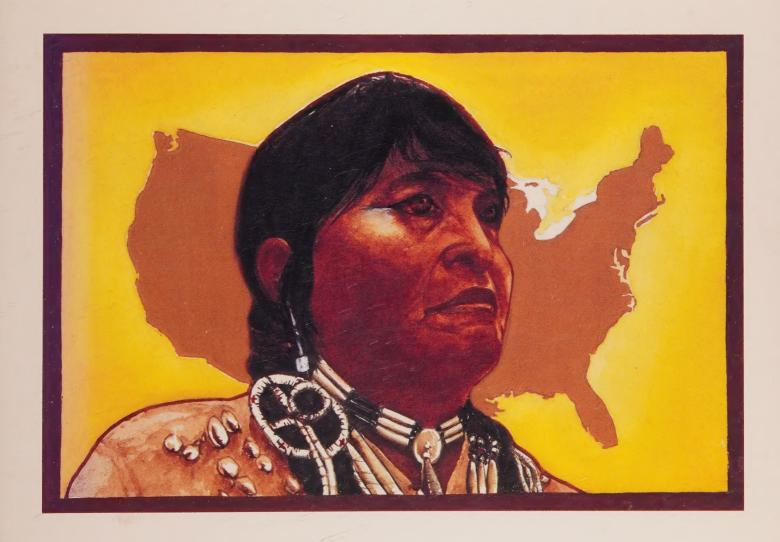




Native Americans

The People and the Land

Proud Heritage Series



by Dana Walker Illustrated by Janet Roosevelt Katten



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Native Americans The People and the Land

by Dana Walker

illustrated by Janet Roosevelt-Katten

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Introduction Native Americans and the Land

The past two decades have marked a shift in environmental attitudes within the American educational system. Generated in part by the widespread and sometimes commercialized interest in tropical rainforests, environmental education programs have spread throughout the public and private school systems, with programs ranging from recycling campaigns in preschools to studies of developmental ethics at the secondary level. What is perhaps most striking about this new awareness is the seriousness with which young people have entered the debate and taken action, as though it had some real meaning for their lives and their sense of being in the world. It is in this context that I have chosen to focus this book on the relationship between Native Americans and the land.

With the growing awareness of the social and environmental crises created by our post-industrial society, many non-Indians have looked to Native American worldviews and traditions for alternative solutions. A variety of groups—both Indian and non-Indian—have sought to revive Native American ecologies as an antidote to the "Western rape of the earth." American Indians and non-Indians alike have contrasted the "natural" ecological consciousness of the land-based American Indian to the earth-conquering attitudes of technological societies. In this context, Native Americans have been uncritically viewed as the natural stewards of the American land, with a deeply imbued land ethic and reverence for the earth that was foreign to Western civilization as a whole.

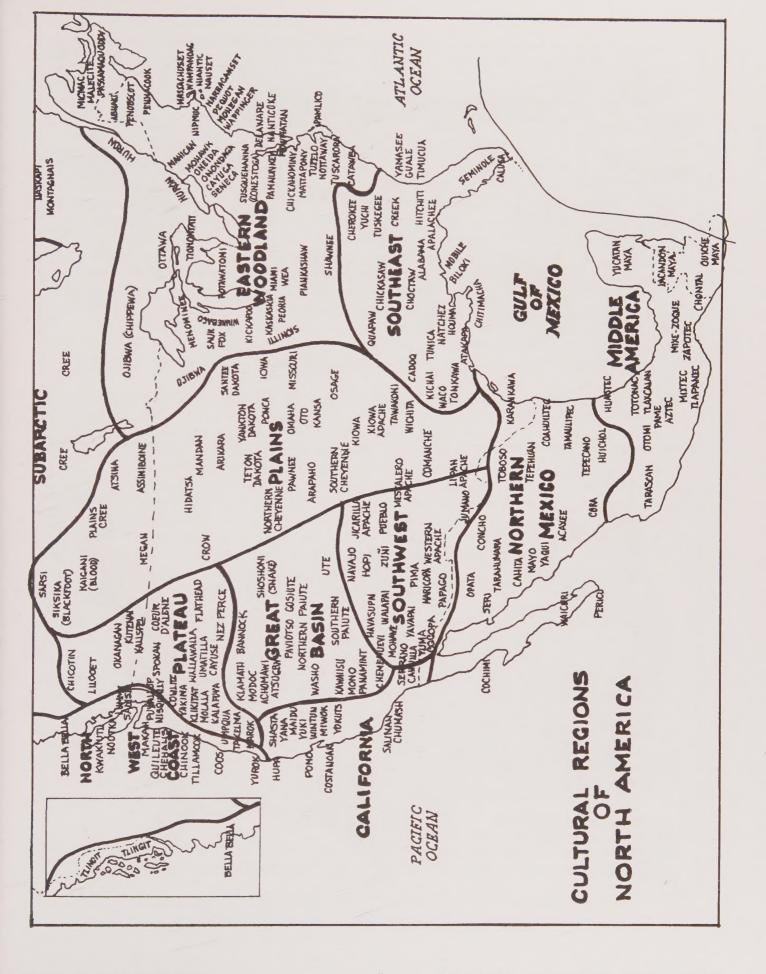
The environmental focus of this teacher's guide on Native Americans is intended to help foster in young people an appreciation for the important contributions that Native Americans made in the past as well as the present, particularly in the formulation of a modern land ethic. It is not the object of this book, however, to reproduce existing stereotypes such as those put forth by uncritical defenders of Native American conservationism. Though it is true that the majority of Native American groups revered nature and expressed a deep understanding of the interdependence between human beings and nature, recent research has indicated that some indigenous groups may have been destructive of their environment and may have caused their own demise due to environmental degradation (Vecsey 1990). Representing Native Americans as "natural beings" living in harmony with nature has perpetuated the eighteenth century myth of the "noble savage," who has made no impact on the world around him. As the "discovery of America" has proven to be a misnomer, so too has the notion of Europeans encountering "virgin land"—previously unsullied by man—in North America. Native Americans influenced their environment, both as conservers

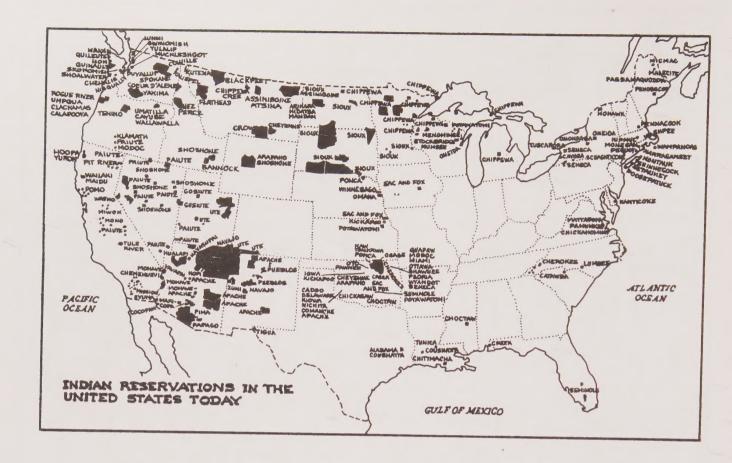
and destroyers: some groups developed ecologically advanced agricultural systems with complex irrigation systems and maintained foraging meadows for wildlife, while others seem to have over-cultivated and over-hunted, destroying local ecosystems in a cycle of environmental and social suicide.

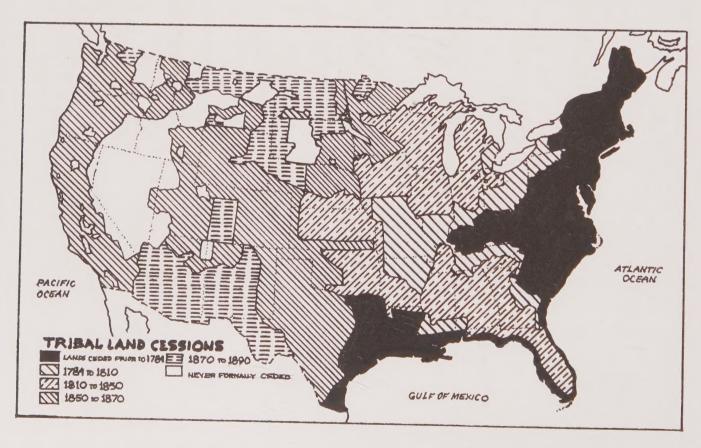
Native American groups today are often as divided in their attitudes towards the environment and natural resource development as are non-Indians. On many reservations one encounters tension between the "traditionalists," who fight to preserve the old ways and the sacred lands of their ancestors, and the "progressives" who view the development of the reservations' natural resources as the only solution to the persisting problems of poverty and unemployment. Furthermore, there are growing numbers of urban-based Native Americans who no longer participate on a daily basis in a land-oriented consciousness and who argue for a refocusing of Native American identity towards the realization of human possibilities in the urban landscape.

In these lessons students will be encouraged think about Native Americans not as "natural beings" of a timeless past, but as diverse social groups which have adapted to historical change and made significant contributions to modern society. However, in order to truly appreciate a contemporary Native American cultures and their relationships to the land, students must begin to understand traditional practices and spiritual beliefs. The shared values, experiences and beliefs of early Native Americans continue to provide the foundation for contemporary way of life, having been passed down from generation to generation, from storyteller to storyteller, from loom to loom (as in the Navajo story *Annie and the Old One*).

This book focuses on the themes of continuity and change through time within each group, as well as the similarities and differences across the groups. This will allow students both to formulate generalizations and describe the diversity among Native American cultures. Three groups from distinct cultural regions have been selected for study; each exemplifies the ways in which Native Americans have historically interacted with different physical environments. The groups studied here are the Quinaults of the Pacific Northwest, the Taos Pueblo of the Southwest and the Salish of the Plateau region. Two central questions guided this study: 1)What was the historical interaction between the three Native Americans groups and their environment, what cultural adaptations occurred?; and 2)What is the contemporary relationship between these groups and their land? These topics are explored through literature, art, music, science experiments, exercises in cultural geography and discussions of environmental and social ethics. This multi-disciplinary approach hopefully will enable students to gain a deeper understanding of Native American history and culture, while fostering an appreciation for the challenges facing Native Americans and their land in the contemporary world.







The Pacific Northwest

Introduction

Along the wet, wooded shores of the Pacific Northwest, on a narrow coastal strip hemmed between mountains and the sea, live a number of Native American groups which developed some of the most advanced civilizations in the North America prior to the arrival of Europeans. Their vigorous cultures included stratified class structures, technical specialization, and highly skilled artistic traditions. These groups are numerous and linguistically distinct, yet the conditions of their environment and their responses are sufficiently alike to define them as a distinct cultural unit. Some believe that the great diversity shown in these groups indicates that the region was occupied in succession by many groups of different origins.

Mapping the Pacific Northwest Cultural Area

• From the map "Cultural Regions of North America" (p. vii), make an enlargement and trace an outline map of the Pacific Northwest cultural area (or you can approximate the shape without tracing). It would be best to make the outline continuous, rather than divided as it appears on the map. Distribute copies to small student groups. Write on butcher paper and discuss the following definition of a cultural area with the class:

A cultural area is a geographic region whose location, landforms, climate and natural resources influenced the cultures of Native American groups. Those groups within a given region displayed similarities in their ways of living, as well as sharp differences from groups that inhabited other areas.

 Ask students to write this definition in a personal journal which will be used throughout these lessons on Native Americans.



- Have student pairs paste the map outline onto tagboard or construction paper, then try to identify and draw the following (without using an atlas):
 - The names of states and provinces included in the cultural region.
 - The outline of American states and the U.S.-Canadian border.

- The names and locations of any cities, national parks, recreational areas, bodies of water or mountain ranges with which they are familiar.
- Wild and marine life inhabiting the region. Students can draw and cut out the animals, fish and birds which they associate with the region.
- When each group has completed its map, allow students to check their assumptions with another map. Create a class map which incorporates the knowledge of all the groups. Discuss the images your students hold of the region, including Alaska and California. Find photographs from travel or outdoor magazines to show the class. How could Alaska and northern California, so far from each other and seemingly distinct, possibly have produced similar cultural traits?

What Is Culture?

- Write on butcher paper and ask students to copy into their journals the following definition:
 - A short definition of culture: The belief systems, artifacts and other human-made components of society such as food, tools, clothing, myths, religion and language, which are transmitted from generation to generation. This definition views culture as primarily an adaptive tool, consisting of those elements which human groups use to adapt to their physical and social environments.
- Are there other possible definitions of culture? Ask students to identify elements of American culture and subcultures (myths, tools, food, clothing, language, etc.). How do these elements help people adapt to their environment? Is there such a thing as "American culture," or is American culture a combination of the many cultures present in our society? Have them give examples to support either argument. As a home assignment, ask each student to write a short essay on the topic.
- Discuss with students the ways in which the natural environment influences the development of particular cultures. Ask them to provide examples of different cultures and to think about how the natural environment might have affected these cultures. Example: the various ethnic urban cultures of Spike Lee's New York City, an Alaskan town such as seen in the television program *Northern Exposure*, native groups of a tropical rainforest, Inuits (Eskimos). Point out that the Pacific Northwest cultural region—the map they have created—was based on 1) a natural environment with certain common features, and 2) culture, or ways that the different groups adapted to their environment.

Nature and Culture in the Pacific Northwest

 Students work with partners on the handout "Nature and Culture in the Pacific Northwest." In this exercise students hypothesize about how the physical environment and natural resources of the region affect survival choices of the native peoples.

EXTENSION: Ask students to research annual rainfall in their area. Have them calculate the ratio between the local annual rainfall and that of the Pacific Northwest. They should try think of some way to demonstrate this ratio. Research the similarities and differences between a tropical and a temperate rainforest; create a class mural or collage comparing the two.

• Read the following passage to the class, or ask a student to assist you:

One of the richest and most complex societies north of Mexico flourished along the coastal region of the Pacific Northwest despite the absence of agriculture, which was the basis of more "advanced" cultures of the hemisphere like the Aztec, Maya and the

Inca. The foundation of the highly developed societies in the Pacific Northwest was an abundant and easily obtained food and building supply from the waters and forests around them. From the sea and coastal rivers these groups harvested salmon, halibut, cod, shellfish and marine mammals such as whales, dolphins, seals



and sea otters. Inland, skilled hunters could rely on a steady source of beaver, elk, deer and bear, as well as berries and an extraordinary variety of plants and trees for food, medicines and tools.

 Invite students to discuss their own hypotheses about the environment and cultures of the Pacific Northwest (recorded in the handout "Nature and Culture of the Pacific Northwest"), in light of the above description. Why is agriculture thought to be the basis of advanced civilizations?

Art of the Pacific Northwest

• In pairs, students research the different styles of Northwest Indian art. Students should settle upon a style they like and decide which animal, plant or fish they will represent in that style. Display the artwork when students have completed their projects.

3

Mythology of the Pacific Northwest

- In small groups, students find a legend or myth related to one of the subjects they chose to illustrate (refer to "Resource List" for legends from the Pacific Northwest). Each group will dramatize their chosen legend for the rest of the class. They should begin their presentations by explaining what group produced the legend and where that group is located on the map.
- Lead the class in a discussion of the content of the legend or myth, asking students to consider questions such as:
 - What morals or beliefs are being taught by this story?

- How would you describe the characters involved?

- Is it easy or difficult to understand the message of the story? Explain.

- What does the story tell us about the Native American group's views of nature and of man's place in nature?

Music of the Pacific Northwest

- Choose from the musical selections suggested in the resource list for a directed listening session. Can students reproduce the rhythm patterns? Can they try to sing along with the melody? What sounds strange or pleasant to the ear? Does the music evoke images in the students' minds?
- Play sections of a recording of whale "music." Students who are interested should be invited to improvise along with the whales. Percussion, wind or string instruments can be used, or students may simply use their voices and other non-instrumental sounds such as a jar with pencil or spoon. Then play a selection from Paul Winter's *Music of the Whales* (see "Resource List").

Land Ethics Among Pacific Northwest Indians

• Create a readers' theater of "Chief Sealth's Address" (handout at end of chapter) delivered at a treaty negotiation in the 1850s between the Suquamish and Duwamish Indians and the United States government.

READERS' THEATER: Readers' theater is a simplified dramatic performance in which students do not act out character roles. Instead, they read from the text and use intonation, facial expression and body movements—usually restricted to the seated position—to enliven the text. Readers' theater is often more successful in conveying interesting uses of language and style than simple reading.

- Suggestions for using readers' theater in the classroom:
 - Give each student reader a copy of the text.
 - Create the parts students will read, dividing the text into characters, paragraphs, stanzas, etc. Texts written in monologue form can be rewritten as dialogue.

- Give students time to prepare for the performance. Encourage them to develop an appropriate style, including intonation, gestures, facial expressions, and body movement.
- Discuss the land ethic found in Chief Sealth's address.
 - What does the text tell us about this Pacific Northwest Indian group's relationship with the land? What images and metaphors does the author use to communicate this relationship?

How does Chief Sealth view non-Indian values of property, particularly

the possession of land?

- How would you describe the land ethic of non-Indians in this oration?

– What future does the author see for the land and his people?

HOME ASSIGNMENT: Ask students to write a response in their journals to "The Speech of Chief Sealth [Seattle]." Their reflections could come in the form of a direct response to the address, or they could use the Chief's address as a model for a statement they would like to make about the environment and their future.



Nature and Culture in the Pacific Northwest

INFORMATION AND ANSWER SHEET



The Pacific Northwest region stretches from northern California to southern Alaska, approximately 1,500 miles north and south, and approximately 200 miles inland. Ocean currents traveling north from California bring warm, moist air from the Pacific to provide a maritime climate for the region. Certain sections of the coast receive 200 inches of annual rainfall. The extremely moist climate produces the only temperate rainforest in the northern hemisphere.

Work with your partner to answer the following questions:

- 1. What impact would a coastal mountain range have on the climate?
- 2. What kind of housing would you construct in a very wet climate? What materials would be available to you for construction?
- 3. What forms of transportation might you use?
- 4. Living along the coast, what type of foods would be the staple of your diet?
- 5. What tools would you need to catch/harvest your food, build shelter and transportation? How would you catch fish or whales or hunt elk?
- 6. Are there resources lacking in your environment that would encourage you to travel outside your territory to trade goods with other groups?
- 7. What other information would you need to imagine how people in this geographic area would meet their basic needs?

The Speech of Chief Sealth (Seattle)

at the signing of the Treaty of Point Elliott, 1855 (excerpts)

To us the ashes of our ancestors are sacred and their resting place is hallowed ground. You wander far from the grace of your ancestors and seemingly without regret. Your religion was written upon tables of stone by the iron finger of your God so that you could not forget. The Red Man could never comprehend nor remember it. Our religion is the traditions of our ancestors—the dreams of our old men, given them in the solemn hours of night by the Great Spirit; and the visions of our sachems; and it is written in the hearts of our people.

Your dead cease to love you and the land of their nativity as soon as they pass the portals of the tomb and wander beyond the stars. They soon are forgotten and never return.

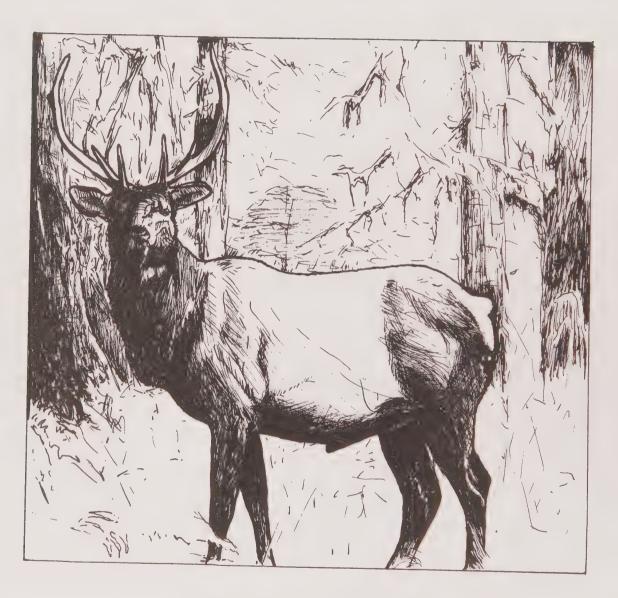
Our dead never forget the beautiful world that gave them being...

