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LONGING FOR CEDAR: TRACING INDIGENOUS FAMILY IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST FROM LONGHOUSES TO URBAN SPRAWL AND BUREAUCRATIC COMMAND

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LONGING FOR CEDAR: TRACING INDIGENOUS FAMILY IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST FROM LONGHOUSES TO URBAN SPRAWL AND BUREAUCRATIC COMMAND

by

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ABSTRACT

LONGING FOR CEDAR: TRACING INDIGENOUS FAMILY IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST FROM LONGHOUSES TO URBAN SPRAWL AND BUREAUCRATIC COMMAND

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The Coast Salish are a network of related Indigenous peoples in the Pacific Northwest. Their lifestyles have been challenged by Euroamericans for generations. Using archival sources from the Bureau of Indian Affairs and primary photographic sources, this study focuses on how domestic life changed for Coast Salish people across the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. I explore pre-colonial settlements and longhouses, interracial marriages during colonization, and boarding schools for Indigenous children after U.S. power solidified. The transformation of Coast Salish life induced by oppressive power structures illustrates the vital role of family ties in the origins and evolution of Coast Salish culture. My research engages with an ongoing debate in Native American and Indigenous studies, weighing how scholarship can address colonial attempts at Native erasure while

also making clear Native resistance and adaptation to these pressures. By blending archaeological and ethnographic sources with archival records, I engage this debate in Indigenous by merging attention to the oppressive power of colonialism with Native adaptation and persistence. This approach charts the evolving politics between Native family networks, frontier enterprises, and the governments of the U.S. and Canada.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The Power on high doth make me dance
Because wealth is in my house.
The Power on high doth make my heart sing
Because wealth, it is in my house.
The Power on high doth make me play
Because wealth, it is in my house.
The Power on high doth make me show my ritual
Because wealth, it is in my house.[1]

Dancers' feet pounded the floor. Thunder Drums boomed within the cedar walls. Singers bellowed their welcomes, prayers, remembrances, and celebrations. Droning voices and excited cries melded with the reverberant drums and sweeping, falling of dancers' feet. The pageantry transported the travelers and villagers alike, praising the "Power on high." The ceremonies of the Potlatch lasted anywhere from fourteen days to the full cycle of the moon, beginning at crescent. Family from everywhere on the Northern Coast visited, feasted, and slept alongside the villagers in their home. The festivities, taking place in the resilient shelter of massive cedar plank houses, were all about connecting.

The Potlatch served to connect Coast Salish with their spiritual betters, gods, ancestors, and elements of nature. This religious tone, however, was not the only purpose. Ceremonial gift-giving established political and social statuses. As a host, the highest-ranking individual of a Coast Salish village flaunted the beauty and monumentality of

[1] George Clutesi, *Potlatch*, (Sidney, British Columbia: Gray's Publishing, 1969).

their longhouses, and the fine network of family that resided within. Travelers to the Potlatch were hosted within the longhouse for the entirety of the event, testing the capacity of the home. This level of hospitality served to elevate the status of the host, testifying to their material resourcefulness, both in the feasting and gift-giving, but also in the enduring tremendous size of their home.[2]

The home, family, and wealth were all intertwined for the Coast Salish. Before colonization, Potlatches epitomized the high value placed on these aspects of life. Upon the arrival of Euroamerican traders and settlers, the established order of Coast Salish villages transformed, forcing the Indigenous people to adapt to the evolving society. Coast Salish people began to incorporate white traders into their lifestyle, developing an advantageous working relationship. As United States settlers became more interested in migrating West, their efforts at attaining land weakened the Coast Salish community and tie to their homes.

Through an evolving technique of removal, erasure, and dependence, Euroamericans attempted to dissolve the connection between the Coast Salish and their lands. The Treaty of Point Elliot in 1855 established reservations for various bands of Coast Salish. The tribes signed in exchange for hunting and fishing rights and the promised resources such as lumber and funds to adapt to reservation life. But what came of this promise? This thesis analyzes the targeting of Coast Salish family and homes for the purpose of erasure in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and how, despite the efforts of colonialists, family ties were ultimately the backbone of survival and resistance.

[2] Clutesi, *Potlatch*.

Chapter One discusses the homes of the Coast Salish across the coast, focusing on the decoration and use of the home. This chapter establishes the basis of Salishan culture, to better illustrate the immense transformation the arrival of Euroamerican settlers forced. The home epitomized the precolonial way of life and serves as an excellent means of understanding the social, cultural, and economic realities on the precolonial coast. The layout and decoration of homes reveal values placed on communalism, social ranking, and an animistic mythology.

Chapter Two details a narrative of colonization. This section covers the trading era, which is essential to understanding the slow but unrelenting creep of colonialism, as the traders were the harbinger of settlers. Beyond the trading era, the settler era introduces the opportunity to discuss the gendered and racial dynamics belying the growth of Seattle, the urban center of the Northwest. These dynamics are examined through a study of the 1880 census, tracing the racialized nature of urban and rural living in the Seattle area as a sample for the region.

Chapter Three examines a later stage of colonization for the Coast Salish: the eventual degradation of family due to boarding schools. By viewing records from Chemawa Indian School, which remains in operation to date, the administrative goal of cultural erasure becomes clear. The sequestering and control of Coast Salish children aimed to disarm the influence of Indigenous culture and socialization in order to hamper the survival of their heritage. This analysis remains in conversation with other new literature on Chemawa, which establishes the means students used to adapt their culture to the conditions of the school and resist their conditioning.

This analysis contends with a key debate in the field of Native American and Indigenous studies. Should scholars focus on analyzing colonialism and its destructive effects, or on the power of Indigenous peoples to resist and adapt. On the one hand, focusing on the imbalance of power and injustices inherent in the process of colonization can tend to reinforce a notion of Indigenous passivity and victimhood. On the other hand, focusing on Indigenous power and adaptation risks overlooking the existential threat that colonialism posed. This thesis contends that a synthesized approach is key to understanding Indigenous history, by illustrating both the immense challenges to survival as Indigenous people that colonialism posed and also how families and households adapted to these threats creatively in their everyday lives to persist.

CHAPTER TWO

HOME ON THE NORTHWEST COAST

Innumerable generations of Northwest Coast Indians lived in villages of ancient construction, in centuries-old homes that witnessed untold events of family and community history. These homes provided a setting for ceremonies, work, and life, and symbolized the societies' philosophies of property and social order. Massive homes hosted ceremonial and social gatherings, stored gifts of inter-tribal diplomacy, and supported dancers on wide open floors as they flaunted their family and personal honors. As the United States sought to expand its empire to the Pacific Ocean, the arrival of settlers in the West evicted societies which had made these monumental homes for centuries. As settlers made new homes and industries on the West Coast, Indigenous peoples of the Northwest Coast found themselves homeless, forced to quickly build new shelters on unfamiliar land, ending the centuries-old traditions affiliated with the ancient and massive home style of their former societies.

