white cemetery (Mourning Dove and Miller 1994). In addition to interracial marriages, Mourning Dove’s discussion of trade with Euro-American trappers in conjunction with her father’s whiteness suggest that there was a high value placed on the role of Euro-Americans and the goods they provided. On

that point, Larry Cebula writes “it was not the goods of the traders that the Indians most desired... it was spiritual power, which the traders seemed to have in abundance. The odd appearance of the Euro-Americans, the strange goods they possessed, and especially their immunity to the new diseases—all spoke of a strong and mysterious new kind of spiritual power” (Cebula 2003:53). Cebula offers another source of Christian ideological influence with the presence of the Iroquois Indians who came to the Plateau with French Canadians. The Iroquois had developed a mixture of Indigenous theology and Catholicism that influenced and was adopted by many Plateau peoples (Cebula 2003:72). So it was that the Plateau Indians first came to Christianity.

Among the Spokane, one of the most powerful proponents of Christianity was Chief Illimpokanee’s son whose original name has been lost to history, but is known as “Spokane Garry” (Figure 2). In 1825 at 14 years old, Spokane Garry was sent along with other children of prominent Native leaders to the Red River School in what is now Winnipeg, Canada (Jessett 1960:21). In his journals George Simpson writes of his trip to collect some of the children including Garry saying “the Spokan & Flat Head Chiefs put a Son [sic] each under my care to be Educated [sic] at the Missionary Society School Red River and all the Chiefs [sic] joined in a most earnest request that a Missionary [sic] or religious instructor should be placed among them:(Simpson and Merk 1968:135). Simpson’s visit occurred on the tail end of a small pox epidemic which left many looking for spiritual power (Cebula 2003:75). The Hudson Bay Company’s Anglican Red River School aimed to teach the neophytes Christian values, and to emphasize Euro-American practices, values, and beliefs (Huel 1996:99). When he returned for good to the Plateau in 1831 to become a prominent Spokane chief, he actively pursued Christianizing the Spokane and the Coeur d’Alene Indians. “The words of Garry... sounded similar to the teachings of the Indian prophets. To the Indians, one prophetic teaching complimented the other” (Ruby and Brown 2006:59). As a result of this initial influence, Spokane Garry became one of the most prominent and influential Plateau chiefs during the nineteenth century.

Spokane Garry’s reformation was the result of the Fur Trade’s influence on the Spokanes; however the traders’ presence in the Spokanes’ homeland had changed upon his return. Due to consolidation and management decisions, the trading forts among the Spokanes had closed by the time Garry returned. Even still, the fur trade persisted in the Interior Northwest past the mid-nineteenth century mark despite fluctuations of the value of furs, depletion of fur bearing mammals in the environment, wars with the United States, and an influx of more Euro-American peoples and their developments on the landscape. The absence of the traders in the Spokanes’ homeland provided a niche for a new set of Euro-American influences. In 1831 a handful of Nez Perce Indians traveled to St. Louis to procure the services of spiritual teachers to come to the Plateau to provide



Figure 2. Bust of Spokane Garry, Spokane, WA.

more guidance and healing to the Indians (Cebula 2003:87-89). The event, which became known as the Macedonian Appeal inspired many in the United States who were in the throes of the Second Great Awakening (Cebula 2003:90). While traveling missionaries entered the Plateau early and fleetingly, permanent missionaries followed shortly on the heels of the fur traders and trappers in the 1830's and were largely initially welcomed by the Plateau peoples who had long sought Christian spiritual power (Cebula 2003:75). Plateau Indians expected that their interactions with missionaries would follow the same patterns that had been established with the traders—that their lifeways would largely go unchanged and that the material and spiritual changes that had been adapted to their already existing practices and values would continue as they had. Contrary to this expectation, however, the missionaries sought to dismantle the animistic spirituality of the Indians and to establish the Indians as sedentary farmers thereby doing away with the seasonal round. This mentality is exemplified in Elkanah Walker's journals. Walker spent 1838-1848 among the Spokanes at the Tschimakain Creek mission. Much of his entries mention putting the Indians to work, preaching to the Indians, occurrences of poor behavior, instances of idol worship, and mitigating the expectations the Indians had of their missionaries (Walker and Drury 1976).

In the Northwest, there was a great deal of competition and animosity between Jesuits and Protestant missionaries who pursued “civilizing” the Indians in very different ways (Ross 2011:61). During the presidency of Ulysses Grant, a policy was enacted to “delegate and regulate the activities of Christian missionaries working with Indians” (Ross 2011:63); a policy the Natives had no say in. The result of this policy was the assignment of the Roman Catholic Church to the Spokanes despite the staunch advocacy for Protestantism from prominent Spokane leaders such as Chief Spokane Garry (Ross 2011:67).

The missionaries’ relationships with Spokane and other Plateau women were extremely complicated. The egalitarian roles of men and women were contrary to nineteenth century Euro-American standards of gender appropriate behavior. In traditional Plateau cultures women did a great deal of manual labor. Missionaries blamed men for the roles of women in Plateau culture and insisted that men were lazy, that their wives were akin to slaves, that the work that women did was drudgery, and that they had unfeminine roles equal to men (Ackerman 2003:18-19). These ideas apparently infused into Plateau culture as Mourning Dove frequently referred to women’s work as drudgery in her autobiography (Mourning Dove and Miller 1994). Missionaries identified Indian women as both the victim of their husbands’ laziness, and also as willful and disorderly forces. Ackerman quotes Father Joset’s papers from his time at the Colville mission by saying “how difficult to establish Christian subordination. How often a passionate woman would fill the camp or the whole tribe with disorder: when angry she always could drive the man away” (Ackerman 20:2003). Furthermore, as the main enculturation force in a household, the task of molding children as both good Indians and good Christians fell to women. The Spokanes, like other Plateau peoples incorporated the Christian doctrines within their own worldviews creating an amalgamation of prophetic, animistic Christianity called the Columbian Religion (Cebula 2003:82). Indeed, when Spokane Garry returned from Red River he took two wives, a common enough practice among elites in his society, but a practice entirely eschewed by the Christian faith (Cebula 2003:81). This pidgin-style religion can be further seen throughout *In the Stream* (1985). Perkins Wynecoop and Wynecoop Clark do not refer to Perkins Wynecoop’s grandmother by name as she has passed, however she is referred to throughout the story as Able-One as is consistent with Plateau Indian customs and spirituality (Perkins Wynecoop and Wynecoop Clark 1985). In addition, the page before the dedication lists a bible verse (Timothy 2:15). These two seemingly contradictory elements are coalesced to create one overarching spiritual concept.

Missionaries aggressively pushed against Plateau culture and struggled with the various languages. As discontent among Indians and missionaries grew, and sickness within Plateau Indian communities continued; faith in the healing Christians declined. As Walker wrote in 1847, “the

impression is so strongly fixed in the minds of the people in all quarters that the whites are poisoning them. I can see no way in which we can do them any good so long as this impression prevails” (Walker and Drury 1976:441). Spokane Garry, like so many other Plateau Indians began to eschew Christianity by the 1840’s. In Garry’s case, he gave up his public dissemination of Christian doctrine; in other cases the rejection was much more severe and was coupled with a deep distrust of white settler encroachment. Things came to a head in 1847 when a group of Cayuse Indians killed Marcus and Narcissa Whitman along with ten other adults and two children (Cebula 2003:127). This event, which echoed across the Plateau, set the stage for the next major phase of Euro-American interaction and influence.

In 1845, John O’Sullivan wrote an essay in the *Democratic Review* entitled “Annexation” wherein he coined the term Manifest Destiny. The essay was intended to inspire nationalism while providing the case for the annexation of Texas in particular with mention of Oregon Country as well. In the essay he writes: “... [it is] our manifest destiny to overspread the continent allotted by Providence of the free development of our yearly multiplying millions” (1845:128). He continues on: “the day is not distant when the Empires of the Atlantic and Pacific would again flow together into one, as soon as their inland border should approach each other” (O’Sullivan 1845:134). The sentiment of these words mobilized the nation to expand across the continent and into the Plateau with God’s blessing. Westward moving U.S. settlers and enterprises frequently clashed with the American Indian peoples they encountered while striving for their pieces of the promised American Dream heedless of the harm they caused. The Manifest Destiny inspired perception of American Indians became pop culture fodder and sparked intense public and political debate referred to as the “Indian Problem” (Hays 1997:1). In George Armstrong Custer’s autobiography, he wrote that the Indian was taciturn and dissimulative and that efforts to civilize Indians would strip him of his romantic roaming qualities (1874). A Spokane Times article called “Indian Civilization in Eastern Washington and Northern Idaho” writes “The sentiment is gaining ground that, as a matter of economy, if from no higher motive, it is cheaper to civilize than to slaughter the aborigines” (H.T.C. 1879:3). The nature of the Indian Problem debate was two-fold: what is the American Indian to the United States and what should the U.S. do with them? As a *New York Times* article from 1869 entitled “Improving the Indians” writes “the Western pioneers and settlers say very promptly and decidedly exterminate him!” (Improving the Indians 1869:26). Other, more placating calls included assimilating Indians with the intent of citizenship, assimilation and removal to reservations, or removal to reservations with the intention of isolating Indians from Euro-American influence and interaction. These efforts entailed denying Indian culture, economic practices, and traditional homelands even as they were romanticized.

Within the homelands of the Spokanes, as well as neighboring Plateau peoples, these themes played out throughout the rest of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century. The Donation Act of 1850 granted free land to U.S. citizens willing to settle in the wild Northwest landscape. Brand Asher writes that The Donation Act was illegal, because it gave land to settlers in spite of the acknowledged rights of Indian occupancy (Asher 1999:37). Despite impediments, in 1853 the Washington Territory was established and Isaac Stevens was named as its first governor. Stevens along with General George Wright and Colonel Edward Steptoe, all Mexican-American war veterans, arguably defined Washington's political geography through treaty development, wars, and reservations. The year 1855 proved to be especially active for Stevens as six reservation treaties were signed by tribes around the Spokanes. Generally, the treaties were not signed with good will as "Governor Stevens assumed as his major responsibility the building of an empire of white citizens on the western coast, that he did not carry on treaty negotiations with much tact or diplomacy, that he was unaware of or chose to ignore certain facets of the Indian character and culture, and that he seemed oblivious to the signs of possible hostilities in the months prior to the war" (Richards 1972:82).

Following the 1855 flurry of treaties, Stevens left Washington Territory to treaty with the Blackfeet in Montana (Richards 1972:82). During Steven's absence from the territory, hostilities broke out in western Washington and spread throughout the state. In a letter to General Clark, Spokane Garry clearly laid out the foundations of Indian discontent saying "when you met me, we walk friendly; we shake hands. Two years after...I heard words from white people, whence I concluded you wanted to kill me for my land. I do not believe it. Every year I hear the same." He continues "You had a speech—you, my friend Stevens... You spoke for the land of the Indians. You told them all what you should pay them for their land. I was much pleased when I heard how much you offered...And then you said, all the Cayuses, Walla Walla, and Spokanes should emigrate to Layer's (Lawyer's) country... and by saying so you broke the hearts of all the Indians" (Manring 1975:164). In 1858, the Spokanes partnered with the Coeur d'Alene, Palouse, Pend' Oreilles, and others to fight the U.S. Army headed by Steptoe at Tohotonimme and by Wright at Four Lakes, and Spokane Plains. At Tohotonimme also called Steptoe Butte or Hngwsumn Creek, the Native warriors defeated the U.S. Army as they retreated back to Fort Walla Walla (Frey et al. 2001:80-81). Following Steptoe's defeat, which halted new settlement in the region for two years, Wright was dispatched to severely punish the tribes involved (Ross 2011:71). In so doing, Wright hung a dozen or more men who had supposedly been involved in the hostility. In reporting on the Four Lakes Battle, Wright boasted of having lost no men, and to killing 18-20 enemy natives. He goes on to say "I take great pleasure in commending to the department, coolness and gallantry displayed by every

officer and soldier engaged in the battle” (Manring 1975:194). In regard to the victory at Spokane Plains, Wright reported that the company had been protected by providence throughout the battle (Manring 1975:204). Following the Spokane Plains battle, Wright met with Spokane Garry who had been an outspoken advocate for peace. During the meeting, Wright told Garry to return to his people with the message:

I did not come here into this country to ask you to make peace; I came here to fight. Now, when you are tired of the war, and ask for peace, I will tell you what you must do: You must come to me with your arms, with your women and children, and everything you have, and lay them at my feet; you must put your faith in me and trust to my mercy. If you do this, I shall then dictate the terms upon which I will grant you peace [Manring 1975:210].

Following his conference with Spokane Garry, General George Wight came upon 800 horses which belonged to local tribes. In retribution for hostilities, and to demonstrate his power over the fighting tribes, Wright had nearly all of these horses killed one by one at first, but when that method proved too slow for the Army’s wishes, shots were fired into the mass of the herd until all were dead (Manring 1975:214-215). Benjamin Manring relates that in 1911, when he wrote his book, *Conquest of the Coeur D’Alenes, Spokanes & Palouses*, the bleached bones of the horses could still be found at the site of the massacre (Manring 1975:215).

By 1873, nearly all of the tribes surrounding the Spokanes had been removed to reservations either through treaties or by executive order, and the U.S. Army was working with Spokane leaders to either establish a Spokane Reservation, or move the Spokanes onto existing reservations. During the 1877 Council at Spokane Falls, following the Chief Joseph War of 1877, Spokane leaders met with Army officials about staying on their lands versus moving to reservations. Early in the meeting Col. Watkins told the Spokanes “You and your people must consent going on The Colville reservation. When the land where You [sic] are is surveyed you will have to have it. Don’t want you to get an idea that the land where you are is yours. Wherever you have to go you will be paid for the improvements you have made” (Watkins et al. 1877). Yet many argued that they were farmers and had no interest in leaving their lands. Under the Indian Homestead act of 1875, those who wished to stake claims on their homesteads (as long as they did not fall within eminent domain) were allowed to do so, although the claim required the individual or family to renounce their Native relations. Additional conflicts arose regarding religion. Because of the way the territory had been divided for missionaries, many Spokanes were Catholic, while many others were Protestant; as a result Catholics did not want to go to the Protestant Colville Reservation, and Protestants did not want to go to the Catholic Coeur d’Alene Reservation (Ruby and Brown 2006:153).

In 1881, the Spokane Reservation was established by executive order by President Hayes

and was initially inhabited primarily by Lower and Middle Spokane. Many Spokanes however did move to the Colville, Coeur d'Alene, and Flathead Reservations. Others, such as Spokane Garry, did not move to a reservation at all. Despite the number of Spokanes who had established homesteads, adopted European style dress, or articles of clothing, and were devoted Christians both on and off the reservation, many Americans who moved into the area with the Homestead Act behind them, claimed the land they wanted (Ruby and Brown 2006:158). Indeed, this type of encroachment was documented by Mourning Dove on the Colville Reservation across the Columbia River. As her father tried to develop a stage stop he was called an intruder by a white woman who said that he was encroaching on her business plans (Mourning Dove and Miller 1994:179). Further, John Alan Ross quotes a nineteenth century homesteader saying:

In early days, an Indian had about as little chance of hanging onto a homestead of good land in a white settlement as a snowball has of remaining in the devil's capital. None of us in those days thought that an Indian had any rights that a white man was bound to respect. We all thought that we had a superior right to the lands to any claim that the Indians had or could make. A great deal of the best land around here was actually wrestled from the Indians. They had lots of land and naturally when they wanted to cultivate a little garden or a small field of grain they picked out the best lands, where their truck [crops] would grow with the least risk of crop failure and the least effort to themselves. These naturally, were the places the white men picked out. The Indians didn't know anything about the homestead laws and regulations and no one was anxious to put them wise [Ross 2011:72-73].

When the U.S. Army vacated Fort Spokane at the turn of the twentieth century, the Fort's campus was quickly converted into an Indian boarding school. The school taught children from the Colville and Spokane Reservations and mostly housed children between five and ten years of age (Brunson 2012:31). Acculturation was the primary curriculum, and as such the school day was heavily regimented. Children's personal appearances were standardized through haircut styles, and uniforms; native languages were forbidden; and classes taught elementary reading, writing, math, and labor intensive trades for boys, and home economics for girls (Brunson 2012:32-34). Discontented children frequently ran away; however tribal police tracked down children as far away as Montana and returned them to the school to be made examples of (Brunson 2012:36). By 1907, the boarding school was replaced by day schools on the reservations and the Fort Spokane facilities served as a sanatorium school for children who suffered primarily from tuberculosis or scrofula (Brunson 2012:38). By 1910, Fort Spokane was formally closed.

After the inland Northwest Indians were removed to reservations, the Dawes Act was passed and enacted between 1887 and 1934. Because many Spokanes had not yet established themselves on a reservation, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs determined that more time was needed before serious consideration could be given to allotment. In 1916, when the Spokane Reservation was divided up, 626 Indian allotments were established totaling 64,794 acres; 1,247 acres were reserved

for agency, church, school, and towns; and 82,647 acres were reserved for tribal timber land (Ruby and Brown 2006:241). The lands not allotted were opened up for homesteads and businesses, the problems associated with this dispersal of land have ramifications into present day. Companies looking to capitalize on the forested lands on the reservation, which encompasses two-thirds of the reservation land mass, wanted allotments to be settled quickly as it was assumed that these lands couldn't be cleared for farming. The land not allotted from the Dawes Act would provide tremendous economic opportunities for Euro-American companies (Historical Research Associates 1994:2-9 - 2-10). The results of the dams on the Columbia and Spokane Rivers had a tremendous effect on the river tribes (Spokane Tribe of Indians 2013b). In addition, the dams flooded miles of low lying areas, and submerged native villages that were inhabited from pre-contact through the historical period (Ray 1936:116, figure 3). In 1987, "Roll on Columbia" was named the Washington State Folk Song. Although the official State version has been shortened (Washington Office of Secretary of State), the original Woody Guthrie score, penned for the Bonneville Power Administration includes the lyrics "The Injuns rest peaceful on Memaloose Isle... Roll on, Columbia, Roll On!" The song continues: "Remember the trial when the battle was won... The wild Indian warriors to the tall timber run... We hung every Indian with smoke in his gun... Roll on, Columbia, Roll on!" (Guthrie 1941). Guthrie's song embodies colonialist ideas, and reinforces the erroneous idea of the Indian as the American enemy that was defeated. The effects of the numerous dams on both the Spokane and Columbia Rivers will be more fully discussed in Chapter Three.

In 1902, Congress passed legislation that opened up the Spokane Reservation for mining claims from non-tribal enterprises. Years earlier gold had been found on the Colville Reservation just across the Columbia River so in the months prior to the opening date, the border was littered with camping prospectors looking to make their fortune on Spokane lands (Ruby and Brown 2006:221-222). The mining leases on the reservation, however, did not prove particularly fruitful until the 1950s when two brothers discovered Uranium on tribal lands and created the Midnite Mining Company. Controlling shares were sold to the Dawn Mining Company, and over the next 30 years the site was an open pit mine, now a superfund site (Environmental Protection Agency 2012). In recent years the SHAWL (Sovereignty, Health, Air, Water Land) Society (2012), a Spokane Reservation based advocacy group has been pushing for education and awareness about the deleterious impacts the mine has had on the land and the people. An advocate with the group was interviewed on a broadcast of Democracy Now in 2009 (Abrahamson 2009). As of 2012, \$193 million has been allotted to the cleanup of the site as mandated by the EPA and the Department of the Interior (Environmental Protection Agency 2012).

In 1951, the Spokane Tribe adopted a Tribal Constitution and Bylaws that established

requirements for enrollment in the Spokane Tribe and a governing body known as the Business Council (Constitution and Bylaws of the Spokane Tribe of the Spokane Reservation Washington 1951:1-2). The primary purpose of the constitution and the Business Council is to “promote and protect the interests of the Spokane Indians” (Constitution and Bylaws of the Spokane Tribe of the Spokane Reservation Washington 1951:1). This document created a baseline for the modern expressions of the sovereignty of the Spokane Tribe. Since the business council was established, the Tribal Government has expanded to include a number of programs to “achieve true sovereignty by attaining self-sufficiency [through] enhance[ing]... traditional values by living and teaching the inherent principles of respect, honor and integrity as embodied [the Spokane’s] language and life-ways” (Spokane Tribe of Indians 2013a). Some of these programs include: a reservation newspaper called *The Rawhide Press*, a natural resources department that includes a fishery to partially rehabilitate the ecosystems of the local lakes and reservoirs following the impacts of the dams (Spokane Tribe of Indians 2013c), a cultural resources department that includes archaeological, language, and historic preservation, economic development projects, the Spokane Tribal Elders senior program, and a public transit program (Spokane Tribe of Indians 2013a).

In 1995, the Spokane Tribal College was established on the reservation at Wellpinit, WA as an accredited two year institution under the Salish Kootenai College of Pablo, Montana (Spokane Tribal College N.d.a). The college’s vision is to value and uphold “a commitment to individual and collective sovereignty rooted in the heart of traditional culture and respect for all life” (Spokane Tribal College N.d.b), and provides free tuition to Spokane Tribe students. In 2007, a second campus was opened on the Gonzaga University campus in Spokane, WA (Diverse Staff 2007). In addition, the tribe has a number of business interests organized under Spokane Tribal Enterprises and includes: two casinos, Spokofuels gas stations, the Wellpinit Trading Post, a Tribal Credit Agency, and Tschimakain Creek Laboratory, a water, and drug testing laboratory (Spokane Tribal Enterprises n.d.). As the Spokane Tribe of Indians Gaming website indicates “Indian Gaming today is a major catalyst for community growth and economic development” (N.d.). All of these programs have had a positive effect on the tribe’s economy, however a 2013 socioeconomic profile published by the Spokane Tribe indicates that unemployment on the reservation is high (28% based on 2010 data), and that household income is generally low (\$14,287 per capita based on data compiled between 2006-2010) (Spokane Tribe of Indians 2013d:26, 30).

In addition to programs intended to support economic and community health, the tribe also promotes programs that emphasize cultural cohesion and community outreach through education. Children as young as three are relearning the Spokane Language through the local head-start programs (Spokane Tribe of Indians 2013d:7). In addition, the tribe hosts a Heritage Day every fall.

The event is open to the public and Spokane City school children come to the event to learn about Spokane Indian culture through presentations, displays, and a mini-pow-wow. The tribe also hosts pow-wows that are open to the public in Spokane and others that are private on the reservation. Publicly, the tribe works to educate the surrounding community about the ongoing issues that have resulted from the dams. The tribe also works to promote significant historical cultural places such as the Spokane Garry Monument, and Fort Spokane, and they work with private, local, state, and federal agencies for effective co-management of natural and cultural resources.

The Spokane and other native groups have been able to use historical sources, photographs, art, oral histories, cultural practices, language, preservation of resources (natural and cultural), etc. as a form of resistance and as an assertion of autonomy (Wynecoop 2003; Perkins Wynecoop and Wynecoop Clark 1985; Mourning Dove and Miller 1994). The websites of the regional tribes have also served these purposes by emphasizing the politics, history, language, and education of the tribes (Spokane Tribe of Indians 2013b). Likewise, advocates have been able to add to the cannon to increase the presence, viability, and perception of Native peoples to academics and the mainstream (Ackerman 2003; Frey 1995; Frey et al. 2001; Hunn 1990). As the common catechism goes “history is in the eye of the beholder”. Presented here is a mosaic history comprised of archaeological investigations, conventional histories primarily told and interpreted by Euro-Americans, ethnographies, and modern sources. Like any history, the one presented here has missing pieces and perspectives as no truly objective history can ever be produced. As the work of Tribal people and advocates continues however, that elusive goal of a complete history, while never fully attainable, will at least become more vibrant and developed.

CHAPTER THREE: NATURAL AND CONSTRUCTED GEOGRAPHY

The diverse landscape of the Spokane Indians' homeland is defined by forested ridges and mountains, and semi-arid sagebrush flats all cut through by meandering rivers and streams and punctuated by small lakes and glacial erratics. The landscape and plant and animal life of Eastern Washington are the backdrop for Spokane culture. They are animated by and integrated into the historical fabric of the Spokanes through their stories, their interactions with their environment, and their modern political positioning. Like other Indigenous oral histories, the Spokane narratives "are invariably linked with the surrounding landscape, referring to this river or that mountain valley. The land is richly endowed with mystic meanings and references. It is a landscape spiritually endowed" (Frey 1995:14). While not all Indigenous oral histories are intended to provide moral or explanation, there are many publicly shared Spokane narratives that do provide explanation for their surroundings. Additionally, the personified animal peoples prepared the world for the coming of the humans. The animals that inhabited the landscape give power, guidance, and sustenance. Like a patchwork of oral history, geology, physical geography, traditional knowledge, and ecology; an amalgamation of traditional narrative and empirical scientific explanation play significantly in the modern tribal epistemology of the Spokane peoples. This epistemology guides how the Spokanes have previously and presently do interact with the world around them. Just as it is invaluable in the course of this study to provide a cultural history of the Spokane peoples (Chapter two), so too is it to provide a history and overview of the current conditions of the Spokanes' environment.

Modern Euro-American Constructed Geography

As stated in the previous chapter, the ancestral homelands of the Spokane encompassed three million acres in eastern Washington. The modern political landscape of the Spokanes ancestral homeland includes parts of Adams, Lincoln, Pend Oreille, Spokane, Stevens, and Whitman counties. Federal public lands are managed by the National Forrest Service (Colville National Forrest), the National Park Service (Coulee Dam National Recreation Area, Fort Spokane), the Bureau of Land Management, The U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, and other federal government agencies (Bureau of Land Management 2010). Public state lands include state parks (The Columbia Plateau Trail, Mount Spokane, Riverside, Steptoe Butte and Steptoe Butte Battlefield), and other state government agencies (Washington State Parks 2013b). Cities and counties also own and manage some public lands within the ancestral homeland. The landscape is bespeckled with small towns and marked by Spokane City, the hub of the inland empire, and the largest municipality in the area at 475,000 people in 2012 (U.S. Census Bureau 2013). Across the landscape, large tracts of land are held

privately predominantly for farming pursuits, although other prominent private ventures include ranching and forestry. Tribal lands include the Spokane Reservation, and tracts of land near Airway Heights and Chewelah, WA. Non-reservation tribally held lands are primarily used for tribal economic development. These ventures include the Chewelah Casino and the plans for the Spokane Tribe Economic Project (STEP), a multi-use complex in Airway Heights, WA.

Physical Landscape

The Physical Landscape of the ancestral Spokane homeland occurs within the Columbia Basin and Okanogan Highlands physiographic units (Chatters 1998:30) and ranges in elevation from 1298 feet above sea level (asl) along the Spokane River in Lincoln County (U.S. Geological Service 1973) to 5883 feet asl at Mount Spokane (Washington State Parks 2013a). The landscape of the Spokanes' ancestral territory is primarily defined by the drainages that cut through and feed the regional environment. The western boundary of the Spokanes' homeland is the Columbia River while the Spokane River and Latah Creek (Hangman Creek) cut through the heart of the territory. These important waterways will be discussed in greater detail below. Lesser waterways include Tschimakain Creek and the Little Spokane River. The landscape is punctuated with small lakes and periodic mountain peaks, the tallest of which is Mount Spokane. Across the majority of the area, the landscape is defined by forested rolling hills and ridges and sagebrush flats.

Soils

Prominent soils of the Spokanes ancestral homeland are derived from undifferentiated glacial, alluvial, and talus deposits that consist of gravels, sand and clay; Miocene age volcanic deposits; Quaternary Aeolian and Lacustrine deposits; and Mesozoic and early Tertiary granitic deposits (Weissenborn 1965:figure 4; Miller and Clark 1975:Plate 1 and 2). Secondary deposits include the Silver Point Quartz Monzonite which “contains hornblende and biotite porphyritic with phenocrysts of orthoclase in [a] bimodal matrix (Miller and Clark 1975:Plate 2) and the Prichard Formation which contains “laminated argillite, siltite, and quartzite [with] metadiabase sills” (Miller and Clark 1975:Plate 1). Less prominent deposits date back to the Precambrian Eon (Miller and Clark 1975:Plate 1 and 2). Much of the landscape's topography can be attributed to periodic ice age floods from Lake Missoula to the east, Glacial Lake Columbia, and to a much lesser extent, from Lake Bonneville to the south (Bjornstad 2006:4). These frequent ice age floods created channelized scablands and deposited foreign glacial granitic erratics (Bjornstad 2006:36-37). Prior to the cataclysmic floods, however, the Columbia Basin was home to a number of highly active volcanoes which deposited the basaltic flows across the physiographic unit. This basalt is the most prevalent rock formation in the area (Alt and Hyndman 1994:62-64).