... Every part of this soil is sacred in the estimation of my people. Every hillside, every valley, every plain and grove, has been hallowed by some sad or happy event in days long vanished...the very dust upon which you now stand responds more lovingly to their footsteps than to yours, because it is rich with the dust of our ancestors and our bare feet are conscious of the sympathetic touch ... even the little children who lived here and rejoiced here for a brief season, still love these somber solitudes and at eventide they grow shadowy of returning spirits.

And when the last Red Man shall have perished, and the memory of my tribe shall have become a myth among the white man, these shores will swarm with the invisible dead of my tribe, and when your children's children think themselves alone in the field, the store, the shop, upon the highway, or in the silence of the pathless woods, they will not be alone At night when the streets of your cities and villages are silent and you think them deserted, they will throng with the returning hosts that once filled them and still love this beautiful land.

The white man will never be alone.





Roosevelt Elk in Quinault Country



Watershed Example



Quinault Country

The Quinaults

Background

The Quinaults are a Salish-speaking people on the west coast of the Olympic Peninsula whose culture, economy and society have been shaped by the abundant resources of the area, particularly the giant Western redcedar and salmon. But the land and resources of the Quinaults were severely impacted by the poor logging practices of the big timber companies after the big trees were discovered. Beginning in the 1970s and 1980s, the Quinaults fought to regain control of the rich natural resources of their land, and along with other treaty tribes of western Washington, won the landmark *U.S. v. Washington* case in which the traditional fishing rights of the Pacific Coast Indians were reaffirmed and protected by the federal government. The fisheries, forestry and environmental protection programs set-up by the Quinault Indian Nation are recognized nationally as models of Native American natural resource management.

In this chapter, we will explore the role that the natural resources and geography of Quinault country have played in the formation of Quinault culture, economy and social organization. Similarly, we will look at the ways in which tribal culture has shaped the management and use of their natural resources throughout history.

Mapping the Olympic Peninsula

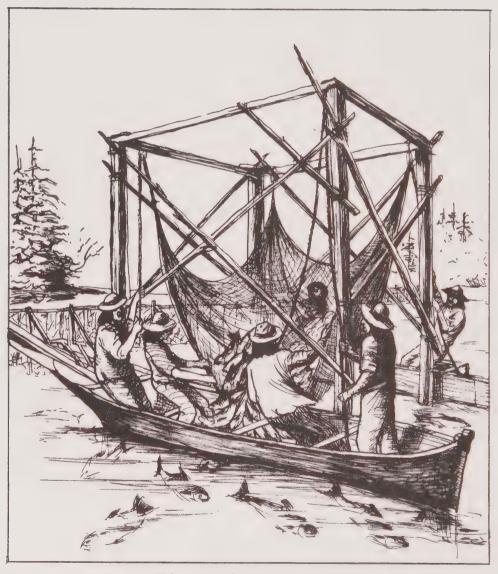
- From the map "Quinault Country," trace a simple outline map. Indicate Seattle, Vancouver and the Quinault Reservation. Give pairs of students copies of the map outline you have created. Referring to a physical map of the region, students locate and color major mountain ranges, rivers and lakes. When they have finished, project an overhead transparency of the original map "Quinault Country" on butcher paper. Ask students to complete their own maps. Then call on students to help complete the class map by drawing on the butcher paper behind the projected map. Ask students to locate and draw on this map the following:
 - The U.S.-Canadian border, Puget Sound.
 - Vancouver Island and the capital of British Columbia (Victoria).
 - The capital of Washington state (Olympia), Grays Harbor.
 - The Cascade Range including Mt. Rainier, Mt. Baker, Mt. St. Helens.
 - The Olympic Range; include elevations.
 - Oregon and Idaho borders with Washington.
 - The Columbia River: determine which states the Columbia River traverses. Using a full map of the United States and referring to the map included in this book entitled "Cultural Regions of North America," ask

students to name other Native American groups which might have lived, fished or traded on the Columbia River.

THE QUINAULT WATERSHED

"The area that contributes to the flow of a stream or to the storage of a specified lake is a watershed."

The homeland of the Quinault Indian Nation is found on Washington state's Olympic Peninsula, between Gray's Harbor and the Straits of Juan de Fuca. "Quinault" was the name used by the people for thousands of years who made their homes within the watershed of the Quinault River.



Fish Trap on the Quinault River

The people of this region were highly conscious of the nature of the land on which they lived, and of being part of a great watershed system. From this geographical concept of the watershed they derived their identity as a "people," (in the same way that we think of ourselves as the people of the United States) ... as belonging to a social and political group based upon this geography of the watershed. (Adapted from Marian W. Smith, The Puyallup-Nisqually, cited in AFSC, Uncommon Controversy, pp. 5-6).

• Project an overhead transparency of the watershed example over butcher paper. Provide this definition of a watershed: "The area that contributes to the flow of a stream or to the storage of a specified lake is a watershed." Ask students how the Quinault watershed in the pre-contact era might have differed from the example given (e.g. students learned in the introduction to the Pacific Northwest that the coastal people were not farmers; the watershed on the Olympic Peninsula would consist of dense forests, etc.). Display a map of the region and read the following passage, making certain that all students understand the terms indicated in bold:

The headwaters of the upper Quinault River are found in Anderson Glacier in the Olympic Mountains. The glacial waters flow directly into an icy lake, and then fall 2,000 feet to a valley below. After traveling through the Enchanted Valley of 10,000 waterfalls, it meets the North Fork of the Quinault and winds through a glacial valley. Then it continues through forests toward the moraine-created Quinault Lake.

Headwaters: the upper tributaries of a river

Glacier: a mass of ice formed from snow falling and accumulating over the years and moving very slowly, either descending from high mountains, as in valley glaciers, or moving outward from centers of accumulation, as in continental glaciers

North Fork: a principal tributary of a river, in this case, a tributary flowing

into the Quinault River from the north

Glacial valley: a valley formed by the movement of a glacier

Moraine: a deposit of boulders, gravel, sand and clay left on the ground by a glacier

- Ask students to modify the watershed example, based on their knowledge of the geography of the Olympic Peninsula and the Quinault River, by drawing on butcher paper over which the transparency is projected. Modifications would include conifer forests, the Quinault Lake, no agricultural plots, and glaciers on the mountain peaks.
- Using butcher paper, ask students to elaborate on the given definition of a watershed, describing the physical characteristics and causes of a watershed such as that of the Quinault River.

• Use the following questions to guide further discussion:

 How could a geographical concept such as a watershed provide the basis for an identity of a people, or for a feeling of social and political belonging? Can you think of other examples in which geography has

helped shape a group's identity?

Describe the physical characteristics which contribute to making a watershed a geographic unit. How might the geographical characteristics of a watershed contribute to the formation of an ecological unit? How does this shape a people's sense of social unity in the case of the Quinault? Are there any parallels between the geographic-ecological unity of the watershed the social-environmental unity of the watershed and the people depending on it for survival?

Is there a natural resource that might have influenced the Quinault's sense
of identification with their particular watershed? What about the salmon
that return every year to the same rivers and streams and have ensured

the survival of the Quinault people for thousands of years?

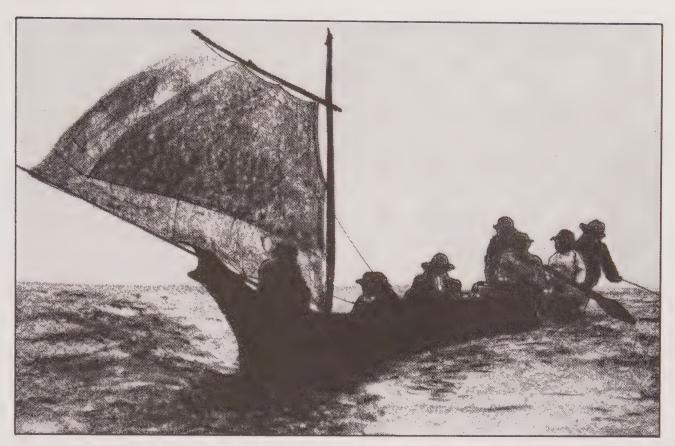
Do you think there is just one, or are there many watersheds on the Olympic Peninsula? Why? What would you expect to find in terms of other cultures living on the peninsula?

Quinault Society

"Pre-contact" Quinaults were shore people, almost always found at the edge of water—salt or fresh. The Quinaults built cedar plank houses along rivers, with front porches that always faced west toward the ocean and the afternoon sun. Six or more related families usually lived in each house. Location on the Quinault River was an indication of social status; the poor, the castoffs and the loners lived at the upper end of the Quinault River. Often, villages were organized according to occupation, with the expert elk hunters grouped together in one village, the bear hunters in another, the whale hunters in yet another.

 Ask students to further elaborate on their illustrations of the Quinault watershed, by adding hypothetical villages, indicating how they might have been grouped by occupation (whalers, seal, otter and sea lion hunters, fishermen, bear hunters, elk hunters) and social status. Given the location of Quinault villages, what would have been the easiest way for the Quinault people to get around?

The canoe was so important to the Quinault way of life, as it was for other Pacific Northwest peoples, that modern English cannot adequately convey the many meanings and uses of the canoe in early Quinault culture (the same is true with Inuits and the qualities of snow). The Quinaults spent nearly every day of their lives in canoes. Babies were conceived and born in canoes, dreams often took place in canoes, and at death the body was placed inside a canoe. The ocean-going canoes of the coastal people were unsurpassed and were used for trading or raiding to the north and to the south as far as the Columbia River. The long slender river canoes could be handled easily in the rapids and gravel bars of the Quinault River. Without



Ocean-going Quinault canoe with sails

the canoe, the Quinaults would have had to trudge through miles of sand, or struggle through dense, nearly impenetrable forests. In fact they had a word for people who dared to stray from the well-traveled trails and enter the uncharted forest: Ju?ula—Fool!

EXTENSION ACTIVITY: Have students do research on different varieties of canoes used by Native Americans (see "Resource List" for suggestions). In small groups, have students build model canoes based on their research, using materials found in the natural environment, not forgetting the decorative aspects, which were an important part of some canoe cultures.

The Sacred Salmon

Quinault country is home to an unusually large number of Pacific salmon and steelhead, (steelhead being a kind of trout born in fresh water that travels to the ocean and back, and grows up to 35 pounds). The types of salmon found here include Chum (dog) salmon, Chinook (king) salmon, Coho (silver) salmon and the Blueback sockeye salmon, found only in the spawning grounds of the Quinault River.

Salmon was the mainstay of the material and spiritual existence of the Quinaults. Read the passage below to the class.

"Resplendent in their spawning hues, migrating salmon streamed up the rivers in such dramatic numbers each year they seemed immortals bent on a mass sacrifice of their bodies for the Indians' benefit. If the Salmon Beings were treated with due rites of respect [such as returning their bones to the water after being caught], people believed, their bodies would return to the Salmon House under the sea, acquire new bodies, and make the sacrificial run again the following year." Robert F. Heizer, "Fisherman and Foragers of the West," in The World of the American Indian, p. 206.

- Did the Quinaults value salmon as a natural resource? What role did they see themselves playing in the annual return of the salmon–renewal of this resource?
- Explain to the class the life cycle of an *anadromous* fish: a fish that hatches in fresh water, goes down to the ocean as a young fish, lives most of its life there, and then returns to the freshwater streams to deposit its eggs. How does it know what stream to return to? (probably by smell) For information on salmon migration and an activity on the challenges facing anadromous fish, see "Hooks and Ladders," in *Aquatic* by Project Wild.

The number of salmon which mounted the rivers during the spawning season made salmon equivalent to an agricultural crop. The Quinaults maintained large villages, like farming people, along the banks of their harvest. Once they learned to smoke and preserve salmon, the Quinaults achieved a certain amount of leisure time which permitted the creation of inventions and the development of a complex social structure.

Surviving This Side of the Mountain

- Using markers and butcher paper to record, ask students to describe the geographic and climatic conditions of the Olympic Peninsula, and the natural resources available to the Quinaults. Then have them create five or six categories of basic needs which they think they would need to survive in this region (e.g. food, shelter, clothing, tools, weapons, transportation). For each category, the class should decide on one item which they feel is indispensable to their survival, drawing on their knowledge of Pacific Northwest indigenous groups. Examples could include salmon, lodging that protects against continuous humidity, canoes or rain gear.
- Divide the class into groups corresponding to each of the basic needs categories. Each group must provide a solution to the problem of obtaining the indispensable survival item decided upon by the class. Remind students that they cannot go to the store to buy any of these items. For example, if the item is salmon, the group must figure out how they are going to catch enough salmon to feed multiple families throughout the year. If they decide that they will catch the salmon in the river with nets, they will have to think about what materials they could use from the environment to make the nets and how the nets would be used. If the indispensable item is waterproof clothing, they will have to decide how such clothing could be made from natural materials. Reports to the class on group solutions should include graphics, or an actual creation of the solution,

such as a fishing net made from natural materials. If students prefer the latter approach, they could benefit from research on related crafts to give them ideas, such as basket-making, and for ideas about how to weave rain hats.

Living in Quinault Country

In the next activity students study the technologies developed over centuries by the Quinaults in adapting to their environment, and how they utilized the natural resources of the region to survive.

Rules of the Game

Divide the class into six groups, and assign a reader, a recorder and a card dealer to each. Students in each group will become "experts" on a different field of natural resources within the Quinault environment. Distribute an "Expert Information Sheet" to each group. The card dealer is responsible for cutting out the information bits, and giving one card to each member of the group. If there are more cards (information bits) than students in the group, some students should take two "cards."

Each member of the group reads his or her expertise card to the rest of the group. When all have read their cards, turn the cards over face down and have the person to the left of the cardholder tell the group about the cardholder's special expertise. Each person makes a badge representing his or her expertise and pins or tapes it to

clothing where it is visible to all.

Distribute one "Survival Problem" to each group. The reader of each group presents the survival problem to the other members. The group discusses possible solutions to the survival problems and identifies which other expert groups could provide them with the knowledge, skills or products they need. The recorder makes a chart based on the group

discussion. For example, one survival problem might be, "Your grandmother is suffering from a kidney ailment"; the expert group which could probably

help is the Medicinal Plant Group.

Each group member is assigned a fact-finding mission. But the fact finders may only go to other groups one at a time, since the rest of the group must be



available to answer the questions of visiting fact finders. Each fact finder must take notes on the information he or she has gathered, including the group and name of the person from whom he/she obtained the information. When each fact finder has completed his or her investigation, that person should discuss his/her findings with the entire group. The group should make a diagram of the different resources they will use and their suppliers.

When all the groups have solved their survival problems, they should present their problem and solutions to the class. Following group presentations, the web of relationships created between members of the society, and between humans and environment, should be represented in a way which incorporates the findings of the entire class. One effective way of doing this would be to use yarn to illustrate the web.

- DEBRIEFING: What were the natural resources that were indispensable to Quinault survival? Review student work from the activity "Surviving This Side of the Mountain," comparing what they have learned in this activity with what they hypothesized in the earlier one.
- Ask students to make a list of 20 things they use in their everyday lives. The list should include clothing, school supplies, food, furnishings, etc. Then ask them to think about and write down the origin of these objects: plant, tree, animal, mineral, etc. They should be as specific as possible. Then discuss a sampling of the students' items with the class. The idea is to impress upon students the fact that objects of everyday use are made by someone and are products of natural resources, just as the Quinaults' objects of everyday use were. Then ask what differentiates today's products from those of precontact Quinault society. One significant difference is that the Quinaults made almost everything they used (there were some trade items), whereas we make very few of the items we use.

Quinault Social Structure

Like other groups of the Washington Coast and Puget Sound, Quinault society was three-tiered, composed of an upper class of chiefs and their relatives, a middle class of commoners and a lower class of slaves captured through raids on other tribes. Slaves usually lived in the homes of their masters and worked alongside the women, but upward mobility was uncommon. Chieftain status could be inherited, but could also be gained through displays of wealth in the Northwest institution of the *potlatch*. The *potlatch* was an elaborate ceremony in which the host would attempt to gain status while disgracing a rival by giving away or destroying tremendous sums of wealth in the form of blankets, canoes, baskets and even slaves. For the Quinaults, social status was achieved by the amount one gave away, not by how much one accumulated.

Ask students if they were aware that slavery existed in North America before
the importation of African slaves. In what ways did African slavery differ
from Native American enslavement of other Native Americans? Are slaves a
form of property? Explain.

- How do people in our society achieve social status? How is social status displayed publicly? Social status in our society is commonly achieved through the accumulation and conspicuous display of things. How was social status achieved in Quinault society? Did the Quinaults care less about accumulating things than we do? Did they simply have a different way of displaying their wealth? Can students think of any examples in our culture of activities which parallel the potlatch? (Christmas might be one.)
- With student input, create a diagram which represents Quinault social structure. Ask students in pairs to create their own diagrams to represent class structure in American society. If there are students from other countries in the class, you can do a comparative study of social hierarchies from around the world.



Quinault Views of Property and Land

The Quinaults held a notion of property that was different from non-Indians, particularly when it came to land and fishing rights. This was the cause of ongoing conflict when whites arrived to seek fortunes in Quinault country. Like other Native American groups, the Quinaults believed that the land belonged to no one, but was intended for common use by everyone. When fishing for salmon, as an example, all the adults in the village worked together to build the weir (ask a student to define weir). Families then fished at the weir separately during the day, and caught only what was needed to feed themselves.

Tensions between the Quinaults and Euro-peans arose early in the post-contact period when the latter tried to purchase Quinault lands, which were not for sale. To the Europeans, land was a commodity to be bought, fenced and sold. From the time of the first encounters to the present, non-Indians have had difficulty understanding that the land and the Indians' right to fish in their "usual and accustomed fishing grounds" are an integral part of the Native American heritage and contemporary life.

• Discuss the above passage with the class. How would students define property? Are there different forms of property? What were the early settlers and timber companies seeking in Quinault country? What were the Quinaults trying to preserve? How did Quinault views and uses of the land differ from those of non-Indians? Using student ideas, make a chart showing the difference between Quinault and non-Indian views of the land and use rights. Ask students if they think the Quinaults would have the same feeling about the land if they had continuously migrated in search of new frontiers, much as European settlers had done.

Allotment in Quinault Country

Native American views of the land, together with the government's desire to assimilate Indians into the dominant culture as quickly as possible, motivated the passage of the General Allotment or Dawes Act of 1887. The law was designed to change Indian relations to the land, forcing them to become farmers and private landowners. Many whites truly believed that the privatization of Indian land would benefit Native Americans, by legalizing their titles to the land, and speeding the "civilization" of the Indians. But the primary intent of the legislation was to open reservation land to homesteaders and the powerful timber companies. In the words of a congressional committee opposing the Dawes legislation (read this passage to the class):



"The real aim of this bill is to get at the Indian lands and open them up to settlement. The provisions for the apparent benefit of the Indians are but the pretext to get at his lands and to occupy them . . . if this were done in the name of greed, it would be bad enough; but to do it in the name of humanity, and under the cloak of an ardent desire to promote the Indian's welfare by making him like ourselves, whether he will or not, is infinitely worse."

The outcome of the General Allotment Act ultimately proved the congressional committee cited above to be correct. Within 45 years of its enactment, Native Americans around the country lost nearly two thirds of their treaty land. On the Quinault Reservation, approximately 65,000 acres, roughly 32% of the land, has passed into non-Indian hands.