The Coast Salish are a large group of Indigenous people that live in Northwest America, on the Pacific Coast. Originating from what is now known as British Columbia, Washington, and Oregon, the Coast Salish centered their lifestyle around the woods and waterways abundant in their homeland. While not a homogenous group, Coast Salish societies experienced similar realities of displacement, losing the common connections to the waterways which shaped their way of life. The narrative typically focuses on the process of displacement, the systemic abuses through government authority, as well as

direct violence from military or settler groups. However, studying the societies Indigenous people had to depart preserves a new dimension of these groups' history. Forced removal not only coercively took away land, but also imposed a transformation of social and religious organizations due to the loss of ancestral Salish homes - both literal and figurative - and the subsequent Americanization of their communities. A hallmark of Coast Salish societies, the longhouse was central to the lifestyle and social organization on the waterways, but removal from ancestral homelands ended their maintenance and construction. The longhouse supported communal styles of living and intimately tied family history and social stature together in their structure and decoration. The colonial loss of longhouses, and thereby the social and spiritual systems they supported, represents a fundamental shift in Coast Salish identity.[3]

Existing work about settler-colonial effects on Coast Salish people often focuses on the ever-present role of this group throughout the history of the Pacific Northwest and the transformation of their landscape. Historian Coll Thrush expands on this history in his book *Native Seattle*, which inspired the idea for this project. Thrush highlights the centrality of Native people in the development of Seattle and the persistent legacy of Native culture in the city. Thrush, unlike the prominent historians of Coast Salish people before him, observes the history of these groups alongside the settling and urban development of the area. He approaches the environmental history of the Seattle area as a function of the division of control of the waterways between Natives and settlers.[4] This analysis is central to the understanding of rights and lands lost by Coast Salish groups, including the water-

[3] Wayne Suttles, "Central Coast Salish," in *Handbook of North American Indians* vol. 7, ed. William Sturtevant, (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1990).
[4] Coll Thrush, *Native Seattle* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2007).

centric settlements and ceremonies essential to their pre-colonial civilizations. This historical approach differs from some earlier historiography, which tended to focus on these groups in isolation and with relatively little consideration of the effect of settlers on these practices.

Ethnographic approaches by several scholars of the past tended to view the Indigenous groups of the Pacific Northwest as societies mostly divided from the settler world.[5] While this approach does not address questions relating to the process of displacement necessarily, sources from these scholars provide a lot of information about the cultural practices relevant to understanding pre-displacement societies. The most prominent ethnographer on the subject, Franz Boaz, sought to understand the Coast Salish through their ceremonial practices and art which reveal the fundamental influence of coastal living on these cultures.[6] Wayne Suttles, a later ethnographer of the 20th century, investigated cultural dimensions of these groups as well, writing on language and ceremonies[7]. Sources from these scholars provide essential cultural context that lends itself to an analysis of the cultural significance of architecture, but ultimately does not illustrate its relationship to settler intervention. Archaeological sources, however, begin to illustrate this dynamic.

Much of the scholarship on Coast Salish longhouses comes from archaeologists studying various settlements uncovered on the greater Northwest Coast. Archaeological sources tend to agree on the apparent multi-faceted importance of architecture, with special

[5] Franz Boas, *Primitive Art* (New York: Dover Publications, 1955). Wayne Suttles, "Central Coast Salish," in *Handbook of North American Indians* vol. 7, ed. William Sturtevant, (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1990) 462.
[6] Franz Boas, *Primitive Art* (New York: Dover Publications, 1955).
[7] Wayne Suttles, "Central Coast Salish," in *Handbook of North American Indians* vol. 7, ed. William Sturtevant, (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1990) 462.

attention to the longhouses, on Coast Salish lifestyles. Archaeological anthropologists Kenneth Ames and Emily Shepard published an article in 2019 that studied four sites which included longhouses, arguing that the extent of labor, time, and material costs of building a single centralized longhouse show how these settlements prioritized the creation and maintenance of these structures.[8] Ames and Shepard also show that each of these homes were in use for centuries, with all of the houses being occupied for at least four hundred years by successive multi-family residents.

Other archaeological sources examine longhouses as social and economic signifiers. Susan Roy, an archaeological anthropologist, examines the role of longhouses in the development of the philosophy of property in these communities, as land tenure systems developed around the question of how prominent homes such as longhouses would be managed across generations.[9] This analysis develops an understanding of how U.S. actions disrupted the social orders of Coast Salish groups through dispossession of their land and property.

The narrative of Coast Salish history is largely rendered through the study of their culture as though it was separate from the world of non-Indigenous Americans. With the method that Coll Thrush uses to tie the history of Indigenous people to the urban and environmental history of the Pacific Northwest, this thesis ties the history of Coast Salish culture to the history of their forced removal from the Northwest.

[8] Kenneth Ames and Emily Shepard. "Building Wooden Houses: The Political Economy of Plankhouse Construction on the Southern Northwest Coast of North America," *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 53 (2019): 202-221.
[9] Susan Roy, *These Mysterious People* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010).

2.1 Longhouse Construction and Essential Ways of Life

Longhouses, also known as plank houses, cedar houses, or big houses, were constructed with longevity and the waterways in mind. According to archaeological evidence, construction of these homes took considerable amounts of time and resources, and their maintenance over hundreds of years also required extensive attention. Archaeologists at Duwamish sites and Northern Coast Salish sites in the Fraser River Valley found several longhouses that had been inhabited for upwards of four hundred years. These homes always faced the water, running parallel to the shoreline. The largest houses, and particularly the longhouses (made fully aboveground, unlike other shelters in the same villages) took their place closest to the shoreline, indicating the most important homes belonged nearest to water. These sites also show extensive resources went into the maintenance of these homes, showing signs of regular repairs but little to no major changes in construction over their inhabited years.[10]

[10] Kenneth Ames and Emily Shepard, "Building Wooden Houses: The Political Economy of Plankhouse Construction on the Southern Northwest Coast of North America," *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 53 (2019): 202-221.

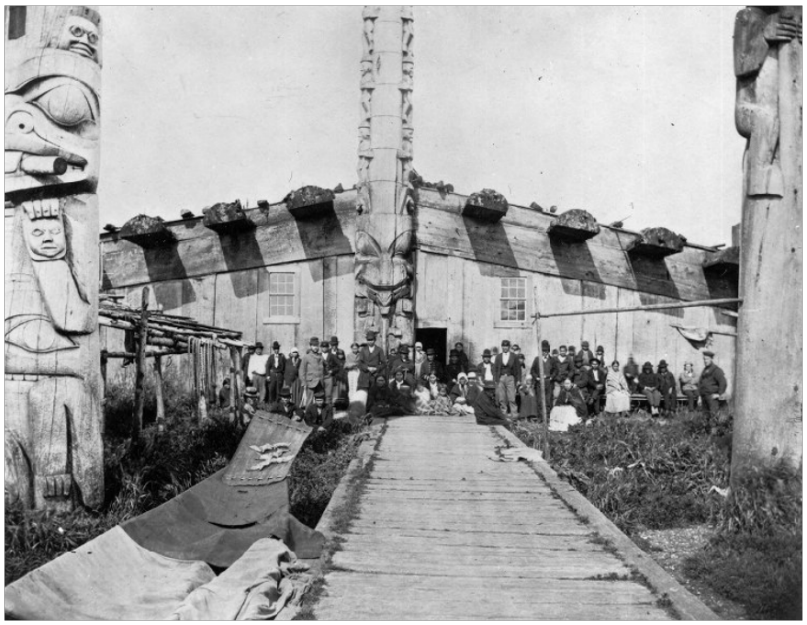

Figure 2.1: Haida *Monster House* in Alaska with forty inhabitants

The layout of the interior of longhouses supported communal living and working activities, while also facilitating large gatherings. The interior of longhouses varied between villages and cultures, but they consistently had a wide open, long, rectilinear and relatively narrow layout, hence the term *long*houses. Most longhouses are estimated to have been between sixty feet long and thirty feet wide, but archaeologists have found larger. One longhouse, from a Northern Coast Salish village on the Fraser River in modern British Columbia, was recorded at 640 feet by 60 feet, making it the largest home of this kind ever found.[11] This long and narrow open layout meant that the inhabitants of each home, usually a large extended family, along with cohabitants such as friends and servants, shared the same living space. In addition, labor performed in the home by inhabitants

[11] Wayne Suttles, "Central Coast Salish," in *Handbook of North American Indians* vol. 7, ed. William Sturtevant (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1990), 462.

occupied the same workspace.[12] In this style of home building, the family within lived closely and in constant view of one another. This lifestyle was essential to Coast Salish cultures, as group action sustained these households and villages through cooperative work that provided for the needs of the household and broader community.