Climate

The climate of the Spokanes' ancestral homeland is predominately influenced by three air masses. The first air mass derives from the Pacific Ocean and it works to moderate seasonal temperatures (Fergusson 1999:1). The second mass derives from the east and south. Seasonally, this mass is cold and dry in the winter and hot during the summer with convective precipitation frequently with lightning (Fergusson 1999:1). The last mass originates in the north and like the previous mass, this one brings cold air in the winter, but also introduces cool air during the summer (Fergusson 1999:1). Each of these air masses is called marine, continental, and arctic respectively. When combined, ensuing weather patterns can include drought, early or late freezing, flooding, and heavy winds (Fergusson 1999:1). Complex regional topography can also greatly influence the movement of the air masses into the region. The greater Columbia River Basin area is divided into three major ecological zones and further divided into 13 ecological reporting units (Fergusson 1999:4). The Spokane homeland is included in Northern Rocky, and Central Columbia and Snake River Plateaus ecological zones each encompassing one ecological reporting zone (Fergusson 1999:6 fig. 1). The Northern Rocky ecological zone corresponds to the northern portion of the Spokanes' ancestral homeland. This ecological zone is marked by heavy snows during the winter, occasional high winds, and wet springs (Fergusson 1999:9). The southern area corresponds to the Central Columbia and Snake River Plateaus ecological zone, the driest zone of the three; however marine air masses bring precipitation which can result in occasional thunder storms during the summer (Fergusson 1999:9). A defining quality of the Spokanes' homeland is the strong winds that come off of the Columbia River Gorge and along ridge tops (Fergusson 1999:9).

Climactic studies show that the climate of the central Plateau, like the greater Northwest was subjected to periodic climate fluctuations punctuated by alternating warmer and colder climates, the most recent and therefore notable among these was "the little ice age" which lasted from approximately 1550-1850/1900 (Fergusson 1999:10). This period was marked by increased glacial extents and generally cooler summers and cold winters. Records of climate began near the end of the little ice age with the presence of Euro-Americans. Recent historical and pre-modern climate records indicate that most of the precipitation that fell in the region did so during the fall and winter months as snow with higher amounts of precipitation in the mountains (approximately 30 inches), and less in the river valleys (12-18 inches) (Luttrell et al. 1994:2.3). The average temperature during approximately the same period of time spanned from a low of 16 degrees Fahrenheit to a high of 86 degrees Fahrenheit (Western Regional Climate Center 2013). Lastly, the Northwest climate is expected to undergo a number of serious changes as a result of human induced climate change. Some of these expected changes include higher average temperatures and extreme weather, declines

in fresh water from smaller snow packs, salmon declines, and increased forest pests (State of Washington State Department of Ecology 2013). Many of these impacts will have adverse effects on the livelihoods of modern Spokanes, and on archaeological resources, including those incorporated in this study.

Flora

The standard for defining ecological zones is modeled on climate and elevation; however, the terminology for ecological zones is not standardized. Therefore, while different resources use different but similar terminology, the various terms for the ecological zones on the Columbia Plateau seem to be spatially consistent with a matrix of consistent native flora. For this reporting, I will use the terminology presented by James Chatters in the “Environment” Chapter of *the Handbook of North American Indians* (1998), as this resource is frequently sourced in archaeological discussions of ecology.

The predominant ecological zones within the Spokanes’ homeland include the shrub steppe in the south and the xeric montane forest in the north. The shrub steppe is generally warm and dry and consists of the big sagebrush community which also includes dry land forbs and bunch grasses (Turner et al. 1980:4). The xeric montane forests, the ecological zone in which this project takes place, occur at higher elevations and are dominated by ponderosa and lodgepole pines, and Douglas firs. In wetter areas, these forests also include western larch and white firs (Chatters 1998:36). Understory can include bunch grasses, big sagebrush, wild rose and a variety of community related woody shrubs and forbs (Turner et al. 1980:4). Areas of higher elevation and increased precipitation may also include stands of birch and aspen trees. The eastern periphery of the Spokanes homeland also includes the woodland transition ecological zone, defined by open stands of ponderosa forests “with a shrubby and herbaceous understory” (Chatters 1998:35). Included within these ecological zones are wetlands and riparian areas along water ways. Identifying flora in these areas include cottonwood and willow trees as well as tulle reeds and cat tails along with other hydrophilic grasses and reeds (Iverson and Russell 2011).

Fauna

Like the vegetation located across the Spokanes’ landscape, the diversity of animal life is too numerous to present a comprehensive list here. Presented, instead, is a brief list of pre-contact, historically, and presently economic and ecologically notable species. At the top of the mammalian food chain are several predators including cougars, lynx, bobcats, and wolves. Scavengers and omnivores include black bears, coyote, fox, wolverine, badgers, river otter, raccoons, muskrats, weasels, and minks. Mammalian herbivores include a number of species of ungulates including

mule deer, elk, mountain sheep, and pronghorns. Large rodent herbivores include various species of rabbits and hares, marmots, wood chucks, muskrat, beavers, and various species of squirrels. Bird species include raptors such as bald eagles, various species of owls, hawks and falcons, and turkey vultures. Water birds and other species include ducks, geese, herons, various species of ground dwelling grouse, quails, turkey, and crows. (Seattle Audubon N.d. a; b; c). Vast arrays of song birds are also present within the Spokanes' homeland. Other important animals include various species of reptiles, amphibians, and fish (Chatters 1998:37-38).

According to the Washington Department of Fish and Wildlife (2013), within the Spokanes' ancestral homeland, the State of Washington and the federal government have a total of 27 animal species listed as endangered, threatened, sensitive, species of concern, or candidates. All listed animals are granted state, and in most cases, federal protection. Many of these species have been listed due to threatened and encroached habitats, and over hunting and poaching (Washington Department of Fish and Wildlife 2013). Prominent species that are included within the state and federal lists include Bald and Golden Eagles, the Woodland Caribou, the Sandhill Crane, two species of grouse, the Pigmy Whitefish, and the North American Lynx (Washington Department of Fish and Wildlife 2013). While the pre-contact Plateau Indians most assuredly did impact the flora and fauna of their landscape, the last 200 years of Euro-American exploitive endeavors have severely altered the landscape. Many, if not all species included in the lists played a role in Spokane lore, taboo, knowledge, subsistence, and economy. The impacts of Euro-American development in the Northwest have adversely affected the ecosystem, and how the Spokanes and others are presently capable, or allowed to interact with the landscape.

Rivers

The Spokane River is the axis around which the physical and spiritual lives of the Spokanes were centered. The significance of the river was evident to early explorers as they named the river for the people. The river and its associated waterways, including the Little Spokane River, Latah Creek, Tschimakain Creek, and the Columbia River, breathe life into the surrounding landscape. The river brings fish and feeds the riparian areas along its banks that provide so many valuable resources. The Spokanes plunge into the river's depths and scoop its waters onto hot basaltic stones to cleanse and purify. The river provides home in the winter months and setting for the stories that solidify the Spokanes' place on the landscape. The courses of the rivers bring people together to fish and trade; for singing, celebrating, and gaming. The water is a source of inspiration and a defining element in Spokane culture.

Physical Geography of the Spokane River

The Spokane River is fed by Lake Coeur d'Alene and it meanders west for 111 miles to its confluence with the Columbia River. As it flows west, it is further fed by a number of smaller tributaries. From up-river to downriver, significant tributaries include Latah Creek, Deep Creek, Little Spokane River, Tschimakain Creek, and Sand Creek (Hydrology Subcommittee: Columbia Basin Inter-Agency Committee 1964). The stream flow of the river is or has been monitored by nine USGS stream gages (Hydrology Subcommittee: Columbia Basin Inter-Agency Committee 1964). From its head waters to its outlet at the Columbia River, it drops in elevation from 2130 ft. asl to 1260 ft. asl (Trails.com 2014). Throughout the course of the river it hosts seven dams including Little Falls Dam (Figure 3), Long Lake Dam, Nine Mile Dam, Monroe Street Dam, Upper Falls Dam, Spokane Dam, Post Falls Dam, and Spokane Falls Dam (Hydrology Subcommittee, Columbia Basin Inter-Agency Committee 1964). According to geology (as the Spokane have an alternative explanation for the creation of the river), the course of the river was created by the numerous ice age floods from Lake Coeur d'Alene. The resulting river topography is marked by deep basaltic coulees, sandy and gravelly beaches, and occasional rocky waterfalls and cascades. The modern health of the river system is dubious at best; Lake Coeur d'Alene has a high heavy metal content stemming from silver mining that dumped mine tailings directly into the river system and Lake Coeur d'Alene until 1968 when federal laws required mines to use tailings ponds (Box et al. 2005:1-2). Despite this



Figure 3. Little Falls Dam with fisherperson, 1910. Courtesy of Spokane Tribe of Indians Department of Natural Resources

regulation, the nearly 80 years of dumping built up a high concentration in the lake and river beds. During high water, however, as the water becomes more turbid, those heavy metals can become incorporated into the water column and is detrimental to the health of the ecosystem in and around the waterways (Box et al. 2005:13).

Interpretation of Geography of the Ancestral Landscape as Constructed by the Spokanes

When Verne Ray published his article “Native Villages and Grouping of the Columbia Basin” in 1936, he wrote: “detailed and reliable information regarding the locations of Indian villages and territorial distribution of native groups holds a wide range of interest and value for the historian, geographer, archaeologist, and ethnologist. Unfortunately this type of information will be all but impossible to obtain from the Pacific Northwest within the space of a few years” (1936:99). This claim, and others like it made by anthropologists are challenged in *Native American Place Names Along the Columbia River Above Grand Coulee Dam, North Central Washington and Traditional Cultural Property Overview Report for the Confederated Tribes of the Colville Reservation* (2011), when the authors criticize the anthropologists who claim to have worked with the last traditional generation (George ed. 2011:7) of tribal people to possess knowledge about the ancestral and historical landscape. The report goes on to say that the knowledge of culture has multiple avenues such as “kinship, distribution of resources, parent-child relations, spiritual beliefs, etc., that allow culture to adapt and persist” (George ed. 2011:7). While knowledge about culture persists, the knowledge of landscapes is threatened. As William D. Layman writes “with the passing years, the number of native people who remember the unaltered Columbia grows fewer. Without the elders to describe the excitement of the river’s free-flowing nature, the young people are increasingly challenged to see rocks and rapids where none remain (1999:54). As a hypothetical example: an elder can take their grandchildren to Kettle Falls and say ‘this is the place where we fished salmon. Before Grand Coulee Dam, the River ran wild and free here, yet the memory contained with such a statement would not translate entirely to the grandchildren whose present reality is a placid reservoir with no salmon. Keith Basso writes that place is inextricable from the individual and collective imagination, emotion, epistemology, and knowledge (1996:53). Of particular significance then, for the Spokane people, are the Spokane River and its associated waterways. In his 1935-1936 ethnographic field notes, Elmendorf recounts the story Nancy Wynecoop Perkins was told about her grandmother as a little girl in regards to her own grandmother. She says that Mrs. Wynecoop’s grandmother realized that:

her grandmother would die one day without imparting her knowledge—couldn't impart her knowledge—this was brought up in the women's training school. The grandmother was sent out to gather a bit of foam from a whirlpool in the river—she brought this back in her hand and her teacher told her to look at it and asked her what she saw—she said “I see colors and pictures in the bubbles”—“look again at the foam”—it was breaking, the bubbles—the teacher told her to put it back in the river, that the foam would perish away from the stream—like a person who did not get in the stream of council [1935-1936:Notebook 3, 5-6].

In *Grand Coulee and the Forgotten Tribe*, Jim Sijohn, the former tribal business council vice-president, discusses the sadness that still plagues the elders who remember the important places on the river and the knowledge of the place that reservoir revoked.

How the Spokane River was Formed

A long, long time ago on this land lived a *huge* monster. His breath was foul and reeking of the remains of his victims. His claws, with one swipe, could uproot the largest of pine trees. The people everywhere stood in constant fear and awe of it.

One beautiful summer's day, a young Indian girl, gathering berries near a beautiful lake discovered the monster sleeping in the sunshine on a hillside. Slipping away, she ran as fast as she could to her village and excitedly recounted the scene she had witnessed.

The chief immediately assembled his people, and gathering every heavy rope in the village, they snuck up on the sleeping monster and with barely a sound tied the monster to nearby trees and rocks. Once trapped, the tribe fell upon the drowsy monster with their clubs, spears, knives and arrows.

Under this rude awakening the monster shook himself and with a single, mighty lunge broke all the ropes, and ran as fast as he could to the west, tearing a deep gorge to Lake Coeur d'Alene.

The confined waters of the lake flowed down into the channel the monster made, and ever since the Spokane River has flowed into the Columbia River on its way to the sea [Spokane Tribe of Indians N.d.].

“The widely accepted belief was that water was the source and maintaining force of all life” (Ross 2011:595). Taboos regarding the use of water, and the associated resources of the river affected all stages of life. Expectant mothers increased water consumption to cleanse the baby within; of specific note were springs that produced particularly sweet water that welled up on the banks of the Spokane River, now inundated by Lake Roosevelt (Ross 2011:95). During the process of childbirth, mothers would sometime pitch birthing structures next to running water (Ross 2011:101) near the places where women bathed (Elmendorf 1935-1936:Notebook 2, 61). During the cradleboarding period, mothers would remove their children several times a day to wash them and then apply fish oil before returning the child back to the cradleboard (Ross:2011:111). Upon rising

every morning, regardless of the time of year, Spokane children would bathe in the Spokane River and its tributaries to improve strength and swimming skills (Ross 2011:658). While Mourning Dove was Colvile, she recounted her experience with her early morning baths saying “I remember that my feet would stick to the ice when I got out of the hole chopped into the stream where we took our morning baths during the winter... it is a refreshing sensation. Getting out, the water feels warm against the frigid air creating a sensation that penetrates the body and makes a person feel like running and jumping. It is a great preventative against the common cold (Mourning Dove and Miller 1994:39-40). Adults also participated in daily cold water baths as a form of hydrotherapy. Immediately surrounding the Spokane River were several vision quest sites and traditional cultural properties that were and remain important sites for boys and girls in puberty. In death, a common burial practice among the Spokanes was to bury the deceased on the banks of the Spokane River (Elmendorf 1935-1936:Notebook 2, 63).

Above all else, the Spokane River, its tributaries, and the plants and animals that live and grow within the waterways and on the banks collectively were the foundation for the Spokanes' livelihood. The hydrophilic plants that grow along the rivers' banks were used for creating mats, which functioned in a variety of capacities including architectural construction, serving and preparing food, and bedding; baskets made from these materials were used for carrying food and boiling water; some plants were used for food and others as various daily necessities. The Spokane ate and included in their narratives a number of animals that lived in and along the waterways. The historical period, however, saw a dramatic shift in the exploitation of some of these animal resources. While the Spokane and other Plateau groups continued on their seasonal rounds, they were encouraged to provide riverine mammal pelts for the English and American traders who negotiated, influenced, and manipulated the Indians into compliance. In the fall of 1824, George Simpson wrote of the trading at Spokane House: “If properly managed no question exists that it could yield handsome profits as we have convincing proof that the country is a rich preserve of Beaver [sic]and which for political reasons we should endeavor to destroy as fast as possible” (Simpson and Merk 1968:46). The following spring, Simpson wrote “Our accounts are nearly wound up, they shew [sic] a profit of about £10,000 of this [Columbia Department] the returns amounting to about 20,000 Beaver and Otter [sic]”, the following year, he expected a fifty percent increase in those numbers (Simpson and Merk 1968:136-137).

During the winter months the Spokane, like other Plateau people, lived in small villages along the rivers. In his 1936 article, Verne Ray identified 29 Lower, Middle, and Upper Spokane villages primarily along the Spokane River, with a smaller number of settlements along the Little Spokane River, the Columbia River, Tschimakain Creek and Latah Creek (Ray 1936:116).

According to this ethnographic work, a number of his informants in the 1930's had lived in some of these villages as youths. Winters along the river were spent telling stories, playing games, singing, dancing, sweating, and subsisting on stored foodstuffs. Men would occasionally hunt or fish and smoke. Women would cook, sew, and supplement food stores with nearby black moss and cambium. (Elmendorf 1935-1936:Notebooks 1 and 2). More recently, Bouchard and Kennedy (1979; 1984) and the Confederated Tribes of the Colville Reservation History and Archaeology Program (George ed. 2011) identified 19 additional Spokane ancestral and historical village sites, and traditional cultural properties (TCP's) along the Spokane River (George ed. 2011:42-50). Ethnographic data predominantly indicates that winter villages were located along rivers. Further interior sites, sites near small lakes, or their previously inhabited fall seasonal round sites, or to be inhabited spring seasonal rounds sites were not chosen for their over winter villages for practical reasons such as warmth, minimal wind exposure, access to water, proximity to winter foods, and ease of travel from one village to another (Ray 1932:34; Ross 2011). The winter villages, with their close proximity to the rivers, were the settings for mid-winter festivals and other spiritually important events and activities; they were also near burial areas, rock art sites, and other sites of cultural significance. Even once the Spokane Reservation was established, some of the earliest families to move onto the reservation settled immediately along the banks of the Spokane River; frequently on top of areas that had been long inhabited as fisheries and village sites.

A discussion of the ways in which the Spokanes employed the riverine resources would be incomplete without particular attention to the fish (Figure 4). While fishing took place to varying degrees of intensity year round; the summer months were especially dedicated to salmon fishing. Even though the headwaters of the Spokane River is over 600 river miles from the Pacific Ocean, anadromous fish came in droves up the Columbia, through the Spokane, and into the smaller tributaries. The Spokanes were particularly well situated as Spokane Falls, near the eastern edge of their homeland, proved to be an impenetrable barrier and therefore the proverbial end of the line for spawning salmon. The Spokane and surrounding tribes have a coyote story explaining why salmon cannot swim past the falls.

So the coyote was always by himself and he was always wandering around And this one day he was along the Spokane River. And he was jumping Around and all of a sudden he saw a camp that had smoke coming out of it, this big camp. And there were people laughing and singing. And so he was across the river, and he looked over and saw a group of women who were cleaning fish, and preparing to smoke it and dry it. And there were others washing clothes. And these were the ones that were singing, these were the ones having fun. And he looked at them and he was just going to leave and he looks and there is one girl that stands out.

Oooohh boy! She's beautiful. Gosh, I want that girl.

He thought, what could I do, how could I get her? So he starts thinking about it, and then they all go back to camp. So he thought, well the only thing to do is to go to her father. So he goes into the camp and the Indians look at him, "Hey look, there's a coyote! What's he doing?" So he asks about the girl and who her father is. And he found out that the father was the chief of the Coeur d'Alene people. So he goes up to the chief and he said,

I saw your daughter at the river today and I want to marry her.

The chief looked down at him and says,

What did you say?

He says,

I want to marry your daughter.

And the chief started to laugh. He says,

*You can't do that, you're a coyote and she's human. You **can't** marry her.*

He (coyote) says,

But she's beautiful and I want her.

And the chief said,

NO! You can't! Anyway, when I do let my daughter go you will have to bring me things and you will have to be a great warrior. You will have to Prove yourself in battle and help others. You don't do that. NO!

So the coyote leaves and then he thought, Kalispells are good friends of the Coeur d'Alene people. So he goes up there, to the Kalispells, and he tells the chief the same thing,

I want to marry that girl and I want you to help me get her.

And the Kalispell chief started to laugh, and again he was chased out of camp. And he was ashamed. But...he was still determined. So he went to the Spokane Tribe and the same thing happened. They laughed at him, threw rocks at him and sticks, then chased him out of the camp. Then he went to the Colvilles and the same thing happened. And so he finally came back to the Coeur d'Alenes and then he used his magic powers and he moved big rocks and dirt and he put it into the river. And he saw the salmon coming up but they couldn't go over the dam that he made...like a dam. So he stopped the water from coming down and then the water finally filled up and came over anyway.

And then he went over to the chief and he says,

I am going to leave that the way it is, no more salmon coming up Until you change your mind. And when you change your mind you Let me know and I will come and get the girl.

And the chief says,

NO way! It is impossible, you can't have my daughter, you can't marry a human.

But the coyote was determined. And the young man who was more or less courting her, the one that had been going out in battles and proving himself as a warrior, getting horses and deer skins and other things to use to give to the parents—he intended to get the girl as his wife. The coyote left and the young man followed him. And they left the camp and neither one was ever heard of again. So nobody knows what happened.

But the falls, the falls remain and to this day no more salmon comes up to The Coeur d'Alene people because coyote couldn't marry the young girl. [Aripa 1977].

Species of heavily exploited fish include Chinook salmon, which can reach as much as 100 pounds each; silver, pink and chum salmon, and steelhead trout. Species caught in fewer numbers



Figure 4. Large salmon and fishermen. 1910. Courtesy of Spokane Tribe of Indians Department of Natural Resources

include sockeye salmon, sturgeon, whitefish suckers, chub fish, various species of trout, and lamprey eels (Ray 1932:57). Different species came up the river systems at different times of the year to spawn, however the most prevalent fishing season lasted from May and into November (Ray 1932:57). Before construction began on the Columbia watershed dams, approximately fifty percent of the Spokanes' diet was made up of fish. As fish were such a vital resource, the Spokanes' preparation for, handling of, and processing were highly regulated. Such regulation included the appointment of a salmon chief, who oversaw fishing activities and distribution (Elmendorf 1935-1936:Notebook 1, 38), a very strict division of labor, and first salmon ceremonies. Within the Spokanes' homeland, there were a number of important fisheries including Kettle Falls on the Columbia River, Little Falls and Spokane Falls on the Spokane River, the Little Spokane River Fishery at the confluence with this tributary to the Spokane River, and Latah Creek at its confluence with the Spokane River (45SP266) (Ross 2011:406-410). Times of fishing were also times of cultural exchange; families and related groups of various "tribal" and village affiliation would fish at the same fisheries. In addition, some Spokane families would travel down river to Celilo Falls and other major fisheries to fish and trade. Different fishing methods were employed at different times of the year and for different types of fish including spearing and line fishing, (Elmendorf 1935-

1936:Notebook 2, 88) however the majority of fish were caught using fish traps, weirs, and corrals (Ross 2011:376).

Effects of Euro-American Encroachment and River Development

As the Northwest tribes were forced onto reservations, the United States government, and independent interests were actively promoting the economic opportunities that were supposed to abound in the Northwest. Towns were given inspiring names such as Opportunity and Eden; collectively the region of Eastern Washington and the panhandle of Idaho were called the Inland Empire. Pictures were sent back east showing the abundant produce grown without irrigation. Interested easterners poured into the region to claim their 160 acres. The small productive farms of the homesteaders attracted more settlers to the area. In addition to the wheat farms, orchards, and ranches that abounded in Washington east of the Cascade Mountains; opportunists came to exploit forest and river resources, and mining opportunities, to develop railroads, and build up towns. The Northwest boasted tremendous potential, and the Columbia River and its tributaries were the key to unlocking it. At the turn of the century, the tune of the Inland Northwest propaganda reflected the demand for dams. In 1938, the Spokane Chamber of Commerce published “The Columbia Basin Grand Coulee Project: A remarkable national resource that will to the country’s wealth, prosperity, and well-being” (1938). In the document they wrote “it has long been recognized as an economic waste to allow this dependable water supply [the Columbia River] to rush unchecked and unused to the ocean while close by lies an area the size of Connecticut awaiting only the touch of moisture to transform it into productive farm land” (Spokane Chamber of Commerce 1938:5-6). The policies of Washington State and the Federal Government proved to be very favorable towards the development of hydroelectric dams both for the production of electricity and also for extensive irrigation works. At no time was this truer than during the New Deal era of Franklin Roosevelt’s presidential administration. Principal among the New Deal dams was the Grand Coulee Dam located partially on the Colville Reservation. Completed in 1942, Grand Coulee Dam was the largest gravity fed dam, the largest concrete structure in the world, and powered the first all-electric city in the United States, Mason City (Coulee Trading Company 1937:1).

The backwaters, called Lake Roosevelt inundated land north to the Canadian border on the Columbia River and east past the boundaries of the Spokane Reservation on the Spokane River. Included in this backwater area were several Euro-American settled towns, farms, orchards, and ranches. The dam forced the removal of over 3000 of these Washingtonians who were located below the “1310 line” (the expected elevation of the anticipated reservoir). In anticipation of the reservoir starting in the 1930’s, the Bureau of Reclamation sent out a board of appraisers to people’s homes

and businesses to consider the cost of the physical property, and “a means of earning a living” (Bankson 1938:Magazine Section 1) when determining a compensation price. A 1938 *Spokesman Review* article states that the offers made to residents were primarily taken and that in many cases were beneficial to residents who hadn’t been successful in their economic endeavors. Furthermore, many were assisted in their relocation. Others, who did not accept offers were forced to settle through condemnation (Bankson 1938:Magazine Section 1). While removal of these white farmers and townspeople undoubtedly caused hardship in many cases, consideration was made for them both by the government and by the media. The same cannot be said of the Spokanes whose reservation boundaries were inundated along the Columbia and the Spokane Rivers. The total compensation given to the tribe in 1940 was \$4,700 (Spokane Tribe of Indians 2010).

Of the 29 village locations identified by Ray in the 1930’s prior to the reservoir, eleven are now submerged by Grand Coulee Dam. Of the remaining 18, four are submerged by the Long Lake Reservoir of Long Lake Dam, and one is submerged by Upriver Dam. In reviewing the impacts Grand Coulee Dam caused the ancestral landscape, Verne Ray wrote “...all the permanent Indian settlements have been situated along the river courses. The excavation and analysis of the archaeological remains of these settlements had hardly begun when the water poured over. Hence, there was lost a whole significant continuum of human history—Colville and Spokane history” (Ray 1977:54). Additionally, efforts to relocate native burials were undertaken (notoriously poorly) by a Spokane funeral home from Spokane called Ball and Dodd (Ives 2012). When the task proved too great for the time and money allotted, many graves were left to slowly erode out as the banks of Lake Roosevelt rise and subside every year. Not only did the rising reservoir waters envelop places, the reservoirs also restricted access to their usual and accustomed resources (Spokane Tribe of Indians 2010). Salmon is the most visible and noteworthy of these resources; Grand Coulee Dam’s massive height made the use of a fish ladder impossible and no additional mitigation tactics were taken at the time of the dam’s construction (Ives 2012). The fish-reliant tribes were very suddenly and unapologetically cut off from their major foodstuff, and the way of life that had been passed down through the generations. Many tribal people still traveled off of the reservation to continue on their seasonal rounds. The rivers had been easily forded or crossed at nearby ferries or bridges. The swollen reservoir however made the river traverse much more complicated.

Some seventy years after the completion of the Grand Coulee Dam, the effects are still very much felt by the Spokanes. Every night during the summer months, a laser light show is broadcast on the falling water spilling over the face of the dam. The show is bright and flashy and is told from the perspective of the personified river. The introduction of the show mentions the tribes that lived along the Columbia River and “battled” with its unbridled power. The production of the dam tamed

the river's wildness and the narration suggests, ridiculously, that the river is grateful for the discipline and happy for the good it has done. The show boasts of the money generated from tourism, the number of households that use the dam's electricity, and the farms that thrive from its irrigation. On the Spokane Tribe's website, however, is a short video that is an effort to educate and garner public support for compensation for the tribe. In the video Richard Garry, a member of the Spokane Tribal Business Council, say "it seems that everybody benefits [from the dam] except the Spokane Tribe" (Spokane Tribe of Indians 2010). In 1994, the Colville Tribe was granted a settlement of \$53,000,000 with an annual and annually adjusted payment for use of their land of \$15,250,000 (govtrack.us 2014). At present, the *Spokane Tribe of Indians of the Spokane Reservation Equitable Compensation Act* is in committee. According to the govtrack.us status and summary page, the Act has an 83% chance of getting past committee, and a 16% chance of being enacted (2014).