- Discuss the meaning of "cultural assimilation," from the verb to assimilate: "to take in and incorporate as one's own; to absorb; to merge and absorb one culture into another." Did the proponents of the Allotment Act promote the "melting pot" image of the American society (the merging of diverse cultures into one) or the "tossed salad" image (the promotion of plurality and respect for cultural diversity)? Can students identify a specific sentence in the congressional committee's statement which would support their assertion? (Reread this passage.) Do you think people's opinions on cultural assimilation have changed since the late 1800s? Give examples of ways they have or have not changed.
- Ask each student to write a short essay in answer to the following questions: How were Native Americans viewed by most non-Indians at the time of the passage of the Dawes Act of 1887? What were the goals of the Dawes Act? Would you have supported or opposed the Dawes Act? Expain.

• Divide the class into small "congressional committees" and ask them to write a brief statement on some legislation or government action which they oppose strongly, either from a historical or present-day point of view.

HOME ASSIGNMENT: Ask students to write a short reflection in their journals about how cultural assimilation efforts have affected their own lives, the lives of their ancestors or the lives of a person or group they know.

The Quinault Reservation Today

The Quinault Reservation today covers nearly 200,000 acres stretching from the foothills of the Olympic National Park to the Pacific Coast, and from north of Grays Harbor to the Queets River. The highly sophisticated Quinault fisheries program has stayed true to the traditional Quinault philosophy of causing minimal disturbance to the natural environment while using fish-harvesting techniques which pay close attention to the biological needs of each type of fish. The current approach is a legacy of thousands of years of living on their land, watching the fish return every year and understanding that their people's survival depends on the continuing return of the fish.

The reservation has historically also been one of the most productive commercial forest regions in the United States and perhaps in the world. Between 1960 and 1980, more than 17% of the country's wood resources came from the reservation. The towering old growth forests were mostly composed of the four major conifer timber species: western redcedar, western hemlock, Sitka spruce and Douglas fir. The record holders for the largest trees in each of these four species are found in the southwest corner of the Olympic Peninsula–Quinault Country.

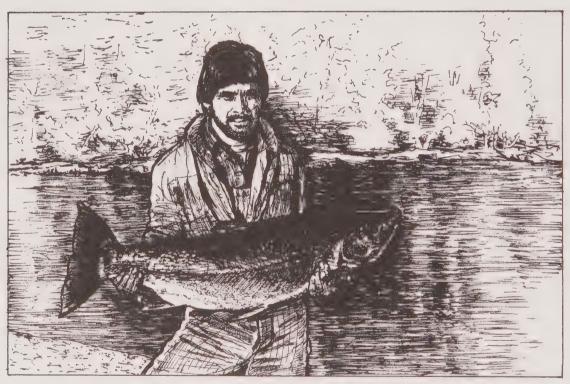
- Choose five students, measure their heights, and write their heights on the board. Ask students to calculate the average height of the five students. They will use this calculation in the next step of the exercise.
- Divide the class into four or eight groups, depending on your class size. Each group will be responsible for researching and reporting on one of the four tree species noted above. Reports should include an illustration of the tree and its habitat, and a description of how the Quinaults used this tree type in their day-to-day lives. Each group must also find a way to create a proportional representation of the giant conifers in relation to the average student height. If they need more space than the classroom offers, let them do their presentations outdoors.
- Invite a local Forest Service representative to talk with your class about forestry practices and the geographic determinants of different types of forests.

Environmental Degradation and the Quinault Response

Today, only small pockets of the original forest remain. Mostly third and fourth growths have replaced the towering giants. Western redcedar–revered and used for centuries by the Quinaults for their longhouses, canoes and clothing–has become rare, due to the reluctance of timber companies to replant the slow-growing native giant. The abundant natural resources of the Quinaults were reaching a crisis stage by the 1970s due to six decades of short-sighted logging practices under the administration of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, in charge of timber sale contracts. Whole forests were chopped down, but only the most valuable trees were being removed.

Extensive clear-cutting and other forestry practices led not only to the devastation of the forests, but also had harmful effects on steelhead and salmon, the traditional material and spiritual sustenance of the Quinaults.

• Ask students to find photographs from magazines or books of clear-cut forests. Paste the cut-outs onto a long strip of butcher paper and brainstorm the possible consequences of this logging practice.



Steelhead on the Quinault River

Beginning in the early 1970s, the Quinaults decided to assume a more active role in controlling the reservation's resources. A group of young, well-educated tribal members formed what eventually became the Quinault Department of Natural Resources (QDNR). Their far-sighted, scientifically grounded research and management programs contributed to the successful outcome of a number of key court cases and international agreements involving Native American natural resource management.

Under the QDNR, a Forestry Division was created to return logged-over, slash-burned land to productivity. Because of the successful management programs of the Fisheries Division, the Quinaults now harvest on the average more salmon and steelhead annually than any time in the division's history. The Division of Environmental Protection coordinates the efforts of the fisheries and forestry scientists in monitoring forest practices, road construction, water quality, wildlife and other aspects of the Quinault watershed. This is carried out as part of the larger Timber, Fish and Wildlife Agreement for the state of Washington. Quinault leaders were instrumental in getting this legislation passed, which is considered one of the great victories for environmental protection in this century.

• Discuss with students how the water in a watershed is like the pulse of the watershed system. Review the factors that make a watershed a geographic/ecological unit. Discuss ways that generations of poor logging practices on the Quinault reservation might have affected the watershed and the salmon.

Salmon and the Quinault Watershed

The normal events in rivers set off responses in salmon and steelhead. By fitting together these responses, fish are able to carry out their normal life cycles. Subtle nuances of the river are built into the fish's life activities. Each watershed is different, and the delicate balance between the river and the land produces a unique set of characteristics for each salmon or steelhead river. The fish, over thousands of fish generations, have been interwoven into that balance. Small changes do occur constantly, but drastic changes can disrupt the delicate balance.

The Quinault individuals involved in the newly established Quinault Department of Natural Resources were aware that all its natural resources—fish, wildlife, plants and trees—were a single entity and not separate disciplines as was often taught in the universities. They were particularly concerned with the way in which harmful logging practices were threatening their fisheries.

• In this activity, students receive information on the environmental requirements of salmon and steelhead. After studying these, students receive a description of the historical logging practices on the Quinault reservation and their impact on the watershed. In groups, students decide how these practices would affect the watershed and the salmon. Ask them to make a chart which illustrates their conclusions, showing the differences between a watershed system which meets the basic environmental needs for salmon and steelhead and one which does not. They should imagine that they are members of the Quinault Department of Natural Resources and make recommendations for improving the watershed environment.

• Each group should present its findings and discuss the recommendations they would make to the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the timber companies as members of the Quinault Department of Natural Resources.

Literature and the Quinault Land Ethic

- Make a large reproduction or project an overhead of the poem on page 25. Discuss the poem with the class. Pay attention to values and how the language is used to convey values. What is important to the Quinaults according to this text? Are there elements which reveal a belief system or native religion? What is the relationship between the Quinault and the land, the animals, the sky, the rivers, the ocean, as expressed in this poem? What generalizations can you make about Quinault culture based on this poem? Ask students to compose a poem as a response to "This Is My Land," using the style of this poet. The content should deal with the land, whether expressing the kind of communion between man and nature found in this poem, or expressing alienation from nature, or wonder, or desire to understand or to be understood.
- Have students work together to create a mural based on this poem. You might set up a mini-museum of the artwork and projects produced in this lesson. Invite other classes to see your exhibit.



This Is My Land

This is my land.
From the time of the first moon,
Till the Time of the last sun. It was given to my people.

Aha-neh- Aha-neh, the great giver of life, made me out of the earth of this land.

He said, "You are the land, and the land is you."

I take good care of this land,

For I am part of it.

I take good care of the animals,

For they are my brothers and sisters.

I take care of the streams and rivers,

For they clean my land.

I honor the Ocean as my father,

For he gives me food and a means of travel.

Ocean knows everything, for he is everywhere.

Ocean is wise, for he is old.

Listen to the Ocean, for he speaks wisdom

He sees much, and knows more.

He says, "Take care of my sister Earth,

She is young and has little wisdom, but much kindness.

When she smiles, it is springtime.

Scar not her beauty, for she is bountiful beyond things.

Her face looks eternally upward to the beauty of the sky and stars,

Where once she lived with her father, Sky."

I am forever grateful for this beautiful and bountiful Earth.

God gave it to me.

This is my land.

- Clarence Pickernell, Quinault

Living in Quinault Country

Group One: Medicinal Plant Group

EXPERT INFORMATION SHEET

You are an expert on plants used for medicines. You collect the **roots of sword fern** which you boil to make hair rinse for dandruff. You make a salve from **spore sacs of the sword fern** for healing burns.

You are an expert on plants used for medicines. You collect **hemlock bark** to grind and mix with pitch (sap) to rub on the chest of a child as a cold cure (like menthol rub). You also know how to make a good laxative out of boiled **hemlock bark**.

You are an expert on plants used for medicines. You collect **redcedar bark** for a tea to treat kidney trouble.

You are an expert on plants used for medicines. You collect the bark of the **white pine** (*Ta'skanil*) to boil as a drink which cures stomach disorders and purifies the blood.

You are an expert on plants used for medicines. You collect the **leaves of deer fern** (*Skae'etskl'o*) which are chewed raw to treat colic.

You are an expert on plants used for medicines. You collect **licorice fern** (*Sumana'amats*) for use as a cough medicine, and the pitch of **lodgepole pine** (*T'atnixlo*) which is chewed for a sore throat.



Group Two: Tree Specialists

EXPERT INFORMATION SHEET

You are an expert on the **yew tree**. From this valuable tree you make boards for flattening children's heads, canoe paddles, the shafts of salmon, seal and porpoise harpoons, digging sticks for roots and clams, wedges for splitting logs and deer traps. The yew tree has recently been found to cure a form of cancer.

You are an expert on the **vine maple tree**. From the wood of this tree you make the wattlework (the woven part) of fishtraps. From the **big leaf maple** you also carve paddles, fish and duck spear-heads and fish clubs. The wood of the maple tree is excellent for smoking salmon.

Your specialty is the **spruce tree**. You use the limbs for making whaling ropes, ropes to tie parts of houses together and for tying the crosspieces of canoes. The roots are used for baskets and rain hats.

Your specialty is the **hemlock tree** (*K'hwa'lp*). You mash the bark with salmon eggs to make orange paint for dip nets and paddles. You also know how to soak the bark, shape it, sew it together to make the linings for cooking pits and storage containers for berries. **Hemlock** boughs make good temporary shelters for hunters.

Your specialty is the **Douglas fir** (*Dja'mats*). People like to chew the pitch (sap) like chewing gum . You make torches from the pitchy wood which burns well. You use the slender poles of young fir trees to make harpoons, salmon spear shafts and the handles of dip nets.

You are an expert on the alder tree. You know how to make a dye from the bark which makes nets invisible to the fish. From this wood you also make fish traps, spoons, dishes, platters and masks.



Group Three: The Chitem (Redcedar) Group

EXPERT INFORMATION SHEET

You are a young woman who knows much about the sacred **Redcedar** (*Chitem*). You shred the bark to make padding and diapers for infants, as well as towels and napkins. You also use the shredded bark to make skirts, capes, rain coats and dresses for women. You make rain hats from split cedar.

You are an elder of the village and are much sought-after for your knowledge of canoe-building. You once carved large and small canoes out of a single **Redcedar tree** (*Chitem*). With the men of the village you first cut down a cedar tree with adzes and chisels. Then you rolled the log down to the water and floated it to the village where it was shaped and hollowed into a canoe.

You are an expert canoe maker. After shaping the **Redcedar** (*Chitem*) trunk with adzes, chisels and stone drills, you work with the other men to chip a groove in the center of the log and start a fire in it. As the wood chars, you scrape it away to make the center hollow. After several days of this, you fill the canoe with water and drop hot rocks into the water to make it boil. This softens the wood and allows you to wedge crosspieces in place to spread the sides of the canoe.

You are a young man who has learned to make heavy rope from twisted **Redcedar** (*Chitem*) limbs which are used to tow harpooned whales to shore. You also know how to make fish traps and mats from cedar bark, roots and limbs.

You are a young man who does the work of a modern lumberjack with **Redcedar** (*Chitem*) wood, by preparing the lumber for house-building. You make wall planks which you plane with an adze. You also make house posts, shingles, shakes and roof planks, which you cut to fit like enormous tiles.



Group Four: The Plant Food Group

EXPERT INFORMATION SHEET

You collect **rhizomes of lady ferns** (*Kuwa'lsa*) which your people like to eat with salmon eggs.

Berry-picking season is your favorite time of year. Blue huckleberries (Sk'iuxsnil) and red huckleberries (to'xlumnix) can be eaten fresh or dried, and you make tea out of the leaves of the red ones. You gather lots of red elderberries (K'lo'manix) which you steam on rocks and put in containers that are stored underground or in cool water to be eaten later in winter. You bake cakes out of gooseberries (Kleemwos). At other times of the year, you gather evergreen huckleberries (Naka'ltean). You dry the huckleberries in the sun or by smoking them. Then you mash them, press them into cakes, and wrap them in leaves or bark.

You collect **wild strawberries** and **salmon berries** (*K'wklaxnix*) for your family and friends to eat fresh. The **salmon berry** is associated with the sockeye salmon run. You roast the sprouts to be eaten with dried salmon. You know that the bark can be used for cleaning infected wounds and burns. You serve wild strawberries to guests on special occasions.

You dig camas roots (*Molakels* or *Kailk*), which is one of the most important foods of your people. You find camas in the prairies which the game hunters maintain by burning sections of the forest.

You collect nodding onions on Lake Quinault.

You collect and peel the roots of the **field horsetail** (*Telo'ts*) in the spring. People like to eat them raw, dipped in whale or seal oil, as a relief from all the dried food of winter.



Group Five: Ocean and River Resources

EXPERT INFORMATION SHEET

You hunt hair seals for their meat, blubber, oil and skins. From the skins you make blankets and floats for whale hunting. Sealskin floats are attached to the ends of lines which are attached to harpoons, and serve to track and slow down the harpooned whale. You also hunt whale and share the bounty of your hunt with people from your village. The whale provides meat, blubber and oil which is used for dipping dried fish and meat, like dipping French fries in ketchup.

You make fish line, especially for halibut, sole and cod, out of **kelp**. Kelp is used for steaming fish and meat as well as for protecting wood planks that are being shaped with steam. You also make knives and wood carving tools out of sharpened **sea shells**.

You hunt sea otters to make clothing and to trade. Sea otter furs became highly prized in Russia and China in the mid-1700s, and soon became an endangered species on the Olympic Peninsula because of the Russian fur hunters. Today, sea otters are a rare sight in the region.

You make sewing needles from the ulna (a bone) of the **albatross wing**, and collect **seagull eggs** to be boiled and eaten. You fish for **dogfish** (a small shark), from which sandpaper is made from its skin.

You and your family catch **salmon** with weirs (closely-woven fences built across the river) and spears. Most of your fishing occurs on the river, but your husband also fishes for **halibut**, **cod** and other **bottom fish** in the open ocean. You and the other women and girls in your family cut open the fish and carefully return the bones and insides to the water, so that the remains can float back to the house of the salmon and be made whole again to return next year. The fish you smoke can be stored for months. You keep smoldering fires going under the fish hanging on drying racks in the rafters of your home (the place is very smoky); each piece must dry thoroughly to prevent it from spoiling when stored.

You catch **candlefish** with nets from which oil is extracted for candles. Candlefish and other fish oils are sought by people as far east as the Great Plains. Mountain passes through the Rockies which coastal traders use for traveling with their fish oil and other goods are called "grease trails."





Living in Quinault Country Group Six: Other Plant, Animal and Mineral Products

EXPERT INFORMATION SHEET

You are highly valued among your people as an expert mat-maker. You use the **broad-leaved cattail** (*Sgwitci*) to make mats. The mats serve as roofs and inner walls of houses, as mattresses, kneeling pads in canoes and backpacks shaped like large wallets.

You know just the right kind of **stone** that is best for making adzes. You shape adzes out of stone for planing cedar boards.

You used to be an expert elk hunter, but now, as you get older, you spend most of your time carving elk bone. From elk bone you make a variety of tools, including chisels for trimming wood and harpoon barbs for whale hunting.

You collect **ferns** for lining and covering storage baskets for food, for wiping the slime from fish, and for decorating baskets.

You collect **pine lily** or **beargrass**, which is very important material for basket-weaving. You cure your baskets with smoke to make them strong and insect resistant, and to give them the desired color and sheen.

You know how to make elk whistles by removing the pith (the inside) of the elderberry stem and plugging one end.



Cut out the following passages and distribute one to each group. Make certain that the Medicinal Plant Group does not receive question number 4.

- 1. You are 15 years old and have just given birth to a baby girl. Your father is going to celebrate the birth by preparing a feast for the village, including elk meat, fresh fruit and lots of hot whale fat, which is a favorite of your people. You will need something to keep the baby dry at night, and something to make her cradle soft. She is colicky and has a slight cough, so you are looking for something to relieve her discomfort. Because you are the daughter of a chief, you will flatten your baby's head as a sign of high status. Winter is ending and you have a craving for food which is not dried. You know that you must also continue eating dried fruit cakes for their nutritional value. In a few days you will be up and about helping your family obtain food, mostly shell fish this time of year. The best time to dig for shell fish is at night, but you will have to find some way to light the beach while you work. What will you use to dig for shellfish? How will you carry them? How will you cook them?
- 2. You are a young man who will lead his first whaling party this year. You will join two other whaling parties from a neighboring village; whale hunters always go out in two or three canoes since a whale can destroy a canoe with the flip of its tail. First you and some helpers will have to build a canoe for your crew. What method and tools will you use for building the canoe? When the canoe is built, you must equip your vessel with all the necessary gear. What will you use for paddles, lines, harpoons and other whaling equipment? How will you prevent the whale from carrying your small canoe out to sea? How will you bring it back to shore? What will you do with the whale once it is ashore? You will be out at sea for three or four days. What food can you bring along that will not perish? How will you stay warm and dry? What will you use to sleep on and cover yourself at night? Before you embark, you must perform special ceremonies, fast and pray to ensure help from the spirits.
- 3. You and your relatives have just lost your house and your belongings in a fire. Your sister-in-law was burned while saving her niece from the flames—she requires treatment. You will need to obtain building materials and think about how to rebuild your house. You will need tools. How will you join the planks together? What will you use to keep out the rain? to make beds and blankets? You will have to make or obtain cooking utensils; there are no metals or clay available to you. The women will have to make new clothes to replace the ones that burned. What materials will they use? How will they sew them together?

- 4. You are an elderly woman with much knowledge about the healing properties of certain plants and trees. You are concerned that young people are losing this traditional knowledge. You have decided to find a way to preserve this knowledge for future generations. This knowledge is usually passed on from generation to generation through the oral tradition of sitting around the fire at night telling stories, or learning through observation and practice from the elders. Young people seem less capable or less interested in learning in these traditional ways. You must devise a system, other than with written language, which will ensure that your young followers will not forget the traditional knowledge. Helpful hints: Rhyme, rhythm or song are often useful in aiding memorization; forms of written communication other than language have been used by societies to pass on knowledge, as among the Egyptians; or you may devise a system for passing on your knowledge which doesn't rely on the memory of one person. You may need to refer to a book on plants and trees of the Pacific Northwest for this project.
- 5. You, like the other men in your village, specialize in elk hunting. You live beside the Quinault River near the elk hunting grounds. The Quinaults relish elk meat and elk hides, which are used for armor: the hides are prized all along the Pacific Coast. You are about to set off on the first elk hunt of the season. What will you use to hunt the elk? What tools will you use to dress the carcass? Good elk hunters have a way mimicking the call of the elk to draw the animal towards them, using a kind of whistle made from a plant. What will you look for in the woods to chew while hunting, something similar to gum? What is elk used for other than meat and hides? You will be gone for over a week. There will be no villages or houses where you will be hunting. There is a good chance that it will rain. Where will you sleep? What will you use to stay dry? What will you eat?
- 6. You are a group of related women living in the same longhouse on the Quinault River. It is summer, the nights are still warm, the salmon are running and berries are ripening in the prairies. But you know that winter will soon arrive and food will be scarce. You must prepare enough food to feed the six families in your home through the winter months when fresh foods are no longer available (remember, you have no refrigerator or freezer). Your preparations must include weaving baskets to store and cook food, as well as collecting firewood which must not be obtained in winter when it is wet. Draw up a plan explaining how you will provide for the four basic food groups through the winter: Dairy (calcium), such as fish bones and eggs; Cereals, including roots and honey; Fruits and Vegetables; and Meat. Your explanation should include how you will preserve and store the foods. Fish and meat are eaten boiled, steamed, smoked and charcobroiled by your people.