The large size and open layout of the longhouse also provided adequate space for large gatherings, including local feasts or the larger and more significant gathering of the potlatch. Potlatches were hosted by regional elites and signified their generosity and wealth. These gatherings featured dances, gift-giving, and celebrations of major life events, all to the effect of maintaining the status of the host. At these events, hosts gave gifts to elites from other villages and clans, marking their relative ranks through the order in which gifts were given. The layout of the longhouse facilitated these kinds of gatherings for the purposes of dances, other performances, and gift-giving ceremonies, but also provided housing for guests to lodge, as these events were usually two weeks to one month in length. These periodic ceremonial gatherings were essential to the social and political dynamics underlying intertribal diplomacy, with longhouses providing both the setting for friendly communication, and a manifestation of the hosts rank, evident in the size and decoration of the home.

2.2 Rank and the Home

Coast Salish groups have been shown to be preoccupied with rank in their socio-economic divisions. While this tendency can also be seen in many cultures worldwide (even in our own today), the Salish approach to rank is unique for its individualization of

[12] Kenneth Ames and Emily Shepard. "Building Wooden Houses: The Political Economy of Plankhouse Construction on the Southern Northwest Coast of North America," *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 53 (2019): 205-211.

ranking. In broad terms, these groups were divided between the elite, the commoner class, and the enslaved. No two members of a single group are of the same rank, but this idea especially dominated the elite class. Within these broad divisions, a person attained their individual rank through several factors, all centered around the collection of honors.[13]

Honors, also referred to as privileges, were earned in a number of ways within these local coastal groups, and often derived from familial history and spiritual rites. Honors included material rights of economic value, such as a noble man's right to the best part of a discovered or hunted whale,[14] but many aspects of the Coast Salish ranking system related to ceremonial or symbolic gestures of stature. These symbolic or ceremonial honors are the most important regarding longhouses and the broader social system of privileges. Symbolic privileges could include the right to sing songs with specific messages or purposes, perform dances, or paint and carve important symbols. The complex system of privileges has not been fully explained by ethnographers,[15] but Coast Salish societies centered the system of privileges in public behavior as the foremost expression of rank, visible in the construction and decoration of their homes.

[13] Edward Sapir, "The Social Organization of the West Coast Tribes," in *Indians of the Pacific Northwest Coast: Studies in Selected Topics*, edited by Tom McFeat (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1989), 32.
[14] Edward Sapir, "The Social Organization of the West Coast Tribes," in *Indians of the Pacific Northwest Coast: Studies in Selected Topics*, edited by Tom McFeat (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1989), 32.
[15] Edward Sapir, "The Social Organization of the West Coast Tribes," in *Indians of the Pacific Northwest Coast: Studies in Selected Topics*, edited by Tom McFeat (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1989), 32.

Figure 2.2: Musquem housepost

While the size and number of household residents significantly influenced rank and prestige, the decorations of the longhouse represented the privileges owned by the head of household. As carving and painting were typical practices, elite craftsmen carved houseposts to represent distinguished ancestors, symbolically recalling the lineage that provided many of the privileges enjoyed by a household.[16] In this example, a Musquem man stands next to a house post that represents an ancestor that led battles in an important rivalry for the clan. In this house post, the figure is represented as human, whereas these ancestors were often represented through depictions of representative animals. This post is carved in a Central Coast Salish style, featuring a flat oval face with small eyes and mouth. The figure is depicted with a narrow torso, but broad shoulders and bulky legs. This post

[16] Wayne Suttles, "Central Coast Salish," in *Handbook of North American Indians* vol. 7, ed. William Sturtevant (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1990), 462, 470.

would support beams in the home raising the roof, literally and symbolically protecting the family within.

The kinship networks of Coast Salish groups were of the utmost importance to them, as villages operated under the assumption of a common mythic ancestor.[17] With the view that local groups were one large family, references to prominent ancestors would resonate with an entire village, especially the occupants of the large house supported by the monumental figures. Given that prominent longhouse owners would often give feasts to their local village (if the settlement was in fact large enough to span more than a single longhouse), the entire extended family would have been able to appreciate the house posts as they recalled the prominent ancestors that gave the clan their special honors.

House posts and other wooden structures often sported carved references to ancestors and other sources of honor. Rather than human likenesses, many house posts or totems featured depictions of animals. Franz Boas extensively recorded the figures Pacific Northwest Indigenous people often carved or otherwise represented in their art, including beavers, hawks, eagles, killer whales, bears, snails, and many other animals prevalent in the woods and waters.[18] These animals, and the hybrid animal-monsters that derived from them, often referenced ancestors, or particularly the honors and virtues associated with particular historical figures.

In this example of a painting on the façade of a longhouse reconstructed in 1940, the image apparently represents an animal, shown in symmetry with an exaggerated head size. The image is of the entire body of the animal, whereas many depictions, particularly

[17] Edward Sapir, "The Social Organization of the West Coast Tribes," in *Indians of the Pacific Northwest Coast: Studies in Selected Topics*, ed. Tom McFeat (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1989), 35-40.
[18] Franz Boas, *Primitive Art* (New York: Dover Publications, 1955), 186-198.

on masks and totem poles, would be of the head only. The depictions of different animals often have crossover. Specifically in this case, the depiction resembles both the bear and the killer whale. The faces of these animals were often portrayed in similar ways, with wide mouths containing many teeth, and similarly shaped heads, eyes, and nostrils. However, this depiction, given its large round ears and four paws, is evidently a bear. The iconography of the Coast Salish has incredible degrees of nuance, so any depiction of these traditional symbols may have private specific meanings to the artist that carved it. Within the system of privileges, the right to paint any given symbol or image on the front of the home is an honor very particular to the individual as a result of their long reaching inheritance of certain familial symbols.[19] Since this longhouse is a reconstruction, this particular image recreates what was lost, so the best estimation of the symbols' meaning comes from mythology.

Figure 2.3: Tlingit bear doorway painting

[19] Sapir, 44. The grizzly bear is claimed as a symbol belonging to the privileges of at least twelve Haida (Northern Coast Salish) clans alone, not to mention how this symbol is present in other tribes across the Pacific Northwest. This depiction of the bear is a Tlingit creation, closely related to the Haida.

This longhouse belonged to a Tlingit village, whose central myth surrounding the bear intends to relay the importance of family connections and assert the need to respect nature. In this myth, a young Tlingit girl walks through the woods, almost stepping in bear droppings. Because she had to suddenly jump away from the droppings, she dropped the food she carried, so she cursed the bears of those woods. Shortly after, she was approached by a mysterious but appealing man who proposed marriage, so she accepted and went to live with him in his home in the woods. As his wife, she was sequestered from her family as they resided in the longhouse of their village, but she lived in a cave her new husband called home. She lived with the man from the forest for many years, having two children with him, but she missed her home and family dearly. One day she looked upon him during the night to discover that he was actually a bear with the ability to take human form during the day. The girl began to plan her escape, leaving her scent for her family's hunters to find and eventually she is brought back to her village, rescued by the hunters.[20]

In this story, the bear isolated the girl as retribution for insulting him and cursing him and the other bears. To the Tlingit, bears had souls or spirits in the same way as people, and so should not be insulted.[21] This myth suggests the mystic power of bears and demonstrates why they should be feared and respected as powerful and willful beings. In this case, the painting of the bear on the building signals the family's mythical descent from the bear, as the girl brought her bear-human children back to her family to be raised as people. The requirements to earn this image as a privilege are unknown, as the tribal educators and carvers employed in this reconstruction knew only the mythology, but not

[20] Mary Helen White Pelton and Jacqueline DiGennaro, *Images of a People: Tlingit Myths and Legends*. (Santa Barbara: Libraries Unlimited, 1992) 145-167.
[21] Tlingit, as with many other Coast Salish groups, practiced animistic spirituality. In their view, all living things had souls like those of humans.

the last person to earn the honor. However, given the nature of virtues that earn other symbols, such as the need to display fighting prowess to carve the Musqueam ancestor discussed earlier, the right to use the image of the bear likely derives from the myth of the bear itself.