Despite the damages caused to the Spokanes by the dams, the Spokane River, in its modified form, remains a critical axis to their livelihoods and culture. Much of the tribe's department of natural resources' time and budget is dedicated to the management of their water resource. Included in the department's mission is the development of a viable fishery. While the department contends that no amount of work can completely mitigate the harms done to the tribe by the dams they indicate that "the hatchery is a key element of a comprehensive restoration and enhancement program for the Lake Roosevelt and Banks Lake fisheries" (Spokane Tribe of Indians 2013c). The tribe has a government-to-government agreement with the Washington State Department of Fish and Wildlife regarding co-management of fishing within the Spokane River arm of Lake Roosevelt. In the agreement, people who fish from the north bank of the reservoir are required to have a tribal fishing license, and non-tribal members are required to have both a tribal and state issued fishing license (Government to Government 2007). Additionally, the tribe is working with the state, the Confederated Tribes of the Colville Reservation, and the Lake Roosevelt Development Association for species monitoring (Spokane Tribe of Indians 2013c). Regarding the tribe's interests in their cultural resources, the management agencies and private companies that work with the water resources and the dams actively work with the Spokanes to protect archaeological and cultural sites (Bonneville Power Administration 2005; Avista Utilities 2014). Outside of resource management, The Two Rivers Casino at the confluence of the Spokane and Columbia Rivers hosts a series of events throughout the year on the water or at its banks. Furthermore, the casino is the site of an RV resort and marina. The facilities and casino are owned by the tribe and the revenue generated from it goes back to the tribe. As the tribe's gaming web page says "Indian Gaming today is a major catalyst for community growth and economic development within many Tribes" (Spokane Tribe of

Indians 2014). In addition to the marina, there are a number of camp and day use sites along the rivers that are popular with boaters, fisherpersons, and recreationists, both tribal and non-tribal.

The Spokane River possesses irrefutable cultural significance for the Spokane people. The landscape surrounding it has been tremendously altered, and the people around the river have adapted and fought back. The importance of the historical places that have been affected by development and urbanization are not lost to the Spokanes' collective memory. A hope of this study is that the information garnered through the research and presented in this thesis will supplement the cultural knowledge of the historical landscape of the Spokane people, including the Spokane River.

CHAPTER FOUR: THEORY AND METHODOLOGY

Katy Gardener and David Lewis define discourse, with Michel Foucault's influence, as "the idea that the terms in which we speak, write, and think about the world are a reflection of wider relations of power and, since they are linked to practice, are themselves important in maintaining the power structure" (Gardener and Lewis 1996:xiv). With this understanding, I knew that I wanted to define this project with the Spokane with commonly agreed upon goals, terms, and intentions. To do this required openness on my part to allow for correction, criticism, and understanding; the language that I used throughout this project had to reflect this. Dedication to a project framework based on these ideals led me to a project theory based on Indigenous archaeology and critical race theory. Furthermore, it was also important to reconsider the standard power dynamic between "researcher" and "subject" that defines most qualitative research. To do this, I incorporated a number of methodologies in the project that would take away from that duality and place more emphasis on collaboration and partnership. Lastly, a strategy had to be developed that would identify and document both across the ancestral Spokane Indian landscape and also within a site the historical Spokane occupation.

George Nicholas has defined Indigenous archaeology as:

an expression of archaeological theory and practice in which the discipline intersects with Indigenous values, knowledge, practices, ethics, and sensibilities, and through collaborative and community-originated or –directed projects, and related critical perspectives. Indigenous archaeology seeks to make archaeology more representative of, relevant for, and responsible to Indigenous communities. It is also about redressing real and perceived inequalities in the practice of archaeology and improving our understanding and interpretation of the archaeological record through the incorporation of new and different perspectives [Nicholas 2008:1660].

This definition is generally agreed upon by most Indigenous archaeologists working today (Colwell-Chamthaphonh, et al. 2010:229). Within the context of Indigenous archaeology, essentialism implies collective distillation—essentializing what "Indian" is across time and space from Indigenous group to Indigenous group. As Colwell-Chamthaphonh et al. write "close examination of the language and theories across contemporary archaeological practice reveals essentialist ideas woven into the very fabric of the field" (2010:231). While Indigenous archaeology eschews essentialism of contemporaneous cultures, essentialism is still embedded in its temporal applications. One of the greatest challenges of this project has been to mitigate temporal essentialism—breaking down the arbitrary delineation of historical archaeology and pre-contact archaeology.

An additional term that requires definition is Critical Race Theory (CRT). CRT began in earnest in the early 1980's among activist law students and professors who sought to move beyond

interpretations of law that maintained standard distributions of power that discriminated against people of color (Delgado 2013). The theoretical movement is focused on studying and transforming the status quo dynamics of race, racism, and power. It considers the same topics that conventional civil rights and ethnic studies regard, “but places them in broader perspectives that include economics, history, context, group- and self-interest, and even feelings and the unconscious... [CRT] questions the very foundations of the liberal order including equality theory, legal reasoning, Enlightenment rationalism, and neutral principles of constitutional law” (Delgado and Stephancic 20012-3). Recently, archaeologists have begun to adopt CRT in their interactions with archaeological materials, descendent communities, and in interpretation (Delgado 2004, McDavid 2007). As archaeologists interact with diverse past and present cultures who are radicalized, and possess racial identities; a critical examination of archaeological impacts on those peoples needs to be considered. Indigenous archaeology and CRT are inextricably linked so that cultural assumptions are avoided, the power associated with research is more evenly distributed, and so that my intentions, good as they may have been, did not lead me astray.

To effectively work with tribes, particularly as a white archaeologist, the concepts of Indigenous archaeology and critical race theory are inextricably linked. The effort to be open and honest with myself and with the Spokanes required that I be cognizant of the cultural baggage of my white heritage (McDavid 2007:68). As opposed to being stricken by over-sensitivity to the racist interactions between white archaeologists and tribes, “the pragmatic move demands that we accept the risk of uncertainty and maintain that we cannot wait to talk about the painful issues until we are certain that we are not being racist, classist, or otherwise oppressive” (McDavid 2007:69). This open dialog, both with myself, and with the Spokanes guided me to be receptive to what the archaeology on the ground implied, to what the tribe wanted, to what other archaeologists and anthropologists who have worked in the area have done, and to how I can be a *considered* and *considerate* voice in Indigenous archaeology.

Project Development

During the fall of 2011, I worked as the archaeological monitor for a wetland restoration project near Chewelah, WA, a small town in the northeastern part of the state (Iverson and Russell 2012). Throughout the project, I was accompanied by one of five tribal monitors from the STI APP. Concurrently, I was enrolled in an independent study course that focused on reviewing the existing literature of historical Native American archaeology in the west. Throughout the project and the class, I spoke with the tribal monitors about what I read, my evolving perspective, and their own experiences in archaeology, and cultural understandings. My conversations with the tribal monitors

coupled with critical review of the materials I read helped me to come to an alternative understanding regarding my role as an archaeologist. I cannot remove myself from the greater context of what archaeology is and who it affects. That is to say, the vast majority of archaeological sites on the American landscape are the cultural property and heritage of Indigenous peoples. How these diverse groups interact with these sites and landscapes, and how they want others to interact with them should be at the forefront of modern archaeological methodologies. Unfortunately this is usually not the case. As a result of these realizations, I determined that one of the major personal objectives of my thesis research would be to develop myself as an archaeologist that values and employs Indigenous epistemologies, methodologies, and theoretical perspectives throughout my career.

While a great deal of American historical archaeology relates to Euro-Americans, and specifically Euro-American men; increasingly, archaeologists are studying the landscape of women and minorities. These archaeologies however are still very selective—they are focused on the people associated with settlement/colonialism and industrialism. The archaeology of Indigenous peoples post-contact has been largely relegated to explorations of the interactions with Euro-Americans—battlefields, missions, boarding schools, etcetera. While these pursuits are valuable, it is important to broaden the field of study beyond these interactions for two notable reasons. Firstly, the colonializing influences on Indigenous peoples go beyond direct cross-cultural exchange and power dynamics to other less obvious aspects of historical and modern Indigenous life. Secondly, to frame all study solely in terms of the deleterious effects colonialism has had on Indigenous cultures is to mitigate the agency of Indigenous peoples-- Indigenous cultures are not stagnant or the result of complete victimization. Indigenous groups and individuals have made decisions and asserted power in a myriad of ways that when studied should be considered outside of the confines of assimilationist frameworks. To that end, this study is not a study of acculturation, but, rather one of culture change.

The genesis for this thesis emerged from these realizations and experiences. To pursue this project I continued the existing relationships I developed during the wetland restoration project (Iverson and Russell 2012), and initiated new relationships with personnel from STI APP to pursue my thesis project idea. The process involved email exchanges and meetings with one of the tribal monitors I had worked with, a meeting with the STI tribal historic preservation officer (THPO) Randy Abrahamson, and meetings and email exchanges with other STI APP personnel. During this time, I was granted initial approval to move forward with the project. In the fall of 2012, I attended Spokane Days, an annual event to celebrate Spokane Indian culture and heritage. Lynn Pankonin, the STI HPP historian and archives manager was active in the development and review of this project.

To initiate fieldwork, I produced a project proposal (Appendix D) which has had a number of modifications as more information was gained, and greater specificity was required. The first proposal draft was submitted to the THPO in April 2012 and shortly thereafter I was granted Section 106 clearance to pursue the project. In addition, I was required to sign a confidentiality agreement and a “request for information of special use” application in the spring of 2012 (Appendix E). Both of these forms are basic in nature, and I learned very quickly that they did not grant full access to all materials that are relevant to my thesis as the tribe maintains rightful control over their cultural property.

In the introductory chapter to the edited volume *The Ethics of Collecting Cultural Property: Whose Culture? Whose Property?*, Karen J. Warren asks “what constitutes the past; who if anyone, may be said to own the past; who may have access to the past and to the information derived from it; what controls may be exercised over remains of the past?” (Warren 1989:1). When working within an Indigenous archaeological paradigm, it is critical to keep these questions in mind. The archaeological sites, documents, and collections that I asked to work with, and have been granted access to work with *may* not cover everything, however the sites, documents, collections, management, and culture are not my own. It is important to recognize that the archaeology of Indigenous people is not the shared heritage of all, and that archaeologists are privileged to be able to study the Indigenous heritage of others. As Frey writes “among the key standards implicitly or explicitly used and deemed important by our host reviewers [in research] are such criteria as ‘trustworthiness’, involving qualities of credibility, dependability and conformability, and ‘authenticity’ (Frey N.d.:8). While I have strove for these qualities in my research and in my interactions with STI APP, trustworthiness cannot be rushed or forced. Furthermore, it is important to note that to be trusted does not provide unfettered access.

As STI APP personnel practiced a greater degree of confidentiality with their materials than I had initially anticipated; I too followed suit and do not share culturally sensitive information about the project with people outside of STI APP. In addition, I have worked with STI APP to determine what information I should and can share, and with whom. In the documents that I have devised—the proposal, the memorandum of understanding (MOU), and this thesis – it has been mandated that the information that is disclosed is at STI APP’s discretion. I will not share what they do not give me express permission to share and will not share in outlets that they do not find suitable. In the final draft of the project proposal to the tribe I wrote: “All findings will be reported in full to the STI APP. Abbreviated findings will be reported in my final thesis... The extent to the abbreviated nature of the reported findings in my thesis report will be determined by the STI APP.” As such, my thesis was reviewed and cleared by STI APP personnel.

Across the archaeological landscape, and certainly in the Spokanes' homeland there is a perceived essentialist duality in archaeology—pre-contact archaeology and historical archaeology. In “Culture Contact Studies: Redefining the Relationship between Prehistoric and Historic Archaeology” (1995), Kent Lightfoot describes and challenges the compartmentalization both of and within prehistoric and historical archaeology and how it detracts from and adversely manipulates the study of long term culture change (Lightfoot 1995). It is well established that the sites that I worked at both on and off the reservation have pre-contact and historical components. While working at the reservation sites, I was not supposed to look at the pre-contact materials on the ground. While it is true that my research will be specific to the historical components of the sites (the context of which is materially ambiguous and ill defined), reading between the lines of the sites' documentation indicated that the sites had a continuous stream of habitation from pre-contact into the recent past. I have not pressed for information that STI APP does not wish to share with me; yet, exclusion of the pre-contact materials suggests that reservation Spokanes did not employ traditionally considered pre-contact materials and techniques.

Research Questions

The following are a series of research questions posed of the collected data and of the historical and ethnographic record. These questions, which range in specificity, are intended to provide a framework for how I approached the archaeological data. Some questions were answered in Chapters 5 and 6; however others could not be answered because of lack of data. What is the difference in frequency of non-traditional materials between the on the reservation and off the reservation sites? How can the difference in frequency be explained? What is the difference in diversity of materials? How can the difference in diversity be explained? How are the sites organized differently, and what does that difference infer? What is the proximity of the Historical Spokane sites to Euro-American settlements? How could that proximity influence access to non-traditional materials? Who were the non-Spokanes (i.e. settlers, miners, trappers and traders, or missionaries) that were most interacted with during the temporal period of each site? How does the non-Spokane Indian population influence access to non-traditional and traditional materials? What can be inferred about the fluidity of occupation and land use between the pre-contact and historical periods?

Primary Collaborative Elements

As previously indicated, a critical component of the work has been collaboration. I developed an evaluation with the help of STI APP whereby my efforts throughout my work was assessed for benefit to the tribe, collaborative and thoughtful effort, professionalism, and consistency

with the theories and methods used by STI APP (Appendix C). The evaluation is not an endorsement for me as an archaeologist, but rather a gauge of the effectiveness of this project in achieving the goals of the project for STI APP. The first step of this process was to devise an Internal Review Board (IRB) application to ensure legal and institutionally accepted ethical practices for collaboration (Appendix B). A preliminary set of evaluation criteria was created, and have since been modified as the project has changed. The purpose of going through the IRB review was to ensure that personnel at STI APP could contribute to or change the evaluation criteria and the method with which I was evaluated in a manner that was ethically acceptable to the mandates of the University. The evaluation was conducted on the terms and at the convenience of personnel at STI APP.

Given the right frame of mind, the process of monitoring or working with a monitor is inherently ethnographic. The “on the ground” interaction lends itself to conversation. As mentioned above, my conversations with STI APP monitors from the 2011 wetland restoration project has already profoundly influenced my thinking in regards to Indigenous archaeology and collaboration with the Spokane Tribe. These informal conversations helped me to gain a deeper understanding of what it is to be collaborative, thoughtful, and considerate of alternative ways of knowing. I expected that these sorts of informative and beneficial conversations would continue throughout the project. Indeed, the conversations I had with STI APP personnel about my project informed me about experiences, modern interactions with the sites, and cultural relationships to the historical and modern landscape. My IRB review also allowed me to incorporate, when applicable and appropriate, the information I gained through conversations with those that I interacted with throughout the project into my interpretation of the archaeological data.

While the IRB did grant me the freedom to conduct the research that I want to, I became frustrated during the application process because it seemed that nature of my “human subject” research fell outside of the scope of the IRB process. The hegemony that guides the IRB is rooted in enlightenment, capitalism, and “Head Knowledge.” Head Knowledge is “premised on such ontological principles as Aristotelian materialism, and Cartesian dualism, and perhaps best expressed in the scientific method” (Frey N.d.:44). Research that involves cultures that do not think within these bounds is excessively constrained by the IRB process. By in large, IRBs are informed by Federal Law 45 CFR 46 (HHS.gov 2010) which sets lawful baselines for the ethical treatment of human subjects and is guided by the Belmont Report (1979) which mandates that researchers act with beneficence, justice, and respect for persons. The language and content of the Belmont Report, and subsequent documents firmly establish lines of power and discourse. Based on the Belmont Report, the discourse of the IRB process emphasizes a hierarchical power structure of review board to

investigator, investigator to subject. There is little fluidity granted or acknowledged in the IRB process. Therefore the IRB process does not sufficiently or appropriately allow for research that incorporates or relies on elements of collaboration and cooperation. This lack of coverage can therefore infringe on the same “subjects” that the process is intended to protect.

The standards to which I have adhered were outlined in a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) (Appendix E). While the document was never formalized, the terms were accepted by STI APP. The protocols established in the MOU were adhered to throughout the project. I provided informal written updates about my progress to all personnel whom have been involved in my thesis project at STI APP. The updates reported promptly on the work completed as well as preliminary results both on and off of the reservation. In addition, I maintained frequent email contact with STI APP beyond the informal updates. The purpose of these communications, beyond the friendships I have developed, is to maintain an open dialog between myself and STI APP, and to allow for transparency and critique.

During the on-reservation fieldwork, I was accompanied by two tribal monitors, one for three days of the fieldwork, and the other for my last day. The monitor ensured that I followed STI APP standards of archaeological work, and made sure that I stuck to the guidelines established for the project. While the tribal monitors did not have to help me at my site recording tasks, I did still collaborate with and learn from them. Conversations with the monitors taught me about prominent places in the landscape that still maintain cultural significance, and their experiences working in archaeology. The off reservation fieldwork did not require a tribal monitor, although STI APP personnel did make informal visits to the sites I worked at off the reservation to stay informed on my progress.

Fieldwork Methodologies

In the spring of 2013, with the aid of Lynn Pankonin, STI APP’s historian and archives manager, I conducted a limited archaeological file search at the STI APP offices in Wellpinit, WA to identify and review appropriate sites for the work. The selected sites occur in a historical landscape along the Spokane River on the reservation known as the Cornelius Landscape. Per the requirements of the University of Idaho’s anthropology program, and STI APP, I devised a research proposal for the work on the Cornelius Landscape. Several drafts the reservation research proposal were exchanged between personnel at STI APP and me before agreement in May 2013.

To initiate the off-reservation component of this project, the Washington Department of Archaeology and Historic Preservation (DAHP), Secure Access Washington (SAW) online WISAARD database was consulted to identify all the sites in Stevens and Spokane Counties,

Washington that fall within the traditional territories of the Spokane Indians, excluding the Spokane Reservation, and Spokane County from two miles south of the Spokane River to the southern boundary of the county. This literature search identified 60 archaeological sites in Stevens County and 191 in Spokane County. In addition to these general area searches, the locations of and around Deep Creek and the former locality of Detillion, Washington were also included in the file search as both locations are known to have affiliation with the reservation sites. One documented site was identified in the immediate vicinity of Deep Creek, and three within the area of Detillion.

Ethnographic reports were also referenced to determine which sites possessed the greatest potential for the project. Once the most promising sites were identified, STI APP was notified and consulted in order to determine which of the potential sites would be the best fit for the project. From this consultation, sites 45SP266 and 45ST228, with its surroundings were selected.

With the sites were selected, I contacted the land managers and owners. Site 45SP266, also called the Latah Creek site is located on land owned and operated by the city of Spokane. To gain permission to work at the site, I submitted a project proposal (Appendix D) to Kristen Griffen, the Spokane City and County Historic Preservation Officer, Leroy Eadie, the Director of Spokane Parks and Operations, and Tony Madunich, the Spokane City Parks Operations Manager. Permission was granted to conduct non-invasive research at the beginning of July 2013. Site 45ST288 is owned privately by Union Gospel Mission who operates a summer camp on the land. Union Gospel Mission and Ken Weddle, the camp's caretaker, were contacted about the prospect of working at the 45ST228. Mr. Weddle was enthusiastic about the project and encouraged us to look at and document other sites on the camp's land.

The archaeological investigation on the reservation included documentation of the historical components of two known archaeological sites. Site documentation consisted of feature and artifact descriptions, photographs, a detailed site map noting the location of archaeological features and artifact concentrations, topographic features, modern infringements and developments, and the archaeological process (i.e. potential sample units and site boundary). Historical photographs and previous documentation photographs were brought to the site to determine changes that have occurred to the architectural features and to the landscape. Additionally, the ecological, geologic, and modern landscapes were noted and site photographs taken. The on reservation sites were recorded using STI APP archaeological forms, and were supplemented by archaeological forms created by myself. No sub-surface investigations were undertaken on the reservation, and collected archaeological materials were cleared by STI APP and are housed at the tribe's repository in Wellpinit, WA. All data (field forms, photographs, maps, GIS data, completed and electronic forms) were given to STI APP at the completion of the project. Additionally, other primary resource

materials held by STI APP and the Northwest Museum of Arts and Culture were analyzed and included as part of the interpretation of the sites. Many of the historical documents are photocopies of original handwritten documents. For the purposes of digitization and ease of reading, I transcribed the documents that are relevant to my project. These will be compiled and shared with STI APP for their continued use.

All fieldwork was undertaken in accordance with the Secretary of Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archaeology and Historic Preservation, the Washington State Standards for Cultural Resource Reporting, and STI APP protocols. Because STI APP does not use DAHP archaeological forms for the documentation of sites on the reservation, STI APP forms were used for the reservation site recordation, and DAHP forms were used for the off-reservation field work. I had inquired with the tribe's archaeologists about using the STI APP forms for all archaeological documentation; however I was discouraged from doing so. A protocol was established if an inadvertent discovery were to be discovered. Dr. Robert Sappington served as Principal Investigator during Dr. Mark Warner's absence during the off-reservation fieldwork that occurred during two weeks in July 2013. Two graduate student volunteers assisted with the first week of off-reservation field work, and one assisted during the second week. The on-reservation fieldwork occurred during one week in May 2013, during which time I was accompanied by a tribal monitor. The on-reservation sites were mapped using a Trimble GeoXM GPS that belongs to STI APP. The off-reservation sites were mapped using a Trimble GeoXT GPS with external antennae owned by the Geography Department at the University of Idaho and lent to me for the purpose of this fieldwork. Features with substantial integrity were given hand-drawn scaled maps. Photographs were taken using an Olympus Stylus Tough digital camera.

Time, personnel, and money influenced the methods used in the field. The two sites that were documented on the reservation are located along the banks of the Spokane Arm of Lake Roosevelt. Throughout the year, at least parts of the sites are inundated by the reservoir. Fieldwork was scheduled for May 2013 to take advantage of the low water draw-down period, yet during the course of fieldwork, the water level rose daily. An informal survey was undertaken at and between both sites. The primary portions of both sites are located on a beach allowing for clear ground coverage. All artifacts were recorded and specific attention was paid to architectural features and the development of a site map. At Hidden Beach, a sherd of Japanese porcelain and a bone button were collected and are housed at the repository at Wellpinit, WA.

At the Tschimakain Creek Camp location, Randy Abrahamson, the Spokane Tribe's Historic Preservation Officer, and James Harrison one of the Spokane Tribe's archaeologists met my field crew comprised of Mairee MacInnes and Kiley Molinari, and me to do a "walk through" of the sites

with Ken Weddle. Mr. Weddle took us to the sites that he knew of on the camp grounds, none of which were 45ST228; however we agreed to document two formerly undocumented sites on the grounds during our time at the camp. At 45ST228 and the other sites on the Tschimakain Creek Camp grounds, Ms. MacInnes, Ms. Molinari and I conducted a preliminary inventory of the site by walking parallel transects spaced no more than 10 meters apart. Artifacts were marked with pin flags and all found artifacts were recorded.

The Latah Creek site (45SP266) was the largest and most complicated site addressed in this study. Additionally, I was only assisted in its documentation by Ms. MacInnes. The Latah Creek site is located in a city park with very heavy pedestrian traffic and a series of interconnecting trails. An informal survey was undertaken by Ms. MacInnes and myself by first walking the trail networks, then the beach areas, and then in the open areas between the trail networks. The initial plan for this site was to document the artifacts in a number of small sample units, and to record all surficial features. It was quickly discovered, however, that the site had been very recently and devastatingly vandalized through a number of illegal excavations. As a result, much of our time was spent documenting the illegal excavations which were reported to the City of Spokane, STI APP, and to DAHP. Despite this, one artifact sample units were inventoried. The investigation into the archaeological theft is ongoing.

The Latah Creek site had previously been excavated, and the materials from those excavations were housed at the archaeological laboratory in Eastern Washington University during the summer of 2013. I contacted Dr. Stan Gough about these collections and was given permission to look through the collection to supplement the data I had collected in the field. In August 2013, I traveled to Cheney, Washington over the course of three days to analyze materials recovered from the site that may have been associated with a historical Spokane Indian occupation. Chapter five will present the data collected and the historical and ethnographic contexts of the on and off-reservation sites and Chapter six will provide interpretation and comparison of the data.

The parameters that define this project, particularly within the bounds of the Spokane Reservation have been very collaborative. While the concept for the project was proposed by me, the sites, and materials that I worked with have been defined by STI APP. The hope is that this research project will fill a data gap, and answer historical, cultural, and archaeological questions, and that the project will be of benefit to the Spokane Tribe, to me as a student and archaeologist, and to the archaeological community.

CHAPTER FIVE: THE SITES

Three sites were initially targeted for this investigation—the Hidden Beach site on the Spokane Reservation, and the Latah Creek site and 45ST228 both off of the reservation. Three additional sites were recorded during fieldwork. These include the Charley Bones Allotment site on the reservation, and adjacent to Hidden Beach; and two new sites in the vicinity of 45ST228. The on-reservation sites were chosen by personnel at the STI APP for their likelihood to contribute to this project. The off reservation sites were selected for their relation to known ethnohistoric site locations, and the level of existing documentation—Latah Creek was chosen because there has been a substantial amount of data collected, some of which supports a potential archaeological signature of a historical Spokane component and ethnohistorical data; whereas 45ST228 was chosen because very little and outdated documentation existed, but historical and pre-contact components were identified. Varying levels of supporting archaeological evidence was gleaned from the six sites. The data collected during field and lab work, the previous investigations at the sites and surrounding areas, and the history of the sites and site areas are presented here. Chapter six will provide an interpretation of this information.

On the Reservation: The Cornelius Landscape

The Hidden Beach and Charley Bones Allotment sites are part of a larger pre-contact, ethnographic, and historical Spokane landscape located on the north bank of the Spokane River on the Spokane Indian Reservation. The sites are around one half mile apart from one another and are located within a culture area known as the historical Cornelius Landscape or the West End. For the purposes of this discussion, the sites have been lumped together or addressed individually according to differing ethnographic accounts. After the reservation was established, a group of Spokane Indians whom had formerly been located at Deep Creek, near the present day community of Davenport, Washington, and lived in a Presbyterian colony, moved to the locality of the Cornelius Landscape (Ruby and Brown 2006:188-189). During reorganization, plots of land were allotted to many of the Deep Creek Spokanes at the location of the sites. Today, the sites are largely inundated by the Spokane arm of Lake Roosevelt and portions of them can only be seen during the draw down period or drought. During the development of the Grand Coulee Dam, the Spokanes that were allotted land there were forced to relocate to other areas of the reservation. During the annual draw down period, and during times of drought, when portions of the sites are exposed, the landscape is expressed as a large sandy beach, and the edge of the extent of the reservoir have created deeply entrenched sandy banks that are heavily susceptible to erosion. The elevation of the Cornelius

Landscape averages around 1300 ft. asl. Vegetation is sparse on the beach, but above the cut bank, the plant community is dominated by a Ponderosa Pine forest. Sporadically across the beach, some non-native ornamentals were observed during the 2013 work. Both Hidden Beach and the Charley Bones Allotment sites have been heavily impacted by the development of Grand Coulee Dam. Wave action and soil deposition and erosion have severely disturbed archaeological deposits. Further, the sites are impacted by recreational uses such as impromptu boat landing areas (Figure 5), camping, and day use activities.



Figure 5. Google Satellite image showing heavy recreation and boats at the Hidden Beach site during high water. Note: the site is largely underwater. Source: [Google Maps](#) 2014. Accessed April 10, 2014.