They've Gotta Have It

The Environmental Requirements of Salmon and Steelhead

INFORMATION SHEET

Read the following information with your group:

- Water must be pure, more so for salmon than for other fish. It must be free of substances which produce harmful changes in the quality of water, such as a reduction in the amount of oxygen dissolved in water. In general, the tolerance to any kind of pollution is low among salmon.
- Normal changes in the **current** of the river must occur for salmon to flourish. Changes from increased rainfall or melting snow appear to encourage returning salmon to move upstream. Salmon also need **uneven river beds** to allow adults to rest in pools as they move upstream, and for the young to hide and rest on their way down.
- Water must be clear (low **turbidity**). High turbidity affects the growth of the fish's food. Clear, fresh water from a river seems to stimulate the fish waiting at the mouth of a river to enter it and move upstream.
- Salmon have very low tolerance to changes in water temperature. High temperature in water can cause loss of movement or death to salmon.
- Oxygen is a primary factor in the survival of salmon. Oxygen content is affected by temperature, as well as by the movement of water. Water which is not moving very much, as in a lake, tends to lose its dissolved oxygen. Large amounts of decaying organic material use up oxygen.
- The **food** upon which "smolt" (young ocean-bound salmon) thrive require similar conditions for their survival as do adult salmon.
- Gravel bars are important in maintaining optimum conditions for salmon reproduction. The female salmon lays her eggs—between 1,500 and 7,000—in a gravel bar. The male salmon fertilizes the eggs, then both parents push gravel back over the eggs. Within a few days, both salmon parents die. While the eggs are developing, the gravel must remain covered by shallow water. It must also be porous and be able to percolate (like a coffee pot) around the eggs. The gravel must remain undisturbed until the fry (baby fish) have hatched.



• Salmon and steelhead need to be able to get out to the ocean and back to the gravel bars at a certain rate of speed which corresponds to their rate of development. They must be able to move the whole length of the river without obstruction. Up to 90% of the salmon that hatch in a river never reach the ocean.

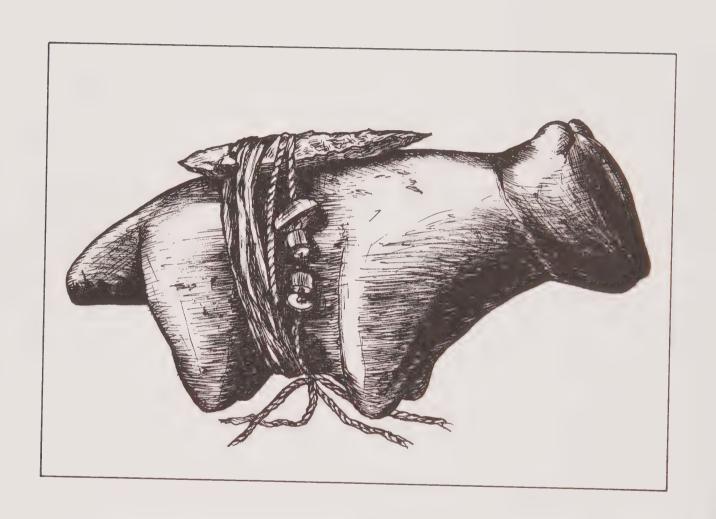
They've Gotta Have It

Factors Impacting Fisheries in the Quinault Watershed

INFORMATION SHEET

As a group, discuss the impact which the following logging practices would have on the life of salmon or steelhead in the Quinault watershed. Make a chart which illustrates your conclusions, showing the differences between a watershed system which meets the environmental requirements for salmon and steelhead, and one which does not.

- Prior to the 1970s, the logging policy of Bureau of Indian Affairs, in charge of timber sales on the Quinault Reservation, consisted of 1) clear-cutting (cutting down all the trees in a timber lot and taking only the most valuable ones) and 2) natural regeneration (allowing trees to grow back naturally without replanting them).
- Cedar trees can take up to 400 years to decompose. The debris left behind in a clear-cut area, called cedar *slash*, is so dense and durable that it prevents tree seedlings from being able to push through the debris and grow into mature trees.
- Clear-cutting causes an increase in run-off of elements, which would otherwise be controlled under a standing forest cover. Clear-cutting allows sediment, bacteria and nutrients (food)—all of which alter the water quality—to be washed away to streams in run-off from rainfall or melting snow. Slash also releases *tannin* which colors the water system and raises its acidic level.
- Clear-cutting produces an elevation in soil and water temperatures in the absence of the protective forest cover which helps to maintain constant temperatures.
- Timber debris tends to slide down hillsides and accumulate in depressions through which streams often run. This causes obstructions to stream flows. Rock and mud slides also occur in clear-cut areas, causing further obstructions in streambeds.
- Improper road construction and maintenance, and the use of heavy equipment such as bulldozers near the stream beds, produce large amounts of silt in the streams.
- Heavy silt loads affect a river's gravel bars. Excessive amounts of fine silt act as a kind of cement when combined with gravel. When this happens, water cannot percolate and move freely through the gravel.
- As it breaks down, decomposing (oxidizing) debris in streams uses up the
 dissolved oxygen in the water. Decomposing debris acts as a form of pollution,
 like sewage.



The Southwest

Introduction

The Southwest is a cultural area of great diversity and historical significance. The region has the oldest continuous record of human habitation outside Mexico. It is the home of the earliest farmers in North America, where the ancestors of the Pueblo Indians practiced intensive agriculture, including irrigation. This cultural area includes groups of the desert culture such as the Pima and Papago, as well as later Athabascan "immigrants" from the Canada, the Navajo and Apache.

Because much of the land is desert or mountain terrain, white settlers were less anxious to occupy these Native American lands. In spite of hundreds of years of foreign domination first by the Spaniards, then the Mexicans, then the United States, southwestern groups have maintained their Indian culture better than any group in any other region of the United States. Because their culture has been so strongly influenced by their physical environment, the groups which remained in their homelands have maintained many elements of their traditional ways of life and value systems.

Mapping the Southwest Cultural Area

- From the map "Cultural Regions of North America," make an enlargement and trace an outline map of the southwest cultural area. Distribute copies to small student groups. Ask a student to read the definition of "cultural area" from his or her journal:
- Have each group paste the map outline onto tagboard or construction paper and identify and draw the following (without using an atlas):
 - The names of states included in the culture region.
 - The outline of American states, the U.S.-Mexican border, and the names of neighboring Mexican states.
 - The names and locations of any cities, national parks, recreational areas, bodies of water, or mountain ranges with which they are familiar.
 - Plants and wildlife inhabiting the region. Students can draw, cut out and paste pictures of the animals, fish and birds they associate with the region onto their maps. They could also use magazine cutouts for this purpose.
- When each group has completed its map, allow students to check their assumptions with an atlas. Create a class map that incorporates the collective knowledge of all the groups. What images do your students have of New Mexico? Arizona? the southwestern desert? the Grand

Canyon? Are they familiar with any crafts or architectural styles of the Southwest? Show students photographs of the region from travel or outdoor magazines. Photographs of Anasazi cliff dwellings will be an important point of reference for future activities.

Cultural Traditions of the Southwest

The Southwest has been inhabited for approximately 13 centuries. The three most important cultural traditions of the Southwest prior to the arrival of the Spaniards in 1540 were the Hohokam, Mogollon and Anasazi cultures. The Hohokam Culture (300 B.C.–1450 A.D.), which flourished in central and



southern Arizona, achieved highly developed agriculture through sophisticated irrigation systems. The Hohokam had ongoing contact with Mesoamerican cultures (from Mexico and Central America) which greatly influenced the development of later Pueblo cultures. The Mogollon Culture (300 B.C.–1200 A.D.) which centered around the Mogollon Mountain Range in Arizona and New Mexico built above-ground, several-story houses with masonry walls and are best known for their exquisite Mimbres pottery. The Anasazi or Pueblo Culture (100 B.C.–present) developed principally on the Colorado Plateau and reached its climax in the Four Corners area—the meeting place of Colorado, Arizona, Utah and New Mexico.

The Anasazi Culture has left an incomparable legacy in crafts architecture, as evidenced in the magnificent cliffside penthouses of Mesa Verde and the Canyon de Chelly. Inexplicably, the Anasazi deserted their cliff-bound towns towards the end of the thirteenth century and moved south to the Rio Grande and its tributaries in central New Mexico. Only the Hopi clung to their mesa-top villages in northeastern Arizona. Various theories have been put forth to explain the abrupt exodus, including natural distasters such as a 30-year drought and environmental degradation by humans through the depletion of the wood supply, over-cultivation and erosion.

From 1300 to the time of the Spanish invasion in 1540, the *Pueblos* (from the Spanish word for town) experienced a "golden age" in their new locations, developing an increasingly complex and formalized relgious system focused on nature and agriculture. This culture is the direct antecedent of the Taos Pueblothe subject of this chapter—which has shown remarkable resilience and persistence in the face of ongoing attempts to destroy, assimilate or commercialize its traditions. Its cultural survival is due undoubtedly to the strength of its religious traditions.

Though the Athabascan-speaking Apache and Navajo are not included among the great cultural traditions of the Southwest, having arrived shortly before the Spaniards and the "beginning of history" (the pre-Spanish period is called "pre-historic"), these groups nevertheless constitute an integral part of the Southwest

cultural area. The Navajo and Apache broke away from their Athabascan relatives in what is today western Canada, followed unknown routes south, and arrived in the Southwest in approximately 1400 A.D. The *Apache*–from the Pueblo word for "enemy"—were mostly nomadic hunters and gatherers with a fearsome reputation as raiders and indominable fighters who were the last American Indians to surrender to the United States in 1886. The Navajo were also hunters and gatherers when they arrived in the Southwest, but they adopted elements of surrounding cultures to become sheepherders, orchard growers and outstanding craftspeople. Pueblos taught the Navajos how to farm and weave and through the years had a significant influence on Navajo culture, particularly their religious beliefs and ceremonies. Navajos today are the largest Native American group in the United States, in terms of numbers and the size of their reservation.

Archeological Sleuths

- Divide the class into six groups. Assign one of the following Southwest cultures to each group: Hohokam, Mogollon, Anasazi, Navajo, Apache, Pueblo V (Pueblos of the Rio Grande, Hopi, Acoma, Laguna and Zuni, 1540–present). Each group will be responsible for researching three of the following categories for their culture group: pottery, basketry, architecture, jewelry, weaving, pictographs and petroglyphs and objects used in religious ceremonies. The group will choose examples from each of the three categories and prepare to discuss and present the examples—either with original photographs, illustrations or models of their own.
- Each group will report by category in the following manner. A group member will present the object to the class. Either the student or the teacher asks the class what that object may have been used for, what they think it may represent or symbolize. The student(s) responsible then explain the significance of the object and anything of interest to them related to the object. Tell the class to pay close attention and take notes if necessary.
- The teacher then displays objects from the six culture groups by category,
 i.e., six different examples of basketry, six examples of pottery, etc.
 Working in their groups, students try to identify the origin of each object
 and write something about that object. The group which correctly
 identifies the most objects should be congratulated.
- Reorganize and display the objects according to culture group. Ask each group to discuss and write the answers to the following questions: Based on the evidence, what types of food did the group eat? What were some occupations (jobs) of people in the cultural group? What materials did they use for building their houses? What was sacred to the group? What were some natural resources that were important to them? Can you say anything about the aesthetics (norms of beauty) of the group?
- Make a time line of artifacts, using a clothesline and clothespins or tape on the wall. Groups work together to arrange all of the artifacts in approximate chronological order. Dates should be attached.

Nature and Culture in the Southwest

• Students choose partners to work on the handout "Nature and Culture in the Southwest," in which students hypothesize about how the physical environment and natural resources affect survival choices. Each pair should receive an information sheet and an answer sheet. The next section "Sacred Water" will provide answers to many of the questions posed in the student activity sheet.

Sacred Water and Stories from the Southwest

As mentioned above, water in the Southwest was a scarce, and sacred, resource. At Mesa Verde, the Anasazi built a system of irrigation canals from 3.5 to 6.5 feet deep, often lined with stones. Canals supplied water for cisterns, like Mummy Lake. Located on a mesa, this cistern supplied water for up to 1,200 people. A network of canals was built along the cliffs and on the floor of Chaco Canyon, which caught water from violent summer storms, carried it over low walls through sluices and dams into cisterns. This allowed the people to control runoff and reduce the sediment in their water supply. The Hohokam developed an ingenious system of irrigation canals which allowed them to live at greater distances from the water source and eventually allowed them to achieve two harvests a year. Near the present-day city of Phoenix, canals built by the Hohokam have been found which are 240 miles long, 10 feet deep and sometimes 30 feet wide.

- Use Keepers of the Earth or another anthology of Native American mythology as a resource for this activity. Read to the class or have them read in round-robin fashion in groups the following stories: "The Hero Twins and the Swallower of Clouds" (Zuni); "Kokopilau, the Hump-Backed Flute Player" (Hopi); and "Four Worlds: the Dine Story of Creation" (Navajo).
- Then return to the questions on the activity sheet for "Nature and Culture in the Southwest" related to culture and resources. Based on the stories, can students list the most important resources for the southwestern groups? Describe how dependence on particular resources was reflected in religious beliefs and creation myths. Based on these stories, what generalizations can you make about how the southwestern groups viewed their relationship to the land and its resources?

Sacred Corn, Elemental Rain

Corn was to the southwest Indians what salmon was to the natives of the Pacific Northwest, and the buffalo to the plains people and hunters of the plateau. Corn cultivation contributed significantly to the rise of Pueblo culture, through the development of an agrarian lifestyle and permanent settlements. Corn became a sacred resource around which daily and seasonal ceremonies developed to ensure fertility and abundance. Many of these ceremonial dances are still held today: dances of prayer for rain are held during the growing season, for snow during the winter season and for a bountiful harvest at harvest time.

Corn began to play a definitive role in the development of the Southwest about 2,000 years ago. Evidence of corn was found in the area dating back 5,500 years ago. But it was not until the Anasazi and other groups began to import hardy strains of maize from Mexico in 750 A.D. that these cultures were able to settle and farm in areas that were relatively dry, such as the Four Corners area.



- Ask students if any of them have had any experience with growing corn. Students from rural Latin America will have particularly interesting stories to relate about the importance of corn in their culture.
- Read the book, *The Dragonfly's Tail*, by Kristina Rodanas with the class. Discuss the moral of the tale and the belief system expressed therein. Describe the causes of the environmental destruction that occurs. What happens to the people when their corn disappears? Who is responsible for saving the people? How was it done? Is there a conservation message in this story? Explain.

EXTENSION 1: Have students do research on the many ways in which corn is used in this hemisphere. Have a corn feast, preparing a variety of corn dishes. Suggestions: make tortillas from scratch, or from *masa* (dough) which you can buy at specialty stores; make corn pudding (a southern United States recipe); pozole; popcorn; succatash; corn bread; corn pone; atole; etc. Talk about where these dishes orginated. Decorate the room with multi-colored maizes. Invite friends, family or fellow schoolmates to join the feast.

EXTENSION 2: Have your students plant, care for and harvest their own corn patch. In the traditional indigenous fashion, plant three kernels in mounds of soil two feet apart, with beans or squash planted around the corn. Try one section with just corn, and one with the bean or pumpkin planted around the corn plant. Take note of the moisture content of the soil in each section. Set up a schedule for watering and caring for the corn plants. Have students keep journals on the progress of their plants, including a record of insects that visited their plant, the rate of growth, problems and the effects of adverse conditions. Finally, ask students to write a prose piece or poem about the experience of harvesting their own corn.

Music of the Southwest

• Play for students the cassette, Canyon Trilogy, or another recordings of R. Carlos Nakai, a Pueblo Indian. Have students sit quietly, close their eyes and imagine the landscape of the Southwest–the red canyons, table mesas and earth-colored cliff dwellings. Have them think about what this music says about the culture that produced it. Ask students to write in their journals what the music is telling them about its culture and its past.

• If you or any of your students are able, identify the harmonic scale used in the songs. Ask students to create their own melodies or improvise using this scale.

Art of the Southwest

• Choose one or all of the following suggestions for studying Southwest artistic styles.

Using petroglyph and pictograph styles discussed in the activity "Archeological Sleuths," have students tell stories about significant aspects of their everyday lives. Creating their own pictographs in rubber stamps or wood blocks for printing would have the most impact, but they could also simply draw their pictographs. Rice paper or other textured paper can be used to simulate a natural, stone-like

background.

Provide student pairs with pictures of Mimbres pottery, or use the pictures of pottery collected and drawn by students in the artifacts activity. Discuss the imagery and symbolism used in the pottery, noting that the animals or plants that appear on the pottery probably had importance in the lives of those people. In pairs, students create a pottery design using the Mimbres style. The subject chosen should reflect the values of students' culture(s). One student could be responsible for drawing the central image, while the other designs the border.

- Form groups of two or three students. Provide groups with photographs of Navajo weavings. Discuss the colors and design. Choose a medium for the art activity, whether coloring, painting, pastels or weaving. Have students try to match the colors as closely as possible. If you use paint, help students mix the colors to match the Navajo weaving (refer to a color wheel or introductory painting guide for help). Each group should create their own design for a weaving, using the Navajo styles. The final products could be painted on 3' x 5' pieces of fabric, and hung on the walls for display.



Nature and Culture in the Southwest

INFORMATION SHEET



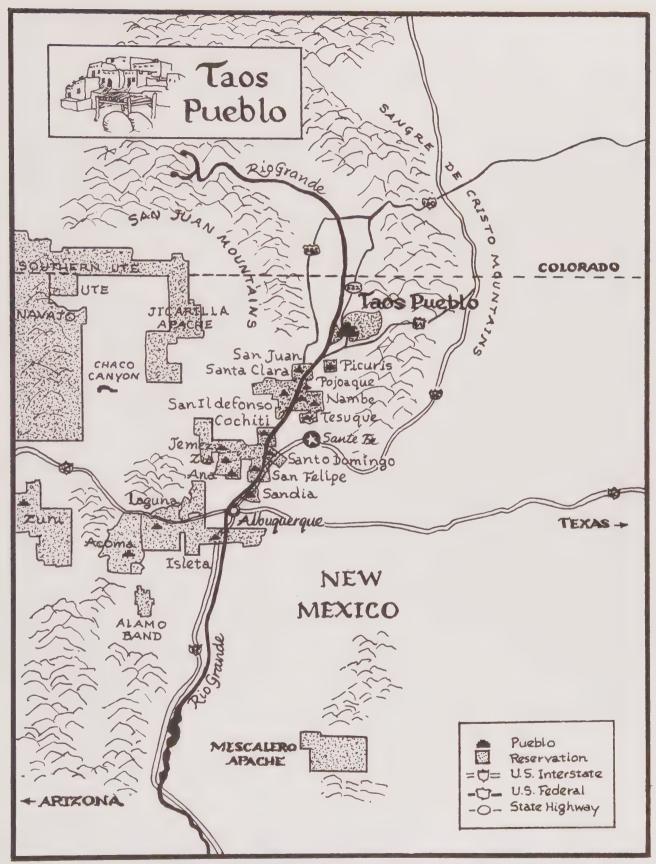
The cultural area of the Southwest comprises four states: most of New Mexico and Arizona, southwestern Colorado and southeastern Utah. The region is geographically varied. The Colorado Plateau to the north—the home of the Anasazi cliff dwellers—is carved by the Colorado and San Juan rivers, forming breathtaking canyons, mesas and tablelands. Despite the land's barren appearance, springs are plentiful, fed by groundwater and collected on a bed of shale and filtered through sandstone. Bordering the upper Rio Grande in Arizona and New Mexico is an area of high, forested mountains reaching 13,236 near Pueblo de Taos and narrow valleys, considered to be the original territory of the Pueblo Indians. Lakes and streams are found here. To the south, stretching into the Sonoran and Chihuahuan deserts of Mexico, are arid and semi-arid deserts where rivers and fertile valleys became the cradle of important Southwestern cultures such as the Hohokam and the Mogollon. The natural north-south corridors here made trade and cultural exchange with the flourishing civilizations in Mexico and Central America possible.