Two main themes in this story likely establish the virtue the carver is supposed to exhibit. The importance of family and the need to respect nature, particularly as a hunter, are central in this myth. Because carvers in Coast Salish societies reserved carving and painting arts for men (with women more likely to weave baskets and make tapestries), and hunting was also a male occupation, This symbol likely would have been earned by a man who displayed prowess in hunting or took particular care to hunt respectfully towards nature. In the myth, the hunters who rescued the girl killed the bear, but performed songs in its honor and treated the bear's remains like those of a brother. Because the story emphasizes the need to respect nature and the spirit of animals, Tlingit hunters likely earned the right to carve or paint the symbol of the bear by demonstrating honorable and respectful hunting practices. So, in this case of the Tlingit longhouse, the painting of the bear surrounding the entrance to the longhouse symbolized the family's mythical descent from bears and their reverential treatment of the environment.

The story of the girl who married the bear also demonstrates the importance of the longhouse and family in Coast Salish societies. The bear's punishment for the girl was the distance created between her, her family, and especially the longhouse. In the myth, the girl specifically misses the scent of cedar in her home compared to the damp earthy scent of the cave. The symbol of the Tlingit bear and the mythology behind it exemplifies the fundamental role of the longhouse in this Coast Salish society.

CHAPTER THREE

RESERVATIONS AND INTERRACIAL INTIMACY

Longhouses, though designed to withstand centuries of wear and generations of life and celebrations, did not survive the arrival of white settlers. Scholars of the West have determined the extensive influence of the fur trade onto the growth of Euroamerican settlements. This chapter builds upon the work of Anne Hyde especially the connection she draws in *Empires, Nations, and Families*[22] establishes between the intimate lives of people on the frontier and the growth of U.S. settler society on the West Coast. Additionally, the work of Peggy Pascoe, particularly in *What Comes Naturally*[23], has influenced this approach to interracial homes and brought up the question of where Indigenous people stood in the transitionary time the census of 1880 captured. Both historians draw on intimate dynamics to explain the evolving societies in the West. In emulating that approach, this chapter discusses interracial marriages and homes, discovered through a study of the 1880 census, as well as new homes created on reservations. Examining reservations and interracial cohabitants in the settler society elucidates how Coast Salishans created new roles and found new homes in the evolving landscape.

3.1 Early Colonization

The original arrivals of Euroamericans on the West Coast oriented around trade, particularly of furs. Early expeditions funded by the fur trade included Alexander

[22] Anne Hyde, *Empires Nations Families*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2011.)
[23] Pascoe, Peggy. *What Comes Naturally*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Mackenzie who arrived in the summer of 1793 to interact with the Bella Coola in what is now British Columbia. His team set out in search of a water route to the Pacific, with his financiers hoping to pioneer trade with Asia with bases along the Pacific Coast. Rather than finding this water route, Mackenzie set a precedent for white traders to brave the harsh northern continental travels for the promise of trade even further west. Lewis and Clark managed their hike to Oregon, trading along the way with local villages and particularly with Chinook traders. Once the expedition arrived to the Pacific Coast in 1805, the fur trade network had already established connections with Euroamericans across the continent, but the arrivals of so-called "pioneers" marked the beginning of the end of precolonial Coast Salish life.[24]

Further engagement with trade transformed the Coast Salish relationship with white settlers, introducing strong economic ties and particularly intimate social mixing. In this trading period, the Hudson Bay Company, Northwest Company, and American Fur Company established posts and forts to support traders employed by the European and American companies. These settlements included almost exclusively men, as the operations were considered extremely remote and precarious – not suitable for women. Facing the desolate remoteness of outpost life and the unavailability of white women, the white traders became interested in relationships with women of the Indigenous groups. While the Indigenous women provided social and physical comfort to the traders, relationships between these men and women also offered material benefits to both parties.[25]

Intermarriages propagated by the trade offered unique diplomatic opportunities for trading men and their Coast Salish wives. Intimate connections with Indigenous women

[24] Anne Hyde, *Empires Nations Families*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2011.)
[25] Sylvia Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1983.)

gave men an advantage in the trade, providing access to new family networks to establish trade in existing hunting and trapping enterprises. Indigenous wives acted as translators, diplomats, and brokers for their husbands. For the Indigenous women, their lives with white men may have offered some material benefits, but particularly opened opportunities to facilitate trading in a way inaccessible to their male family members.[26] In this role, the Indigenous women acted both as advocate for their family network and their white husbands, allowing their families to profit from European and American goods while their husbands earned money from trade with these kin networks.

These relationships had different levels of approval from the administrations of the various fur companies. The Hudson Bay Company attempted to prevent intermarriages when the company was still limited to the Hudson Bay area, believing the environment of the fur trade constituted a workplace, unsuitable for women and intimate connections in general. They even wished for fort to become self-sufficient, and their employees celibate. The Northwest Company however encouraged this level of engagement with Indigenous communities long before it reached the Pacific Coast, encouraging the French traders it employed to take on these relationships for the benefit and perpetuation of the trade network. By the time both companies established trading posts on the Pacific Coast, intermarriage had become the norm, proving to have a self-sustaining and positive effect on profits.[27]

The normalization of interracial marriage did not prove enduring with the arrival of more settlers and greater urban development of Pacific Northwest cities. As white settlers began arriving to establish communities that were not centered exclusively around

[26] Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties.*
[27] Van Kirk.

the transcontinental trade, new governments and white communities called into question the tradition of Indigenous-white intermarriage. The introduction of white women, Sylvia Van Kirk argues, offered the basis for racialization, as white wives became status markers among the traders as settlers became filtering in. The popular conceptions of white womanhood versus Indigenous womanhood contained a marked notion that Indigenous women labored, hardy and useful. Comparatively, white women embodied (and ostensibly performed) far more gentle and demure traits, functioning to men as dainty objects, in essence a luxury good as the West Coast developed standards of white society.[28] With the development of settler society, and the association of Indigenous wives with lower status, the intimate frontier of the Northwest changed.

3.2 Longhouses Lost

The influx of white settlers in the nineteenth century created the desire to remove Coast Salish from their homes near the waterways, for use of the valuable commercial land. The creation of reservations for the Coast Salish and other Pacific Northwest Indigenous people was a tragic event for these societies. Beginning with a violent journey of removal, the Coast Salish needed to rapidly adapt their way of life at the most intimate levels to the oncoming settler society, constituting a monumental loss for these dispossessed groups.