The Cornelius Landscape has been the subject of or included within a number of ethnographic and archaeological investigations (see Table 1). William Elmendorf first documented the landscape in his 1935-1936 unpublished ethnographic field notes with the Lakes and Spokanes. Following his work, Ray identified Spokane village sites in his “Native Villages and Groupings of the Columbia Basin” (1936). Within his report he lists “*doCRm’eWs*” which appears to correspond to the Hidden Beach site (1936:133). In 1984, Randy Bouchard and Dorothy Kennedy published the *Indian Land Use and Occupancy in the Franklin D. Roosevelt Lake Area of Washington State* as prepared by the Confederated Tribes of the Colville Reservation. The document identified traditional place names along the banks of Lake Roosevelt. Most recently, the Confederated Tribes of the Colville

Reservation expanded upon the Bouchard and Kennedy report with their own *Native American Place Names along the Columbia River above Grand Coulee Dam, North Central Washington and Traditional Cultural Property Overview Report for the Confederated Tribes of the Colville Reservation* (2011). During this investigation, the location of Hidden Beach was identified as “*čelč’ermáw’s*”, channel, by Spokane Informants, and “*klk’armíw’s*” by Colville informants (George ed. 2011:45). While the sites have been the subjects of numerous archaeological documentation efforts, only a select list is represented in Table 1 at the request of STI APP.

Table 1: Cornelius Landscape select archaeological reports

Site	Year	Report Title	Author/Organization
Hidden Beach	1967	Archaeological Survey of the Coulee Dam National Recreation Area: Part 2: Spring Draw Down 1967	David H. Chance Washington State University Lab of Anthropology
Hidden Beach	1986	A Cultural Resources Inventory for the Grand Coulee Project: Douglas, Grant, Ferry, Lincoln, Okanogan, and Stevens Counties, Washington	Ruth A. Masten and Jerry R. Galm: Eastern Washington University Archaeological and Historical Services
Hidden Beach	1996	An Archaeological and Historical Sites Survey Assessment: Grand Coulee Project Area, Northeastern Washington	Eastern Washington University Archaeological and Historical Services
Hidden Beach	2002	N/A	The Spokane Tribe of Indians Culture Program
Hidden Beach	2004	N/A	The Spokane Tribe of Indians Culture Program
Hidden Beach	2011	Preliminary Review of [Hidden Beach] Documentation for Planned Determination of Eligibility	The Spokane Tribe of Indians Culture Program
Charley Bones Allotment	1995	N/A	Paula Hartzell: The Spokane Tribe of Indians Culture Program
Charley Bones Allotment	2009	N/A	Jason Jones: The Spokane Tribe of Indians Culture Program

Fieldwork for this project was conducted over the course of four days in May 2013 during that time I was accompanied by a tribal monitor. Work commenced with a single transect on the beach from the Hidden Beach site through the Charley Bones Allotment site to identify site densities and features. All historical artifacts were documented with potentially diagnostic artifacts photographed. STI APP required that I not interact with traditionally considered pre-contact artifacts during the course of fieldwork.

History of the Cornelius Landscape/The West End

In 1885, Spokane and Colville Indian agent Sydney Waters conducted the first Indian census. During his inventory of the Colviles, Lakes, Chief Joseph band Nez Perce, Spokanes,

etcetera on the reservations; he also documented 66 Spokanes living at Deep Creek (Bureau of Indian Affairs 1965). The Deep Creek Colony of Spokane Indians was forced out of the Deep Creek area by the Union Pacific Railroad and encroaching settlers (Cowley 1871-1917; Ruby and Brown 2006:187). Reverend Henry Cowley, who lived among the Deep Creek Spokanes, made entreaties to the Union Pacific Railroad, the U.S. Army, and the Office of Indian Affairs (Cowley 1871-1917) on behalf of Enoch, a prominent Spokane leader within the community, and the rest of the colony. Despite his entreaties, the eviction was carried out and many within the group moved to an area on the Spokane Reservation known as the West End. The West End was an area where Spokanes, Colvilles, and other regional Indigenous cultural groups lived together (George ed. 2011:45). At Deep Creek, in 1880 reported improvements included five homes for seven families, with a construction of a school underway (Cowley 1871-1917). Other reported improvements include a church and a school (Nisbet and Nisbet 2010). At the time of inundation from Grand Coulee Dam some 60 years later, some of the West End's improvements included a Presbyterian Church and its replacement, cabins, outhouses, chicken coops, cellars, garages, sheds, and cultivated or cultivatable lands (Jones and Pankonin 2011: 16-18). While there is a historical account of teepees at Deep Creek (the tone of the letter suggests that these are not improvements) (Cowley 1871-1917), the government's assessment of properties for compensation for Grand Coulee Dam does not appear to include more traditional "additions" that may have existed at the historical West End landscape.

While there are gaps within the historical record, a great deal has been deduced about some of the personalities at the Cornelius Landscape. William Three Mountain is the namesake of his father, whom as a boy and young man lived seasonally at an Upper Spokane village near Tschimakain Mission (Nisbet and Nisbet 2010). During the elder Three Mountain's youth he spent a great deal of time with the Walkers, although he was cast out as a young man because of gambling (Walker and Drury 1976:161). Despite his time among the early missionaries, the elder Three Mountain did not convert to Christianity (Nisbet and Nisbet 2010). Subsequently, and with a great deal of influence as a Spokane Chief, Three Mountain moved with a group of Spokane Indians to Deep Creek to develop a Presbyterian agricultural community. At the time of his death in 1883 from a gunshot wound, his son, the younger Three Mountain (b. 1864) was 19 or 20 (Nisbet and Nisbet 2010).

In 1888, the younger Three Mountain, along with his wife Mattie, and many of the other Deep Creek Spokanes moved to the West End on the newly established Spokane Reservation where they started over as farmers (Ruby and Brown 2006:188). In 1909, Mattie Three Mountain was allotted 125.63 acres (1909 Land Patent). Her husband, whom by this time was elected as a chief was active in several tribal arenas (Webster 1869-1917). In 1902, the Colville and Spokane agent Ct.

John Webster wrote that William Three Mountain was “intelligent, serious, dignified, and straight forward with courage and integrity” and that he possessed “the confidence and respect of a large majority of this tribe” (Webster 1869-1917). During the first part of the twentieth century, W. M. Manning conducted a series of surveys on the reservation as a result of the opening of the reservation from reorganization. During his work, he purchased several personal artifacts from Mattie and William Three Mountain including a pair of elaborately beaded moccasins, and a very old iron wood bow with five arrows (Nisbet and Nisbet 2010). Throughout his life, William Three Mountain remained committed to Spokane traditions, and wary of or adverse to a number of Euro-American technologies (Nisbet and Nisbet 2010, Webster 1869-1917). William Three Mountain died in 1937, four years prior to the inundation of his reservation home (Nisbet 2008).

Abigail Cornelius’s life spanned 108 years from 1829-1938 (Bureau of Indian Affairs 1965). Despite her long span, little exists within the public domain about her. She was allotted 78.39 acres on the reservation in 1917 in close proximity to family (1917 Land Patent). “Her life was lived in the old ways along the river. It is beyond question that what was to become... her allotment was land her family had lived on for hundreds of years” (Jones and Pankonin 2011:16). Similar to lack of publicly available information about Abigail Cornelius, little is written about Charley Bones. Bones was born around 1855 and was married to Jennie Bones; he died between 1920 and 1930 (Bureau of Indian Affairs 1965).

The heart of the Cornelius Landscape was the Spokane River Presbyterian Church. The first church among the newly relocated Deep Creek Spokanes was erected within three years of their 1888 resettlement (Jones and Pankonin 2011:19; Ruby and Brown 2006:189). William Three Mountain frequently presided over the ceremonies (Ruby and Brown 2006:189). Pauline Flett, a Spokane elder, recounted to Jack Nisbet in 2007 that the West End Spokane River Presbyterian Church was an A-frame structure (Nisbet 2008), and Jones and Pankonin report that the structure was a log structure with a weather board façade (Jones and Pankonin 2011:19). The church was later relocated to higher ground within the West End area, and the land was allotted in 1919 (1919 Land Patent). A number of historical photographs show the newer structure as a white washed clapboard structure on a hill. With the abandonment of the area, the Presbyterian congregation moved to Wellpinit. The modern Wellpinit Presbyterian Church retains the bell from the West End church (personal communication Lynn Pankonin 2012).

Hidden Beach

Since its initial documentation, Hidden Beach has gone through various management related incarnations. The first effort to record the site included mention of a historical foundation (recorded

for this project as Feature 2) with a nearby pile of fire affected rock, intermixed with bone and shell (a fire affected and modified brick was found within this deflated thermal feature during this recent documentation effort), and an associated scatter of historical artifacts (Chance 1967). Later documentation efforts recorded a substantial scatter of lithics, culturally modified muscle shell, animal bones, a traditional root field, the West End Presbyterian Church (recorded as Feature 1), a root cellar, and culturally modified trees (Arneson et al 2004; Casserino 2012). A 2003 carbon-14 date of organic material from the site yielded a conventional radiocarbon age of 2530 ± 40 before present (Beta Analytic 2003) establishing the deep pre-contact of the site.

In total, 174 artifacts were inventoried at the Hidden Beach site in May of 2013. These include 68 glass sherds, 52 ferrous metal artifacts, 36 ceramic artifacts, 11 bricks or brick fragments, two buttons, two tin can fragments, a cut bone fragment, a modified and fire cracked brick fragment, and a possible sherd of flaked glass (See addendum A for complete artifact lists). In addition, two features, the foundation of a possible domicile and the remains of a probable church, were also documented.

The vast majority of glass artifacts were too fragmentary to indicate function. Among the assemblage, however were a handful of artifacts that do suggest activities related to food storage including canning jar lids and a condiment bottle sherd. Other domestic related glass artifacts include window glass, some of which was found in the immediate vicinity of Feature 1, a medicine bottle sherd, and another potential medicinal or cosmetic bottle sherd. One white glass marble was located. Date ranges from the assemblage are derived from glass color and two identified maker's marks (Owens Illinois with plant and year number, and Louisville Glassworks Co.) and span from 1855 to 1934 (Harrison Toulouse 1971:323, 403-407). Other glass artifacts that do not have bracketed date range indicate even later dates. The earliest datable artifact is the Louisville Glassworks bottle base sherd (Figure 6) and a possible hand blown aqua bottle neck (Figure 7), which may also suggest potential dates prior to the opening of the Spokane Reservation in 1881.

While ferrous metal artifacts were the second most abundant artifact class encountered at the site, little can be inferred from the assemblage. As the site is frequently inundated, the ferrous metal artifacts are severely impacted. Identifiable artifacts include two strands of barbed wire, an unbarbed strand of wire, six nails, a small fragment of mesh or screen and a work horseshoe. The corroded and fragmentary nature of the ferrous metal artifacts makes further detail impossible.

A variety of ceramic vessel forms and patterns were represented at Hidden Beach despite the modest sum of the assemblage. Little can be inferred about the temporal range of the artifacts represented here. In total, white-wares, porcelain, stone-ware, and a refined white-ware were identified at the site. Two sherds within the assemblage are anomalous and warrant more extensive

discussion (see Chapter Six). These include a Japanese rice bowl sherd (which likely predates the 1941 US embargo on Japan) and a sherd from a probable Chinese barrel shaped food jar (which would predate the 1949 embargo on China) (Figures 21, 22, and 23).



Figure 6. Louisville Glassworks bottle base



Figure 7. Possible hand blown aqua glass bottle neck

The artifact assemblage is rounded out by an assortment of miscellaneous artifacts. Several bricks and brick fragments were found in association with Feature 2. Two fragmentary tin cans were identified; one prosser button and one bone button, and one burned bone fragment (likely pre-modern) were found at the site. Unfortunately, little temporal information can be gleaned from this assemblage.

Two historical features were identified at the site. Feature 1 (Figure 8) consists of the remains of a structure, presumed from previous documentation efforts to be the location of the historical Presbyterian Church (Arneson et al. 2004). The parts of the structure are widely scattered. The roof and one wall, although displaced, have relative integrity. The foundation of the structure is somewhat perplexing. The measurements of the cement foundation padstones do not match the size of the roof or the walls. The structure was likely whitewashed as remnants of paint were observed on some construction materials. Cut nails were used in construction. Because of the discrepancy in size, the internal size of the church is unknown. There is a moderately sized ponderosa tree growing near the west interior side of the structure.



Figure 8. Hidden Beach Feature 1, location and remains of historical Spokane Presbyterian Church

Feature 2 (Figure 9) consists of the granitic padstone foundation of a presumed domicile located on the beach. The foundation consists of eight large padstones creating a large rectangular layout oriented roughly north-south. The stones appear to be unmodified granitic, large and generally blocky to tabular. The stones appear to have been selected and placed so that a broad flat surface is oriented skywards. Three padstones in the foundation are rounded/sub-angular and sit on the ground surface as opposed to having been dug in. It is suspected that some of the stones have been flipped up because of the stones' orientation. The interior dimensions of the foundation are approximately just under 18 feet east-west by 27 feet north-south. In the approximate middle of the structure is a smaller cluster of stones that likely stood as an internal structural support although not all stones appear to be in situ. On the southern wall there are five granitic stones that appear to be roughly the same size and shape as the foundation padstones. Artifacts immediately around the foundation include bricks, window glass, and two ceramic sherds, including the possible Chinese barrel jar sherd (Figures 21, 22, and 23).



Figure 9. Hidden Beach Feature 2, foundation of possible domicile.

Charley Bones Allotment Site

The Charley Bones Allotment is located approximately half a mile south and upstream of the Hidden Beach site. A total of 346 historical artifacts were recorded during the May 2013 fieldwork. Broken down, artifact tallies and classes include: 251 ferrous metal artifacts, 56 glass artifacts, 29 ceramic artifacts, five milled wood fragments, two concrete slabs, two tin can fragments, and a burned bone fragment were inventoried. No features were found at the site, however historical evidence suggests that a road once transected the site—no evidence of the road could be found.

The ferrous metal artifact class is the largest artifact expression across the site; within the class, 160 nails were documented. The nails are largely wire and or machine cut and offer little temporal information (Figure 10). The majority of nails fall within the small construction nail and medium construction nail categories which are used for the final steps of construction, and for a wide variety of construction types respectively (University of Utah 1992:470:4). Similar artifacts include pins, bolts, staples, and spikes. The majority of the other identifiable ferrous metal artifacts suggest agricultural or industrial activities at the site. Supporting artifacts include chain and chain links, pipe, a bridal buckle and horseshoe, an ax head, a pitchfork head, and a hack saw. Lastly, 13 pieces of a stove were also found which suggests a domestic component within the largely agricultural assemblage. The majority of the assemblage was highly corroded and a substantial segment of the assemblage offered little information in regards to function or age.



Figure 10. Assortment of nails and staples

Flat glass and fragmentary sherds that are too small to indicate function were most common within the glass assemblage. Glass artifacts with some diagnostic utility include milk glass canning jar seals, brown/amber beverage bottle glass, and a Pond's milk glass jar fragment. The temporal information offered by these artifacts begins within the settlement period of the site but also extends beyond the abandonment of the site. All are suggestive of food storage and domestic activities. No maker's marks were identified on any of the glass artifacts. A handful of manganese solarized glass and aqua glass sherds were found at the site. These artifacts offer a date range of early nineteenth century to 1930. One complete artifact, a colorless parfait glass bowl was located on site; no specific information could be gleaned from the decorative item.

A total of 29 historical domestic related ceramic sherds were recorded at the site. Whiteware ceramics were the most common within the assemblage followed by porcelain, refined whiteware, and one piece of stone ware. No trademarks were found. The most notable among these was a possible flow blue sherd. While flow blue does not have a concrete bracketed date range, the style was most popular between 1825 and 1862 (University of Utah 1992:473:15). One other unidentified transfer print pattern was found on the site. A substantial number of the sherds at the site display varying levels of potlidding suggesting a possible fire or fires.

A handful of miscellaneous artifacts were also located on the site, some of which may indicate construction including milled wood and concrete slabs which may have been padstones.

Some of the wood appears sub-modern and may have been relocated to the site by Lake Roosevelt. Lastly, two tin cans that are heavily corroded were found at the site.

Previous archaeological and ethnographic investigations at the Charley Bones Allotment site have been less intensive than at the Hidden Beach site (Table 1). Ethnographically, the location of the site was used as a place to look for deer for spring hunting and for wild horses that had been driven to the river (Hartzell 1995). Archaeological reporting is limited to the general identification of historical artifact scatter and the potential identification of a historical wagon road. (The road was looked for as part of this archaeological work, no indication of it was found).

Off Reservation Sites: Latah Creek and Tschimakain Creek Landscape

Latah Creek

The Latah Creek site (45SP266) is a pre-contact to post-contact Spokane Village and historical Euro-American neighborhood. The site is located at the confluence of Latah Creek and the Spokane River near the area known as Peaceful Valley in Spokane City and more traditionally within the Upper Spokane Territory. The confluence of the two waterways creates a peninsula with an elevation that ranges between 1700 and 1740 feet asl. While 45SP266 is located on this narrow peninsula on the west side of Latah Creek and the south side of the Spokane River, the confluence area, on both sides of both water ways, was extensively utilized by Spokane Indians during the historical and pre-contact periods (Elmendorf 1935:Notebook 2, 13). Soil deposits include sand and gravel alluvium, and colluvial silts, sands, and gravels. Native vegetation is dominated by the ponderosa forest plant community with riparian community plants immediately along the waterways. In addition to these plant communities, several ornamental and invasive plant species, which are likely associated with the historical Euro-American occupation of the location, have also been observed.

The Indigenous component of the site has been heavily impacted by historical and modern uses of the locality. During the early twentieth century, the peninsula was the location of a working class neighborhood called the Westgrove Addition. The creation of the houses and businesses in the neighborhood was accompanied by streets, bridges, and a sewer system. The development of the area dramatically impacted the subsurface integrity of the archaeological site. In recent years, Euro-American structures have been demolished, and the site has been the locality of a heavily used primitive park with associated trail system, and improvement projects including a new pedestrian bridge crossing the Spokane River. In addition to the impacts associated with the local infrastructure; the heavy use of the site as a park has resulted in trampling and manipulating of surficial artifacts and features by visitors to the park, including surface collection of artifacts, and

instances of illegal excavation. Natural forces such as flooding and erosion have also adversely affected the integrity of the site. Lastly, the site has endured several episodes of archaeological testing.

A number of archaeological and ethnographic investigations that include the Latah Creek site have been reported on (Table 2). The site was initially archaeologically documented by Marilyn Wyss with the Center for Northwest Anthropology with the Department of Anthropology at Washington State University in 1989 (reported on in 1991) and several subsequent archaeological projects have taken place at the site (Table 2). From these projects, seven involved data recovery which resulted in several archaeological collections most of which are housed at the Washington State Parks archive in Olympia, Washington. The site was listed as NHRP eligible in 2003 (Gough et al. 2003, 2005). A number of additional archaeological sites have been documented around the confluence and are largely separated by the waterways and other natural topographic breaks. While early ethnographers such as Ray (1936), and Elmendorf (1935-1936) all documented ethnohistorical sites in the immediate vicinity of the Latah Creek site, the specific area of 45SP266 was overlooked in those investigations. As a result, the first concrete ethnohistorical documentation of the site was reported on by John Alan Ross in *Archaeology of the Middle Spokane River Valley: Investigations Along the Spokane Centennial Trail* in 1991. Through consultation with Spokane informants, Ross identified three ethnohistorical localities within the site boundaries. The first is the village site known as “*snclugwislx*” which consists of an open area (Ross 1991:B9). Within this ethnohistoric locality is also the known location of a special ceremonial structure associated with “intensification rites associated with salmon fishing: (Ross 1991:B9), the structure is called “*nx a nx om*.” The second ethnographic site identified by Ross is the historical location of a fish trap/weir located on the Spokane River, upstream from the confluence; the site is called “*snx a nx om*” (Ross 1991:B9). The last ethnographic site is a fishing trap in the Spokane River just above the confluence; the site is called *ntu t ulm* (Ross 1991:B10).

The recent visit to the site conducted for the purposes of this project was limited by a number of factors including time and man power, the work therefore was limited to a basic site revisit, limited surface scatter assessment, mapping, and photography. One five meter diameter “dog-leash” style sample unit was inventoried to provide a sample of the type and density of artifacts present at the site. The artifacts encountered in the sample unit included one small unidentifiable porcelain sherd with a blue transfer print pattern, eight glass sherds including two manganese solarized and one aqua sherd, six small chert flakes, and a projectile point. The sample unit was

Table 2: Select archaeological reports at the Latah Creek Site

Year	Report Title	Author and Organization	Data Recovery
1991	Archaeology of the Middle Spokane River Valley: Investigations Along the Spokane Centennial Trail	John A. Draper and William Andrefsky Jr. Center for Northwest Anthropology Department of Anthropology, WSU	Surface Collection
1992	Cultural Resource Survey and Mapping at Two Localities Along the Middle Spokane River	William Andrefsky Jr. Alan D. DePew Center for Northwest Anthropology Department of Anthropology, WSU	12 Shovel Tests
2001	Cultural Resources Survey of the Fairmount Memorial Association's Latah Creek Streambank Stabilization Project, Spokane County, Washington	Stan Gough Archaeology and Historical Services (AHS), EWU	Documentation
2001	Preliminary Results of Shovel Test and Borrowed Sediment Screening Investigations for the Fairmount Memorial Association's Latah Creek Streambank Stabilization Project, Spokane County, Washington	AHS, EWU	35 Shovel Tests; Screening of Disturbed Burrow Area
2002	Cultural Resources Plan for the Fairmount Memorial Association's Latah Creek Streambank Stabilization Project, Spokane County, Washington	AHS, EWU	(Planning Report)
2002	An Archaeological Treatment Plan for the Proposed Spokane River Centennial Trail West Link Project	Dan Meatte, Washington State Parks	(Planning Report)
2002, 2005	Archaeological Test Excavations for the Centennial Trail West Link Project, Spokane County, Washington	Stan Gough, Charles, T. Luttrell, Dana Komen, Ryan S. Ives, Fred Cresson, and Rebecca A. Stevens, AHS, EWU	15 Shovel Tests, 12 Small (50 x 50 cm) Test Units, 4 (1 x 1 m) Test Units
2004, 2005	Cultural Resources Survey and Testing of Phases 1 and 2, Marne Siphon Upgrade and Storm Water Treatment Project, Spokane County, Washington	Pamela McKinney, Ryan Ives, and Stan Gough, AHS, EWU	6 Small (50 x 50 cm) Test Units, 4 (1 x 1 m) Test Units, 3 backhoe trenches
2007	Hangman Creek: 2006 Archaeological Salvage Project	Robert J. David, Jason Jones, R. Lee Lyman, and Lynn Pankonin, The Spokane Tribe of Indians Culture Program	Limited Data Recovery
Unpublished	City of Spokane 45SP266 Data Recovery	AHS, EWU	Unknown Extent

selected based on ground visibility, density of artifacts, and location off of a main path. In addition to the sample unit a visual assessment indicated that the surface scatter is predominately composed of various colors of glass sherds, and lithic debitage. Observed artifacts that potentially would provide specialized information were documented in greater detail. These include a small bifacial scraper tool, a potentially flaked ceramic sherd, potentially flaked glass sherds (Figure 20), and a modified flat piece of metal (Figure 16). Unfortunately, numerous illegal excavation pits were encountered in the Northwest portion of the site and promptly reported. Much of the time spent at 45SP266 in the summer of 2013 was used to document the damage to the site and informing relevant parties. Despite the limitation of resources and the diversion of those resources to address the illegal excavations, some new information was collected, including a detailed map of the fish trap/weir in the Spokane River (Figure 11). In addition to the limited data that was collected in the field, I was also granted access to the “City of Spokane’s 45SP266 Data Recovery” collection and the “Archaeological Test Excavations for the Centennial Trail West Link Project, Spokane County, Washington” collection. Within these collections, I looked at the glass trade beads (Figure 14), glass sherds, the late pre-contact projectile points, a rolled brass artifact (item of personal adornment) (Figure 17), and other miscellaneous artifacts.



Figure 11. Latah Creek site fish weir/trap with modern modification.

Brief Description of Archaeological Materials

The earliest dates from the Latah Creek site are derived from projectile point chronologies; the majority of the identified projectile points were discovered during the most recent AHS “City of Spokane 45SP266 Data Recovery Project” and indicate that the site was extensively used as early as 2000 B.P. (pers. Communication Stan Gough 7/22/2013), and continues through to the late pre-contact period. The collected assemblages of traditionally considered pre-contact artifacts from the various data recovery projects are dominated by various materials of lithic debitage, notched pebbles, bone, shell, fire affected rock, and utilitarian flaked tools such as scrapers, knives, biases, and modified flakes and spalls. During the recent AHS project, a substantial collection of incised and polished bone artifacts were also identified. Discovered pre-contact features include a mussel shell midden (Gough et al. 2002, 2005), and a rock alignment which extends from the confluence into the current of the Spokane River. While the alignment has been heavily modified by swimmers and bathers, the larger boulders are thought to be associated with a fishing trap or weir (Wyss 1989). Post contact artifacts that have been recovered during the various projects include ceramic sherds, glass fragments indicating a number of functions, brick, metal of various kinds and functions, coal, nails, concrete, historical plastic, a leather fragment, glass beads, cut bone, a clay pipe stem, and marbles. The historical features are largely associated with the Westgrove Addition neighborhood which is presently expressed as foundations and partial foundations, a stone wall, remnants of the stays of a railroad bridge (High Bridge), roads, ditches, cellars, a historical dump, and a storm sewer system.

Historical Overview of Latah Creek and Surrounding Area

Archaeological investigations indicate that the area of and surrounding the Latah Creek site has long been an important fishery. Historical accounts reinforce the significance of the place throughout the historical period. In 1832, Ross Cox reported that the Upper Spokanes’ major camps clustered around the Latah Creek and Spokane River confluence, and that the waterways around the confluence provided the backbone of their fishing industry (Cox 1832:85). Just over a hundred years later, William Elmendorf described the fishing trap at the confluence saying that much of the trap was still in place at the time of his ethnographic research (1935-1936:Notebook 2, 13). Verne Ray calls the confluence area “*qu’yu*”, place where the Oregon grape grows (1935-1936: Notebook 3, 136). Just upstream on the Spokane river from “*qu’yu*” was a small winter camp called “*sqami’n*” (1935-1936:Notebook 3, 136).

Politics and circumstance conspired against the Middle and Upper Spokanes during the period of time in the mid to late-nineteenth century when reservation lands were “doled out” to the various native groups. Religious factionalism and turbid relations between the missionaries and the

Indians and among the missionaries effectively divided the Spokanes whom had converted (Ross 2011:64-65). During a meeting at Spokane Falls in 1877 between the U.S. Army and local tribal leaders, Captain Wickinson said: [I] “have heard that you have trouble about your religious Catholic and Protestant [options], There are more ways than one to [get to] Lewiston some choice [sic] to go by trails, some by wagon road no matter only so you get to Lewiston so no matter if you only get to Heaven, take some road it don’t matter so much which one only so you go get there (Watkins et al. 1877). While the Upper and Middle Spokane had initially hoped for their own reservation, the initial plans for the Spokane Reservation were greatly reduced to its present boundaries which was largely considered the Lower Spokane Reservation (Ross 2011:74). As a result, they stayed in their traditional areas, or set up homesteads which were frequently revoked by Euro-American homesteaders (the Deep Creek colony among these casualties). By the late nineteenth century, many of the Middle and Upper Spokanes were left with limited and excessively compromising options as Euro-Americans increasingly encroached on their usual and accustomed places and lifestyles (Ross 2011:74; Ruby and Brown 2006:196-197, 206).

The area around the Latah Creek confluence was a well-established Middle and Upper Spokane off-reservation holdout. The community existed in an area now known as Indian Canyon (Figure 12) which was located on both sides of the creek and the river with some considerable distance along the water ways in all directions (Ruby and Brown 2006:199). A small group of Spokanes retained residence in the area as late as 1911 (Ruby and Brown 2006:253). While many of the Indians did have allotments on reservations, they chose to live in the places that had likely been at or near their youthful permanent or seasonal homes. Restrictions to their lifestyles resulting from hostilities with transplanted Euro-Americans left many destitute (Ruby and Brown 2006:252).