Rather than one climate, the Southwest has a number of microclimates. Plants, animals and humans must adapt to constantly changing conditions, sometimes within a small area. For example, 16 feet of snow sometimes fall on the north rim of the Grand Canyon, while the south rim, 11 miles away, receives half that amount. Seasonal contrasts are also drastic. Temperatures on the Colorado Plateau in summer can reach 104 degrees Fahrenheit, while the winters can be bitter cold. Rainfall averages 13 inches per year; in desert areas the annual rainfall is less than 8 inches. Heavy flash thunderstorms occur, however, and farmers must plan ahead to use this rainfall. Cultivation in these conditions is difficult, yet agriculture, introduced in the area thousands of years ago, provided the base for the development of advanced, sedentary societies with semi-urban cultures. A secure food supply, particularly corn which could be easily preserved, in turn allowed southwestern groups the leisure time to dedicate themselves to the creation of utilitarian and aesthetic objects. Food security eventually lead to the development of complex religious, social and political systems.

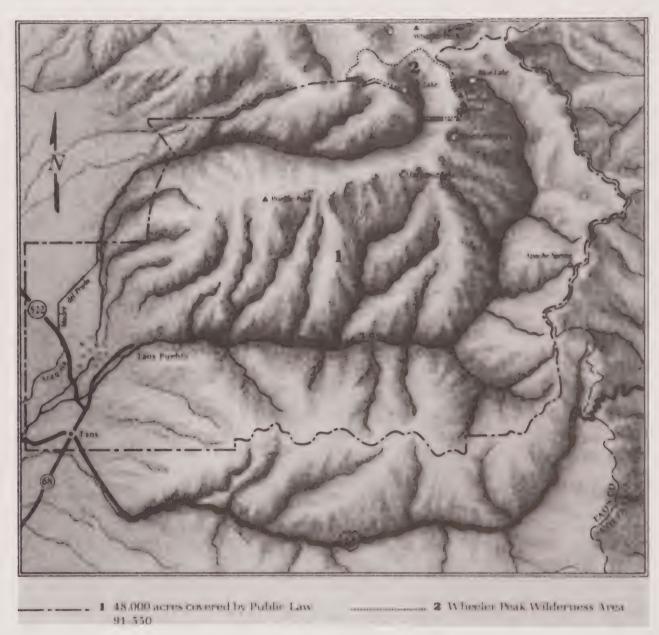
Nature and Culture in the Southwest

Work with your partner to answer the following questions:

- If you lived in a cliff dwelling and your only source of water was an underground spring, what system would you use to capture water? Would you need water for farming or just for daily use? Would you dig wells? Is there any way you could capture water from heavy thunderstorms? How would you prevent flash floods from filling your water supply with sediment? Make a diagram of your water supply system.
- If you lived in a valley near mountains that reached 13,236 feet, what might be the source of your water in an area with only 13 inches of rainfall a year? What system would you develop to use this source of water or moisture? Would it be the same as in the Colorado Plateau?
- If you have knowledge of ancient civilizations from your studies, describe the conditions which made rivers (such as the Nile in Egypt) "cradles of civilization." What event occurs annually that makes these types of river valleys extremely fertile and good for cultivation? What Southwest cultures flourished under such conditions?
- Describe one resource which would be very important to you in the Southwestern environment. Based on what you've learned from previous chapters, explain how a group's culture would reflect the importance of this resource in their everyday lives and on special occasions.
- The desert is a seemingly inhospitable environment for humans, and yet cultures have flourished in deserts around the world. List some plants and animals which people might use to survive in the Sonoran or Chihuahuan desert.
- What types of housing would be appropriate for climates as described in "Nature and Culture in the Southwest"? What materials would be available for building? Would the materials be similar to those used by the Quinaults? Explain. Would clothing and transportation be similar to those used in the Pacific Northwest? Explain.
- What resource in the Southwest was similar to the salmon in the Pacific Northwest in terms of the importance of that resource to the people? In what ways were they similar or different? What would you expect to find among Southwest groups in terms of how this resource was treated in cultural terms?



Taos Pueblo



Rio Pueblo de Taos Watershed

The Taos Pueblo

Introduction

The adobe town of Taos Pueblo is the oldest continuously inhabited structure in North America. It is a National Historic Landmark and was recently nominated by the U.S. government as a World Heritage site. The people of Taos Pueblo, descendants of the Anasazi, are the most resilient, battle-worn and secretive of the 19 pueblos along the Rio Grande River. Three different powers have dominated Pueblo de Taos—the Spanish, the Mexicans and the U.S. government—and against all three the Taos Pueblo revolted. In this century they waged a relentless 60-year battle to regain their sacred homeland, the Blue Lake watershed. Their struggle evolved into a national campaign for religious freedom, supported by a wide range of groups and individuals including Zane Grey, D.H. Lawrence, Maxfield Parish, Bobby Kennedy and Richard Nixon.

Mapping the Pueblo de Taos Area

- From the map "Taos Pueblo," trace a simple outline map, including the locations of Albuquerque, Santa Fe and the New Mexico-Colorado border. Give each pair of students a copy of the outline map you have created. Referring to a physical map of the region, students locate and color major mountain ranges, rivers, lakes and the town of Taos Pueblo. When they have finished, project an overhead transparency of the original map "Taos Pueblo" on butcher paper. Ask students to complete their own maps, then help to complete the projected map by drawing the borders of New Mexico and the Four Corners region of the United States on the butcher paper behind the projection. Ask students to locate and draw on this map the following:
 - The Sangre de Cristo mountain range
 - Blue Lake, the Taos de Pueblo River
 - The Rio Grande River, Taos Pueblo and the other 18 pueblos along the Rio Grande River, the city of Taos
 - The other Indian reservations in New Mexico

The Blue Lake Watershed

This is the story of a people who identify their origins and group survival with their land, specifically, with a watershed area. Though striking similarities exist, the social and geographic concept of the watershed among the Taos differs somewhat from that of the Quinaults of the Olympic Peninsula. Among the Quinaults, identification as a people originated in the geography of the watershed which physically linked a number of scattered villages within one

ecological unit. In contrast, the people of Taos Pueblo have always been concentrated in one town, Taos Pueblo. Rather than as a unifying geographic concept, the group identification with the watershed springs from a deep religious sense of their homeland. The Rio Pueblo de Taos watershed is inextricably linked to the Taos Pueblo's sense of who they are: it is their place of origin, the home of their sacred religious sites and the source of their sacred waters.

The Taos Pueblo watershed and the battle for their sacred Blue Lake is the focus of much of this chapter. To begin this discussion, introduce the geography of the watershed to the students.

- Project an overhead transparency of "Rio Pueblo de Taos Watershed." Do not tell students that this is a map of the watershed. Ask them to identify the geographic features of Taos Pueblo, Blue Lake, Rio Pueblo de Taos and its tributaries, and where they think the mountain ridges occur within the marked boundaries of acreage covered by Public Law 91-550. Ask them in which direction the tributaries are flowing and where the river originates. Ask what this geographic terrain looks like (a watershed). Point out the location of the highest peak in New Mexico, Wheeler Peak at 13,640 feet, and Blue Lake in relation to it (on its southeastern flank).
- Read the following passage from the tribe's attorney at congressional hearings on the Blue Lake watershed:

"The watershed creates the Rio Pueblo de Taos (the Taos Pueblo River). Blue Lake and the numerous sacred springs are the sources of the stream. The waters of the Rio give life to the watershed and to the Indians who dwell therein ... Blue Lake, as the principal source of the Rio Pueblo, is symbolically the source of all life; it is the retreat also of souls after death, the home of the ancestors who likewise gave life to the people of today ... Blue Lake, therefore, symbolizes the unity and continuity of the Pueblo; it is the central symbol of the Indians' religion as the cross is in Christianity."

- Discuss the relationship between the geographic, spiritual and ethnic (group) concept of the Blue Lake watershed.
- Read the legend of the Origin of the Taos Pueblo in Nancy Wood's *Taos Pueblo*, pp. 6-12, doing a circle read-around. Make a class mural of the characters and events depicted in this creation story.

An Enduring Religion

"Our religion to us is sacred and is more important to us than anything else in our life Our happiness, our moral behavior, our unity as a people and the peace and joyfulness of our homes, are all part of our religion and are dependent on its continuation. To pass this religion, with its hidden sacred knowledge and its many forms of prayer, on to our children, is our supreme duty to our ancestors and to our own hearts and to the God whom we know."

From the "Declaration of the Council of All the New Mexico Pueblos, addressed to the Pueblo Indians, to all Indians, and to the People of the United States," May 1924.

The Taos Pueblo's religion is deeply rooted in the land and beliefs about their origins. Though the Spanish enslaved them, imposed the European cross, and attempted to destroy their religion, the Taos people endured in their faith. The key to their success in maintaining their religion was the adaptation of elements of Christianity which were compatible with their native religion. The cross, for example, was similar to the one used in their kivas for centuries to symbolize the four cardinal directions. The Pueblo's patron saint, San Geronimo, was adopted because his feast day fell on September 30, the day of the Sun Going South Moon, which is the traditional celebration of the Pueblo's harvest time.

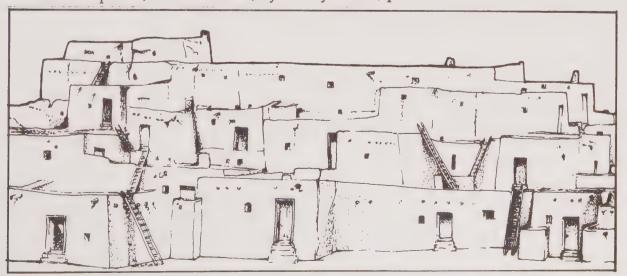
Many aspects of daily life continue to have some sort of religious significance for the Taos Pueblo. As an example, in continuation of the ancient tradition of formally greeting the rising sun by spreading corn pollen, elders continue this ritual in their own manner today. To Pueblo traditionalists, most of nature's creation is sacred: the birds, insects, animals, corn in particular, and pollen are sacred, because they bring life. The four directions have deep religious meaning, as do the four winds, the clouds, the stars, the moon, the sun and the earth. The continuity in certain aspects of beliefs is striking, as shown in the descriptions below of prehistoric and contemporary views of animals and the earth. Read these selections aloud to the class.

Prehistoric:

"A (prehistoric) hunter could not despise his prey, for each animal species had its own guardian spirit who followed the hunter to see how he treated the animal. A complex ritual accompanied the beginnings and endings of the hunt, and the manner in which the hunters disposed of the meat and bones. If the hunter violated the ritual, the animal guardian spirit would take revenge by causing the hunter misfortune or allowing the game to become scarce.

Contemporary:

"Moccasin makers and drum makers use deer hide. The deer has to die in order to make the moccasins, the drum. So it's part asking the animal to sacrifice himself to this work, part asking that his spirit enter the piece. In pottery, you try and capture the spirit of the earth, the mystery, the goodness. You ask the spirit of the earth to stay in the pot, to bring good fortune and long life to who[m]ever uses it." Sharon Reyna, Taos Pueblo potter, in Taos Pueblo, by Nancy Wood, p. 15.



• Lead a discussion of the above passages. How do contemporary and prehistoric Pueblo view animals? How is this like the use of earth in making pottery? How were animals connected to the survival of the people in prehistoric times? What role did people view themselves playing in the survival of animal species? Are there any parallels with other groups you have studied? (the Quinault and salmon) What are two important uses of deer in contemporary society? Do you think contemporary Taos Pueblos depend on game animals for their survival? Do you think they share the same beliefs as prehistoric hunters? In what ways are current beliefs of the Taos Pueblo similar to, and different from, those of the early Pueblos?

Taos Pueblo Under the Spanish Crown

• Read students the following list of names of Taos Pueblo individuals: Barbara Lujan, Severino Martinez, Juan Jesus de Romero, Manuelita Marcus, Geronimo Trujillo, Inez Romero. What do they notice about these names? Then ask students to look at the map of the Taos Pueblo area and pay attention to the names of places in the area. What conclusions can they draw based on the names of geographic locations? Who is responsible for naming places? How did Native Americans end up with these types of names? What do students know about the conquest of the Southwest? the United States' war with Mexico?

The Spanish arrival in New Mexico in 1540 marked the end of the classic Pueblo period for the 50 or 60 adobe Indian villages. The Spaniards brought horses, a new language, surnames, guns, new farm animals and crops, a military government and a religion that turned the Indians into slaves. Initially friendly to the newcomers, the Pueblos came to resent bitterly the *encomienda* system which imposed heavy taxes and production quotas on them. The demands of the crown and the church so fully occupied the Taos that they had to forfeit their own daily necessities which caused deprivation and sometimes starvation. Worst of all was the brutal suppression of the native religion by representatives of the Catholic Church. Responsible for converting the Pueblo Indians, the Franciscans prohibited religious dances, raided the *kivas* (ceremonial lodgings), persecuted religious figures and destroyed all native religious objects. As a result, the Pueblos took their religion underground to preserve it.

Ask students to work in groups of three to create a contemporary version
of the scenario described above, putting themselves in the role of a
peaceful group invaded by a foreign or extraterrestrial power. Tell them to
think about what cultural or religious values and activities are important
to them and how it would feel to have a foreign power telling them what
they could and could not do. Students should think about how they
would react to the domination of this kind.

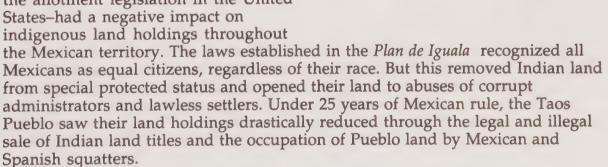
In 1640, smoldering tribal resentment turned into rebellion. The Taos killed the Franciscan friar, burned the church and abandoned the pueblo for 13 years to hide out in the mountains. In 1680, more than 60 Pueblos as well as Navajo and Apaches, united to drive the Spaniards south to what is now El Paso, Texas. The Pueblo Revolt, which originated in the kivas of Taos Pueblo and united a territory of almost 40,000 square miles, remains one of the most successful Native American rebellions in history.

Prior to the arrival of the Europeans, the recognized homeland of the Taos Pueblo covered some 300,000 acres. The Spanish crown granted 17,000 acres in

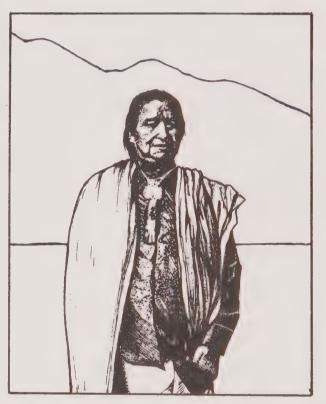
land titles to the Taos, which consisted only of the town itself and surrounding agricultural plots. The Spaniards did, however, recognize Taos Pueblo as the owner of all the lands that it exclusively used and occupied, which included all of the 50,000 acres of its sacred watershed. The Pueblo people were thus not recognized as the original owners and occupants of their territory, but rather as having acquired ownership by means of the land titles granted by the Spanish crown.

Taos Pueblo Under the Mexican Flag

In winning independence from Spain in 1821, Mexico gained control of all the Crown's territories in the Southwest. While the Mexican government continued to recognize the exclusive use laws of Indian lands established by Spain, the "liberalization" laws of the revolutionary government—similar to the allotment legislation in the United States—had a negative impact on indigenous land holdings throughout



 Ask students if they remember what was going on in the early 1800s in the United States, in terms of U.S. policy towards Native Americans.
 What was the purpose of the Allotment Act (refer to Chapter Two)? Do



they see any parallels between the Allotment Act and the *Plan de Iguala*? What was the impact of the *Plan de Iguala* on the Taos Pueblo?

Taos Pueblo Under the United States Government

The Southwest came under the rule of the U. S. government following the Mexican War and the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1846. All residents of New Mexico were given the choice of retaining Mexican citizenship: if they chose not to, they would be granted "all rights of the citizens of the United States." However, the primary right of citizenship, the right to vote, was denied the Pueblo Indians until 1948.

Under U.S. rule, the religion of the Taos Pueblo once again came under attack.

Proselytizing Christians, bent on imposing their own religion on the Indians, invaded the Taos Pueblo privacy and campaigned publicly against their religion. The pressure increased in the early 1900s, under Charles H. Burke, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.



 Have students identify and read the constitutional amendment which protects religious freedom (the First Amendment of the Bill of Rights). Have each student interview two other students about what they believe constitutes religious freedom: interviewees should give

examples. Then create a class definition using butcher paper and markers. Save this definition for a later activity.

HOME ASSIGNMENT: Ask students to cut out newspaper or magazine articles dealing with struggles for, or violations of, the right to religious freedom. Create a class scrapbook in which they will paste their articles, photographs and personal reflections. Lead a discussion with students about why religion is the source of so much conflict. Ask them to provide examples from the past as well as the present.

The Language of Religious Intolerance

• Using butcher paper and markers (or an overhead transparency), write the following passage so that the whole class can read it.

"Our religion to us is sacred and is more important to us than anything else in our life Our happiness, our moral behavior, our unity as a people and the peace and joyfulness of our homes, are all part of our religion and are dependent on its continuation. To pass this religion, with its hidden sacred knowledge and its many forms of prayer, on to our children, is our supreme duty to our ancestors and to our own hearts and to the God whom we know."

From the "Declaration of the Council of All the New Mexico Pueblos, addressed to the Pueblo Indians, to all

Indians, and to the People of the United States," May 1924.

• Then read the following statements made and actions taken by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the United States Congress, Charles H. Burke, in the early 1920s. Use the suggested questions for discussion.

The Taos Pueblo Indians are "half-animals," because of their "pagan religion"; "Indian religious observances are sadistic and obscene."; "Native religion is a crutch preventing the useful assimilation of the Indian into white society."

The Commissioner suggested that the following proposals by certain Christian missionaries be adopted by the Bureau of Indian Affairs:

-"That the Indian dances be limited to one each month in the daylight hours of one day in the midweek and at one center in each district

-"That none take part in these dances or be present who are under fifty years of age.

-"That a careful propaganda be undertaken to educate public opinion against the (Indian) dance."

• Discuss the above statements with the class. What was the objective behind prohibiting anyone under 50 years of age from participating in the dances? How were the young people to learn what their grandparents knew if they could not dance? What words does the commissioner use to describe the Taos religion? Reread the statements while students take notes. What do these words reveal about how the commissioner felt about the Taos religious practices? Do you think the commissioner had closely studied the Taos religion? Explain. Do you think he held a tolerant view of religions other than his own? Explain.

EXTENSION: Provide small groups with historical documents or old text or trade books dealing with Native Americans. Ask them to study the adjectives, adverbs and nouns used when referring to Native Americans. Have them make a chart with two columns. On one side write the words (labeling their grammatical functions) and phrases they chose. On the other, students write down a way to say the same thing in a manner that is respectful and untainted by cultural, religious or racial intolerance. For further guidance on overcoming the language of intolerance, see Harvey, Harjo and Jackson, *Teaching About Native Americans*, "Introduction" and "Resources for Teachers and Students."