With the new land, Indigenous people were forced to build new homes in the 1870s with the enactment of the Treaty of Point Elliot. Arriving at their reservations with few belongings and only the materials provided by the U.S. government, groups had to build brand new shelters after being taken or coerced out of their likely decades- or centuries-old homes. Typical longhouses required years of building and a large number of men, so

[28] Van Kirk.

their replication was not feasible. The removed groups had a short time and fewer human and material resources to build new shelters in order to be quickly protected from the elements as winter approached.[29] The materials the U.S. provided could not facilitate the building of large homes, forcing reservation-bound Coast Salish to make homes for smaller divisions of family, disrupting the accustomed social and labor divisions of households. D. C. Beaty, the farmer-in-charge of the Puyallup reservation, observes in his annual report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs,

> Most of them [Puyallup and other displaced Natives] have gone to work in earnest, building small houses, some of them sawed lumber, some log-cabins, and others contenting themselves with their movable huts, while they spend their time clearing their land: others are working out to obtain money to buy material for their houses and get provisions, while a few have done nothing at all.[30]

Overall, Beaty's observations reveal the scramble created by displacement, as well as resistance to the circumstances embodied by the people refusing to build new homes. The U.S. treaty that created this reservation promised this group $3,250 to cover the costs of relocating, clearing the land, and building new homes.[31] However, this payment, promised to nine signatory tribes, did not support the creation of adequate shelters, as observed by Beaty in his report. The burden to house the displaced Indigenous populations largely fell on themselves, while the Indian Agents and farmers-in-charge watched their rushed and poorly supported construction efforts, satisfied in their own duties to help

[29] E. M. Gibson, "Annual Reports of Nisqually, Puyallup, Other Agencies," Office of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Sept. 28, 1874, University of Washington Special Collections, American Indians of the Pacific Northwest Collection.
[30] D. C. Beaty, "Annual Report of Puyallup Agency," Office of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 1, 1874, University of Washington Special Collections, American Indians of the Pacific Northwest Collection.
[31] Treaty with the Nisqualli, Puyallup, etc., U.S.-Nisqually, Puyallup, S'Homamish, Sahehwamish, Squaxin Island, Squiaitl, Stehchass, Steilacoom, T'Peeksin, Dec. 26, 1854. Considering the number of allotments overseen by D. C. Beaty on the Puyallup Reservation, which he puts at seventy-four, this amount works out to roughly $45 per household, which is just over $1,000 per household in today's dollars.

"civilize" these groups. Without suitable support from the U.S. government and the disallowance of their established village style, the Coast Salish on this reservation scrambled to acquire supplies for their survival.

Later, in the 1880s, the U.S. enacted a policy of allotment, the dividing of large swaths of land into small parcels, which particularly disrupted and transformed the lifestyle supported by longhouses. Allotment provided the U.S. with the opportunity to enforce American ideas about the nuclear family onto the preexisting and expansive family model of the Coast Salish. In another annual report regarding the reservations, Indian Agent H. D. Gibson reveals his personal view of his duty overseeing allotments, stating "I regard the taking and improving separate permanent homes by Indians as the first prominent step toward true civilization," dismissing the extended family household model as uncivilized.[32] This method managed to create the appearance of the American conception of "civilization." The smaller divisions of land required that small nuclear family units take ownership, rather than the former large family unit under a singular massive household. The nuclear family model challenged the typical division of labor, requiring scarce workers (scarcity brought on by violent measures of removal) to build far more structures than a Coast Salish village would customarily feature. It also appeared to change household labor, likely creating more household maintenance per person as single-family housing required fewer household inhabitants to take on a similar number of regular household chores. In longhouses, household labor was performed collaboratively between the several smaller families within, but the isolation brought on by small-shelter living could not allow for this

[32] E. M. Gibson, "Annual Reports of Nisqually, Puyallup, Other Agencies," Office of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Sept. 28, 1874, University of Washington Special Collections, American Indians of the Pacific Northwest Collection.

labor model. With these changes in the labor distribution and conception of what constitutes families and households, the environment of the reservation suppressed key tenets of the Coast Salish worldview.

Displacement erased the ranking and status systems of these societies as many of the traditional social status markers were tied to the land and the home. Coast Salish formerly arranged their villages around its main longhouse, headed by the most elite in the village. This elite status was largely held because of the possession of the longhouse, an indicator of honorable lineage and lifelong personal displays of leadership and generosity.[33] But in the new reservation land, parcels and funds were distributed without regard to the established social order of the groups.[34] Another system of social ranking, the display of carved and painted symbols, went unsupported by the material conditions of reservations. The lack of supplies and minimal time permitted through relocation gave people few opportunities to embellish their homes in traditional carvings. Additionally, the scramble for survival on reservations and the struggle to establish sustainable agriculture could not allow for supplies and time to be dedicated to creative works of painting.[35] This not only diminished the prevalence of art and architecture in the new communities, but also destabilized the groups politically, as the former ranking system gave elite individuals influence among their local groups and in the region more broadly.[36] In one annual report, the farmer-in-charge describes the conflict among the Puyallup as they fought for the

[33] Edward Sapir, "The Social Organization of the West Coast Tribes," in *Indians of the Pacific Northwest Coast: Studies in Selected Topics*, ed. Tom McFeat (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1989), 35-40.
[34] D. C. Beaty, "Annual Report of Puyallup Agency," Office of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 1, 1874, University of Washington Special Collections, American Indians of the Pacific Northwest Collection.
[35] Edwin Eells, "Annual Report of Skokomish Agency," Office of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 9, 1874. University of Washington Special Collections, American Indians of the Pacific Northwest Collection.
[36] Sapir, 33-34.

limited suitable land given through treaties, arguing over the imaginary lines introduced by allotment.[37] Allotment of reservations destroyed significant cultural expressions representing generations of honor, power, and virtue, and thereby created a weaker political system that conceded to U.S. demands and conditions.

Christianization also significantly contributed to the loss of cultural identity for the Coast Salish. Removal from the large family home structure fed into Christianization efforts. The entire purpose of allotment, designed to foster the nuclear family model, was an effort to enforce a Christian-American family structure. E. C. Chirouse, another Indian Agent, noted in 1875 while describing the progress of the Tulalip reservation, "religion can never be too much recommended and encouraged among the Indians, being certainly the most powerful means to control and lead them to true civilization,"[38] revealing the high level of religiosity the U.S. government encouraged. Christianity was tied to the reservations, meaning an essential change for Coast Salish groups who previously held spiritual ties to their original homes. Chirouse describes again,

> Those who live on the reservations are good and persevere in the practice of their religious duties, while most of those who are constantly moving and wandering about all over the country, although they do not entirely lose their faith, are very poor members of the church, and sometimes a little temporal benefit can turn them for a time to any new doctrine.

In this view, Chirouse reveals again the tie between Christianity and living on the reservations. While Christianity was exemplified, in this agent's view, in the compliance with reservation life, he clearly saw the opposite in those remaining off the reservations. In

[37] D. C. Beaty, "Annual Report of Puyallup Agency," Office of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 1, 1874, University of Washington Special Collections, American Indians of the Pacific Northwest Collection.
[38] E. C. Chirouse, "Annual Report of Tulalip Agency," Office of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 21, 1875, University of Washington Special Collections, American Indians of the Pacific Northwest Collection.

this context, to live off the reservation and maintaining more autonomy means to be unchristian and therefore uncivilized. This conception of the reservation poses the Native village or local group as the antithesis of the American lifestyle. These agents reveal the view that reservations represented the Americanized correction of the homeland. Acreage and small houses divided a society that seemed barbaric in the American view for living in massive, united households instead of small family units. In this view, Christianity could correct for several of the "bad habits"[39] conferred by the Coast Salish home environment before removal to reservations. Because the U.S. designed the new environments to impose Christian-American values, the social orders sustained by longhouses did not survive relocation.

Lifestyles on reservations marked a significant change from the lifestyle of homelands. Because the former lifestyle of Coast Salish homes, designed for collective work and housing a tightly woven community, did not fit the U.S. government's vision of civilization, this lifestyle could not survive on government-allotted reservations. Coast Salish were not only dispossessed of their homes, but also of their identities. So many features of the former Coast Salish way of life, especially social ranking and communal living, were intimately tied to longhouses, but without these homes, the Coast Salish could not sustain their social order under Americanized divisions of households and land. With so many expressions of their culture lost without longhouses, forced removal transformed the social and cultural environment of Coast Salish groups.