By 1910, Sanborn Maps of the city of Spokane show the area as a working class neighborhood amidst a rapidly growing city (Sanborn Map Company 1910). The neighborhood, called the Westgrove Addition (Larson 1991:2:1) was largely residential, however some small businesses, including a cleaning business existed within its boundaries (Sanborn Map Company 1910). The east end of the area was cut through by a railroad bridge, known as High Bridge. By the 1960s the neighborhood was razed (Larson 1991:2:2), and by 1977, the site had become a primitive city park (People’s Park Sign).



Figure 12. Spokane tepee in the snow, possibly Indian Canyon, Spokane Washington. Courtesy of Northwest Museum of Arts & Culture/ Eastern Washington State Historical Society, Spokane, WA; Image Negative Number: L94-14.97

Tschimakain Creek Confluence Landscape

Three sites were documented in the vicinity of the Tschimakain Creek confluence with the Spokane River over the course of five days with the help of Kiley Molinari and Mairee McInnes. The Tschimakain Creek sites are located on private land and while only one site, 45ST228 was initially targeted, conversations with Ken Weddle, the overseer of the property, Randy Abrahamson, the Spokane THPO, and James Harrison, an archaeologist from STI APP indicated that two additional sites within the vicinity are known locally but had not been recorded by an archaeologist. These sites were therefore also targeted for work with the expectation that collectively the group of sites would provide a greater understanding of historical Spokane Indian life off of the reservation. These other two sites included a historical trail, and the remains of a historical stone structure.

45ST228 was initially recorded by Harvey Rice with WARC in 1978. The 1978 documentation was very limited and indicated that the site possesses a “number of housepits and possible house platforms” (Rice 1978). The site exists within the vicinity of Verne Ray’s Spokane village called “*ap̓p̓p̓st̓a’n*”, where a grass grows. Ray writes that the site was a small winter settlement within the Middle Spokane territory (Ray 1936: 135). Furthermore, Elmendorf talks about the great quantities of fish that were caught at Tschimakain Creek (1935-1936: Notebook 2,

21). Informed discussions with locals indicated that fish weirs/traps exist within the vicinity of the sites we recorded; however, unfortunately, we did not see any evidence of fishing technologies during the time we spent on the Tschimakain landscape.

The earliest historical documentation of the area exists as land patents at the Stevens County assessor's office in Colville, Washington. The first patent in the area was issued in 1909 to C.W. Connel (Patent Book N.d.). No documentation was found to suggest that any of the early land owners in the area were married to a Spokane Indian. At the time of the early twentieth century patents, the area was, and remains rural and minimally developed.

45ST228

The 2013 documentation of 45ST228 identified a total of 86 artifacts, six features, seven non-featured depressions, a USGS gaging station, and historically disturbed areas. The site is located on a long bench on the north side and immediately above the Spokane River just upstream from the confluence with Tschimakain Creek. The site is primarily populated by a ponderosa forest; however non-native ornamentals were identified at the site. Soil deposits are primarily alluvially deposited sandy loam overlain with dense humic debris that obscured the surface visibility of the site. The site is cut through by an infrequently used two track road and a sub-modern camp fire ring was observed at one end of the site. Within the rock ring was a burned aluminum can, and charcoal.

Artifact tallies include 16 glass sherds, five ceramic sherds, ten pieces of fragmentary ferrous metal, three possible fish bones and one possible fish scale, one wooden sign frame nailed to a tree, a handle of a toy gun wired to a tree, two cement padstones, three pieces of lithic debitage, seven pieces of fire affected rock, 19 cans or can fragments and 18 pieces of mussel shell. Collectively, the assemblage, features, and historical data suggests two, non-related occupations at the site: a pre-contact Indigenous component, and an early twentieth century Euro-American component. Most of the artifacts relate to the historical Euro-American component and indicate that the site was a domicile. (Note: see Addendum A for complete list of artifacts). Much of the historical component does not appear to be in situ as push piles were observed over the area of greatest density.

The pre-contact component consisted of five featured circular or semi-circular depressions that are suspected to be semi-subterranean pit houses. In addition to the featured depressions, seven more depressions that are not as well defined on the surface were also identified within the area of featured depressions. All the depressions are located at the edge of the terrace with a good southern exposure overlooking the Spokane River. In addition to the depressions, two probable culturally modified trees were also identified at the site. One of the trees was located in the immediate vicinity of the depressions. Within the assemblage, three pieces of lithic debitage, and seven pieces of fire

affected rock were also found. The features and artifacts associated with the pre-contact component are insufficient to give provide greater temporal information. While a number of mussel shell and fish remains were found at the site, it is suspected, because of the presence of a nesting pair of Bald Eagles in the immediate vicinity of the site, that the organic remains are not cultural. Greater testing would be required to derive more information about the pre-contact component of the site.

UI-HR13-01 and UI-HR13-02

Two additional sites were recorded on the Tschimakain Landscape. The first of these was the remains of a two room historical stone structure. Local knowledge understands the structure to be a very early military fort (personal communication Ken Wendle, and Randy Abrahamson) however; no historical documentation could be found to support this claim. Located nearby to the structure was a historical dump dominated by twentieth century cans, a large agricultural field that has long been fallowed (and is no longer in used for agricultural purposes), and a gravel road that travels into and out of the Spokane Reservation from its eastern boundary. The structure is located on a hill top at the edge of a ravine that descends down to Tschimakain Creek. Recent illegal excavation pits were observed within the structure. Additional testing would be required to identify the original nature of the site.

The second new site that was documented during the course of fieldwork at the Tschimakain landscape is a segment of historical trail (Figure 13). Local knowledge understands the trail to have been a long used Indian trail that was then used by the military (under the assumption that the stone structure was a military fort) (personal communication Ken Wendle). The trail goes by a singular depression (possible house pit), and above 45ST228 and was likely associated with the site. The modern incantation of the trail is lined with rocks and has been expanded upon with a series of new trails for the purposes of the Union Gospel camp at the site.



Figure 13. UI-HR13-02, historical trail. The rocks lining the trail are modern.

CHAPTER SIX: INTERPRETATION

The previous chapter discussed the materials and features that have been documented (both during the fieldwork for this project and in previous projects). I also explored how those features and artifacts relate to the documented histories of those sites, the areas around those sites, and the some of the people who lived there. This data has told us little that the historical record has not already informed on. When compared and contrasted the material culture from the sites can inform on how life on the Spokane Reservation during the historical period compared to life off of the reservation during the historical period. As Ann Smart Martin wrote: “the study of material culture is about the way people live their lives through, by, around, in spite of, in pursuit of, in denial of, and because of the material world. The venture [archaeology] is premised on the proposition that artifacts are integral to cultural behavior” (1996:5). Archaeologists tend to avoid speculative interpretations of material culture in the name of science, and to avoid dismissive critiques. However, because of the limited data, and the understanding of the material culture of historical Plateau Indians is not well documented in archaeological, historical, or ethnographic records; I am taking some liberties with the available data. Hopefully, even with these liberties, insight will be gained about post-contact life on and off of the Spokane Reservation.

A Note on the Data from the Archaeological Sites

Across all of the sites, one major problem plagued this project: which of the traditionally considered pre-contact artifacts and features (namely the flakes, tools, and fishing technologies) are late pre-contact or protohistoric and which of them, or are any of them historical? In regards to the reservation sites, this quandary was largely out of my control as I was prohibited from interacting with considered pre-contact materials. The off-reservation sites, however present a much greater challenge. Specifically, the Latah Creek site is a location of long standing antiquity and has the added challenge of substantially disturbed archaeological contexts. It is my belief that historic Spokane Indians did use their “traditional” materials and technologies just as historical accounts tell us that they employed “traditional” activities. These materials from the Latah Creek site will be discussed in further detail below, however they are not incorporated into the comparison.

Hidden Beach and The Charley Bones Allotment site are heavily impacted; however despite the mitigation of specific contexts and the exclusion of traditional materials the sites are suitable candidates for comparison with off-reservation historical Spokane Indian sites. The sites possess a well-established history; a sufficient assemblage of artifacts, and to a lesser extent, features; and an irrefutable cultural and temporal affiliation. Conversely, the off-reservation sites, particularly the

Latah Creek site (as the principal site for the study), are much less ideally suited for comparison with the on-reservation sites. Even though some historical Spokane Indian material culture can be inferred, impacts to surface and sub-surface archaeological deposits, and the research that has been conducted substantially limit the capacity of this project.

The Off-Reservation Sites

The Tschimakain Creek Sites

Unfortunately, 45ST228 does not possess historical or archaeological data to suggest a historical Spokane Indian component. The recorded artifacts seem to relate to the early twentieth century occupation of the site by Euro-American settlers as indicated by historical maps and records (Patent Book N.d.). The Indigenous component is largely identifiable by the depression features and the cambium peeled trees. Only a small spattering of related artifacts, fire affected rocks and three pieces of lithic debitage, relate to the Indigenous component. The artifacts offer no temporal information, but the depression features are suspected to be pit houses which were used on the Columbia Plateau from 5000 BC to the late pre-contact period (Ross 2011:203; Ames et al. 1998:111). Testing of the site may yield a more comprehensive picture of the use of the site; however, within the scope of the work that has been done for this project, 45ST228 does not contribute to this study. Similarly, UI-HR13-01, the two room historical structure with associated trash dump does not contribute to the study. While the original function of the structure is unknown, and does warrant further investigation, that work cannot be included in this study. The only site that can tentatively be included in this study from among the sites recorded at the Tschimakain Creek landscape sites is UI-HR13-02, the trail segment. The trail appears to be present on the 1890 General Land Office map, however the affiliated survey notes do not mention the trail, possible use, or affiliation (Wisner 1887) local knowledge understands the trail to have been used by local Indians in antiquity (personal communication with Ken Weddle).

While two of the three sites documented in the vicinity of the Tschimakain Creek confluence with the Spokane River have had to be thrown out of the data set, historical, ethnographic, local, and Indigenous knowledge suggests that there was a historical Spokane Indian presence on the Tschimakain Creek landscape. Indeed, conversations with locals alerted us to other locally known, but archaeologically undocumented sites in the vicinity of the three sites that we did document in 2013. Unfortunately time constraints prevented us from working at those possible sites in 2013. While scant evidence of a historical Spokane Indian archaeological footprint was documented on the Tschimakain Creek landscape, I still suspect that a historical Spokane site or site component exists on the Tschimakain landscape.

The Latah Creek Site

As previously mentioned, the Latah Creek site was a challenge due to the compromised surface and subsurface archaeological contexts and the ambiguity of the historical use of “traditional” materials and technologies. Furthermore, despite the impacts to the site, there is clear evidence in the form of projectile points and other temporal markers that the site was very clearly used thousands of years ago. Similarly, the use of the area by early Euro-American Spokane city inhabitants, as evidenced by historical photographs, maps, and census data, is irrefutable. Additionally, the historic Euro-American use of the site has not been as impacted as earlier occupations. Even though this occupation has not been the subject of much archaeological inquiry, the streets are still present and households can still be identified. Because of ambiguity of the subject matter of this study, arguably the archaeological remains of the historical Spokanes are perhaps most impacted. It does seem clear, however, that within the various assemblages and documentation efforts, the material culture of the historical Spokane Indians whom lived in and around the area is represented. As a result of the archaeological ambiguity, only a handful of artifacts are included in this discussion. Generally, these materials include a handful of potentially modified artifacts (Figures 15, 16, 17), and glass trade beads (Figure 14). Other artifact that will be discussed in lesser detail include the late pre-contact points, the incised bone and some of the earlier Euro-American derived artifacts identified in the “City of Spokane 45SP266 Data Recovery” project (N.d.).

As previous investigations at the Latah Creek site have not reported on a historical Indigenous archaeological component even as they have acknowledged this history, it is incumbent upon me to explain why I am including the materials I am including, and excluding the materials I am not considering for this study. The historical Indigenous use of glass as a material to flint knap in lieu of “traditional” lithic materials is well established (Clark 1981; Gibbs and Harrison 2008). Among the Spokanes, and indeed among other inland Plateau Indigenous groups, the use of glass as a knappable material is not documented; however several pieces of possible flaked glass (Figure 15, 20), and one possibly flaked ceramic sherd were observed at the site. These will be discussed in greater detail below. Two pieces of modified metal will also be discussed (Figure 16). Within the EWU AHS “City of Spokane 45SP266 Data Recovery” project, seven glass trade beads were collected (Figure 14). Glass trade beads occur early on in the post-contact Plateau and were highly coveted and heavily traded among the Plateau Indians. In her autobiography, Mourning Dove writes (a bit dramatically) “the appeal of cheap beads and bright cloth was too much of a lure for the innocent Indians of that period” (Mourning Dove and Miller 1994:3). Glass beads were a common trade good among the early trappers and traders, but were not much incorporated into interactions

between the missionaries and later the settlers' and the local Indigenous populations. Therefore, glass trade beads primarily occur within two archaeological contexts on the Plateau: at sites affiliated with early trappers and traders and at sites affiliated with historical Indigenous groups. As there is no historical documentation or archaeological evidence to suggest an early trapper/trader presence at the site, and there is historical evidence to suggest a historical Indigenous presence at the site, then the logic follows that the beads recovered at the site belonged to the Indians at the site. A recovered rolled metal artifact appears to be brass, and while the original function of the object is unknown, the artifact is decorated with a floral vine design and appears to be folded over creating a tube and may have been used as a bead, tinkler, or other item of personal adornment.



Figure 14. Glass trade beads from Latah Creek site. Courtesy of Washington State Parks and Recreation Commission, Artifact ID's clockwise from top right: 5534, 5605, 5554, 5567, 5513, 5533, and 5553. Photographer: Hannah Russell. Date: 9/3/2013.

While “traditional” materials and technologies cannot be addressed for the on-reservation sites, and there is therefore no basis for comparison, the more “traditional” materials at the Latah Creek site that may have been used historically should be mentioned. These include the late pre-contact projectile points and the incised and polished bone pieces. In his 1973 Master's thesis, David Chance writes that by 1829, the Indians in the Colville District were still primarily using stone for the manufacture of projectile points (1973:41). Since the report for the EWU AHS “City of



Figure 15. Latah Creek site, possible flaked glass artifact.

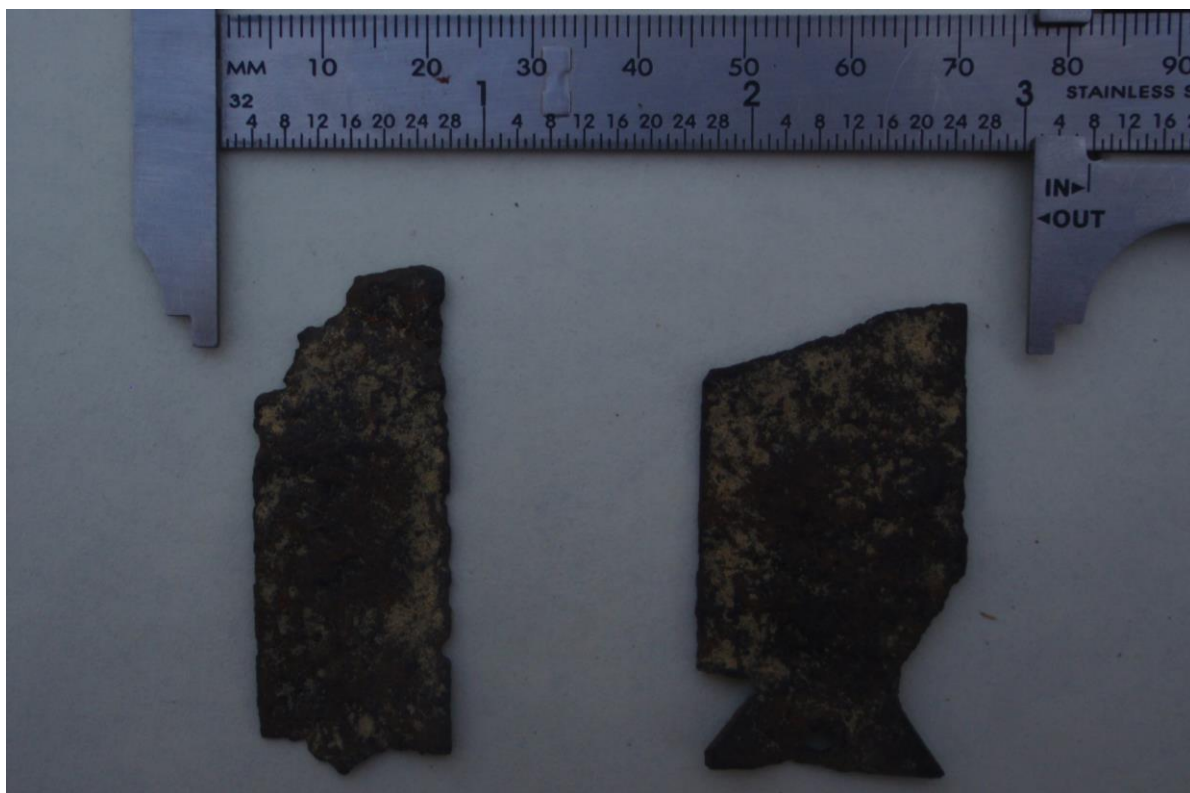


Figure 16. Latah Creek site; modified metal artifacts.



Figure 17. Latah Creek site, modified metal artifact for personal adornment. Courtesy of Washington State Parks and Recreation Commission, Artifact ID: 615. Photographer: Hannah Russell. Date: 9/3/2013.

Spokane 45SP226 Data Recovery” project has not been completed and an early draft was not available to me, the context for these artifacts, as with other artifacts from this project that I am including in this study, is presently unknown to me. “Site 45SP266[‘s] stratigraphy is complex, not only because of the natural variability, but also because of historical disturbance...The effect on site sediments and cultural deposits...are obviously deleterious; however the horizontal extent of the disturbance is not well understood. Site 45SP266 stratigraphy is a mosaic of natural intact and bioturbated sediments and of historically disturbed sediments (Gough et al. 2003, 2005:50). As such, some of the “traditional” late-pre-contact or protohistoric artifacts (or all of the artifacts) may have a firm pre-contact affiliation, and other’s contexts may be more ambiguous. Either way, it is firmly understood from historical sources that hunting, fishing, and gaming, all pre-contact activities, continued throughout the historical period. Early in the post-contact period, many Plateau Indians obtained guns, which took the place of previous methods of hunting, most notably the bow and arrow (Chance 1973:104). When furs became thin, and even more so, when the fur trade died out on the Columbia Plateau, the Plateau Indians were faced with a scarcity of ammunition, repair parts, and other Euro-American derived goods (Chance 1973:37; Ruby and Brown 2006:120). As the fur trade

in the interior Northwest was relatively short lived, most Plateau Indians whom had taken up the Euro-American derived tools and goods, very likely retained the skills and knowledge necessary to reemploy, as necessary, the “traditional” hunting technologies. It cannot be explicitly ruled out that the styles of late pre-contact points were not used during the historical period.

Similarly a number of incised bone pieces have been collected in the process of the previous archaeological testing and excavation projects (Figure 18). Brian Hayden and Rick Schulting write that these types of items, as both gaming and decorative pieces, were items of prestige during the late pre-contact period (1997:58) and were indicative of an emerging elite class. This trend continued into the protohistoric and post-contact period as the accumulation of horses became a measure of wealth and prestige. Furthermore, Ross writes of a detailed description of a dice game in the 1930’s whose gaming pieces were incised bones and teeth (2011:519). Other historical accounts discuss the Plateau Indian’s propensity for gambling. Obviously, the incised bone artifacts, which are indicative of a “late pre-contact” occupation, were equally as valid in Spokane culture after Euro-American contact.



Figure 18. Latah Creek site incised bone artifacts. Courtesy of Washington State Parks and Recreation Commission, Artifact ID’s clockwise from top: 2695, 1301, 1007, 2626, and 1470. Photographer: Hannah Russell. Date: 9/4/2013.

The fishing technologies devised by the Spokanes and other Plateau Indians were highly efficient in acquiring large amounts of fish. Historical accounts indicate that these systems were in place and used by the Plateau peoples throughout the post-contact period. Furthermore, as Ray writes “a few villages... had been abandoned as early as 1880 but major displacement did not occur until after the turn of the [twentieth] century” (1932:99-100). At the Latah Creek site, as discussed in Chapter 5, a probable fish trap/weir is still present in the Spokane River immediately above the Latah Creek confluence. Undoubtedly, this feature was used post-contact; particularly when Ray’s nearby fishing village locations are taken into account. While Ray did not name the Latah Creek site as one of his ethnographic villages, he writes of another village upstream Latah Creek and one upstream on the Spokane River. He writes that “many of the villages... were birth places or residences of informants themselves or were visited by them during youth” (1932:99). Ray’s ethnography indicates that the sites that were made known to him were lived in in the old ways well into the nineteenth century. Certainly this would have been the case at the Latah Creek site as well.

Interpretation of Historical Indigenous Archaeological Sites

Archaeologists employ multiple lines of evidence to interpret archaeological sites including applying various other academic disciplines, statistical strategies, and theoretical perspectives. Generally, these strategies require either a substantial amount of data, existing results from similar studies, and/or substantial knowledge of the culture, their materials, and their practices. Archaeological inquiries of the sites in this study cannot be applied to any of these standards cleanly. Indeed, the material culture of historical Indigenous sites generally seems to be ill defined, or undefined; as a result these types of sites or site components tend to be overlooked by the archaeological community (Trigger 1969; Leone et al.; Cabak and Loring 2000). This seems to be particularly so within the ancestral territory of the Spokanes.

A defining question in archaeology is “what do the material remains say about the unit?” (person, family, society, etcetera). Within historical archaeology, an equally commonly asked question is “what do the material remains say about consumer choice?” “The market-oriented consumer-choice framework provides a theoretical basis for hypothesizing connections between site-specific archaeological data and levels of cultural behavior from the household to cultural subgroups and the national market. It forms a conceptual bridge between archaeological recovery and cultural behavior” (Spencer-Wood 1987:9). Consumer choice is influenced by market availability, cost, and advertising and marketing (Foxall 2007). The modern condition indicates that clearly, marketing and advertising has a tremendous effect on consumer choice. Advertising, however is reliant on two major things: a capitalist market based economy (Spencer-Wood 1987:1), and an understanding of

culture. The tactics used to market a set of dishes or a certain type of tool to a middle class family in Spokane Valley in 1870 could not be expected to be as effective to a contemporary Spokane Indian family. Furthermore, the Spokanes were new to the concepts of capitalism during the nineteenth century. Nor was it particularly geared towards American Indians. The choices of goods and services available to the Spokanes and other historical Indigenous groups were highly regulated, and/or used to manipulate or disempower. Prime examples of this include alcohol, education, and land. Very early on, Euro-Americans were discouraged from selling alcohol to the Plateau Indians (Ross 2011:53). Throughout the historical period, the sale to and use of alcohol by Plateau Indians was highly frowned upon.

Early on, education was very significantly tied to religion. Both were used or withheld to impose cultural and behavioral Euro-American standards on the students (Brunson 2012:28). At the Fort Spokane Indian Boarding School, education was used to assimilate and determine the economic opportunities of the Spokane and Colville youth. The subject matter was highly regulated and restricted to applied, lower level economic positions (Brunson 2012:28). As a commodity, the education the Spokane children received was highly regulated and forced as the children were not permitted to leave and were tracked down if they ran away. As captive audiences their choice to consume the education was nonexistent; furthermore, the limited education they received prepared the students for little economic opportunity thereby limiting their future consumer choices.

Land may have been the most significant commodity for the historical Spokanes as well as other Plateau Indians. Notably, the idea of space as a commodity was a complete shift from their traditional understanding of land; the very nature of the seasonal round required shared access to land and resources. As demonstrated previously in chapter two, Euro-Americans used land to compromise cultural ties and to disempower Indians through a myriad of ways. Indian peoples were forced to renounce their Indigenous cultural ties in order to claim homesteads off the reservation. Many of their off-reservation homesteads were revoked by encroaching Euro-Americans. The development of the reservation and the Dawes Act, and the false promise of a Middle and Upper Spokane reserve were all ways that Euro-Americans undermined Northwest Indigenous culture through land. Conversely, the Spokanes used land as a basis of power. The holdout at and around the Latah Creek site, and the Deep Creek Colony's move to a traditional place along the river on the reservation are excellent examples of their assertion of power with land.

Understanding that the ways goods and services were made available to the Spokane differed from how they were made available to their Euro-American neighbors makes a discussion about the consumer choices of the Spokanes complicated. There are many variables that are difficult to account for, and many exceptions to the way archaeologists typically try to understand consumer

choice. While this study does not deeply delve into the consumer choices of Spokanes, identifying that they did engage in consumerism while still maintaining “traditional” ways of obtaining goods and services has tremendous archaeological value.

Comparison of On and Off Reservation Attributes:

Despite the numerous theoretical and data based challenges that faced this project, there are attributes of the sites and material culture that can be compared. Generally, three aspects of a central theme were observed—using new means to enact traditional cultural values. A number of artifacts indicate that new materials were used in old ways. These include fire affected brick, ornamental artifacts, and the possibility of flaked glass. The Asian ceramics and the glass beads suggest that the Spokanes continued to barter in the historical period. Lastly, the location of the historical sites on pre-contact localities suggests that a connection to place remained important on and off the reservation in the historical period. A second theme was less concretely observed—that of architecture. While no historical evidence of architecture was observed at the off-reservation sites, two architectural structures were identified at the Hidden Beach site.

It is well documented that many American Indian groups incorporated new Euro-American derived goods in “traditional” ways; what Frey calls “adaptive traditionalism” (N.d.:122). Several possible examples of this sort of repurposing were found throughout the project. The fire affected and edge-rounded brick (Figure 19) found at the Hidden Beach site was located within a scatter of fire affected rock. As mentioned in Chapter Five, Chance first identified a thermal feature at the site in 1967. While there is not a sufficiently detailed map or photograph of the thermal feature from the initial documentation effort to relocate the feature, the observed scatter of fire affected rock with the fire affected brick may be that previously identified feature. While I could not find any archaeological literature that discussed the use of bricks in Indigenous thermal features, the tribal monitor that I worked with told me that the best stones for sweat baths were round and porous cobbles (personal communication 2013). The very nature of a brick is quite porous and the edges of the brick had been rounded down. Furthermore, in “Huckleberries: Stories from the American Indian Experience”, Rodney Frey writes of a Lakota holy man who created a sweat lodge in a downtown Denver hotel room during the earlier part of the twentieth century. He used the chairs and blankets to create the superstructure, and some loose bricks from the fireplace as the stones to ladle water over (Frey N.d.:122). Bricks were cheap and easy to acquire, perhaps the use of them in sweatbaths or for cooking was more common than a single historically documented event might suggest.



Figure 19. Hidden Beach site, fire affected and edge rounded brick.

During the fieldwork, at the Latah Creek site, four pieces of potentially flaked glass (Figure 15) and one potentially flaked ceramic sherd were documented. Within the “City of Spokane 45SP266 Data Recovery” project one piece of potentially flaked glass, and four glass flakes (Figure 20) were collected. At the Hidden Valley site, one piece of potentially flaked glass was documented. During the process of the DAHP SAW file search, and the general literature search, I found no mention of flaked glass within the ancestral territory of the Spokanes, or the interior Columbia Plateau. While glass does possess properties that make it a good knapping material, and was widely used for that purpose post-contact (Deal and Hayden 1987:248-249), caution does need to be exercised when determining culturally flaked glass and glass that is flaked as the result of trampling, erosion, and general abrasion. Several archaeologists have conducted experiments to try and recreate flaking patterns and use wear (Clark 1981; Clemente Conte and Gómez Romero 2008). While Clark’s analysis of his experimental archaeology was limited to the form of the flake scars and the context of excavated flaked glass (1981:32); Clemente Conte and Gómez Romero’s analysis was much more detailed. The authors analyzed the edges of their experimental pieces under a microscope and found that at that level, significant differences could be seen in the edges of the trampled versus flaked pieces of glass (2008:251). Unfortunately, that level of analysis could not be accommodated in this work. As a result, for my own analysis of the potentially flaked glass artifacts, I looked at the regularity and patterning of flake scars as Clark did, as well as the visible edge use

wear with the assistance of a 10x's magnifying loop, but I also considered the artifact form and the potential usability of the artifact. Of the five pieces of flaked glass and one ceramic sherd, only one artifact (Figure 15), from the Latah Creek site, appeared to have been possibly used as a tool. If this artifact truly was a glass tool, the artifact is yet another example of adaptive traditionalism among the Spokanes.