Education and Religion

One of the main concerns of the Pueblos was how the new Indian laws affected the traditional religious education of Pueblo children. Indian education was one of the cornerstones of the American government's assimilation policies, intended to force Indians into the cultural mold of the dominant set of values of U.S. society. The Bureau of Indian Affairs school system and missionary schools were designed to rid Native American

children of their traditional language, behavioral patterns and forms of knowledge by removing them from the influence of their parents and tribes. Taos Pueblo children were sent to year-round boarding schools as far away as Riverside, California, and Carlisle, Pennsylvania. When the Taos Pueblo refused to give in to Commissioner Burke's orders to leave several initiates in school year-round and not withdraw them for periods of traditional religious training, the BIA sent the Council members to jail in Santa Fe.

• Distribute the handout "Religion in the Schools" to pairs of students. Have them read the selection and the answer questions together.

The Struggle for Blue Lake

Taos Pueblo Meets Theodore Roosevelt: The Creation of a National Forest Preserve

The Taos Pueblo's 60-year struggle to regain their sacred Blue Lake can be understood only in the context of its long history of religious oppression. Every August for hundreds, perhaps thousands of years, the people of the pueblo have walked or ridden 40 miles round-trip to the sacred Blue Lake, where they immerse themselves in their most secret religious devotions. This is a special period of spiritual regeneration, which no outside person has ever witnessed; absolute privacy and secrecy are prerequisites for the fulfillment of the tribe's religious duties. Throughout the year religious leaders initiate their followers into the mysteries of the Tribe's origins and its sacred shrines, all within the natural environment of the Blue Lake watershed.

• Use the following questions to guide class discussion: What are sacred sites? Name some that you know (the Western Wall in Jerusalem, the Kaaba in Mecca). Can something in nature, like a rock or a stream, be a sacred site? Why? Why not?

By 1900, the Taos Pueblo had lost tens of thousands of acres of its original holdings, yet had steadfastly resisted any intrusion into the Blue Lake watershed. Theodore Roosevelt, the "conservation President," changed all that. In the course of his tenure, Roosevelt set aside 150 million acres of land as a forest reserve as well as 85 million acres withdrawn from public entry. Some of this land, such as the Blue Lake watershed, was exclusively used and occupied by Native Americans. Unlike the Spanish and Mexican governments before it, the United States government did not recognize "exclusive use" rights to aboriginal land and legally considered all such acreage "vacant public land." Many Native American groups in New Mexico, accustomed to grazing their cattle on ancestral land which now belonged to the Forest Service, suddenly were required to pay grazing fees which they could not afford. Many were forced to sell their herds and the Tribes' economic base for several Tribes rapidly eroded.

For the people of Taos Pueblo, the inclusion of Blue Lake in the Carson National Forest was a "tragedy and a disaster," yet another federal land grab and a subject

that still stirs them to anger. Ask a student to read this statement by Sam Romero aloud to the class:

"Nobody came from Washington to tell us. We found out when people were there hunting, fishing, throwing trash around. First they put up fences, then roads. Pretty soon they kept us out. We had to ask permission to use our lake, our land."

With the incorporation of most of the Blue Lake watershed into the Carson National Forest, the Taos Pueblo found itself confronted with some fundamental philosophical differences between the Forest Service and itself, regarding nature and its uses.

- After grouping students in pairs, distribute the information and answer sheet handout "Conservation and Land Use Policies of the Taos Pueblo and National Forest Service." Ask students to fold a blank sheet of paper in half length-wise, and to write their answers on the left side of the folded sheet. Point out to students that the Forest Service policies presented here have changed somewhat since the Blue Lake controversy was resolved.
- When students have completed their answer sheets, discuss the generalizations students wrote down. Then read the passages below, and have students reformulate their generalizations and descriptions of the differences between Forest Service and Taos Pueblo philosophies of land use. You may want to prepare a vocabulary list and go over new words before reading the text. Students should fill in the right-hand side of their answer sheets when more complete information emerges from the discussion.

Central to the Taos Pueblo's way of life is the belief that in the beginning Mother Nature imparted to their ancestors proper and perpetual modes of behavior. Departure from these established patterns is considered sacrilegious. A key tenet of the ancestors was the interrelationship of the people and the land. The people, through their prayers and religious ceremonies, give homage to and fructify the land. The land, in turn, nourishes and sustains the people. Land and people, therefore, are joined in a sacred, symbiotic bond; and any alteration of the land directly threatens this bond. For this reason, the Taos Pueblos look upon preservation of their wilderness as a sacred obligation.

(Gordon-McCutchan, The Taos Indians and the Battle for Blue Lake, p. 13)

Central to the National Forest Service policy is the concept of "multiple use." According to this principle, forests are for recreational purposes, for the extraction and production of resources, and for grazing. In other words, National Forest land is for recreational and commercial use. In providing for these uses, the Forest Service has the authority to stock lakes with fish, build roads and trails, contract mineral extraction and tree cutting, manipulate vegetation to improve water yield and to issue grazing permits.

Religious Privacy

Besides the belief in the inter-connection between people and the land, another key teaching of the Taos Pueblo ancestors was the need for preserving the secrecy of the tribe's religious knowledge. It was believed that revealing this body of knowledge to outsiders would weaken their religion, and that sacred rituals performed in the presence of non-Indians would also lose their power. Religious persecution throughout their history intensified this need for secrecy. According to the anthropologist John Bodine, who testified before Congress on behalf of the Pueblo,

"Priests of the various religious societies at Taos must go into the area . . . time after time during the year. They go alone or in groups to perform the special rituals with which they have been charged and to train their successors. Outsiders, including the Forest Service, constitute a great threat to the proper performance of these duties. It constitutes a serious invasion of religious privacy"



In spite of a 1933 congressional act granting the Pueblo exclusive use of 30,000 acres in the Blue Lake watershed, the presence of the Forest Service personnel and of recreational users in the sacred area continued to excite rancor among the Taos Pueblo, and became the basis for the first round of litigation in the struggle to regain Blue Lake. Several decades of tension ensued in which the Taos Indians struggled to preserve their original rights to the use of the watershed and to religious secrecy in the face of increasing insensitivity on the part of the Forest Service to the needs of the Pueblo.

The Taos Pueblo and John Collier: "Tribal Restoration-Phase I"

Appointed by President Franklin Roosevelt to head the Bureau of Indian Affairs, John Collier was one of the great defenders of Native American rights in the twentieth century. Between 1934 and 1953, he ushered in a new period of United States relations with Native Americans which has been called "Tribal Restoration—Phase I." Under his guidance the BIA reversed its previous policies of coercive assimilation and attempted to restore Native American self-governance, and basic human rights. In 1940, Collier and the Tribe's lawyers convinced the Forest Service to grant the Taos Pueblo a 50-year exclusive use permit to 30,000 acres within the Blue Lake watershed (the watershed covered a total of 50,000 acres). Though the new agreement incorporated significant concessions to the Pueblo's demands, the permit restricted the Tribe's exclusive religious use to three days a year. It also gave the Forest Service the right "to extend and improve the forest," thereby potentially violating the religious integrity of the watershed.

The Heat Is On: 1940-1968

The period of 1940 to 1968 was one of ongoing tension, negotiation and litigation between the Taos Pueblo and the Forest Service/U.S. Department of Agriculture.

The conflict arose principally because the Forest Service continued to assert its authority over the watershed land and considered the Tribe to have use privileges, rather than rights, to the watershed.

• Discuss the differences between "rights" and "privileges." In this case, rights would refer to the interest or ownership of the land, whereas privileges would refer to the guaranteed access to the land.

The Taos, on the other hand, continued to protest that their rights to religious freedom and privacy were being violated. Their sacred duty to ensure the protection of the plants and animals in their natural state was compromised by continual threats by the Forest Service to log the watershed. The destruction of La Junta Canyon by clear-cutting was a continual reminder of the effects of Forest Service activities.

• Display the student-generated definition of *religious freedom*. Read the following passage and then discuss it in light of their definition.

"We are probably the only citizens in the United States who are required to practice our religion under a 'permit' from the Government. This is not religious freedom as it is guaranteed by the Constitution. Moreover, the permit covers only a portion of the Rio Pueblo watershed. Outside the permit area we are at the sufferance of the Forest Service." Paul Bernal, statement before Congress.

- Discuss the following questions with students:
 - Why do the Taos Pueblo need to practice their religion with a "permit" from the Government? Do you think the Government agrees with the Taos Pueblo criticism?

 Describe the underlying conflict between the Taos Pueblo and the Forest Service. Is there any way of resolving this conflict?

Have you ever been in a situation like the one described where you had a completely different point of view from someone else, something you felt very strongly about, which made it difficult to discuss the issue, much less arrive at a compromise? How did you resolve your differences?

Can you think of any other examples in which two people or two groups have completely different perspectives on the same issue, which makes dialogue, much less compromise and negotiation, difficult? (Israel and Palestinian views of their respective homelands is a good example.) Using one of your examples, think of how you could encourage the individuals or groups to begin talking with each other, to make themselves understood, and move towards an understanding.

In the 1950s and 1960s the leaders and allies of the Taos Pueblo developed a new strategy which consisted in removing the watershed from the threat of the Forest Service's "multiple use" policy by placing it under the authority of the Tribe through trust title. The Tribe refused cash payment for the land and continued to resist efforts by the Department of Agriculture to grant the Pueblo title to 3,000 acres of land immediately surrounding Blue Lake. In trying to convey to non-Indian officials why the watershed, and not just a piece of land around the lake

was sacred to them, the Pueblo offered the analogy of a European idea of a church.

"We don't have beautiful structures and we don't have temples in this lake, but we have a sign of a living God to [whom] we pray—the living trees, the evergreen and spruce, and the beautiful flowers and the beautiful rocks and the lake itself. We have this proof of sacred things we deeply love, deeply believe." Seferino Martinez, statement before Congress.

• Ask each student to write a paragraph on whether they believe that nature can be a temple of worship. Why? Why not? Is the Blue Lake area as sacred as a church, a mosque or a synagogue? What do people worship in a church, a synagogue or a mosque? What do the Taos worship in their sacred places? How is worshipping in a church or synagogue different from worshipping at sacred places in nature? How are they different?

However, the strategy of using the church as an analogy to describe the Tribe's spiritual attachment to the watershed caused further difficulties since the idea of a church was linked in most non-Indian minds to the notion of holy ground specifically being located in a man-made structure. This led the Tribe's opponents to base their arguments in the idea of limiting the Taos claims to an identifiable "sacred precinct" immediately surrounding Blue Lake.

• Make copies of the handout "Boy, Those Indians are Weird," found at the end of this chapter. Distribute it to small student groups. Ask students to discuss the meaning of the political cartoon among themselves. Who is holding the sign? Is he protesting something? Whom do the men talking represent? What are the people behind them doing? Whom do these people represent? Then ask the groups to create their own political cartoons about some other issue that has been raised in this chapter, such as the comparison between church and sacred sites in nature, religion in the BIA schools, the Pueblo Revolt, etc.

The Pueblo's plea for religious freedom struck a responsive chord in the American public. A ground swell of support arose across the social and political spectrum, and included prominent writers, artists, an ecumenical coalition, other Tribes, Republican and Democratic politicians and environmental organizations. At the same time, the strength of the pro-Taos Pueblo contingent provoked equally strong opposition among powerful interests including the lumber companies and cattle ranchers, sportsmen's organizations, and a Senator from the Southwest with ties to these interests. The struggle for Blue Lake culminated in the Senate hearings of 1970, with bill H.R. 471.

The Final Hearing

The Blue Lake bill, H.R. 471 had become a symbol of their cultural preservation and religious freedom for many Native Americans. In the final days before the Senate hearing, an unexpected event shifted the tides in favor of the Pueblo. President Nixon, who saw the Blue Lake bill as key to the success of his new

"self-determination" policy for Native Americans, declared his support for the Pueblo. Even powerful Senators and the Forest Service could not stop the current of opinion which began to shift in favor of the Taos Pueblo. After 60 years of relentless struggle, the small Pueblo had found an unlikely political ally who would turn their seemingly futile struggle into a lasting victory. On December 1, 1970, with the eminent spiritual leader Juan Jesus de Romero and other Taos Pueblo elders chanting softly in the Senate gallery, the Senate voted 70 to 12 to return 48,000 acres of the Blue Lake watershed to the Pueblo. The watershed passed permanently out of the hands of the Forest Service and into the hands of the Tribe—with trust title under the Department of Interior.

In the following activity, students role play the different actors in Blue Lake controversy, with the Senate Chambers of Congress serving as the backdrop for the debate.

- Ask students to watch C-SPAN on television at home. Tell them to pay attention to how the Representatives and Senators are seated and the procedures for debate.
- Divide the class into seven groups. The Executive Branch should appoint a President and a Vice-President. Give each group one of the "Taos-Blue Lake Hearings" information sheets at the end of the chapter. Ask them to write the name of their group on a piece of paper and display it for all to see. To each group assign two "congressional staff persons," who will be in charge of briefing other congressmen or lawyers seeking information. Leave sufficient time for everyone involved to feel comfortable with the information they will handle.

Students work in their groups to prepare their arguments for a congressional debate, deciding which are the most important points, and the order in which they will present them. Each member of the group will be responsible for at least one argument. The Taos Pueblo lawyers and representatives from the Forest Service should be the first to set out their positions, then call on testimony from other groups. Before the debate, the Forest Service and Taos lawyers should investigate which other groups or individuals will serve as allies and get a briefing on those groups' information.

The Bill. The bill being introduced is called *Taos-Blue Lake Bill*. If passed, the legislation would grant them trust title to 50,000 acres of the Blue Lake watershed. The Forest Service and a small number of Senators oppose the bill for several reasons, as discussed below. If the Taos are successful in their bid, their watershed would pass under the administration of the Department of the Interior and out of the jurisdiction of the National Forest Service. The information provided is based on the arguments presented in the Taos-Blue Lake Hearing in 1969. Students, acting as congresspeople, must listen to the arguments, decide which position to support, and work to reach a compromise with opposing parties. (One of the compromises in the actual Taos-Blue Lake bill was the reduction of the requested 50,000 acres to 48,000, withholding 2,000 acres for the Wheeler Wilderness.) Finally, students will vote in favor of or against the bill, using role call and "yeas" and "nays."

Religion in the Schools

Beginning in the 1880s, the Taos Pueblo and other Native American children were forced to enter government schools against their will. They were separated from their parents and sent to year-round boarding schools far from their homes, sometimes in other states. In the BIA schools, students were severely punished for speaking their native language. They were required to wear non-Indian clothing, cut their hair, and give up all other outward signs of cultural uniqueness.

The Commissioner ordered that boys could no longer be withdrawn temporarily from the Government school to be given their religious instruction. The Pueblo Council replied: "If the right to withdraw children for religious instruction be withdrawn, then the Indian religion will die. The two or three boys taken out of school each year are the boys who will learn all the religious system of the tribe, and they in turn will pass on this knowledge to the generations to come . . . When our children go to school they are compelled to receive teachings in the Christian religion, no matter what the parents or the clans may desire. And the parents, the clans and the tribes are not even given the privilege of saying which branch or denomination of the Christian religion their children shall be taught. Thus a division is made between parents and the children. And now if we are to be, according to the Commissioner's new order, forbidden to instruct our own children in the religion of their fathers, the Indian religions will quickly die and we shall be robbed of that which is most sacred and dear in our life."

From "Declaration of the Council of All the New Mexico Pueblos," addressed to the Pueblo Indians, to all Indians, and to the People of the United States, May 1924.

• If the Taos Pueblo had taken their grievances about government schools to court, what constitutional amendment would they claim had been violated? In what way had this amendment been violated?

 Make a list of some basic human rights. Do children need protection of their human rights just as adults do? Name instances you've read or heard about in which the human rights of children were violated. Were there any human rights being denied the Taos Pueblo children during this period?

Have any of you ever experienced something similar to what the Taos
Pueblo children went through in the BIA schools? How would it feel to be
treated this way?

• Do you think people should be able to speak their own language in school? How would you understand another student who cannot speak to you in English? How would these students be able to talk with you? What are some ways that people can communicate who do not speak the same language? How do students who do not yet know English learn in school? What do you think would be the best way to teach in a classroom where there are students who do not speak English?

Conservation and Land Use Policies of the Taos Pueblo and National Forest Service

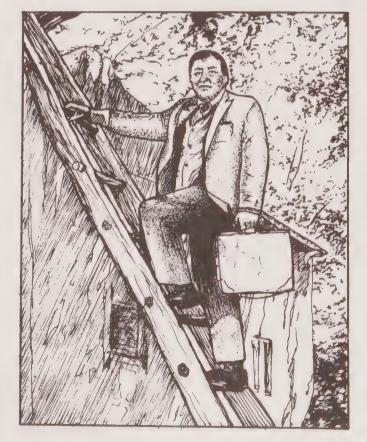
INFORMATION SHEET

The following description is drawn from a study of the Blue Lake watershed, United States Geological Survey completed in 1905.

"The whole watershed of the Pueblo (Blue Lake) is well stocked with a luxuriant growth of forage grasses, being the only area met with in New Mexico where the pasturage was plentiful. The reason for this is that the Pueblo Indians of Taos ... have prohibited all outsiders from grazing within its confines Besides preserving the grasses they do not allow even one of their own tribe to cut or remove any of the down or standing timber within one hundred yards of either side of the river, a regulation that has preserved the water supply and prevented the sudden rush of waters down the stream This tract is worthy of examination showing what can be done towards the preservation of pasturage and water by a little care and attention."

This next section describes Forest Service policies and actions in the Blue Lake watershed.

The Forest Service issued grazing permits to non-Indians, and sold timber contracts which allowed clearcutting within the watershed. They built roads and put up fences. Campsites, concrete-base picnic tables, cabins, an outhouse and horse corrals were built at the edge of Blue Lake. The agency stocked Blue Lake with fish to increase its value for recreational use. To control an infestation of budworms, the Forest Service sprayed the trees with insecticides. It harvested "over-ripe" (mature) timber, and criticized the Tribe for its failure to harvest this valuable resource. The Forest Service had the authority to manipulate (plant or remove) vegetation to maximize the water yield from the watershed area. The Forest Service promoted the recreational use of the Blue Lake area by fishermen, campers and hunters. Game laws of the Forest Service restricted hunting except during specified times of the year.



Conservation and Land Use Policies of the Taos Pueblo and National Forest Service

ANSWER SHEET

Fold a clean sheet of paper in half lengthwise. In the left-hand column, write your answers to the questions below. You will use the right-hand column later.

Regarding the description of Taos Pueblo land use policies,

1. In what ways is the Taos Pueblo watershed unique in New Mexico?

2. Does the Taos Pueblo promote timbering in the watershed?

- 3. What are some positive Taos conservation practices noted by this geologist?
- 4. What is the Taos Pueblo policy for tree-cutting near Blue Lake? How does this policy affect their water supply? (The Taos Pueblo obtain their water untreated from the Rio Pueblo de Taos, which flows out of Blue Lake.)

5. Has the Taos Pueblo built permanent structures near the lake?

- 6. Would the Taos Pueblo welcome fishermen and campers at Blue Lake? Why? How do you think they would feel about stocking the lake with fish?
- 7. Does the Taos Pueblo promote intervention in the natural processes of the watershed ecology? What terms would you use to describe Taos Pueblo conservation policy?

Regarding the description of Forest Service land use policies,

- 8. What are some of the activities over which the Forest Service has authority? What activities does the Forest Service promote?
- 9. What might be the impact of building corrals at the edge of Blue Lake? Could there be any effect on the water quality of the lake?
- 10. What do you remember about the impact of clear-cutting on the water quality of a watershed area? What role does the Forest Service play in the logging of forests?