[39] D. C. Beaty, "Annual Report of Puyallup Agency," Office of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 1, 1874, University of Washington Special Collections, American Indians of the Pacific Northwest Collection. Edwin Eells, "Annual Report of Skokomish Agency," Office of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 9, 1874, University of Washington Special Collections, American Indians of the Pacific Northwest Collection.

3.3 Beyond Reservations

While the treaties ostensibly advocated for the direct movement from the homeland to reservations, those that did not wish to comply with this migration could choose to live in the settler society, but this choice came at the cost of adapting to a foreign community and creating a place for themselves. Beyond the reservations, Coast Salish life in the outlying Americanized territory could be characterized by relationships with and proximity to white people. In the first decades of cross-cultural contact in the Pacific Northwest, at the first arrival of white settlers in the early nineteenth century, the survival of settler enterprises and colonial success depended on the interweaving of these groups. These cross-cultural interactions happened especially at the interpersonal level, with marriages encouraged between white traders and Indigenous women establishing a tradition of cross cultural and interracial intimacy.[40]

This history conflicts with a notion popularized over the course of the nineteenth century. While interracial relationships were quite common, and even encouraged by powerful westerners in earlier stages of colonization,[41] these intimate interactions became taboo in the broader culture of the U.S. by the end of the century. This resulted from the country's growing fascination with racial categories and the purification or separation of the races. During this period of racialization, the term "miscegenation" - the marriage or domestic union of people of more than one race - began circulating. With this term came a framework to demonize racial mixing and pseudoscientific justifications for segregation.[42]

[40] Anne Hyde, *Empires, Nations Families*.
[41] Hyde.
[42] Peggy Pascoe, *What Comes Naturally*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.)

This history raises questions over how settlements in the West, fully a product of cross-cultural and interracial cooperation, responded socially to this racialized trend.

The 1880 census representing King County is well suited as a sample to reveal the intimate social power dynamics underlying the growth of the West. This census represents the Seattle area as it sat awkwardly between the territorial past of relative social fluidity and the late nineteenth and early twentieth century as the area became increasingly racialized. 1880's census data evidences the emerging inclination towards racial categorization, incorporating relatively new categories of race on the census form, building from the past forms which enumerated only white and Black (or mulatto) people.[43] Additionally, this census reveals the persistence of interracial intimacy, even under the more stringent social regulation emerging in the nineteenth century.

Census-takers enumerated households by moving through the towns, more or less door to door, recording detailed information about every person in the home. Information gathered by the census-takers in 1880 included first and last names, sex, age, birthplace, marital status, occupation, race, relationship to head of household, and the birthplaces of the person's parents. Using King County as a sample to study interracial relationships works to clarify the social status of Indigenous people in comparison to white settlers, but also explores the role of Asian immigrants in the social context of this time. The populations of "White," "Indian," and "Chinese" were all plentiful enough in Seattle for the census to reveal patterns about the social dynamics between these groups at intimate levels of the household and neighborhood, as well as the patterns of how they fell across the urban and rural spaces of King County. 1880 is a key year to study, as the population

[43] United States Census Bureau, "Measuring Race and Ethnicity Across the Decades: 1790-2010."

of western cities soon transformed with the enactment of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, making the 1880 census a glimpse of the city as it increasingly racialized, but before federal law regulated a major portion of its population.[44] This study of King county's 1880 census exposes the racialized division of space between urban and rural landscapes as well as the unbalanced distribution of social power across households.

3.4 Census Data

Since the census takers divided their approach to documenting households by city, and by street within bustling Seattle, the varying levels of segregation between communities become apparent. Within Seattle, the urban hub of the Pacific Northwest, fully white households dominated most streets. Of the eighteen streets named and enumerated, twelve almost entirely consisted of fully white households, meaning 90% of the homes on these streets held only white residents. Only one street of the eighteen in Seattle consisted of chiefly interracial and non-white households. On this one road, Washington Street, fully Chinese households were the most common, making up twenty-four out of the fifty households. This view of Seattle's demography reveals, in part, segregation of the white world from that of the Indigenous[45], Asian, and mixed-race populations, since households here were overwhelmingly one race, predominately white.

The pervasiveness of fully white households presents an interesting point, especially in consideration of Seattle's past as a Native city. Seattle, as discussed at length by Cole Thrush in his book *Native Seattle*, once laid in the territory of the Duwamish, a

[44] Beth Lew-Williams, The Chinese Must Go, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press: 2018).
[45] In this section concerning the census, I use the more general term "Indigenous" more often rather than Coast Salish or Duwamish in order to not overgeneralize the population in question. Because the census only lists Indigenous people as "Indians," I cannot be sure of their ethnic origins. While many likely were of Coast Salish ancestry, the push of westward expansion drove other Indigenous people from across the continent toward the coast. The diversity of the Indigenous population of Seattle is not detailed by the census, so the more general term suffices for the discussion concerning racial lines.

band of Coast Salish. This population lived in what is now Seattle when its founding party of Americans arrived on Puget Sound. The succeeding city, like many colonized in the West, incorporated the Indigenous population, even in naming the city after Chief Seattle, a leader of the Duwamish during the American foundation of the town. The Indigenous population maintained its presence in the area but was slowly forced out over the course of the nineteenth century.[46] Of course, some Indigenous people remained and will likely always remain in Seattle, but by the census of 1880, the city clearly became a white American city rather than the sole home for Duwamish people.

Despite white domination of the city and the accompanying popular belief in racial separation, interracial homes and non-white homes made space for themselves in Seattle among the white population. The most common types of these households were fully Chinese households, consisting especially of typical family formations and housing based on economic need, particularly in large boarding houses of laborers. Interracial households of single working adults contribute significantly to the presence of non-white households in Seattle. Still, a majority of households in Seattle were fully white, and in the white world of Seattle, the main disruptions to this homogeneity were laborers. On the streets dominated by fully white households, the main exceptions to the white uniformity were mixed-race households of only laborers and households of white families with live-in Chinese laborers. The lacking presence of Indigenous people in these configurations reveals not only their displacement, but also the white dependence on Chinese and Indigenous labor, as well as a single case of a Black laborer. Seattle's white population seemed only to tolerate

[46] Thrush, *Native Seattle*.

interracial cohabitation to meet economic ends, echoing the founding practices of early Seattle's racial mixing.

This relative prevalence of Chinese and white households instead of Indigenous households within the city suggests a relation between the urban landscape and newcomer populations. While Indigenous and Chinese presence became limited within the city and within intimate relationships, they experienced different stages of domination. While entirely Chinese homes appeared more in Seattle, Indigenous people often surfaced more in the city as members of interracial families. While Seattle neighborhoods seemed unwelcoming to Indigenous families, Indigenous people found home alongside white intimates.[47] In this way, Indigenous people of Seattle adapted to the white society forming around them, using intimate ties to bolster their presence in this urban hub.

Beyond Seattle, in the more rural communities of King County, a different pattern emerges. Other than three very small - between two and thirteen households in size - all-white settlements in Salmon Bay, Masury Island, and Sammamish, the country was home to extensive interracial cohabitation. The population size of these King County communities appears to relate to the presence of interracial intimacy. The furthest outlying rural communities either consisted entirely of white households or entirely unique configurations of interracial neighborhoods and homes. For example, Vashon Island's record shows a total of thirteen households: four Indigenous families, one Chinese family, one married white man-Indigenous woman family, two multi-racial laborer households,

[47] Interestingly, of all the ninety interracial households enumerated, including both the urban and rural communities, only four households had non-white men as heads of households. These households stand out for their highly unusual makeups, not privileging white men but instead listing heads of households traditionally not in control of power in this time and space. These households do not comply with the larger pattern of making home in Seattle, and I note them for their unique visibility in defiance of the social normativity of this time.

and five all-white households. So, Vashon Island housed an equal number of white and non-white families, among three interracial households.