Figure 20. Latah Creek site, possible glass flakes. Courtesy of Washington State Parks and Recreation Commission, Artifact ID's: left-most flake is 158, remaining three are 468. Photographer: Hannah Russell. Date: 9/3/2013.

During the recent “City of Spokane 45SP266 Data Recovery” project, seven glass beads were collected during excavation (Figure 14). Included within this small collection are three cylindrical drawn beads, two faceted drawn beads, one spherical drawn bead, and one ellipsoidal wound bead. In addition, there is a probable brass artifact that has been folded around and may have been used as a bead, tinkler, or unknown item of personal adornment (Figure 17). Also included within the collection were seven stone beads. In addition to stone, beads, and similar ornamentation objects were made from bone, porcupine quills, shells, and copper. All were highly valued as they required trade and or a great deal of work to create. During the fur trading period, glass beads could be acquired with relatively greater ease, and were available in a variety of colors. The Plateau Indians used beads for a number of different uses including ceremonial clothing, moccasins, buckskin sacks for carrying infants, as well as personal adornment (Ross 2011:109, 484, 497).

Chance writes, however, that during the fur trading period, it is very likely that the Plateau Indians retained their traditional style of dress (1973:37), even as the glass beads may have allowed for greater ornamentation. After the fur trading period came to a close, glass beads may have been more difficult to come by, Chance suggests that even late in the fur trading period, when the sale of trinkets declined due to the dwindling fur mammal population, the market was never likely saturated (1973:37). While there is not a date associated with the rolled brass artifact, it likely has a manufacture date that was much later than the beads. Perhaps this artifact represents a continued demand for personal adornment.

Beads were widely traded between the early fur traders and the Northwest Indians, and also between the Indians. As established in Chapter two, trade and bartering was commonplace among the pre-contact Plateau Indians, and the Spokanes especially served as middle men; making trade a particularly important part of pre-contact Spokane life. As Chance writes, the gambling and trade systems employed by the trading companies in the early nineteenth century largely fit right in with the Plateau Indians; only the concept of credit and to a lesser extent, currency were introduced (1973:50). During the pre-contact period, and likely continuing well into the historical period, personal adornment items were traded commonly. Marine shells, copper, and nephrite were all highly coveted materials (Browman and Munsell 1969:257; Hayden and Shulting 1997:58). The inclusion of glass beads and even of the fur traders in Indigenous trade networks during the historical period is a natural extension of the pre-contact trading system.

While no beads were found on the reservation sites, other items that suggest trade were encountered. The probable Chinese food barrel jar sherd (Figure 21) and the Japanese rice bowl sherd (Figure 22) suggest that the reservation Spokanes traded with the local Chinese and Japanese populations that first came into the area with railroads and for mining. As Ross writes, in the late nineteenth century, an unknown number of Overseas Chinese mined and panned for gold on the southern and western boundaries of the Spokane Reservation, further testament to their relationship with reservation Spokanes included the remains of an unmarked Chinese cemetery on the reservation (2011:70). Ross continues “elders recalled their grandparents saying how honest the Chinese were in any of their dealings” (2011:70). While U.S. embargoes on China and Japan in the 1940’s prevented the acquisition of new goods from China and Japan, available ethnographic evidence suggests that the population of Chinese that lived and mined along the Spokane River in the vicinity of the Spokane Reservation dwindled by the twentieth century which suggests that the sherds were acquired in the nineteenth century.

The last element of adaptive traditionalism observed in the course of this project revolves around place. The Hidden Beach site on the reservation, and the Latah Creek and Tschimakain

Creek trail sites (UI-HR13-03) off of the reservation are all located on ancestral localities. The historical use of these places suggests a number of things. Firstly, as previously mentioned, place was seemingly used as an element of power and agency for the historical Spokanes. Spokane Garry, who died in 1892 in his teepee near the location of the Latah Creek site was an excellent example of this. As Ruby and Brown write “he left an estate of ten lean and “flea-bitten” cayuses—and a childlike faith that the white man would eventually do the right thing and compensate him and his people for the land they had taken” (2006:200). Furthermore, as Basso (1996), Frey (2001) and others have written, and as was covered previously in Chapter three of this thesis, place is integral to American Indigenous cultures. For the Spokanes, this was demonstrated throughout history—it mattered when the fur traders set up shop, throughout the Indian wars in Washington and Idaho, when reservation lands were debated and established, when the Grand Coulee Dam was built, and continues to matter to this day. In the first part of the twentieth century, near the vicinity of the Latah Creek site, five Spokane Indians remained as the last vestiges of the Indigenous holdout. All five had allotments either on the Spokane or Coeur d’Alene Reservations, yet they decided to remain at the Latah Creek confluence (Ruby and Brown 2006:252-253). Coupled with the establishment of the West End community on the reservation in the vicinity of an important pre-contact, village, these historical places suggest that the location still held a great deal of value to both the historical reservation and off-reservation Spokanes. Even when considering their compromised circumstances—the Deep Creek Spokanes had been kicked out of their Deep Creek homes, and the Dawes Act infringed on their ability to utilize the reservation lands in ways otherwise deemed appropriate by government policies; place was important.

At the Hidden Beach site on the reservation, two historical architectural features were documented—a presumed house and a church. Within the body of historical literature, there is suggestion that tools and equipment were sought, if not procured, for the development (construction and agriculture) of the reservation. There is some evidence to indicate that the Colville agency worked to develop some housing for the nineteenth century Spokanes on the Spokane and Coeur d’Alene Reservations (Ruby and Brown 2006:207). That said the pre-inundation assessment of the West End only listed very modest structures (Jones and Pankonin 2007). It cannot be said, either from archaeological evidence, historical documentation, or photographic evidence whether or not the West End Spokanes used teepees on the reservation homesteads.



Figure 21. Hidden Beach site, interior and exterior views of the possible Chinese food barrel sherd.

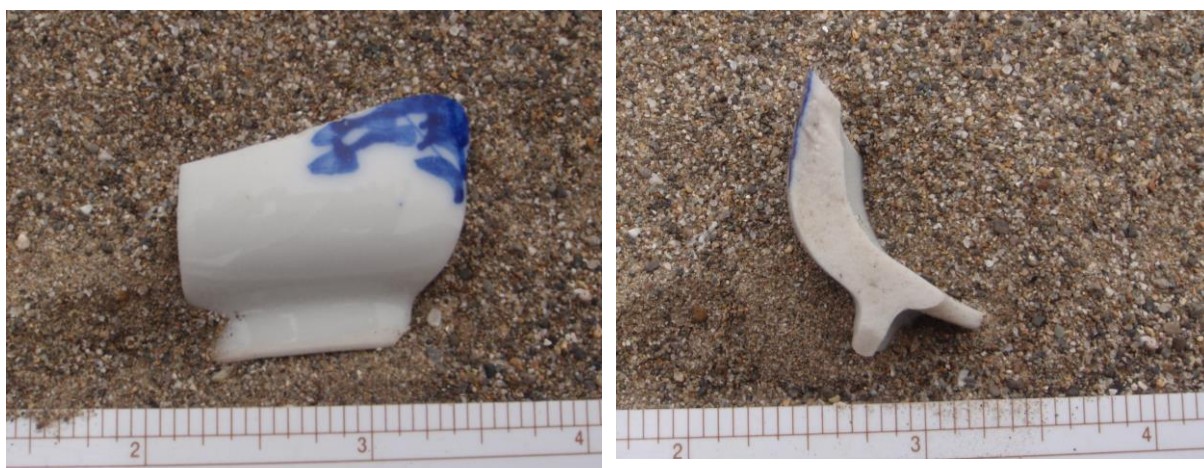


Figure 22. Hidden Beach site, exterior and profile view of possible pre-embargo Japanese rice bowl.



Figure 23. Japanese rice bowls and Chinese food jar. Courtesy of the Asian American Heritage Collection.

At the Latah Creek site, there does not appear to be any architectural remains. However photographic evidence strongly indicates that the historical off-reservation Spokanes primarily used skin and canvas teepees (Figure 12). The architectural style is based on the teepees from the plains Indians; the plains style teepees frequently have an archaeological footprint in the form of a rock teepee ring (Malouf 1961:381). Archaeological and historical data suggest, however, that the Plateau style teepees did not leave behind the telltale teepee ring. In fact, I have not been able to find any archaeological reporting on teepees on the Plateau, and very little historical information on the construction of Plateau style teepees. Despite the lack of archaeological evidence, the possibility, and indeed probability, of teepees at the Latah Creek site, or other sites on and off the reservation cannot be discounted. This might be the one archaeologically observable element that was divergent between the on-reservation and off-reservation sites. Assuming that the Latah Creek site was a residential site, this divergence can be interpreted in a handful of ways. Firstly, the reservation Spokanes may have resigned themselves or willingly aligned themselves to agricultural sedentism associated with brick or stick built architecture, while the off-reservation Spokanes retained a more traditional style of habitation that lent itself to greater mobility and the representation of the traditional seasonal round. Or possibly, the off-reservation Spokanes were disallowed use of their ancestral landscape in traditional ways and the encroachment and continued development of Spokane City around them actively forced them to remain in transient style settlements.

CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSION

As a case study, this project presents a limited picture of the similarities between the lives and opportunities of the historical on and off reservation Spokane Indians. Indeed, the sites on the reservation within the Cornelius landscape offer a very specific view of the historical Spokanes. Certainly the experiences of the Deep Creek Spokanes were vastly different from others who settled on the Spokane reservation, or other Spokanes who settled on the Colville, Coeur d'Alene, or Flathead reservations. Similarly, the Latah Creek site represents a holdout of Spokanes who chose not to remove to reservations. Certainly their experiences would have been different from a Spokane family that may have been able to successfully homestead, or within the Spokane villages that were abandoned well into the nineteenth century due to Euro-American encroachment. Despite this, this case study has informed on some of the types of materials that reservation Spokanes had access to, some of the types of economic practices they maintained, and some limited information about settlement patterns on the reservation.

To develop and undertake the project first required that I obtain permission to do the research with the Spokane Tribe. I conducted a review of historical and archaeological literature utilizing primary sources, ethnographies, academic histories and articles, and the Washington DAHP WISAARD archaeological files online. I employed critical race theory and the tenets of Indigenous archaeology to devise a research strategy and methodology for interpreting the data. Two archaeological sites were documented on the reservation by me as I was accompanied by a tribal monitor, and three sites were documented off the reservation with the assistance of two graduate student volunteers. To supplement the data I also analyzed the archaeological collections associated with the "Archaeological Test Excavations for the Centennial Trail West Link Project, Spokane County, Washington" (2002, 2005) and the "City of Spokane 45SP266 Data Recovery" (N.d.) project at the Archaeological and Historical Services at Eastern Washington University, in Cheney, Washington.

The stated intent of this project was threefold—firstly I sought to produce a body of archaeological data to conduct a comparison of post-contact Spokane Indian archaeological sites on and off the Spokane Reservation to learn about Spokane Indian life during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Secondly, I wanted to work collaboratively with the STI APP to create a useful project and thesis document. Lastly, I wanted to improve myself as an archaeologist that values and considers the needs of past and present cultures when interacting with the physical expression of those cultures. Additionally, I laid out a number specific research questions on the outset of this project. However, unfortunately, and in the words of Winston Hurst, this project has merely

“scratched the surface of [those] numerous wonderful research questions, and adequately probed none of them” (1981:165). Yet despite the lack of depth I had hoped to achieve in the course of this project, new information about the material culture of the historical Spokanes was gleaned, and those research questions guided in the pursuit of understanding the reservation and off-reservation Spokanes.

In pursuit of my first goal, a great deal of new information was gleaned. This project exposes the fact the material culture of the post-contact Spokanes is highly compromised and difficult to concretely identify, particularly off the reservation—a meaningful proclamation in its own right. Understanding the endangered nature of this cultural resource is a critical first step to protect them. Furthermore, I suggest that identifying historical Indigenous sites or site components requires a sensitivity to those resources, and I advocate that archaeologists in the region work to develop that sensitivity so that historical Indigenous archaeology does not go overlooked as it does now. The project also identified a number of similarities between the off-reservation and on-reservation sites, namely elements of adaptive traditionalism, participation in nineteenth century consumerism, interaction with new cultural groups, and use of “traditional place”. The project also briefly explored the possible motivations behind the differences in architecture on and off the reservation.

My second and third goals were closely tied together. STI APP determined the on-reservation sites for this project in hopes that this work would answer some of their own research questions regarding the use of the Cornelius Landscape and the transplanted Deep Creek Colony. This area has tremendous historical significance and STI APP has invested a great deal of time in documenting, researching, and monitoring the sites in this area to produce a nomination of the sites as an archaeological district. This project has hopefully aided in the development of that pursuit. Additionally, I hope to continue my relationship with STI APP to create interpretative literature for the sites at Tschimakain Creek Camp. The work at Tschimakain Creek also facilitated the introduction of STI APP personnel with personnel at the Tschimakain Creek Camp. Both parties have an interest in the protection and proper management of the sites at the camp. When the archaeological theft at Latah Creek was discovered and reported, I served as the eyes on the ground for the concerned groups including STI APP, DAHP, and the City of Spokane so that the damage caused by the theft could be mitigated to the satisfaction of all parties.

An important way that I sought to quantify the effectiveness of my second goal was to have personnel at STI APP evaluate the work I did. This evaluation is not intended in any way to be an endorsement of me personally, but rather was a tool I asked them to employ so that their voice could be considered in how the work was carried out, and how beneficial the project was or was not. The

evaluation was informal and conducted via email. (See Appendix C for the list of evaluation criteria). The result was generally positive. The communications I provided were useful and constructive. As was stated previously in the discussion of the sites, I had originally only planned to work at the Hidden Beach site on the reservation, a misunderstanding on my part of the boundaries of the site led me also document the Charley Bones Allotment site, which had not been initially agreed upon by STI APP.

The third goal is perhaps the most unquantifiable and the most personal. The literature I read regarding critical race theory, other critical theories, indigenous archaeology, and post-modernism has laid a foundation that my personality was already inclined towards. The calls put forth by scholars to be reflexive, sensitive, self and outwardly critical are lofty and challenging to understand. Applying those principles in this project was certainly a learning curve. Going into the project I desired and anticipated a very equitable distribution of power, however I learned that just as I had limitation regarding resources and time, so too did STI APP. Finding a manageable balance was an interesting challenge that I don't know that I fully anticipated going into the project. Yet this is one of the major lessons I took from the project that I will be able to take forward. Certainly I cannot say that I am an Indigenous archaeologist (theoretically and methodologically, not ethnically) from one project. As I said previously, it is not the culture that is variable; it is the archaeologist, and the archaeological project that is variable. It will take a lifetime of constant reflexivity for a person to be able to come close to making such a claim, yet this project certainly laid the foundation for the type of archaeologist I aspire to be.

As a case study, this project is meant to be part of a larger cannon of work, and to hopefully be expanded upon by future research. As mentioned previously, other areas of academic study have addressed similar topics; however archaeology has focused very little energy on historical Indigenous study. Certainly the specific work that I did can substantially be added on to create a much more comprehensive picture of historical Spokane Indian life on and off the reservation. For example, more work can be done at the sites that I included in this project and the collections that I worked with, more work can be done through historical research and ethnographic inquiry of the people who lived at the sites, and also by expanding this study to other sites on and off the reservation. Furthermore, to give even greater context to this study and the condition of historical Plateau peoples, other Plateau Indian historical archaeological inquiries should be made.

A great number of tangential research topics became apparent in the course of this project. Most notably, an ethnographic study of the traditional material culture of the Spokanes would have answered a great many questions I possessed. While many ethnographic studies have been conducted over the years, ethnographies tend to focus on behavior rather than specific interactions

with the material world. Given enough time, this would have been a supporting avenue I would have taken. Additionally, there may have been fewer dichotomies between the off-reservation and on-reservation Spokanes. While sedentism was advocated for and adopted by many Spokanes on and off the reservation; many others may have may have split their time on the reservation and off the reservation. As mentioned previously, a small group of Spokanes retained residence in the vicinity of the Latah Creek site into the twentieth century even while maintaining allotments on reservations (Ruby and Brown 2006:253). Additional research into the permanence of residency, and the motivations behind residential patterns during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries would also be very telling about the lives of historic Spokane Indians. Another potential research topic that was touched on in the course of this project, but could certainly be explored in much greater detail is a study on the regions dams on archaeological sites. The sites that were recorded on the Tschimakain Creek Landscape that did not contribute to this project are excellent sites with tremendous research potential in their own rights. The historical record mentions that marriages between Plateau Indian women and Euro-American men were commonplace in the Northwest. An archaeological project comparing the historical material goods of an intermarriage household with a Euro-American or Indigenous household would be very telling about the influence and economic agency of Indigenous women on the plateau. These are only some of the affiliated potential areas of future research that would further enlighten on how life changed for the Plateau Indians post-contact.

At the 1975 Society for Historical Archaeology Meeting, Leland Ferguson chaired a symposium on the importance of material culture. During the session, James Deetz, in the course of his paper “Material Culture and Archaeology—What’s the Difference?” analogizes that archaeology is akin to the parable of the blind men and the elephant (Deetz 1977:10). In concluding remarks, James E. Fitting again brought up Deetz’s analogy and expands on it saying “We are all blind men [or women] looking at elephants and our interpretations of elephants are as diverse as the parts of the elephant that we are allowed to touch” (Fitting 1977:63). This project seems an embodiment of the analogy. The post-contact materials remains of the Plateau Indians have been compromised by so many natural and human induced impacts, complicated by an ambiguous and ill-defined material class, and compounded by a general suspiciousness on the part of archaeologists. Yet, despite the very small amount of the proverbial elephant that this project was allowed to touch; perhaps its greatest contribution is merely the assertion that historical Indigenous archaeological sites in the inland Plateau can be identified and studied despite all of the complicating forces.

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APPENDIX A: ARTIFACTS

Glass Artifacts

Site #	No.	Vessel Form	Color	Function	Completeness	Description
Hidden Beach	2	Unknown	Manganese Solarized	Unknown	sherd	leaf and stippling pattern on exterior
Hidden Beach	26	Window	Colorless, aqua hue	Window	sherd	
Hidden Beach	2	Unknown	Milk	Unknown	sherd	
Hidden Beach	2	Unknown	Aqua	Unknown	sherd	embossed
Hidden Beach	2	Bottle	Brown/amber	Unknown	sherd	
Hidden Beach	2	Unknown	Manganese Solarized	Unknown	sherd	
Hidden Beach	1	Unknown	Colorless	Unknown	>25%	flared irregular rim with blue/gray paint
Hidden Beach	3	Unknown	Manganese Solarized	Unknown	sherd	
Hidden Beach	3	Unknown	Colorless	Unknown	sherd	
Hidden Beach	1	Unknown	Olive	Wine Bottle?	sherd	
Hidden Beach	6	Window	Colorless	Window	sherd	
Hidden Beach	1	Window	Manganese Solarized	Window	sherd	
Hidden Beach	1	Bottle	Manganese Solarized	Condiment	sherd	faceted
Hidden Beach	1	Bottle	Brown/amber	Medicine	>25%	square bottle base, molded. Owens Illinois
Hidden Beach	3	Canning Jar Seal	Milk	Canning Jar Seal	>25%	one sherd reads "NU INE BOY D"
Hidden Beach	1	Unknown	Colorless	Unknown	sherd	likely modern
Hidden Beach	2	Unknown	Colorless	Unknown	sherd	
Hidden Beach	1	Bottle	Manganese Solarized	Unknown	sherd	
Hidden Beach	1	Bottle	Brown	Unknown	>25%	base "MLN"
Hidden Beach	1	Bottle?	Manganese Solarized	Unknown	>25%	stylized, possibly a vase or bottle
Hidden Beach	1	Bottle	Aqua	Medicine	25-50%	mold, hand applied bore
Hidden Beach	3	Bottle	Brown/amber	Unknown	sherd	
Hidden Beach	1	Unknown	Brown/amber	Unknown	unknown	Melted

Site #	No.	Vessel Form	Color	Function	Completeness	Description
Hidden Beach	1	Marble	Milk	Toy	Complete	1/2" diameter
Charley Bones Allotment	20	Window	Colorless	Window	sherd	slight aqua hue
Charley Bones Allotment	2	Bottle	Colorless	Unknown	sherd	neck of bottle, stipple texture, beveled bore hole, seam under each bevel
Charley Bones Allotment	1	Jar	Manganese Solarized	Unknown	sherd	neck of threaded jar
Charley Bones Allotment	2	Unknown	Aqua	Unknown	sherd	
Charley Bones Allotment	2	Jar	Milk	Unknown	sherd	
Charley Bones Allotment	2	Canning Jar Seal	Milk	Canning Jar Seal	sherd	
Charley Bones Allotment	2	Unknown	Colorless	Unknown	sherd	rim of glass, very thin
Charley Bones Allotment	5	Unknown	Manganese Solarized	Unknown	sherd	"T" on one piece
Charley Bones Allotment	1	Unknown	Manganese Solarized	Unknown	sherd	shoulder
Charley Bones Allotment	8	Window	Colorless	Window	sherd	
Charley Bones Allotment	2	Unknown	Colorless	Unknown	sherd	
Charley Bones Allotment	1	Unknown	Milk	Unknown	sherd	"REG" likely a base
Charley Bones Allotment	1	Canning Jar Seal	Milk	Canning Jar Seal	Complete	melted and folded over
Charley Bones Allotment	2	Unknown	Colorless	Unknown	sherd	thick sherd
Charley Bones Allotment	1	Unknown	Brown	Unknown	unknown	

Site #	No.	Vessel Form	Color	Function	Completeness	Description
Charley Bones Allotment	1	Parfait Cup	Colorless	Parfait	Complete	submodern
45ST228	11	Jar	Colorless	Canning Jar Seal	>25%	
45ST228	1	Unknown	Milk Glass	Unknown	>25%	
45ST228	1	Bottle	Colorless	Beverage	Complete	Submodern; "12" trademark
45ST228	1	Bottle	Colorless	Beverage	Complete	
45ST228	1	Bottle/Jar	Colorless	Unknown	unknown	
45ST228	1	Bottle	Colorless	Alcohol	Complete	Submodern
45SP266	4	Bottle	Amber	Unknown	sherd	Located in Test Unit 1
45SP266	2	Unknown	Manganese Solarized	Unknown	sherd	Located in Test Unit 1
45SP266	1	Bottle	Aqua	Unknown	sherd	Located in Test Unit 1
45SP266	1	Flat	Colorless	Unknown	sherd	Located in Test Unit 1

Ceramic Artifacts

Site	No.	Vessel Form	Paste	Part	Design	Description
Hidden Beach	16	Unknown	White Ware	Body	None	thick vessel
Hidden Beach	1	Tea Cup	White Ware	Rim	None	Oblong Rim, crazing in glaze
Hidden Beach	1	Unknown	Porcelain	Body	None	
Hidden Beach	1	Tea Cup	White Ware	Handle	Unknown	
Hidden Beach	1	Unknown	White Ware	Base	Unknown	
Hidden Beach	1	Tea Cup	White Ware	Rim	None	
Hidden Beach	2	Plate	White Ware	Body	Brown Transfer Print	
Hidden Beach	1	Tea Cup	White Ware	Body	None	
Hidden Beach	1	Bowl	Porcelain	Rim	Feather Edge	
Site	No.	Vessel Form	Paste	Part	Design	Description
Hidden Beach	1	Unknown	White Ware	Foot	Unknown	

Site #	No.	Vessel Form	Color	Function	Complete-ness	Description
Hidden Beach	1	Bowl	Porcelain	Rim	Unknown	
Hidden Beach	1	Bowl	White Ware	Rim	None	Slight Flair
Hidden Beach	1	Plate	Porcelain	Body	Transfer Print	Pink and Green Design
Hidden Beach	1	Rice Bowl	Porcelain	Body/Foot	Hand Painted	Asian Rice Bowl, Collected
Hidden Beach	1	Crockery (?)	Stone Ware	Body		Gray, non-porous Paste
Charley Bones Allotment	5	Bowl	White Ware	Body	Unknown	Slip Crazed and Potlidded
Charley Bones Allotment	3	Crockery (?)		Body	Unknown	Gray Paste, brown glaze on ext. white glaze on int.
Charley Bones Allotment	2	Unknown	Porcelain	Body	Unknown	
Charley Bones Allotment	1	Plate	Porcelain	Rim	None	Slight Flair
Charley Bones Allotment	1	Plate	White Ware	Rim	Hand Painted?	thin walled, slight bevel post foot
Charley Bones Allotment	1	Plate	White Ware	Rim	None	Hotel Ware? Slight outward flare
Charley Bones Allotment	2	Bowl	White Ware	Rim	None	
Charley Bones Allotment	2	Plate	White Ware	Body	Unknown	Heavily Potlidded
Charley Bones Allotment	1	Plate	White Ware	Rim	Unknown	Heavily Potlidded
Charley Bones Allotment	7	Unknown	Porcelain	Body	Unknown	Some Potlidding
Charley Bones Allotment	1	Plate	Porcelain	Foot	Dandelions	Transfer Print? Submodern?
Charley Bones Allotment	2	Plate	White Ware	Foot	None	Crazed
45ST228	3	Crockery (?)	Stone Ware	Body		Gray Paste
45ST228	1	Plate	Porcelain	Rim	Feather Edge, gold leaf	
45ST228	1	Plate	Porcelain	Body	Transfer Print	Pink Roses, faint green leaves
45SP266	1	Unknown	Porcelain	Body	Blue Transfer Print	Tiny sherd located in Test Unit 1

Metal

Site	No.	Dimensions	Function	Description
Hidden Beach	39	n/a	various/unknown	fragmentary
Hidden Beach	6	n/a	Nail	Highly Corroded
Hidden Beach	1	n/a	Mesh/Screen	Flat, fragmentary

Site	No.	Dimensions	Function	Description
Hidden Beach	3	n/a	Wire	corroded
Hidden Beach	1	n/a	Barbed Wire	Double Twist Wire, single twist barb
Hidden Beach	1	n/a	Barbed Wire	Single Strand (remaining?) single wire twist
Hidden Beach	1	5 1/2" at widest part, 5 1/2" long	Horseshoe	work horse shoe with toe cleat
Hidden Beach	1	n/a	Plow Blade	Broken and Corroded
Charley Bones Allotment	3	n/a	Large Nail	Bent and Corroded
Charley Bones Allotment	1	~6" long x 1/2" dia (head)	Large Nail	Corroded, appears hand forged
Charley Bones Allotment	144	various sizes	Wire Nail	long tapering wire nails, corroded
Charley Bones Allotment	2	various sizes	Nail	Galvanized, machine cut
Charley Bones Allotment	9	various sizes	Nail/Stake	Machine cut
Charley Bones Allotment	1	13/16" long x 5/16" dia head	Tack/Nail	No point, irregular tapering head, possibly hand forged
Charley Bones Allotment	1	1 8/16" x 7/16" x 7/16"	Pin/Nail	Square head and body
Charley Bones Allotment	1	2 7/16" x 9/16" x 8/16"	Pin/Spike	Oblong head; tapering pin/spike
Charley Bones Allotment	1	5 2/16" long x 15/16" dia (head)	Pin	Corroded, bent
Charley Bones Allotment	1	2 4/8" long x 3/8" dia	L' Pin	
Charley Bones Allotment	1	1 6/8 long x 4/8" dia (head)	Bolt/Pin	Does not appear threaded, but heavily corroded; broken head
Charley Bones Allotment	1	3 2/8" long x 7/8" x 7/8" (head)	Bolt	Corroded
Charley Bones Allotment	1	7/8" x 7/8" x 3/8"	Bolt	Corroded square bolt
Charley Bones Allotment	1	3 5.5/16" x 10/16" x 10/16"	Bolt	
Charley Bones Allotment	1	n/a	Bolt with Nut	Very corroded with square nut
Charley Bones Allotment	1	1" x 3/4" x 3/4"	Bolt with Nut	Nut is broken and highly corroded
Charley Bones Allotment	1	n/a	Carriage Bolt with Nut	Three piece construction, square headed bolt and hexagonal nut; Bolt Tapers from Head
Charley Bones Allotment	1	n/a	Spike	