11. How does the Forest Service view trees?

12. What generalizations can you make about the Forest Service's view of nature and philosophy of land use based on this description?

Generalizations:

- 13. If you were a fisherman, would you support Forest Service or Taos Pueblo land use policies? What other interest groups would favor Forest Service policies? Which groups might support the Taos Pueblo policies?
- 14. Describe the differences between the Forest Service and the Taos Pueblo philosophies of land use.



Taos-Blue Lake Hearings

- The Blue Lake watershed is one of the most productive watersheds in all of New Mexico. The watershed is the water source for non-Indians as well as Indians downstream. If the Tribe mismanaged conservation practices for the area, the water supply for all downstream users would be threatened. It is the judgment of the local Carson National Forest supervisor that the Indians are incapable of handling conservation of the land.
- There are 230 million board feet of "over-ripe" (mature) trees in the area that should be harvested so that the timber is not wasted, and disease does not spread to healthy trees.
- The taking of the Indian's land was no different from the incorporation of millions of other acres into the national forest by Theodore Roosevelt.
- The Forest Service understands the religious needs of the Tribe and has done everything possible to accommodate them. We have prevented fishing and camping at Blue Lake. All visitors are required to obtain a permit signed by the Governor of Taos Pueblo, and the entire watershed is closed to outsiders during the August Blue Lake ceremonies. Contrary to the Pueblo's claims, recreational use in the area is very light. We do not believe there is any real threat to the Indian religion.
- It is difficult to reconcile the Forest Service's policy of multiple use with the Indian desire for exclusive use of the area. The act of 1933 and the permit of 1940 granted the Tribe only special rights in an area still reserved for multiple uses.
- If the Taos are granted the 50,000 acres they request, 2,000 acres would be removed from the Wheeler Wilderness, leaving it with 3,000 acres. The Wilderness Act of 1964 requires a minimum of 5,000 acres for a wilderness area.

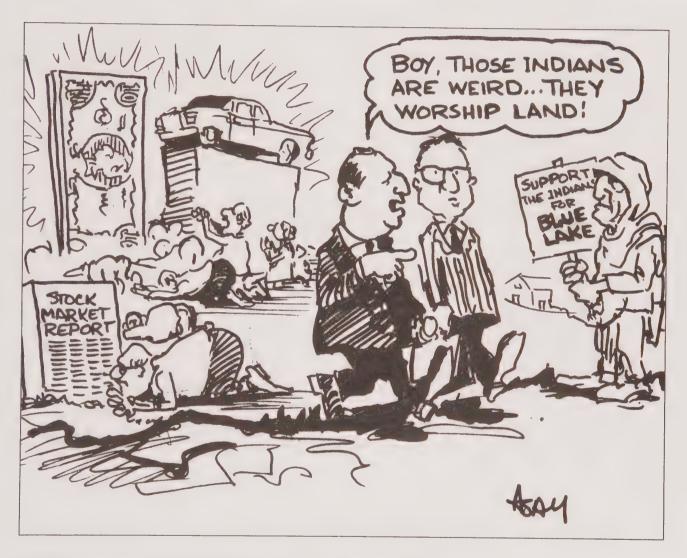


Taos-Blue Lake Hearings Opposing Senators and Congressmen

- Fifty thousand acres is a lot of territory. Why do they need a church that covers 50,000 acres? Three thousand acres should make a sufficiently large church. (opinion of a U.S. Senator)
- The Indians' religious usage of the land might decline in the future, with the decline of their culture. If this were to happen, a sparsely populated group of Indians would own a large tract of choice land. There is evidence that not all Pueblo residents give the same importance to traditional beliefs and practices, and some would undoubtedly prefer money to the land. (opinion of a U.S. Congressman)
- We must continue to log the land in a way that achieves maximum production while protecting the forests. There is a lot of valuable and "overripe" timber on the land that must be harvested. Trees should be sprayed to halt the spread of disease to other commercial forest areas. (opinion of a U.S. Senator)
- By rejecting the offer of 3,000 acres around Blue Lake, the Indians make me wonder about their assertion that they want the land only for their "church." It is my conviction that the real motive for obtaining the watershed is a desire to make a profit from the timber and cattle grazing. The leaders of the Blue Lake campaign are also the largest cattle ranchers in the tribe. The entire religious argument has been advanced in recent years to justify an essentially economic interest in the land. (opinion of a U.S. Senator)
- If the Pueblo were to receive land instead of money, other tribes would try to do the same (the danger of precedent). Millions of acres would be threatened by such demands by other Tribes: we would destroy our whole public lands system. (opinion of a U.S. Senator)
- The Tribe has no concrete evidence of Forest Service invasion of their religious privacy. (opinion of a U.S. Senator)
- It would be unwise to transfer the land from the Department of Agriculture to the Department of the Interior, since it involves a wilderness tract in a crucial water-production area that requires sophisticated conservation measures. The Department of the Interior is not set up to handle these kinds of measures. (opinion of a U.S. Congressman)

Political Cartoon Commentary on the Battle for Blue Lake

In your group, discuss the content of this political cartoon and answer the questions below.



- Who is holding the sign? Is he protesting something?
- What or whom do the men talking represent? Do they know more than the reader, or does the reader know more than them?
- What are the people behind these men doing? Who do these people represent?
- What is the irony expressed in this cartoon? (Is there something going on in the cartoon that is the opposite of what is intended by the statement in the balloon?)
- Who, according to the cartoonist, is the real weird one?

Taos-Blue Lake Hearings Other Opposing Groups

- The Indians themselves litter the area. There are not nearly as many Indians making pilgrimages as they claim. The Tribe lives under a tyranny of the Tribal Council. The Council is pushing the Blue Lake issue because they are cattle owners and want the area for grazing purposes. (opinion of a regional conservation organization)
- If this legislation goes through, the Indians will own the land, and the "poor old taxpayer" will have to take care of it for them, without the privilege of setting foot on it to see for what he/she is paying. (opinions of a sportsmen's organization)
- The supposed need for secrecy is very convenient since it cannot be challenged. The reason for Indian secrecy is the immorality and obscenity of their religion. (opinion of a sportsmen's organization)
- Returning the land to the Taos would only perpetuate the "Indian ghetto" there. It is high time we stop looking at Indians as a curiosity and something to be preserved in their natural state. In fact, preservation of Indian culture is the very thing that prevents their assimilation into mainstream America and makes them second-class citizens. (opinion of a sportsmen's organization)
- If the Indians control the entire watershed, they will use all the available water. The land at issue was not stolen but was fairly won through conquest. The government should in no way compensate the Indians for the loss of their land. The Indians are incapable of managing the land properly, as shown in serious problems in the past with over-grazing. Some people say the Indians need the land more than the Forest Service. Well, it isn't the Forest Service that needs the land, but the people of Taos County, the people of the State of New Mexico and the people of the United States. (opinion of a county commissioner)
- The giveaway of this watershed is out of proportion. It would give the Indians two millions dollars worth of land to settle a \$300,000 claim. Where would such claims end? Indians could lay claim to a good part of the country if they were allowed. We adamantly oppose legislation that would transfer public land to the exclusive use of one closed group. The Forest Service is the only entity that could be relied on to protect and conserve the area properly. Entrusting the Indians with management of the area would have long-term negative consequences not only for the public, but for the Indians as well. Furthermore, we oppose the withdrawal of the 2,000 acres from the recently established Wheeler Wilderness area. (opinion of a national conservation organization)

Taos-Blue Lake Hearings The Taos Pueblo and Its Lawyers

- We are probably the only citizens in the United States who are required to practice our religion under a "permit" from the Government. This is not religious freedom as it is guaranteed by the Constitution.
- If we were only interested in the commercial value of the watershed, we would not have accepted that the land be set aside as a wilderness area—which would prohibit commercial uses—when Secretary of the Interior Stuart Udall first made the proposal.
- In all of its programs the Forest Service proclaims the supremacy of man over nature; we find this viewpoint contrary to the realities of the natural world and to the nature of conservation. Our tradition and our religion require our people to adapt their lives and activities to our natural surroundings so that man and nature mutually support the life common to both. The idea that man must subdue nature and bend its processes to his purposes is repugnant to our people.
- The Taos Pueblo have had ongoing complaints with the Forest Service's management of the watershed. These include the destruction of La Junta Canyon through clear-cutting; the construction of cabins, outhouses and corrals at the edge of Blue Lake, which is considered a desecration of sacred land; fishermen and campers leave litter scattered around the lake and their initials carved in the trees; the hunters, issued permits by the Forest Service, destroy the wildlife, litter, and leave the dead game where they've fallen; the Forest Service stocks Blue Lake with fish, which disrupts the natural processes of the ecosystem, and in addition, have dynamited the lake; the Forest Service regularly sprays trees with insecticides, which kills the birds, small animals and fish; both recreational users and Forest Service personnel have continuously invaded the Pueblo's religious privacy; poor management of the watershed has deteriorated the quality of the water, which is sacred to the Taos Pueblo.
- The Forest Service has declared its plans to timber and manipulate vegetation in the watershed. It will always be seeking ways to interfere with the natural ecology of the Rio Pueblo watershed and will claim to do so by legal right despite our rights to exclusive use under the 1933 act. Our religion is based upon the unity of man with nature in the Rio Pueblo watershed. Any outside interference with natural conditions of the watershed interferes with our religion.
- The Blue Lake is the most holy symbol of our ancient religion, and the symbolism attaches to the whole watershed. The watershed is our source of life. You cannot expect us to take bits and pieces of the watershed, a few acres around the lake, because the watershed functions as an entire unit, is sacred in its unity, and must be preserved as a unit.

Taos-Blue Lake Hearings

Religious and Conservation Organizations

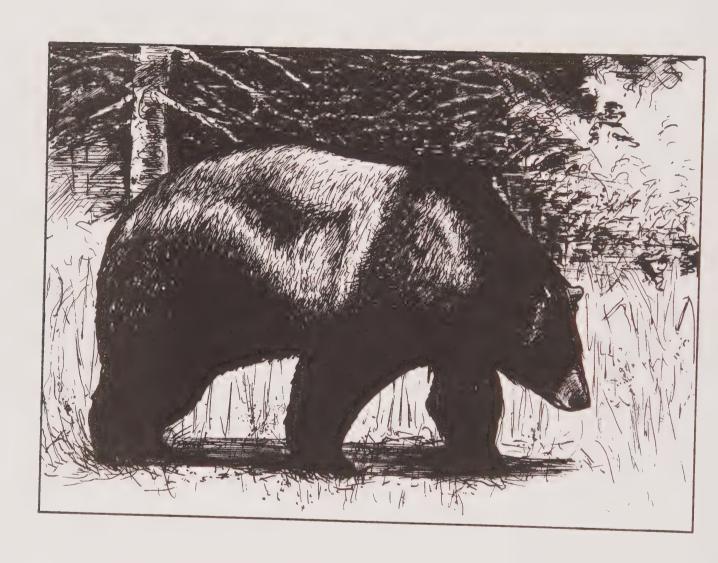
- The Taos Pueblo Indians are asking that the secret places of their soul be given back to them entirely. They ask, not for a palliative in the form of a token boundary around Blue Lake, but for an ecological unit, a watershed, that would give them the environmental and spiritual security that was theirs from the beginning. (opinion of a national environmental organization)
- "This is the first time in American history that the major, organized religions, both local and national, have joined to recognize and support the equal rights of an aboriginal Indian religion This ecumenical development has major implications for the history of Indian affairs." (press release)
- This is a matter of the freedom of American citizens to worship God in their traditional way. As long as others control the watershed, the Pueblo's rituals are at peril. Our forebears crossed the ocean to achieve religious freedom; let us not deny it to those who were already here. (opinion of a religious organization)
- Why do the Pueblo refuse a cash settlement? Considering specific sites as sacred is well known in religious history. The Kaaba in Mecca and the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem are familiar examples. Just as it would be blasphemous to offer money to Moslems and Christians in exchange for these sites, so was it blasphemous to expect the Taos Pueblo to take money for Blue Lake. (opinion of a religious organization)
- Given the special place that religious faith holds in American society, it should take precedence over considerations about timber, sport and fishing. It is rare enough in our rushed and harried society that a group of people treasures an isolated area for religious reasons. When it is a remote and elevated area such as this—for which there is little competing demand—and when the property right itself is not in question, what reason can there be not to grant the modest and reasonable plea of the Indians of Pueblo de Taos? It is certainly the least that a great nation can do for the religious freedom of a neglected people. (opinion of a religious organization)
- The members of the tribe feel an ancient identity, not only with Blue Lake—the headwaters of their life-sustaining stream—but with the entire watershed, its plants and animals. Anything which mutilates the valley hurts the tribe. If the trees are cut, the tribe bleeds. If the springs or lakes or streams are polluted, the lifestream of the tribe is infected. The mining of ore would inflict wounds upon the land and upon the people who revere it The aura of sanctity, which has its source in the water-courses where the Creator's life-sustaining water flows out to the inhabitants of a semi-arid land, is indivisible from the related lands and the living things that they produce. (opinion of a religious organization)

Taos-Blue Lake Hearings

Congressmen and Senators Supporting the Taos Pueblo

- These lands, in my humble opinion, belong to the Indians and, therefore, you are not giving them anything. You took something away from them and I hope that we can rectify that. (opinion of a U.S. Congressman)
- Conflict lasting 60 years has been caused by the Indian's need for privacy to practice their religion and the Forest Service's insistence on promoting recreational use. The resolution of the issue hinges upon which party has greater need for the land. The question of equity is on the side of the Indian in this matter. The Indians need the land in order to preserve their culture, while the Forest Service has identified no federal need that would be threatened by enactment of this bill. (opinion of a U.S. Senator)
- The precedent argument is not valid. Since the Taos Pueblo case is unique, passage of the bill would be a recognition of the special needs of this one Tribe. No program should be considered unchangeable, and if the United States unjustly took land from the Indians, it should not say that it will keep its ill-gotten gains solely because the lands are now in a national forest. (opinion of a U.S. Congressman)
- If the bureaucratic issue is removed, the equities are all on the side of the Indians. A limitation on recreational use of the area by 90 non-Indians in a year is a small price to pay for the protection of the religious life of an entire Pueblo Indian community. We should enact this bill to preserve the religious needs of a small minority group whose rights have been so violently violated. (opinion of a U.S. Senator)
- The entire area would be set aside as wilderness to protect the land from multi-purpose usage, placing it under the administrative authority of the Department of Interior. (opinion of a U.S. Congressman)
- The Indians did not agree to the taking of their land, they were not paid for the land, and they want their land back. It is only fair that they get it.

 Returning the land to the Indians will right a wrong in the only manner that is acceptable to the Indians. (opinion of a U.S. Congressman)



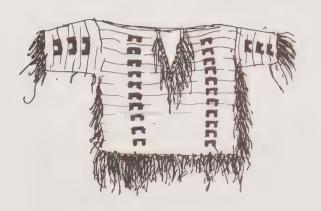
The Plateau

Introduction

Between the Rocky Mountains and the Cascades in the northwest interior, a great number of peoples speaking several different languages and many dialects occupied the high plateau of the Fraser and Columbia river basins. Like the landscape of wooded mountains, salmon rivers, volcanic scablands, fertile valleys and buffalo prairies, the native cultures found in the Plateau region were diverse. When the first recorded non-Indians–Lewis and Clark–penetrated the region in 1805, they discovered sharp differences among the various Plateau groups, ranging from the canoe-going fishermen of the western Plateau, to the mounted, buffalo-hunting groups on the western slope of the Rocky Mountains.

Mapping the Plateau Cultural Region

- 1. From the map "Cultural Regions of North America," make an enlargement and trace an outline map of the Pacific Northwest cultural area (or you can approximate the shape without tracing). Distribute copies to small student groups.
- 2. Each student group should paste the map portion onto tagboard or construction paper, then try to identify and indicate (without using an atlas):
 - the names of states and provinces included in the culture region (eastern Washington, Idaho, Montana and interior British Columbia).
 - the outline of American states and the U.S.-Canadian border.
 - the names and locations of any cities, national parks, recreational areas, bodies of water, or mountain ranges with which they are familiar.
 - wildlife inhabiting the region. Have students draw, cut out and paste onto their maps the animals, fish and birds they associate with the region.
- 3. When each group has completed its map, create a class map which incorporates the knowledge of all the groups. Discuss the images your students hold of the region, including interior British Columbia, Montana and eastern Washington. Show them photographs of the region from travel or outdoor magazines.
- 4. Review with students the ways in which the natural environment influences the development of particular cultures. Ask them to provide



examples from Chapter Two on the Quinaults. Ask them to define culture, sub-cultures, and dominant culture.

Nature and Culture in the Plateau Cultural Region

• Students form partnerships to work on the handout "Nature and Culture in the Plateau Cultural Region."
When all groups have completed their activity sheets, lead a discussion about their answers. Use butcher paper and markers to write down the definitions given in answer to question number two.

Borrowing Cultures on the Wide Plateau

Cultural borrowing is a complex and fascinating process through which human groups adopt elements of other cultures that are necessary to their survival in an ever-changing world.

- 1. Ask students to examine photographs of western and eastern tribes of the Plateau, particularly the Yakima and Cowlitz on the west and the Flathead Salish and Nez Perce on the east. What cultural elements have been borrowed from other culture areas? Describe the details.
- 2. Identify objects, clothing, forms of entertainment, technology, and ideas which we have borrowed from other cultures. Explain how these things have changed our lives. This discussion could include borrowings from subcultures by the dominant American culture, such as blues, rap, jazz, and Latin music. Ask students to think of elements of American culture which have been adopted by other societies, and how these may have affected other cultures. Make a class list of things which we have adopted from other cultures which most Americans take for granted as being our own.

Decorative Art of the Plateau

1. This activity is designed to sharpen students' visual skills. Find books with photographs of early Plateau tribespeople—Chief Joseph is probably one of the easiest to find and one of the most striking figures. Edward Curtis is an outstanding source for early post-contact portraits and cultural studies. Have students examine the photographs and write in their journals their responses to the photos: What do they see? How does the picture make them feel? What kind of a person was this Plateau individual? Give them a few minutes to write their responses in their journals.

2. Then ask students to respond to the following questions, if they have not already done so, in their journals:

Physical appearance:

- How is this person dressed? Describe the details of the person's dress.
- Is he or she dressed simply, or in an elaborate manner?
- What body or hair adornments is the person wearing? Of what materials do you think these adornments are made?
- Do you think this person takes time to fix his or her hair? Describe the hair style.
- Does the way this person dresses indicate his or her social status? Does this person seem to have high or low social status, or is it not apparent from the photo?
- Do you think this culture cares about physical adornment, decorative dress, hairstyling?
- Based on other photographs of Plateau individuals you have observed, can you make generalizations about dressing and styling habits of these groups?

Personal expression:

- How would you describe the person's features?
- What adjectives would you use to describe this person's expression? What does his or her expression tell you about the person's life experiences?
- How would you feel meeting this person?
 Would you like to know or have known this person? Explain.
- You may already know a lot about this individual from your readings on Native Americans. What questions would you like to ask this person if you were to meet her or him?



Mythology of the Plateau

1. Provide small groups with a different coyote story from the Plateau region (refer to "Resource List"), or give more than one group the same story. Option: If you have trouble finding a number of coyote stories from the Plateau region, use at least one from there and compare this one to coyote stories from other Native American cultures such as the Navajo. Have one student in each group read the story to the other group members, and then ask them to chart the following: 1) the main characters; 2) the plot; 3) the character traits of the coyote (clever, mischevious, good, bad, etc.); 4) what the coyote does to help or harm humans; 5) if, and how, the coyote changes. Note: one coyote story is provided in the Salish section of this chapter.

2. Ask each group to report on its legend. Students should begin their presentations by explaining what group produced the legend and where that group is located on the map. Ask the presenters to address the following questions:

• What morals or beliefs are taught in the story?