In the rural communities with twenty to forty-five households, an average of 71% of households were fully white. In these slightly larger communities, the most common type of household, other than fully white, was that of fully Indigenous families. Interracial households appeared less here than the smaller townships, but invariably integrated into the diverse communities. The most common interracial dynamic in these communities, as in all rural King County, was that of a white man and non-white woman marriage, and subsequent family. Interestingly, confusion seemed to surround the enumeration of mixed-race children, even when they lived with their multi-racial parents. In distinct cases, these biracial children were listed as white, Indian, half Indian/half white, mulatto, as "half-breed," or unlisted, racially. This ambiguity reveals a challenge to the regimented racial categories the census attempted to enforce.

Slightly more populated rural communities, ranging from sixty-two to seventy-three households in size, averaged 85% fully white. The largest rural community, New Castle, consisted of 128 households, 93% of which were fully white. Analyzing this data with a focus on rurality demonstrates a correlation between a high population and lower concentration of non-white and interracial households. This suggests a hostility of urban environments towards non-white people, especially Indigenous people in Seattle, and interracial relationships. Almost all the married white men with non-white women relationships resided in the rural towns, appearing in eleven of the eighteen rural communities. Compare this to the single interracial marriage in Seattle. Notably, the white

man with non-white woman relationships in the city were not listed as husband and wife, yet the households structure tended to suggest a civil union in most cases.

This data reveals a divide between the urban and rural communities of this county. Seattle appears to be relatively inhospitable to interracial housing, especially with respect to Indigenous people. This pattern, along with the spatial dynamics revealed by the neighborhood-walking method of the census-takers that show the relegation of Chinese people to one corner of the city, demonstrates extensive racial segregation, as the city largely displaced Indigenous people to the country and clustered Chinese people separately. However, within the rural backdrop of Seattle, the "custom of the country"[48] prevailed, as households and communities demonstrated prominent diversity.

Within the larger context of the Pacific Northwest, this study of the census illustrates an alternative for Coast Salish--to reestablish their homes without complying with the movement onto reservations. The Coast Salish, and the rest of the diverse group of Indigenous people that made their way to Seattle by 1880, in choosing to live off the reservation, even as they were relatively unwelcome in the center of white activity, showed success in persevering and adapting to the changing world around them. While the settler society tried to relegate Indigenous adults to the poorly served reservations, the census shows the endurance of the Coast Salish presence on the Northwest Coast. Beyond 1880, however, the imposing administration of the U.S. again attempted to push Coast Salish further from their roots.

[48] Anne Hyde, *Empires, Nations, Families* and Peggy Pascoe, *What Comes Naturally*. Also, marriage à la façon du pays, meaning marriage in the fashion of the country. This term refers to the custom of white men, specifically traders, taking Indigenous wives while working in their remote stations, distantly removed from white women.

CHAPTER FOUR

BOARDING SCHOOLS AND BUREAUCRATIC COMMAND

> *"The Indians signing the three-year consent blank is not bound by law to any great extent, if as an allottee or citizen he decides to change his mind at any time, the consent blank is merely for the purpose, as I understand it, of showing the Department that the Agents and Superintendents do not steal the dear little children away from their sorrowing parents. Yet, the Department says do it, and do it we should and must, although it is mighty hard work to fill up this school if I have to get every pupil in that way… Of course, if we listen to the parents and let them have their own way we may as well shut up shop in the management of the schools. Yet, I believe in helping those who really need their children to assist them."*[49]

At the turn of the 20th century, the Chemawa Indian School near Salem, Oregon attempted to educate Indigenous children through a closely administered boarding school program, employing the children in domestic labors, and putting distance between them and the traditional education they would receive from their parents. Chemawa students resided over two hundred miles away from the Tulalip reservation, from which administrators sourced many of their pupils. Chemawa was merely one of many of institutions like it, designed to board Indigenous children and re-educate them according to the standards and principles offered by the U.S. government, namely the Bureau of Indian Affairs (later known as the Bureau of Indian Education).

[49] Letter to Charles M. Buchanan from Superintendent Potter, June 21, 1904, Letters from the Chemawa Indian School, 1902-1909, Tulalip Agency, Bureau of Indian Affairs Records, National Archives at Seattle, TU29, box 322.

The administration of the Chemawa Indian School monitored its students closely, visible in the correspondence of Chemawa superintendent TW Potter and superintendent of the Tulalip Agency, Dr. Charles Buchanan and later WP Campbell. At Chemawa, the students attended classes and worked assigned duties. The government was meant to provide for their necessities, meanwhile aiming to promote an American lifestyle. If they managed to provide for the students is separate and ongoing debate, but the attitudes expressed by this administration reveal disdain for the influence of the parents on their children. Documents produced by the administrators of Chemawa reveal the targeting of family practices in the assimilation process.

The superintendents expressed an alarming desire to keep parents of Chemawa students from sending additional funds. In a 1902 letter from Superintendent Potter to a parent, Sam Meigs of the Tulalip reservation, the superintendent denies that the recipient's daughter, Celina, is having any troubles at school, as she had reported in a letter from another student to her family. He claims she overreacted to negligible pains, claiming it was an illness, but instead Potter insists she was simply homesick and looking for attention. Potter quickly dismisses Celina's concerns, "please do not worry about Celina, or pay any attention to the reports you may hear from her or any of the other girls."[50] By asking this parent to ignore his daughter's worry, Potter exposes a desire to control the perception of the experience as a student at Chemawa, attempting to quiet the actual perspective of the student. The dismissal of Celina's health concern also merits scrutiny, as disease ran rampant at Chemawa, as at many boarding schools like it.

[50] Letter to Mr. Sam Meigs from Superintendent Potter, Nov 14, 1902, Letters from the Chemawa Indian School, 1902-1909, Tulalip Agency, Bureau of Indian Affairs Records, National Archives at Seattle, TU29, box 322.

Potter also discusses the control of money, assuring Celina's father that she received $5 he sent previously, imparting a reminder that,

> Of course it is nice for the children to have money to buy candies and other little things with, if the parents can afford to give it to them, but they get all the necessaries and have all the comforts and everything furnished them by the Government to make them comfortable and happy.[51]

The next day in November 1902, Potter discusses the same money sent to Celina Miggs, noting in a letter to Buchanan, superintendent at Tulalip reservation,

> Celina Miggs has come into the office to draw 50 cents of her money, and is now marching down to the store to interview the confectionary man. I dislike very much for pupils to write home to their parents for money, unless they state the real purpose for which it is to be spent, as the Government furnishes them with everything necessary.[52]

These interactions regarding Celina Miggs reveal a typical disdain for the influence of the Indigenous family on children. Chemawa, and the many institutions like it operated as a means of shielding its students (whose consent was often ambiguous, if not absent) from their own birth culture. Beyond the invasive, intimate regulation of contact with parents and monitoring of funds, the work ethic applied to these students showed an attempt at conditioning Americanization.

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[51] Letter to Mr. Sam Meigs from Superintendent Potter, Nov 14, 1902, Letters from the Chemawa Indian School, 1902-1909, Tulalip Agency, Bureau of Indian Affairs Records, National Archives at Seattle, TU29, box 322.

[52] Letter to Dr. Buchanan from Superintendent Potter, November 15, 1902, Letters from the Chemawa Indian School, 1902-1909, Tulalip Agency, Bureau of Indian Affairs Records, National Archives at Seattle, TU29, box 322.