Site	No.	Dimensions	Function	Description
Charley Bones Allotment	1	8" long x $1\frac{1}{16}$ " dia (head)	Spike	long spike with sub-round head and square body
Charley Bones Allotment	1	$3\frac{3}{16}$ " x $1\frac{8}{16}$ " x $2\frac{2}{16}$ "	Chain Link	Oblong Link for chain
Charley Bones Allotment	1	n/a	Chain Links	Three links, half twist chain
Charley Bones Allotment	1	n/a	Chain	Length of chain with oblong links corroded into a solid mass
Charley Bones Allotment	1	n/a	Latch/Hook	
Charley Bones Allotment	1	n/a	Latch/Hook	
Charley Bones Allotment	1	n/a	Hook	Hook with braided chain links
Charley Bones Allotment	1	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ " long 1" wide hook	Unk. Hook	Corroded
Charley Bones Allotment	1	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ " ext. dia	Pipe	Heavy pipe segment
Charley Bones Allotment	1	1 $\frac{11}{16}$ " ext. dia	Pipe Elbow	Highly corroded 90 degree bend
Charley Bones Allotment	13	n/a	Various stove pieces	Stove
Charley Bones Allotment	1	n/a	Horseshoe	Fragmentary; corroded
Charley Bones Allotment	2	1 $\frac{15}{16}$ " ext. dia. x $\frac{14}{16}$ " int. dia	Washer	Corroded
Charley Bones Allotment	1	n/a	Wire	Bailing wire fragment, corroded
Charley Bones Allotment	4	1 $\frac{1}{4}$ " wide	Metal Band	Heavily Corroded, fragmentary
Charley Bones Allotment	1	1 $\frac{6}{8}$ " x 8 $\frac{1}{8}$ " x $\frac{3}{8}$ "	Hinge	Large hinge with four bolt holes ($\frac{5}{8}$ " dia)
Charley Bones Allotment	1	n/a	Handle?	
Charley Bones Allotment	1	16" x 1 $\frac{4}{16}$ " x $\frac{3}{16}$ "	Large File	Possibly modern Corroded
Charley Bones Allotment	1	n/a	Axe Head	Double sided axe head with broken handle
Charley Bones Allotment	1	n/a	Hack Saw	Broken frame, no blade, highly corroded
Charley Bones Allotment	1	n/a	Pitchfork Head	Four pronged, one prong missing; very corroded
Charley Bones Allotment	1	n/a	Unk. Farm Equipment	

Site	No.	Dimensions	Function	Description
Charley Bones Allotment	10	1 ⁸ / ₁₆ " x ¹⁰ / ₁₆ " x ² / ₁₆ "	Unknown	Large 'U' shaped item, very corroded
Charley Bones Allotment	3	n/a	Unknown	Unknown ferrous metal house and brass coil. There appears to be at least three parts. Likely farming/industrial equipment
Charley Bones Allotment	19	n/a	Unknown	Unknown fragmentary ferrous metal
Charley Bones Allotment	1	n/a	Unknown	Large metal piece with square nut, mostly underwater, located near point where Detillion Bridge connected with land.
Charley Bones Allotment	1	n/a	Unknown	Farm Equipment, heavily corroded
Charley Bones Allotment		various sizes	Unknown	
Charley Bones Allotment	1	n/a	Unknown	Partially burnt, possibly a tractor seat
Charley Bones Allotment	3	n/a	Unknown	Possibly fragments of a handle of unknown function
Charley Bones Allotment	1	n/a	Unknown	Unknown tapering galvanized ferrous metal item with
45ST228	2	n/a	Braded Cable	Submodern, galvanized
45ST228	1	n/a	Stove Pipe	
45ST228	1	n/a	Car Seat	Partially buried
45ST228	1	n/a	Unknown	Bent, twisted
45ST228	1	20' long x 15" x 8+"	Farm Equipment	Bent, thrasher?
45ST228	1	n/a	Chicken Wire	

Miscellaneous Artifacts

Class	Site	No.	Material	Dimensions	Function	Description
Brick						
	Hidden Beach	3	Brick	7" x 3 ³ / ₄ " x 2 ³ / ₁₆ "	Construction	Associated with Feature 1
	Hidden Beach	8	Brick	n/a	Construction	Associated with Feature 1; fragmentary
Buttons						
	Hidden Beach	1	Bone	~ ¹⁰ / ₁₆ " dia x ¹ / ₁₆ " thick	Button	Broken, Four holes, collected
	Hidden Beach	1	White Glass	⁷ / ₁₆ " dia x ¹ / ₁₆ " thick	Button	Small white glass button
Bone						
	Hidden Beach	1	Bone	n/a	n/a	burned, unknown if modern or historic
	Charley Bones Allotment	1	Bone	n/a	n/a	burned fragment
	45ST228	3	Fish Bone	n/a	n/a	
	45ST228	1	Fish Scale?	n/a	n/a	
Wood						
	Charley Bones Allotment	1	Milled Wood	~2 x 4	Lumber	In water, drift wood
	Charley Bones Allotment	2	Milled Wood	n/a	Lumber	Two nails in one piece, appears modern; drift wood
	Charley Bones Allotment	2	Milled Wood	n/a	Lumber	Fragmentary
	45ST228	1	Wood	Aprox. 1 ¹ / ₂ " x 1" x 12"	Sign Frame	Not milled, posted on tree
Other						
	Charley Bones Allotment	2	Composite Concrete	1 ⁹ / ₁₆ " x 7 ⁵ / ₁₆ " x 10+"	Unknown	Partially buried

Class	Site	No.	Material	Dimensions	Function	Description
	45ST228	1	Aluminum	n/a	Unknown	Submodern, bent
	45ST228	2	Composite Concrete	11 ² / ₄ " x 7 ³ / ₄ " x 5"	Foundation Corner	One partially buried in a push pile, crumbling, not in situ covered in moss.
	45ST228	1	Charcoal	n/a	n/a	Tiny flecks of charcoal observed in mole hills.

Cans

Site	No.	Can Type	Function	Opening	Dimensions	Description
45ST228	1	Cut Around	Condensed Milk	two knife slits	2 ¹ / ₂ " x 2 ¹ / ₂ "	"shake well" embossed on one side.
45ST228	1	Cut Around	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Submodern, smashed
45ST228	4	Hole-in-Cap	Food	partially opened with knife	6" x 6 ¹³ / ₁₆ " (dia); 2 ¹⁰ / ₁₆ " cap dia	
45ST228	4	Beverage	Beer/Soda	church key	Unknown	Submodern
45ST228	1	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Crushed corroded
45ST228	1	Tin	Tobacco	External Friction	Unknown	Partially crushed, likely submodern
45ST228	1	Hole-in-Cap	Condensed Milk	Two nail holes	3" x 4 ⁶ / ₁₆ " (dia); ¹⁵ / ₁₆ " cap dia	
45ST228	2	Beverage	Beer/Soda	church key	2 ¹² / ₁₆ " x 4 ¹³ / ₁₆ " (dia)	
45ST228	1	Hole-in-Cap	Food	Unknown	3 ⁶ / ₁₆ " x 4 ¹⁰ / ₁₆ " (dia); 2 ³ / ₁₆ " cap dia	
45ST228	1	Paint Can	Paint	Internal Friction	Unknown	Submodern
45ST228	1	Coffee Can	Coffee	External Friction	3 ⁷ / ₁₆ " x 5" (dia)	
45ST228	1	Tin	Meat	Unknown	Unknown	Crushed corroded
Charley Bones Allotment	2	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Crushed corroded
Hidden Beach	2	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Partial can, heavily corroded

Modified Artifacts

Site	No.	Material	Dimensions	Use Wear	Description
Hidden Beach	1	Brick	n/a	n/a	Fire affected brick (burnt and fire cracked), edges and faces that are not cracked are heavily rounded
45SP266	1	Ferrous Metal	45 x 25.5 x 1.5 mm	n/a	Crudely cut metal piece with hole punch
45SP266	1	White Wear	27 x 17.5 x 22 mm	Microflaking	Located in an area with heavy foot traffic, approximately six flake scars removed unifacially and conically
45SP266	1	Bottle Glass	38 x 29 x 7 mm	Microflaking	Aqua glass fragment with unifacial flaking on two margins, form consistent with that of a thumb scraper

Lithics

Site	No.	Artifact Type	Material	Dimensions	Description
45ST228	1	Flake	pink/gray mottled granite	n/a	Primary Flake, step fracture on dorsal side
45ST228	1	Shatter	red igneous	n/a	
45ST228	1	Possible Milling Stone	Granite	n/a	Mostly buried, exposed portion shows evidence of polish
45ST228	3	Fire Affected Rock	Granitic	n/a	
45ST228	4	Fire Affected Rock	Igneous	n/a	Porous
45SP266	3	Flakes	Red opaque chert	n/a	Biface thinning flakes, located in Test Unit 1
45SP266	1	Flake	White chert	n/a	Flake fragment (distal end remaining)
45SP266	1	Flake	Brown mottled chert	n/a	Biface thinning flakes, located in Test Unit 1
45SP266	1	Projectile Point	Opaque mottled white chert	13 x 13.5 x 4	Tip broken randomly flaked; located in Test Unit 1
45SP266	1	Scraper	Brown mottled chert	22 x 15 x 8 mm	Appears to be heat treated, randomly flaked on both sides

Shell

Site	No.	Completeness	Part of Shell	Condition
45ST228	7	Fragment	Proximal	Good
45ST228	6	Fragment	Body	Good
45ST228	9	Fragment	Distal	Good
45ST228	1	Fragment	Proximal	Moderate
45ST228	1	Fragment	Distal	Moderate
45ST228	8	Fragment	Body	Moderate
45ST228	4	Fragment	Body	Poor
45ST228	4	Approx. 50%	Distal	Good
45ST228	1	Approx. 50%	Proximal	Good
45ST228	1	Approx. 75%	Proximal and Body	Good

APPENDIX B: IRB PROPOSAL

Form 1: Exempt Application Materials

University of Idaho procedures require that the Institutional Review Board (IRB) review and approve of projects involving humans. Official certification of exemption from the IRB must be given before the research can begin.

Forms should be emailed as attachments to irb@uidaho.edu in Microsoft Word format.

If you are a student, you must submit your materials to your UI faculty sponsor. After their review and approval, they will FORWARD your materials to the IRB for review.

If you are not a full-time faculty member or employee at the UI, you must contact a departmental faculty member, administrator or department chair. This person will become your faculty sponsor.

Once you have submitted the completed application, the Institutional Review Board will review and then certify it as exempt. You can begin the research ONLY AFTER receiving an EXEMPT CERTIFICATION LETTER from the committee (delivered via e-mail).

Please allow at least six weeks excluding holidays for the initial review and approval process. [Note: The approval process takes longer when corrections are requested by committee members or when we have a large number of applications].

Note: All researchers participating in human subject's research (everyone listed on your project) are now required to take the online course produced by the National Institutes of Health <http://phrp.nihtraining.com/users/login.php>

Copies of certificates of completion will be required before projects will be approved.

Please include your UI campus mail code address (83844 - 1110) on the summary form inside, and an address below.

Investigator e-mail: _ _____

Faculty Sponsor e-mail if applicable ____ _____

Explanation of Exemptions

To determine whether your project is exempt or not, read the following six statements. Indicate which category or categories of exemption fit your project in Section I. of the Summary Form.

RESEARCH QUALIFYING FOR EXEMPTION FROM FEDERAL REGULATIONS FOR THE PROTECTION OF HUMAN SUBJECTS

(Quoted from the Code of Federal Regulations, Title 45, Part 46.101)

Research conducted in established or commonly accepted educational settings, involving normal educational practices, such as (i) research on regular and special education instructional strategies, or (ii) research on the effectiveness of or on the comparison among instructional techniques, curricula, or classroom management methods. (For example: Testing the effectiveness of two different approaches to teaching a mathematical concept in a classroom setting would qualify for exemption under this category or, evaluating a departmental program).

Research involving the use of educational tests (cognitive, diagnostic, aptitude, achievement), survey procedures, interview procedures or observation of public behavior,

UNLESS (i) information obtained is recorded in such a manner that the human subjects can be identified, directly or indirectly, through identifiers linked to the subjects;

AND (ii) any disclosure of the subject's responses outside the research could reasonably place the subject at risk of criminal or civil liability, or be damaging to the subject's financial standing, employability, or reputation.

Research involving the use of educational tests (cognitive, diagnostic, achievement), survey procedures, interview procedures or observation of public behavior that is not exempt under paragraph 2 of this section,

IF (i) the human subjects are *elected or appointed public officials* or candidates for public office;

OR (ii) federal statute(s) require(s) without exception that confidentiality of personally identifiable

information be maintained throughout the research and thereafter.

Research involving the collection or study of *existing* data, documents, records, pathological specimens, or diagnostic specimens, if these sources are publicly available, OR if the information is recorded by the investigator in such a manner that subjects cannot be identified, directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects.

Research and demonstration projects which are conducted by, or subject to the approval of department or agency heads, and which are designed to study, evaluate or otherwise examine:

(i) public benefit or service programs;

(ii) procedures for obtaining benefits or services under those programs;

(iii) possible changes in or alternatives to those programs or procedures; or

(iv) possible changes in methods or levels of payment for benefits or services under those programs.

Taste and food quality evaluation and consumer acceptance studies, if,
 (i) if wholesome foods without additives are consumed or,
 (ii) if a food is consumed that contains a food ingredient at or below the level of and for a use found to be safe, by the Food and Drug Administration or approved by the Environmental Protection Agency or the Food Safety and Inspection Service of the U.S. Department of Agriculture.

ANSWER THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS

After hitting insert or overtype,

Put a Bold X on the appropriate line for each answer

YES NO

Will children/minors be observed by adults who are also participating in the observed activities?

____ **X**____

Will identifiable information be collected that could impact participants' financial standing,

____ **X**____
 employability, reputation or put them at risk for criminal or civil liability?

Are any participants under 18 years of age? (Other than in an established educational setting and involving minimal risk)

____ **X**____

Are any participants confined in a correctional or detention facility?

____ **X**____

Is pregnancy a prerequisite for serving as a participant?

____ **X**____

Are fetuses in utero subjects in this research?

____ **X**____

Are any participants presumed to be not legally competent?

____ **X**____

Will participants be asked sensitive questions about personal feelings, behavior, interactions or sexual experiences AND have responses linked to their identity?

____ **X**____

Will alcohol, drug, or any other substance be ingested, injected, or inhaled?

____ **X**____

Will blood/body fluids be drawn?

____ **X**____

If the answer to any question above is:

YES → The project DOES NOT qualify for exempt status (DOWNLOAD AND COMPLETE FORM 2 ONLY).

NO → The project may qualify for exempt status (COMPLETE THIS FORM).

Form 1: University of Idaho Human Subjects Review Summary – Exempt Projects

This project qualifies for “Exempt” status. Please complete the following application. In addition, the following information must be included:

1. An electronic copy of certification in PDF or Microsoft Word format that the online course sponsored by the National Institutes of Health has been completed by everyone listed on the project.
NIH website: <http://phrp.nihtraining.com/users/login.php>
2. If applicable, an electronic copy of an Informed Consent Form that includes all components as outlined on the consent materials provided at: <http://www.uidaho.edu/ora/committees/irb/irbforms>
3. If applicable, a copy of the survey, questions intended to be asked, or if conducting qualitative research, initial entry questions and items where the investigator might probe for additional information.

Principal Investigator: Mark Warner Academic Title
Associate Professor

Student Investigator Hannah Russell

Department/Division: Anthropology/Sociology Campus Zip Code
83844 Phone (208)885-5954

Project Title Archaeological Assessment of Early Spokane Reservation Sites Evaluation

Proposal

Number _____

Previous IRB protocol Number: _____

Anticipated Start Date: 15 October 2012

Anticipated End Date 31 December 2013

Faculty Sponsor (if you are not principal investigator)

Is the project seeking funds? (Answer using a bold “X”) YES ____ NO **X**

If yes,

Granting Agency:

Grant Title:

Principal Investigator on Grant:

If a continuation, date of previous approval:

I. Indicate the exemption category that is applicable to the project(see Explanation of Exemption Categories on page 2 of this document) Also provide a brief explanation of how your project fits the exemption category. _____1_____

II. ABSTRACT:

A. Briefly describe the purpose of the research: State the benefits to the participant and society. Write so someone outside your field can understand what your desire to investigate. /

The research project is a study of archaeological artifacts that either a) are already in existing collections or b) will be excavated as part of a survey project. None of the materials will be attributable to a particular individual. The only interaction with living populations will be to elicit feedback on the Hannah Russell's handling of the materials she is studying and the responsiveness to questions from the owners of the collection (the Spokane Tribe). Those interactions are not part of any research but are professional courtesy.

Describe the research design (Survey, Naturalistic Observation, Archival Analysis, etc). Include if your sample will be random, systematic, cluster, etc. If appropriate, how large of a standard error do you expect?

There is not research on this project that involves living subjects. None of the objects studied are attributable to any individual

Describe the procedures (What will the participants do? What will be done to them? etc.). Your description should be written so someone outside your field can understand it.

The extent of interaction with the Spokane tribal preservation office will be to ask a series of questions – (attached). The questions are not for research but serve to provide feedback to Hannah Russell on her responsiveness to the tribe. It is an evaluative assessment of Hannah, not a data generating thing.

Using a bold "X" indicate the data collection method(s) to be used.

1. Survey. How administered: Self, Phone, Personal Interview, or Other

2. Observational Public Record Taste Evaluation Pathological or Diagnostic Specimens

3. Experimental

4. Other

If you are using a survey, interview, etc., include the survey questions and consent form you will be using in an appendix. If you do not plan to use a written consent, indicate why, and the narrative an investigator might use to describe the study and appropriate consent requirements).

Are data anonymous or confidential? ("Confidential" automatically makes a project Non-Exempt and you will need to fill out Form 2).

Indicate the appropriate category using a bold "X"

_____ "Anonymous" means no one (not even the researcher) will be able to link the subject's identity with his/her responses.

_____ "Confidential" means that the researcher will be able to link the subject's identity with his/her responses, but that this link will be maintained in a confidential manner. If confidential, how will information be maintained?

NOTE: Not answered because the interaction is limited to evaluation of the researcher

II. ONLINE COURSE COMPLETION

List the names of all investigators and indicate date(s) of completion of the on-line course for the Protection of Human Subjects from the National Institutes of Health.

<http://cme.cancer.gov/clinicaltrials/learning/humanparticipant-protections.asp>

Note: A copy of the completion certificate or other verification must be included for ALL investigators including laboratory assistants, observation observers, etc.

Name of Investigator	Date of Completion of Online Course
Mark Warner	April 13, 2006
Hannah Russell	October 3, 2012

If this project will be submitted or will receive external funding, print out the last page sign on the following signature line using a pen, provide the date of submission, and mail it to:

Institutional Review Board
University of Idaho
POB 443010
Moscow, Idaho 83844-3010

Currently, an electronic copy or electronic signature is not enough to comply with the Federal regulations/requirements for funded research.



National Cancer Institute

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Human Participant Protections Education for Research Teams

Completion Certificate

This is to certify that

mark warner

has completed the **Human Participants Protection Education for Research Teams** online course, sponsored by the National Institutes of Health (NIH), on 04/13/2006.

This course included the following:

key historical events and current issues that impact guidelines and legislation on human participant protection in research.

ethical principles and guidelines that should assist in resolving the ethical issues inherent in the conduct of research with human participants.

the use of key ethical principles and federal regulations to protect human participants at various stages in the research process.

a description of guidelines for the protection of special populations in research.

a definition of informed consent and components necessary for a valid consent.

a description of the role of the IRB in the research process.

the roles, responsibilities, and interactions of federal agencies, institutions, and researchers in conducting research with human participants.

National Institutes of Health

<http://www.nih.gov>



Certificate of Completion

The National Institutes of Health (NIH) Office of Extramural Research certifies that **Hannah Russell** successfully completed the NIH Web-based training course “Protecting Human Research Participants”.

Date of completion: 10/03/2012

Certification Number: 1018642

ADDITIONAL INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD APPLICATION INFORMATION

The completed Human Subjects Review Summary Form must be received by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) at least 6 weeks prior to the intended start date. Send electronically to irb@uidaho.edu. DO NOT SEND HARD COPIES OF THE APPLICATION. THEY WILL BE RETURNED TO YOU WITHOUT REVIEW. HOWEVER, DO SEND A COPY OF THE SIGNATURE PAGE IF RESEARCH IS FUNDED.

For a project to obtain IRB certification of exemption, the IRB shall determine that all of the following requirements are satisfied:

- a. Risks to subjects are minimized:
 - i. By using procedures which are consistent with sound research design and which do not unnecessarily expose subjects to risk, and
 - ii. Whenever appropriate, by using procedures already performed on the subjects for diagnostic treatment purposes.

Risks to subjects are reasonable in relation to anticipated benefits, if any, to subjects and the importance of the knowledge that may be expected to result. In evaluating the risks and benefits, the IRB should consider only those risks and benefits that may result from the research (as distinguished from risks and benefits of therapies subjects would receive even in not participating in the research). The IRB should not consider possible long-range effects of applying knowledge gained in the research (for example, the possible effects of the research on public policy) as among those research risks that fall within the purview of its responsibility.

Selection of subjects is equitable. In making this assessment the IRB will take into account the purposes of the research and the setting in which the research will be conducted.

Informed consent will be sought from each prospective subject or the subject's legally authorized representative (See Components of a Consent Form).

Informed consent will be appropriately documented. This might include a written consent form approved by the IRB and signed by the subject), or it might be a checkbox indicating the participant was verbally informed of the project.

Where appropriate, the research plan makes adequate provisions for monitoring the data collected to insure the safety of subjects. This may include follow-up procedures.

Where appropriate, there are adequate provisions to protect the privacy of subjects and to maintain the confidentiality of data.

3. Projects cannot begin until the IRB certification of exemption is obtained.

Once the IRB review is completed, an email will be sent to the investigator advising of the project certification of exemption or conditions that must be met to obtain approval.

GENERAL CONSIDERATION FOR THE ETHICAL TREATMENT OF HUMAN SUBJECTS

Subjects are entitled to dignified treatment during all phases of experimental procedures.

At no time are subjects to be coerced into participating in experimental procedures. Subjects may immediately terminate or withdraw from experimental procedures and earn the incentives promised them for their participation.

Subjects will be given sufficient information regarding the procedures to enable them in making an informed decision regarding their participation.

Confidentiality of subject data will be respected and preserved at all times. Experimenters will maintain control over access to subject records.

When appropriate, experimenters should inform subjects of the rationale of the study at some time during or following the conclusion of the procedures.

Experimenters should design their studies such that the costs to a subject are reasonably comparable to the rewards of participation. Any incentive promised for participation in experimental procedures will be given regardless of the quality of the subject's performance. Additional incentives may be given if they are greater in value to those that would be otherwise possible for participation.

Experimenters are responsible for the behavior of others (e.g., assistants, confederates, data encoders, etc.) that may influence the rights of the subjects. Assistants should be briefed by experimenters regarding the appropriate treatment of subjects.

No subjects will be exposed to procedures of a frivolous or clearly meaningless nature.

Subjects may be exposed to aversive or onerous treatments only if the potential benefits of the research to society well exceed the costs to the subject. Subjects in those procedures should be reminded of their right to terminate the procedures. Signed informed consent will be required of all subjects in such procedures.

The committee will retain the right to evoke its approval of, and terminate, any experiment in which accepted or defined ethical standards are not followed.

11. All projects will have ongoing review.

APPENDIX C: EVALUATION CRITERIA

Evaluation:

Method evaluation Element 1:

Hannah has completed the fieldwork portion of the project as defined by the project proposal established by Hannah Russell and the Spokane Tribe of Indians Historic Preservation Program (STI APP) using standard practices established by the state of Washington (DAHP) and STI HPP.

Method evaluation Element 2:

Hannah has curated all materials (including photographs, paperwork, and electronic data) from the “Archaeological Investigations and Comparison of Historic Spokane Indians Sites” project in a manner that is consistent with Spokane Tribe’s archival standards and was respectful of all cultural materials.

Method evaluation Element 3:

Hannah worked with the tribe to establish a project that will be beneficial to the tribe and a methodology that is consistent with the manner in which the STI HPP conducts archaeological fieldwork and assessments.

Collaborative evaluation Element 1:

Hannah has communicated to the STI HPP through the update reports as outline in the project proposal. These update reports were timely and informative.

Collaborative evaluation Element 2:

Hannah was responsive to the concerns regarding disclosure, curation and handling of materials, methodologies, and reporting.

APPENDIX D: PROJECT PROPOSALS

Initial Project Proposal for the Spokane Tribe of Indians Archaeology Preservation Program

Thesis Objective

I aim to pursue a comparative study of the material culture of the Spokane Tribe before and after the instillation of the Tribe onto the Spokane Reservation in 1881. Specifically, I would like to address the observable differences of sites relating to pre and post reservation settlement. How does the archaeology relate to historical accounts and ethnologies? What can be inferred about how the instillation of the Spokane Tribe on the Reservation changed their lifeways? How can material changes be related to diminished mobility, relationships with agency personnel, and growing Euro-American settler populations? How did access to traditional and Euro-American goods change, and how was their use of traditional resources affected within their new way of life on the Reservation? The goal of this research is to identify previously excavated sites within the Spokane's traditional territory just prior to their instillation on the reservation as wells as sites on the Spokane Reservation just after instillation, and to gain access to the Spokane Archaeological preservation program's archival collections for analysis. I will also work with the preservation program to identify potential archaeological sites to support this study for site recordation and analysis.

A secondary objective for the project is to learn the skills of tribal archaeology. Through my scholastic and professional career, I have worked in academic, CRM, government, and research based archaeologies. I have learned different skill sets through all of these different types of archaeological practices. Conducting archaeology in a thoughtful and ethical manner is the mandate I hold myself to. Learning the ways that tribes do archaeology will ensure that I do archaeology in a manner that is consistent with how Indigenous archaeologists have determined is most respectful of their ancestral populations. Considering that most archaeology is related to Native American populations, learning these skills is very important.

Materials to be Accessed

I hope to have access to the Archaeological preservation program's archives to identify applicable sites. In addition, I will pursue access to collections outside of the reservation at the Washington State SHPO office, as well as university collections and state museum collections. I will also conduct library research to identify historic and ethnographic accounts.

Benefits to the Tribe

This study will potentially provide a great deal of valuable information to the understanding of how the Spokane People lived in the historic period, and specifically, how their lives changed after they were put on the reservation. From my conversation with Randy Abrahamson and Brea Franco, I understand that there is a great deal of information regarding the time period I am interested in that has previously been unanalyzed. Working with these resources as well as with members of the tribe, I hope to be able to create a more complete picture of early reservation life, and to provide more context to the collections I will be working with.

In addition, the information I glean from the resources I will be working with will be available to the tribe during the research process and once the thesis is complete.

Timeline and Dissemination of Results

I aim to graduate from the University of Idaho in December 2013. Around this time I will have completed my thesis report. This final thesis report will be provided to the tribe. During the process of the research I will also provide update reports. I will produce four update reports (end of summer 2012, winter 2012, end of spring 2013, end of summer 2013) during the research process. In total five reports will be provided to the tribe. A copy of the final thesis report will also reside with the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at the University of Idaho and with me.

Cultural Property Rights

I will work with the Archaeological preservation program to determine what information (i.e. site locations, photographs etc.) is appropriate for different dissemination outlets and who should be allowed access to that information through my reports. I will also work with the program to determine what methodologies should be used when analyzing tribal archaeological materials.