Figure 4.1: Images from *West Shore* magazine depicting occupations of Chemawa students

The types of work asked of the students at Chemawa indicate a clear interest in training them for an American workforce, engaging them in labor appropriate for their gendered roles in society. The boys, by indication of this engraving, engaged in trades crafts: blacksmithing, shoe making, and wagon making.[53] The girls trained in domestic labors that made them suitable as wives or to otherwise serve in a household, such as tailoring, sewing, laundry, and cooking. These gendered roles clearly orient the students toward being members of the American settler society, training them in essential trade labor as the Pacific Northwest grew in its white population.

The *West Shore* sported these engravings, a magazine aimed at promoting the growth of the Pacific Northwest, particularly in the region of Portland, near Chemawa. This magazine, published by L. Samuel, an industrialist, sought to promise its consumers a

[53] "Indian Training School Girls and Boys Activities at Chemawa near Salem, Oregon," engraving from West Shore Magazine 13, no. 1, 1887. University of Washington Special Collections, American Indians of the Pacific Northwest Collection.

rewarding and exotic life in the Northwest, hoping to entice more settlers and develop the region economically. The promise of these students as workers in training acutely portrayed them as the base of the essential labor force.[54] In this instance, the assimilation of the Coast Salish not only met the desires of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, but also satisfied the settler public, implicitly promising the cooperation and socioeconomic potential of a forthcoming generation of Coast Salish children.

More correspondence from Chemawa reveals the vacuum of labor left by this sequestering of children to be trained as laborers in the white settler society. While many parents wrote to retrieve their children, administrators seemingly ignored or dismissed many, claiming the students could not afford the passage home or there was no reason to disrupt their studies and other student activities. In a letter to Buchanan in the summer of 1904, Superintendent Potter discusses the desire of the department to maintain more hold on the children, even as the parents request their return for economic need.

> Mr. Reynolds I hope understands the peculiar position in which I am now placed, having been criticized very severely for allowing so many pupils to go home last summer without the consent of the Department. Of course, I know there are cases where pupils are needed at home, such as the case of Matilda John. We let her and Martha also go home last year and I am quite sure that when I take the matter up with the Commissioner he will allow Martha to go home this year. But I hop[e] Mr. Reynolds will use his influence to the utmost extent in persuading his Indians to leave their children here during the vacation, according to the wishes of the Department.[55]

[54] J. D. Cleaver, "L. Samuel and the West Shore: Images of a Changing Pacific Northwest," *Oregon History Quarterly* 94, no. 2, 1993, 166-170.

[55] TW Potter, Letter to Dr. Buchanan, June 11, 1904, Letters from the Chemawa Indian School, 1902-1909, Tulalip Agency, Bureau of Indian Affairs Records, National Archives at Seattle, TU29, box 322.

In this letter, Potter reveals his position as a bureaucrat in conflict with the needs of the schoolchildren and their families. He must answer to the philosophy of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, which sought to untangle the connections between the Coast Salish children and their parents. The letter also shows some of the reasons parents wished to have their children at home, as Potter mentions a few pupils who managed to negotiate the journey home. Notably Potter presents these students as special cases, otherwise he faced consequences for sending numerous children back to their parents. In this correspondence Potter upholds the ethos of Chemawa as a place where Coast Salish children ought to be, returned only to their parents in rare circumstances. However, the persistence of parents and their insistence on their children vacationing at home, often back on the reservations, shows a continued dedication among Coast Salish to protect the interests of the family. Even in dealing with systemic, bureaucratic control and targeting of the family, Salishan parents remained in resistance to keep these vital family connections.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

By exploring precolonial standards of life, persistent threats but also the consistency of perseverance, this interpretation of colonial history attempts to bolster the power of Coast Salish in the narrative. While the settler society continuously attempted to damage the Coast Salish identity by targeting territory, households, and children, the Indigenous community of the Pacific Coast survived and maintains its group history, defying the attempted erasure. Ultimately, though the United States intentionally targeted home and family life through methods of allotment, segregation, and the sequestering of children, the survival of the Coast Salish hinged on intimate connections. The adaptation to smaller homes on reservations, forging interracial connections for survival in settler society, and vigilance towards boarding school administrators were all means which Coast Salish individuals sought to preserve their presence in the Northwest, as well as protect the family. From the precolonial era onward, the family maintained its role in Coast Salish society as the fundamental means of group survival.

Indigenous survival often goes confused or forgotten in public history, even though resistance and adaptation are just as essential to the histories of groups like Coast Salish. A balance must be struck between acknowledging immense suffering without ignoring the complexity of Indigenous societies intermixing and adapting to white settlers. Compared to the historiography of settler society which tends to focus heavily on individual accomplishments (almost to a fault), the popular histories of Indigenous people

do not raise up agency to this level. Historians must continue to emphasize the instrumentality of Indigenous people in their own history, or else run the risk of reducing complex, evolving societies to the status of pawns of settler-colonialism.

APPENDIX A

PRIMARY SOURCES

University of Washington Special Collections, American Indians of the Pacific Northwest Collection

Texts

E. M. Gibson, “Annual Reports of Nisqually, Puyallup, Other Agencies,” Office of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Sept. 28, 1874.

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Edwin Eells, “Annual Report of Skokomish Agency,” Office of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 9, 1874.

Images

“Indian Training School Girls and Boys Activities at Chemawa near Salem, Oregon,” Engraving from West Shore Magazine 13, no. 1, 1887.

Garfield, Viola Edmundson. Tlingit Chief Charles Jones Shakes’ painted doorway. Wrangell, Alaska, 1940.

National Archives and Records Administration - Seattle, Tulalip Agency Records

Letters from Chemawa Indian School 1902-1909 – TU 29 Box 322

Letter to Charles M. Buchanan from Superintendent Potter, June 21, 1904.

Letter to Mr. Sam Meigs from Superintendent Potter, Nov 14, 1902.

Letter to Dr. Buchanan from Superintendent Potter, November 15, 1902.

Letter to Dr. Buchanan from Superintendent Potter, June 11, 1904.

University of Oklahoma Special Collections, Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties Database

Treaty with the Nisqualli, Puyallup, etc., U.S.-Nisqually, Puyallup, S’Homamish, Sahehwamish, Squaxin Island, Squiaitl, Stehchass, Steilacoom, T'Peeksin, Dec. 26, 1854.

Smithsonian Institution

Image of Musquem House post. In *Handbook of North American Indians* Volume 7, edited by Wayne Suttles and William Sturtevant, 1990, 461.

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BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

Darcy Gray began attending the University of Texas at Arlington (UTA) on scholarship in the fall of 2019. At UTA, they have involved themself on campus in many ways. First as a Peer Academic Leader, followed by a long stint working under the Undergraduate Research Opportunity Program, where they served as a Student Research Ambassador. In the Honors College, while earning their Honors degree in History with minors in Russian and Art History, Darcy was also an Honors Advocate.

For their participation in research, the Department of History awarded Darcy with the 2021 Barksdale/Babers Outstanding History Scholarship Award. In their last semester of college, they secured funding to travel to Seattle to research in the National Archives and the University of Washington Special Collections which held regional materials that made this capstone possible. They also began working in UTA's Special Collections as a reference desk assistant, where they helped researchers connect with sources and played a role in creating and maintaining displays for public history education.

Darcy's historical area of focus has been the Indigenous history of the Pacific Northwest, but future related scholarship will expand on the cultural and social history of the Northwest as well as transpacific history, with an eye towards international and interracial cultural exchange. Soon after graduation, they will join Yesterqueer, the Fort Worth Queer History Project, to continue uplifting historically silenced voices.