Conclusion

As I expressed to Mr. Abrahamson, and Ms. Franco I will be flexible in how I approach this research and want to be responsive to Spokane tribal wishes and needs. This proposal is framed in how I understand archaeology through the frameworks I have used in my experience. As the process continues and my understanding of archaeology changes through my master's classes at the University of Idaho and my workings with the Spokane tribe so too will the manner in which I pursue this research shift. These efforts and changes will be documented in the update reports to the tribe. I look forward to this opportunity and am excited about the information I can help bring to light.

Amended Research Proposal for Reservation Sites

Introduction and Statement of Intent

The intent of the Historic Spokane Reservation Archaeological Project will be to document, analyze, and interpret the historical components of the Hidden Beach archaeological along the north bank of Lake Roosevelt on the Spokane Indian Reservation. The fieldwork component will be supplemented with historical documentation, and archival research. Concurrently, a second archaeological project will be undertaken off the reservation whereby historic Spokane sites will be located and documented. Collectively, these sites will serve as the foundation for an archaeological case study looking at the observable differences between pre and post reservation life in the Northwest and more specifically, among the Spokane Indians. This case study will not be a representation of acculturation, but rather an inquiry into culture change and continuity specifically within the scope of late nineteenth and early twentieth century Spokane material culture. Overarching, broad scale, questions include: What can be inferred about the lifeways of the Spokane after their removal to the reservation? Can material changes be related to diminished mobility, changes in subsistence/occupation, relationships with agency personnel, and growing Euro-American settler populations? Did access to traditional and non-traditional goods change, and how was their use of traditional resources affected within their new lives on the reservation? Did the division of labor between men and women change? If these types of changes are perceivable in the archaeological record, what inferences can be made in regards to culture change and continuity? The off reservation and on-reservation archaeological data will be limited to only a few sites collectively. The number and nature of these broad scale questions are very ambitious and will not all be able to be answered with the data I will collect through this archaeological, archival, and historical investigation. Instead, these questions are framed to keep me open to the historic archaeological community, and to orient this project within the broader archaeological landscape whereby future archaeological investigations may be able to better address these overarching questions with additional research, and a landscape based perspective. Where the data *can* clearly and concretely be applied I will seek to answer these broad scale questions.

A secondary objective of the project is to develop myself as an archaeologist using Indigenous theories and methodologies. To this end I have pursued a collaborative relationship with the Spokane Tribe of Indians Historic Preservation Program (STI HPP). In an effort to be open and honest with myself and with the Spokane, I need to be self-reflexive, and cognizant of the cultural baggage of my heritage (McDavid 68: 2007). This open dialog, both with myself, and with the Spokane will aid in my ability to be receptive to what the archaeology on the ground implies, to what the tribe wants, to what other archaeologists who have worked in the area have done, and to how I can be a *considered* and *considerate* voice in Indigenous archaeology. It is important to recognize that the archaeology of Indigenous people is not the shared heritage of all Americans, and that archaeologists are privileged to be able to study the cultural landscapes of Indigenous America.

Archaeology at Hidden Beach and Proposed Methods

The documented archaeological materials at Hidden Beach (R7-0002) suggests that the locality was the site of a large pre-contact village (potentially corresponding to the location of Verne Ray's ethnographic village 7, 7, 8, or 9), and was continuously inhabited throughout the early reservation period, including allotment, until the flooding of Lake Roosevelt as a result of the construction of

Grand Coulee Dam in 1941. Regardless of which Ray village the site is, it is likely to be or, to have tremendous affiliation to *ḏi'a'lək'an*, the largest seasonal camp site within the Lower Spokane territory (Ray 134, 1936). It is likely that the Hidden Beach locality was occupied and used during the protohistoric period, and the early historic period in a similar fashion to its use during the late pre-contact period. The reservation was established in 1881, and shortly thereafter a group of Spokane who had formally lived in Deep Creek as a Presbyterian colony relocated to the Hidden Beach locality along with others who had already settled in that vicinity on the reservation. During the allotment period, many of those from the Deep Creek colony were granted allotments along the north shore of the Spokane River at Hidden Beach. A road traverses through the Hidden Beach site extending from the south over Detillion Bridge into the heart of the reservation. The Spokane who had lived and worshiped at Hidden Beach relocated the Presbyterian Church and their settlements once the Grand Coulee Dam construction began.

During the 2012 field season, site R7-002, Hidden Beach, was expanded to include previously recorded sites R7-0005 and R7-0011. The site was recorded in 2012, 2004, 2002, and 1996, each time by STI HPP. Hidden Beach has been nominated to the National Register of Historic Places. This proposed archaeological investigation will include detailed documentation of remaining architectural features, roads, other historic features, historic artifacts and artifact concentrations. The documentation will consist of feature and artifact descriptions, measurements, and photographs. A detailed site map will be created noting the location of archaeological features and artifact concentrations, allotment boundaries, topographic features, modern infringements and developments, and the archaeological process (i.e. potential sample units and site boundary). Historic photos and previous documentation photos will be brought to the site to determine what changes may have occurred to the architectural features and to the landscape. Additionally, the ecological, geologic, and modern landscape will be documented and site photos will be taken. The site will be recorded using STI HPP archaeological forms and supplemented by artifact and feature inventory forms developed by Ms. Russell. No sub-surface investigations will be undertaken, and no archaeological materials will be collected. All data (field forms, photographs, maps, GIS data, completed and electronic forms) will be given to STI HPP at the completion of this project.

Additionally, some archaeological materials, including historic artifacts, from Hidden Beach are housed at the STI HPP archives. Known relevant accession numbers include 1996.002, 2002.002, and potentially 2006.003 (a not-further specified bead). These collections include historic tools, glass, a rifle cartridge and not-further specified prehistoric tools (not to be analyzed). These archived historic materials will be analyzed and included in the interpretation for this project. Historic documentation of the Hidden Beach locality and of early reservation development and life has already begun to be compiled, with the aid of Lynn Pankonin. This historic documentation will help to develop the cultural and landscape context of the Hidden Beach site and early reservation life.

Specific Research Questions

The documentation of the Hidden Beach site will seek to answer a number specific research questions that fall within the scope of the broad scale questions mentioned above. The following questions relate specifically to Hidden Beach. Can the spatial organization of historic materials provide insight into temporal affiliation (i.e. pre-allotment vs. post-allotment)? If so, how is the post-allotment material and architecture oriented within agency imposed allotment organizations and ideas of land ownership and privacy? How does the spatial organization of historic materials relate

to the spatial organization of pre-contact materials/can cultural continuity be inferred from spatial contexts (*note: because of inundation, and because this is a surface investigation, artifact organization is likely not to be intact, therefore these questions regarding spatial organization are not likely to be addressed, however they are stated here if on the off-chance enough surficial integrity remains to provide sufficient information to address these inquiries). Other specific research questions include: Who lived at the Hidden Beach locality? How did the people at Hidden transport off of the reservation and deeper into the reservation? What non-traditional materials (i.e. Euro-American derived) are present at Hidden Beach? How were these materials used and re-used? What remains of the Hidden Beach historic architecture? What architectural styles are present at Hidden Beach? How does the architecture change from one allotment to another? What were the functions of the buildings? Are all buildings post-allotment? What activities can be implied from the architecture and the artifacts?

Within the broader scope of the project, and for the purposes of comparison, the following questions are being asked throughout the off-reservation to on-reservation project. Are Euro-American derived materials present at the sites? If so, what is the difference in frequency of Euro-American derived materials between the off reservation and on reservation sites? How can the difference in frequency be explained? What is the difference in diversity of materials? How can the difference in diversity be explained? Are the sites on the reservation and off the reservation organized differently? If so, how are the sites organized differently, and what does that difference infer? What is the proximity of the Historic Spokane sites to Euro-American settlements? How could that proximity influence access to non-traditional materials? Were the Spokane likely to interact with the Euro-Americans (i.e. settlers, miners, trappers and traders, or missionaries) in the area during the temporal period of each site, and if so, who were those Euro-Americans? Does the Euro-American population influence access to non-traditional and traditional materials? What can be inferred about the fluidity from pre-contact to historic life at Hidden Beach?

Compilation and Analysis

Once all of the primary research has been conducted, trends in data will be sought using statistical analysis of the archaeological data to further explore the above stated questions. In addition to quantitative analysis, qualitative comparisons will be made and conclusions drawn using ethnographies, historical documentation and photographs, and observation of archaeological and architectural materials and structures. Temporal affiliation of artifacts and features will be determined based on historical documentation and available dating resources and models (i.e. glass, ceramics, nails etc).

Dissemination of Results

All findings will be reported in full to the Spokane Tribe of Indians' Historic Preservation Program. Abbreviated findings will be reported in my final thesis report that will be available through the University of Idaho. The extent to the abbreviated nature of the reported findings in my thesis report will be determined by the STI HPP. In addition, if STI HPP would like I would be willing to present my findings at the 2013 Spokane Days, and whatever outlets STI HPP deems appropriate and beneficial.

Works Cited

McBride, Carol

- 2007 Beyond Strategy and Good Intentions: Archaeology, Race, and White Privilege *In* Archaeology as a Tool of Civic Engagement. Barbara J. Little and Paul A. Shackel, eds. Pp. 67-88. New York: AltaMira Press.

Miller, Fennelle

- 2005 National Register of Historic Places; Cornelius District Nomination. Unpublished NRHP Nomination.

Ray, Verne F.

- 1936 Native Villages and Groupings of the Columbia Basin. *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 27(2): 99-152.

APPENDIX E: MOU AND PERMISSION FORMS

Memorandum of Understanding

This is an agreement regarding the treatment of archaeological collections relating to the Archaeological Assessment and Comparison of Historic Spokane Sites Project. The agreement is between the University of Idaho, Sociology & Anthropology Department and specifically with Dr. Mark Warner, associate professor of archaeology, and Hannah Russell, graduate student of anthropology (collectively Party A), and the Spokane Tribe of Indians, Historic Preservation Program (Party B).

I. Purpose of Scope

The purpose of this Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) is to clearly identify the roles and responsibilities of each party as they relate to the location, access, treatment, and analysis of materials associated with the archaeological project initiated by Hannah Russell entitled the Archaeological Assessment and Comparison of Historic Spokane Sites (AACHSS).

Both Party A and Party B should ensure that the materials will be handled in a manner that is consistent with Federal and State Laws, Spokane Tribe of Indian regulations, and University of Idaho standards.

II. MOU Term

The term of this MOU is the period within which the project responsibilities of this agreement shall be performed. This term commences when field work for the AACHSS Project is initiated and will terminate June 30, 2013, however materials may be turned over from Party A to Party B when all use of the materials is completed.

III. Party A Responsibilities

Party A is defined as Dr. Mark Warner, associate professor of archaeology at the University of Idaho, Moscow, who agrees to oversee Hannah Russell, graduate student of anthropology at the University of Idaho. Party A will assume temporary responsibility of materials compiled during the AACHSS Project. While in the care of Party A, all field forms, field notes, and hand drawn maps will remain at Archie Phinney Hall in a locked file. All computer files including word processing documents, digital photographs, and GIS data will be located on password encrypted computers (on the University of Idaho campus, and on Ms. Russell's personal computer). While in the possession of all materials, Party A agrees to analyze, and interpret the archaeological materials for use in Ms. Russell's master's thesis and for use by Party B. In addition, Party A agrees to prepare all field materials, computer files, and final report in a format that is determined by Party B and is stated below.

In addition, Party A agrees to abide by any special procedures and restrictions for handling, storing, inspecting, inventorying, and conserving the collection as defined by Party B in Section V below both during field work, and in the process of preparing a final report and thesis. As stipulated in the original project proposal submitted by Hannah Russell, periodic update reports will be provided to Party B on the status of work being conducted in connection to the AACHSS project.

IV. Party B Responsibilities

Party B possess jurisdiction over all materials associated with the AACHSS Project and agrees to accept the AACHSS materials from Party A upon completion of the terms of Party A's responsibilities defined above.

Party B agrees to provide sufficient guidance to Party A to ensure that the field work and final reporting is undertaken, prepared, and presented in a manner that is consistent with the policies of the Spokane Tribe of Indians' Historic Preservation Program.

V. Special Procedures and Restrictions

****To be defined by the Spokane Tribe of Indian's Historic Preservation Program.****

VI. Funding

Funding for the AACHSS project has been procured through the John Calhoun Smith Memorial Fund through the University of Idaho.

VII. Modification and Termination

This agreement may be prematurely terminated by either party without cause by giving 30 days written notice to the opposite party. Such notice will provide the effective date of termination.

Any and all amendments must be made in writing and must be agreed upon by both parties before becoming effective.

* Collections related terminology was partially provided by 36 CFR 79: Management of Archeological Collections, Department of the Interior, National Park Service. The MOU template, and legal terminology was provided by:
http://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&sqi=2&ved=0CFoQFjAA&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.cdph.ca.gov%2Fprograms%2Fcpns%2FDocuments%2FNetwork-LIANIA_MOU2012.doc&ei=u_pT9ejG6-E2QWNn9nhCA&usg=AFQjCNEk1nkVtMF0i-D1eeGNuddFwVvo2w

VIII. Effective Date and Signatures

This MOU shall be effective upon the signatures of all relevant individuals from Party A and Party B. It shall be enforced until the agreed upon termination date of June 30, 2013.

WASHINGTON STATE PARKS AND RECREATION COMMISSION
COLLECTIONS RESEARCH AGREEMENT
Permit No. CRA-1-2013

THIS AGREEMENT is made and entered into by and between the Washington State Parks and Recreation Commission, hereinafter referred to as "Commission," and Hannah Russell, hereinafter referred to as the "Researcher".

Commission is responsible for a wide range of archaeological and historical collections. The Commission's Cultural Resources Management Policy 12-98-1, Amended 11-2010 section VII.(C)7 states:

The Commission will work with other government agencies, interested Native American tribes, institutions and organizations to make appropriate objects or collections available for loan and research thereby improving public access and enhancing interpretive opportunity. Research and study of Commission collections will be made possible through a research approval process.

In cases where a Scientific Research Permit is unnecessary this Collections Research Agreement will be used. This Research Agreement is only good for the study of the Commission owned collections identified herein. Should the researcher be interested in studying a collection in the Commission's custody that is not owned by the Commission it is the responsibility of the researcher to obtain prior approval from the owner of the collection.

GENERAL INFORMATION:

Researcher

Name: Hannah Russell

Address:

Phone Number:

Email Address:

Collection Name or Site Number: 45SP266

Location Collection is Stored: Archaeological and Historical Services @ Eastern Washington University, Cheney, WA

Location Collection research will be conducted: Archaeological and Historical Services @ Eastern Washington University, Cheney, WA

Expected Dates of study:09/03/2013 to 09/05/2013

AUTHORIZATION:

When fully executed this agreement grants Researcher the Commission's approval to research the above named collection or collections, as described above. Researcher understands and agrees to abide by and follow the guidelines listed below.

GUIDELINES:**Photographic Restrictions**

- A. Researcher has Commission's approval to photograph the collection as identified in this document in whole or in part.
- B. Researcher will use his/her own photographic equipment.
- C. All images will be taken with a neutral background (gray, black, or white).
- D. No props are allowed, except for labels.
- E. All labels must be:
 1. On white paper no smaller than 1" long x ½" tall and no larger than 2" long x ½" tall
 2. Typed
 3. Black ink only
 4. Times New Roman font
 5. Sized 12 or 14 point
 6. Site Number and Artifact ID # only, no object names, types, or additional comments
- F. The Commission requires a complimentary copy of any images (traditional or digital)
- G. The Commission requires the following credit line if image is used in any report, paper, dissertation, essay, or other printed, published, or manufactured media or signage:

Courtesy of Washington State Parks and Recreation Commission, object id #, name of photographer, date of photograph
- H. If any preexisting images/photographs from the collection are used in any report, paper, dissertation, essay, or other printed, published, or manufactured media or signage use the following credit line"

Courtesy of Washington State Parks and Recreation Commission, image title, accession number, and site number
- I. No preexisting images/photographs, or new images of the collection may be used in any manner other than educational. If images/photographs are to be used for publication or revenue generating purposes separate approval must be obtained from the Commission.

Illustrations:

- A. All illustrations of objects in this collection created by the Illustrator are the property of the Illustrator.
- B. The Commission requires a complimentary copy of all illustrations produced as a result of this study.
- C. The Commission requires each illustration be identified by the site number and object number.
- D. The Commission requires the following credit line each time an illustration is used:
Collection courtesy of Washington State Parks and Recreation Commission, name of illustrator, illustration date

Additional Requirements:

- A. If researching an archaeological collection, some aspects of information contained within and about the collection are not meant for release to the general public. The Commission expects Researcher to be respectful, discrete and conservative with this information.
- B. The Commission requires one hard and one electronic copy of any report, paper, dissertation, essay, or other printed material that results from this study.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the parties have executed this Agreement.

Researcher: _____ Date _____
Hannah Russell, Student, University of Idaho

Commission: _____ Date _____
Alicia Woods, Curator of Collections

Commission: _____ Date _____
Lisa Lantz, Stewardship Program Manager

JOEL E. FERRIS RESEARCH LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES

2316 W. First Avenue
 Spokane, WA 99201
 (509) 363-5342, fax (509) 363-5303
 Archives@northwestmuseum.org

Date: _____

RIGHTS AND REPRODUCTION APPLICATION FORM

REGISTRATION INFORMATION

Name of Contact Person: Hannah Russell Title: Student

Organization Name: University of Idaho, Department of Sociology & Anthropology

Organization Address: _____

City: Moscow State: Idaho Zip: 83843

Phone: _____ Contact phone, if different: _____

Email address: _____

MATERIALS REQUESTED FOR USE (Please use MAC identification number)

L94-14.97

USE REQUESTED (Check all that apply)

Books, Periodicals, CD-ROMs, Videos

Format: Thesis Title: Archaeological Investigations and Comparison of Historical

Spokane Indian Sites on and off the Spokane Reservation

Author/Editor: Hannah Russell

Producer/Publisher: N/A

Publication Date: Number of Copies/Press Run: N/A

CONDITIONS GOVERNING REPRODUCTION OF MATERIALS FROM THE COLLECTIONS OF THE NORTHWEST MUSEUM OF ARTS & CULTURE/EASTERN WASHINGTON STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

(hereafter referred to as the Society)

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CREDIT LINE: Include the following elements: a) Northwest Museum of Arts & Culture/Eastern Washington State Historical Society, Spokane, Washington, b) the item's identification number, c) the individual artist, photographer, or creator, if known.

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GRATIS COPY _____

The Society requires a gratis copy of the publication, film, video or other production in which the reproduction appears. Please send to the attention of _____ Curator of Collections Curator of Special Collections.

I have read and agree to the conditions of this contract.

The Society grants one-time reproduction rights to the item(s) listed on this contract.

Applicant signature

Society Signature

Date

Date

THPO CONCURRENCE LETTER**Spokane Tribe of Indians**

P.O. Box 100 • Wellpinit, WA 99040 • (509) 458-6500 • Fax (509) 458-6575

May 8, 2012

Hannah Russell
University of Idaho**RE: Ardriological Assessment of Early Spokane Reservation Sites**

Ms. Russell:

Thank you for making the time to meet with Brea and me on 4/26/12 greatly appreciated.

Pursuant to compliance with section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act and 36 CFR 800, we are herby initiating consultation for this project.

As you know there are important cultural considerations surrounding the Spokane Tribe of Indians, there will be a copy of the confidentiality statement for you to sign.

AS I understand that this project is to do a comprising study with sites associated with the Spokane Tribe immediately before and shortly around the early eighteenth and nineteenth century.

We concur, and recommend that this project proceed cautiously as planned.

We request that once this project is completed that your send this office a copy of all your research documentation to the THPO office.

Sincerely,

Randy Abrahamson
THPO Officer

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Randy Abrahamson", with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.



Spokane Tribe of Indians
Cultural Preservation Archives/Collections

P.O. Box 544
Wellpinit, WA 99040
(509) 258-4060 main office
(509) 258-7844 collections bldg.

STI APP Collections Agreement

NAME Hannah Russell DATE: 20 June 2012

ADDRESS _____

CITY Moscow STATE ID ZIP 83843

BUS. PHONE _____

HOME/CELL PHONE _____

EMAIL ADDRESS _____

INSTITUTION/BUSINESS NAME Department of Anthropology and Sociology, University of Idaho, Moscow

COURSE/PROFESSOR NAME Thesis Research, Advised by Mark Warner

SUBJECT OF RESEARCH: An archaeological study of sites associated with historic Spokane occupation located on the Spokane Indian Reservation for the purpose of conducting a comparison study of lifeways for the Spokane Indians before and after their historic removal to the reservation. See proposal for further detail

PURPOSE OF RESEARCH – Check appropriate categories

Book, article or other publication. Title:

Other commercial distribution. Describe:

Thesis, dissertation, or term paper Exhibition:

Independent Research School Project

Identification and comparison with other material

Other

► Please read conditions printed on page two and sign

STAFF USE

STI Archives Accessed

Books:
Oral Histories:
Manuscript Collection (Name & #):
Maps:
Photographs:

CONDITIONS GOVERNING RESEARCH ACCESS TO COLLECTIONS

COLLECTION SAFETY

I understand that access to the collection is limited. Fragile or otherwise sensitive material is subject to supervision by Spokane Tribe archives/collections staff. I will handle all items in the manner instructed and observe all security regulations. I assume full responsibility for any damage, accidental or otherwise that I may inflict on any materials within the Spokane Tribe's archives/collections without limitation.

CREDIT

I will give credit to the *Spokane Tribe of Indians Archives/Collections, Wellpinit, WA* in any publication, film, video, public presentation for materials and information obtained through my research here. I will provide a gratis copy of any thesis, dissertation, term paper, publication, film, video, or commercial/non-commercial product resulting from my research here.

COPYRIGHT LAW

The copyright law of the United States (Title 17, United States Code) governs the making of photocopies and other reproductions of copyrighted material. Under certain conditions specified in the law, libraries and archives are authorized to furnish photocopies or reproductions of copyrighted material. One of these specified conditions is that the photocopy or reproductions will not be "used for any purpose other than private study, scholarship, or research." If a user makes a request for, or later uses, a photocopy or reproduction for purposes in excess of "fair use", the user may be liable for copyright infringement. The Spokane Tribal archives/collections reserves the right to refuse a copying order/request if, in its judgment the fulfillment of the order/request will involve violation of copyright law.

USE OF REPRODUCTIONS AND COPIES

I understand that my acquisition for my personal use of photocopies and/or other reproductions of materials owned and curated by the Spokane Tribe of Indians must be approved by the Spokane Tribal Archives staff and is limited by tribal policy, security, and collection care standards. I agree not to supply reproductions I acquire during my research to any other party, agency, or institution without written permission from the Spokane Tribal Preservation Department

REPRODUCTION OF COLLECTIONS

I understand that the reproduction of materials owned and curated by the Spokane Tribe of Indians for *any* profit-making, not-for-profit, media, or educational purpose requires a *Rights and Reproduction Application* separate from this agreement. Reproduction of the Spokane Tribe's collections may involve fees, dependent on use of the material. I understand that the Spokane Tribal Archives/Collections is not responsible for any copyright infringement made by me and that I am solely responsible for securing, independent of any agreements with the Spokane Tribal Archives/Collections, the right to reproduce material subject to the 1976 Copyright Act (Title 17, United States Code) from the artist, their agent or copyright owner. The Spokane Tribal Archives/Collections reserves the right to refuse permission for any use of its collections that may jeopardize the integrity of the Spokane Tribal Preservation Department and its collections.

INDEMNIFICATION

I/my organization will be solely responsible for, and will pay the Spokane Tribal Archives/Collections for and indemnify the Spokane Tribal Archives/Collections, against any and all financial loss or damage resulting from my use of any material obtained as a result of my research of the collections.

SOVEREIGN IMMUNITY

Nothing in this Agreement waives or can be construed to waive the sovereign immunity of the Spokane Tribe of Indians or any of its departments, agencies and staff.

JURISDICTION

By signing below I hereby submit myself and my organization to the full jurisdiction of the Spokane Tribe of Indians, including its Courts and Tribunals.

SEVERABILITY

If any part of this Contract/Agreement is determined to be void or voidable by the Spokane Tribal Court or any other court of competent jurisdiction, the remaining terms and conditions shall remain in full force and effect.

INTEGRATION

This Contract/Agreement contains the entire agreement between the parties.

MODIFICATION

Any modification of this Contract/Agreement shall be in writing and signed by both parties.



I have read and agree to act in accordance with the conditions of research access described herein.

Signature of Researcher _____ Date _____

Spokane Tribal Archives/Collections _____ Date _____

APPLICATION FORM [REQUEST FOR INFORMATION OR SPECIAL USE]

This application is used to request the release of Tribal Cultural Information from individual members or specific department archives. This information includes the recording or public disclosure or potential for public disclosure of traditional cultural practices or the nature and/or location of Spokane Cultural Resources. It may also be used to request information relating to or the use of specific cultural sites or locations. Permit Approval is required before any information release or recording occurs. Application and attachments must be submitted to:

Spokane Tribal Historic Preservation Office
 Spokane Tribe of Indians
 P.O. Box 100
 Wellpinit, WA 99040

Agency/Entity Name: Hannah Russell, graduate student, University of Idaho

Point of Contact: Brea Franco

Address: Moscow, ID 83843

Phone: _____ Fax: () _____ Email: _____

Name of Project: Archaeological Assessment of Early Spokane Reservation Sites 2012

PLEASE NOTE: The applicant is instructed to generate responses to the following issues on separate sheets, attaching them to this form. Further information may be required for approval of an information permit. Monitoring of the project activities and/or review of project materials by the Spokane Tribal Historic Preservation Officer or designee may be required before approval of permit and/or during the progress of the project. The cost of such monitoring and/or review will be the responsibility of the applicant. The Spokane Tribe reserves the right to refuse an application.

PROJECT ISSUES:

1. Describe the purpose of this project, detailing the dates and times of recording and/or interview.
2. Describe the informational subjects, project context, individuals, groups, and/or activities to be contacted, recorded, or released.
3. Describe the methods of recording, detailing the number of contacts, researcher/interviewers involved, and time requirements of the project participants. Indicate any remuneration policies involved in the project.
4. Indicate where the record will be stored and describe its final disposition. Indicate who will have access to this record in the future, noting whether or not the material collected will be available for copying or publication.

Signature of Responsible Party: Hannah Russell

Type or Printed Name: Hannah Russell

Date: 3 May 2012

stopped off @ Randy's 5/8/12 9:48am plaid on chair

Confidentiality Statement

Education and enthusiasm are some of the best assets to cultural resource management. Let people know about what you are doing and the types of things you find. Let them know how easily these things are destroyed, how important to the culture they are to protect, and what we are doing as a program to save them.

BUT, when you work with cultural resources, you accept the responsibility to keep sensitive information *confidential*. That means you do not share sensitive information with your buddies, the local newspaper, or the public. Specifically, this means that the *locations of sites* is to be kept strictly confidential. You can tell people about sites without telling them exactly where they are. For example, you can describe what you found that day, and just say, "We were on the west end," or "It's down near the river."

Time after time...after time...someone on a survey crew has told their family or friend about a site and its location; it NEVER fails to get mentioned to someone else. Frequently, a person gets hold of this information that knows how to vandalize a site, especially to get artifacts to sell. Many more times, it gets around to everyone in the community, so that each person visits the site and picks up 'just one' souvenir; pretty soon there is absolutely nothing left of the site. YOU will be directly responsible.

Traditional Cultural Properties pose a separate and sometimes confusing problem in the maintenance of confidentiality. Obviously, should cultural resource information be sought by enrolled tribal members practicing the traditional lifeways, that information should be made available to them. However, that type of information should be released primarily through the Tribal Historic Preservation Officer. Sacred or personal familial information should never be released without prior review by the THPO and/or Cultural Affairs Committee.

By signing this document, you agree to maintain confidentiality and will notify the Project Manager if you experience or know of a breach of confidentiality. This document will be kept in your personnel file for the duration of your employment; however, once you work in this field, it is assumed that you will maintain confidentiality in perpetuity.

Hannah Russell
Signature

Hannah Russell
Printed Name

17 May 2012
Date