• Is it easy or difficult to understand the message of the story? Explain.

• What does the story tell us about this group's views of nature and of man's place in nature?

Land Ethics Among Plateau Indians

1. Create a readers' theater of the passages on page 76, excerpted from speeches made by the great Chief Joseph, Nez Perce of the Plateau region. See Chapter Two for details on using readers' theater in the classroom.

EXTENSION ACTIVITY: Ask student groups to research the life of Chief Joseph. Assign different periods or aspects of his life to each group. Help them coordinate a dramatization of his life. His life story could be told in first person, where students prepare monologues and take turns playing Chief Joseph.

2. Discuss the land ethic expressed in his address.

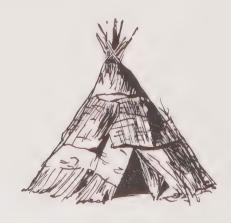
• What is one of the key factors which ties this Native American to the land? How did Chief Sealth express the same idea?

 You explored survival requirements among the Quinaults. Would you expand your list of requirements for the Plateau Indians, based on the above passages?

• Talk about the Native American's relationship to the land in terms of *territory*. What does territory represent for Chief Joseph?

 How is Chief Joseph's sense of self connected to his ability to move freely through his territory? What metaphors or images does he use to convey the importance of this freedom for his and his people's survival?

• In your personal journal, write how you felt reading these passages.



Nature and Culture in the Plateau

INFORMATION AND ANSWER SHEET



The Plateau Cultural Region covers the northern United States and southern Canada between the Rocky Mountains and the Cascade Mountains. It is a diverse country marked by wooded mountains, salmon rivers, valleys, canyons, and buffalo prairies. Wildlife in the Plateau includes grizzly and black bear, elk, deer, buffalo (until the end of the last century), wolf, mountain lion, moose, beaver, trout, salmon, eagle and ducks.

Neighboring cultural regions have provided much influence on the Plateau groups. Those cultures include the coastal culture of the Pacific Northwest to the west, the desert culture of the Great Basin to the south, and the Plains Indian culture to the east. When Lewis and Clark first reached the Plateau in 1805, they discovered sharp differences between the various Plateau groups, ranging from the canoe-going fishermen of the western Plateau, to the mounted, buffalo-hunting groups on the western slope of the Rocky Mountains.

Work with your partner to answer the following questions:

- 1. What is one major difference in climate between the Pacific Northwest and the Plateau? Identify one geographic factor which might contribute to this difference. Would you expect the annual rainfall in the Plateau region to be greater than, less than, or equal to the annual rainfall in the Pacific Northwest? Would you expect to find the same kinds of forests growing east of the Cascade Mountains as you would find to the west of that mountain range? Explain. Refer to handout "Nature and Culture in the Pacific Northwest" if necessary.
- 2. Cultural influence from other regions was strongly felt in the Plateau region by the nineteenth century. How would this have affected clothing, shelter and transportation on the western edges of the Plateau? On the eastern edges?
- 3. What natural resources did the Pacific Northwest have that the Plateau did not? What resources did the Plateau have which the Pacific Northwest did not? What goods would have been desirable trade items from each?

Addresses by Chief Joseph



Chief Joseph describing the death of his father, Tu-eka-kas, in 1871

My father sent for me. I saw he was dying. I took his hand in mine. He said: "My son, my body is returning to my Mother Earth, and my spirit is going very soon to see the Great Spirit Chief. When I am gone, think of your country. You are the chief of these people. They look to you to guide them. Always remember that your father never sold his country. You must stop your ears whenever you are asked to sign a treaty selling your home. A few years more, and white men will be all around you. They have their eyes on this land. My son, never forget my dying words. This country holds your father's body. Never sell the bones of your father and your mother." I pressed my father's hand and told him that I would protect his grave with my life. My father smiled and passed away to the spirit-land.

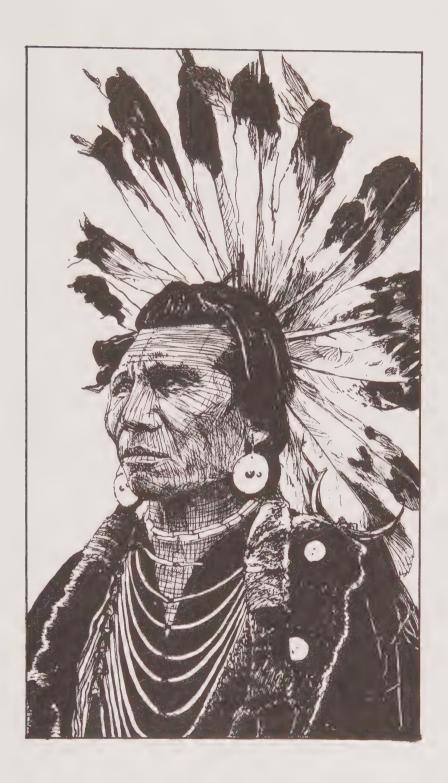
I buried him in that beautiful valley of winding waters. I love that land more than the rest of the world. A man who would not love his father's grave is worse than a wild animal.

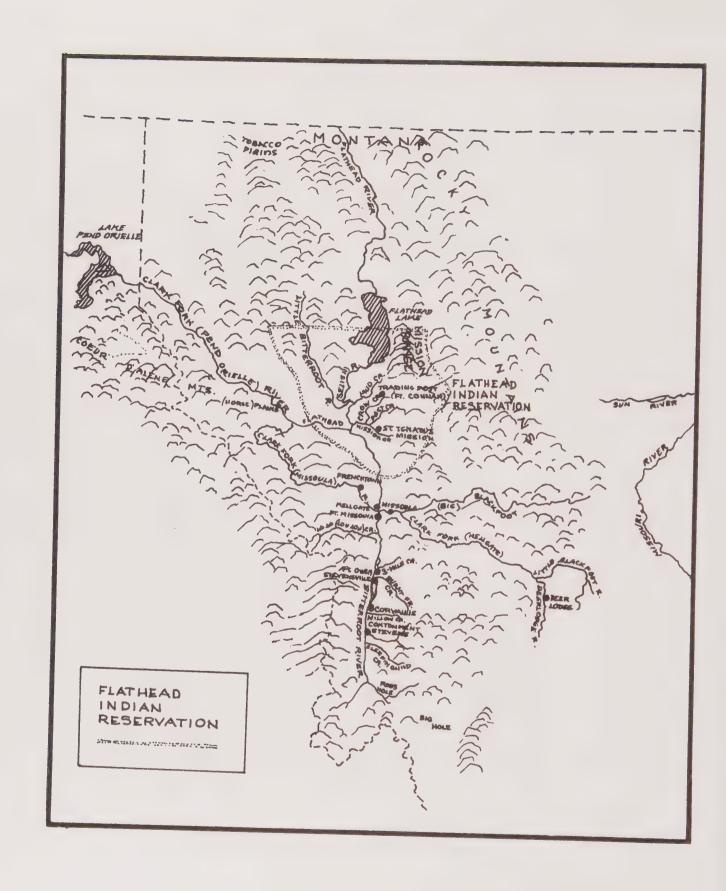
Chief Joseph addressing a large gathering of cabinet members and congressmen in 1879, in an appeal to President Hayes to let his people return to their old territory in Oregon, from the reservation in Oklahoma where they were dying from heat and disease:

Words do not pay for my dead people. They do not pay for my country, now overrun by white men. They do not protect my father's grave Treat all men alike. Give them all the same law. Give them all a chance to live and grow. . . You might as well expect the rivers to run backward as that any man who was born free should be contented penned up and denied liberty to go where he pleases. If you tie a horse to a stake, do you expect he will grow fat? If you pen an Indian up on a small spot of Earth and compel him to stay there, he will not be contented nor will he grow and prosper.

I have asked some of the Great White Chiefs (American Presidents) where they get their authority to say to the Indian that he will stay in one place, while he sees white men going where they please. They cannot tell me. . . .

Let me be a free man-free to travel, free to stop, free to work, free to trade where I choose, free to choose my own teachers, free to follow the religion of my fathers, free to think and talk and act for myself—and I will obey every law or submit to the penalty.





The Salish

Background

The Salish, or Flatheads, of western Montana are distant relatives of the coastal Salish-speaking Quinaults. The Flatheads were a highly mobile and adaptive group which underwent profound cultural changes as it developed into a distinct ethnicity. Beginning as part of a loosely related family of Salishan speakers who occupied the interior of British Columbia, the Flathead Salish moved south and east adopting the ways of a variety of cultures. They ultimately became so like the Plains Indians that their neighbors and some elders considered themselves to have originated on the Plains.

The Salish were traditionally a migratory people who followed seasonal cycles of hunting, gathering and digging. Non-Indian settlement of their broad homeland and confinement to the reservation at the end of the nineteenth century came as a particular hardship to the Salish. The eventual division and sale of reservation lands to settlers under Allotment laws resulted in the loss of the majority of Flathead lands to non-Indians. Besides the difficulties that this situation created for tribal management of the reservation, philosophical divisions lingered between the "traditionalists" and the "progressives" of the Tribe. The traditionalists—usually of purer Salish origin—held tightly to the old ways and to the integrity of their sacred wilderness lands. The progressives were those who had accepted the ways of the dominant culture and promoted modernization, resource development and economic growth.

In spite of internal divisions and numerous other obstacles, the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes succeeded in establishing the first tribally designated wilderness area for public use in the history of the United States. The Mission Mountains Tribal Wilderness has become a model of Native American resource management, balancing the recreational interests of the general public with the cultural and historical values of the Salish and Kootenai tribes.

Mapping the Bitterroot Valley Region

From the map "Flathead Indian Reservation," trace a simple outline map. Indicate Flathead Lake, the Flathead Reservation and the U.S.—Canadian border. Give pairs of students copies of the map outline you have created. Referring to a physical map of the region, students locate and color major mountain ranges, rivers and lakes. When they have finished, project an overhead transparency of the original map "Flathead Indian Reservation" on butcher paper. Ask students to complete their own maps, then to complete the projected map by drawing the borders of Montana on butcher paper around the projected map. Ask students to identify the following on the class map:

- the Mission and Bitterroot Mountain Ranges, the continental divide
- Flathead Lake, the capital of Montana
- the states and provinces bordering on Montana
- Glacier International Peace Park, Yellowstone National Park, Custer Battlefield National Park
- the other Indian reservations in Montana
- on a map of the western United States map, beginning at the mouth of the Columbia River, trace a waterway which would link the coast to the Mission Mountains

Salish Beginnings

Following the traces left by languages which are constantly changing and evolving, linguists (students of language) have been able to trace the early origins of Salish-speaking peoples to the interior of British Columbia. Some of the bands (such as the Quinault ancestors) moved west to the coast; others remained in the interior. Around 2,000 B.C., Athabascan-speaking peoples (who ultimately settled in the present southwest United States) began to edge southward, pressuring the Salish south before their migration.

The ancestors of the Flatheads probably moved east and south into the mountain corridors of the Rockies where they withstood the waves of Athabascan migration by adopting certain ways of the various cultures they encountered. By the 1700s, the Flatheads had come to occupy a gateway position between the Plains tribes and those of the Plateau, which enhanced the use of Salish as the *lingua franca* of the region. A fur trader observed at the end of the eighteenth century,

... with Salish alone, one can converse from the United States to Willamette ... without the necessity of an interpreter. [Also] he will find many among the Blackfeet, the Crows and the Crees who speak the Flathead language"

The use of the Flathead dialect as a universal tongue indicated widespread trading and the shifting of Salish-speaking bands over an extensive area.

A Salish Trading Game

Tracing the movement of goods from culture to culture can provide a fascinating way of studying a group's trading activities, movement through space, and the interconnection between different societies. In this activity, students create a map which shows the trading routes of the Salish and the impact of Salish trade on other culture areas of North America.

- 1. Have two students draw a large outline of the United States on tagboard, leaving ample margins at the edges for pointing to the foreign countries which will be implicated in this activity on the globalization of Salish trade. This map will be used by the entire class. It would also be helpful to have maps of North America on hand showing changes in territorial boundaries over time, to underscore the lessons of history taught in this activity.
- 2. Divide the class into six groups. Distribute one task sheet to each group, a copy of the map "Cultural Regions of North America," and student maps created in the mapping activity on the Plateau Cultural Region. Tell each group to locate the Bitterroot Valley on their maps.
- 3. Each student is responsible for an information section. He or she will read the information aloud, and following group discussion, will draw and cut out a small symbol for each trade item, event or process mentioned in the information section. The object of the group discussion is to pinpoint on a map the groups and specific areas with which the Salish had contact through trade and migration, and to decide how they will represent the lines of contact with string and straight pins on the class map.
- 4. When they have completed their task sheets, explain to the class the procedure for playing the game.
 - The first information piece to be charted on the class map will be the earliest archeological evidence of cultural borrowing, around 5,000 B.C. Call on the student with this information to begin. He or she will explain the information piece, use the string and pins to show the geographic movement of culture and attach the symbol to the map with a glue stick. If students prefer, they may work with a partner in front of the class.
 - After each brief report (one or two minutes), students with information somehow related to the previous report should raise a hand to be called upon. Information can be related chronologically, geographically, or in terms of tribes or cultural groups. Example: The Salish adopt the Spanish saddle; next information piece could be a number of related items, among them being Apache, Comanche and Kiowas raid Spanish ranches in the Southwest in 1659, trade horses northward along the Continental Divide to Montana.
 - While each student is reporting, groups should jot down dates, centuries and decades when available, plus the items traded. When all students have reported, each group should create a chronological sequence of Salish trading history and cultural change. The group which comes up with the correct sequence first (there will be room for debate on the sequence) will be in charge of creating a clothesline history of Salish trade and cultural change.

• The result of the presentations should look like the spokes of a wheel radiating out of Flathead country, with some variation. If you're feeling ambitious, the final product could reflect time periods as well as spheres of contact.

NOTE: For the purposes of this activity, the Salish homeland should be located in the Bitterroot Valley, where the Salish settled 10 years prior to the arrival of the first non-Indians.

The Equine Revolution

Sometimes the introduction of a technology, a food, an organism or a particular element of culture can have a profound impact on the way of life of a people and on their environment. The most significant and rapid change which occurred in Salish history was the discovery of the horse. To illustrate this impact, students in pairs read "Cultural Change and the Equine Revolution," assign categories to the changes described, and create a diagram showing the repercussions of the equine revolution in Salish culture. Category examples: hunting, warfare, social organization, political organization, culture, territory, the role of women.

The Fur Trade

The fur trade was an international affair which linked North America to Europe, Asia and Russia. Though furs were not a priority item in the European search for wealth, the quest for furs nevertheless had a profound impact on the native peoples of North America and their modes of life. Canadian, British, French and American companies promoted exploration and trade across the continental water system to the Rocky Mountains and beyond. Fur traders were the first to penetrate Salish country and to establish ongoing non-Indian contact with the Tribes of the region.

The first fur traders reached the Salish in the last decade of the nineteenth century. By the mid-1930s, some river valleys of the Columbia district had already been trapped barren of beaver. The trading companies simply expanded their routes, pushing further and further westward in search of untapped beaver grounds. In its wake, the fur trade changed social relations and cultures, increasing competition among tribes for hunting grounds and for European goods, which had become central to native lifestyles.

• Make an overhead transparency of a map of North American fur trade. (See for example Eric Wolf, Europe and the People Without History, p. 162.) Using the map "Cultural Areas of North America" and other references showing the location of Native American groups, ask students to identify which groups were affected by the fur trade. Have them imagine how the fur trading companies reached the Salish. Both the Hudson Bay and Northwest Fur companies were active in Salish country.

When European fashions changed from beaver felt hats to silk around 1830, the world market for beaver pelts fell through the floor. For almost four decades afterwards, buffalo robes and meats dominated the markets, which had a decisive impact on the future of the Salish people. Without intending it, the fur trade largely destroyed the Indian way of life. It depleted small game and speeded the extermination of the buffalo; it led to the mapping of the West and announced the agricultural promise of previously unknown areas; and it opened the valve of a westward flow of settlers seeking fortunes and new frontiers, who would eventually displace the aboriginal peoples of the region.

Divide the class into small groups. Ask each group to report on some aspect of the fur trade, particularly regarding the Salish and other Plateau Tribes. Research topics could include beaver felt hats in European fashion, buffalo robes, trade routes, the life of a non-Indian fur trapper, the life of an Indian fur-trapper, trade items, trading posts, the Native American groups involved in fur trade, and the environmental impact of the fur trade.

The Stevens Treaty of 1855

White settlers had already begun to flow into Salish country and take over their land several decades before Isaac Stevens, Governor of Washington Territory, arrived to "extinguish" Indian titles to land in Washington Territory east of the Cascade Mountains. In his words, "There is much valuable land and an inexhaustible supply of timber east of the Cascades. I consider its speedy settlement so desirable that all impediments should be removed. . . . "

What might have been the impediments to which Governor Stevens was

referring?

Display the following maps, using overheads if necessary: "Tribal Land Cessions," a map of the United States and its territories circa 1850, and "Indian Reservations in the United States Today." Lead a discussion comparing the different maps and analyzing the changes in United States and Native American territories.

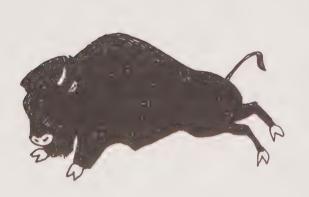


In 1855, chiefs of the Salish, Pend d'Oreille and Kootenai along with a thousand tribal members, met with Governor Stevens to negotiate a treaty in which the "confederated Tribes" turned over 12.8 million acres of wilderness lands. In exchange, the Tribes understood that they were to receive reservation lands in the Salish homeland, the Bitterroot Valley. Instead, the government surveyors decided upon the more fertile Jocko Valley–because the Indians were to become farmers–as the location of the reservation, without consulting tribal leaders. This deception was a source of bitter disillusionment to the Salish, particularly to Chief Charlot and his followers, who refused to leave their Bitterroot Valley land for 36 years, until they were literally starved out.

The Stevens Treaty provided that other Tribes might also be placed on the Flathead reservation with the Indian nation's consent, and that non-Indians might settle on lands not occupied by Indians. Within years of signing the treaty, the Flathead began to object to the numerous non-Indians settling in their rich grazing valleys. The Flathead's hunting and digging was impeded more and more by white cattlemen and settlers: "We will all be swallowed up by the white tribe Roads are being built through our country, game is growing scarce."

Where Have All the Buffalo Gone?

For centuries, the Salish had followed a seasonal cycle of hunting, gathering, digging and fishing. Except in winter, they rarely remained in one location more than 10 or 15 days. The women prepared and preserved food, maintained the households, which included moving the poles and skins used for lodging. In spring the men returned from buffalo hunting in time to accompany the camps to the camas, bitterroot, and onion fields. There they were often joined by other tribes such as the Nez Perce, Pend d'Oreille, and even Plains tribes, who carefully observed the customs of the host tribe where they dug.



Buffalo was a primary physical and spiritual sustenance of the Salish. The influx of settlers and the expansion of agriculture following the treaty of 1855 contributed to the rapid erosion of the buffalo habitat. By the 1870s the situation was so desperate that the Flathead sometimes traveled up to 300 or 400 miles to the northeast to hunt buffalo. The capacity for self-subsistence among the Salish further diminished with periodic prohibitions against buying ammunition. They could no longer return to using bows and arrows and were therefore unable to hunt. A Jesuit priest captured the precariousness of the Indians'

situation in this plea to the governor on their behalf (read aloud to students):

"I dare to write your excellency on behalf of the Flathead Indians of the Bitterroot Valley They had this year very poor crops and some of them lost all by a heavy hailstorm. A good many of them have nothing to eat and therefore they are bound to go to buffalo. By the order forbidding to sell them ammunition, good many of them having bought, and paid dear, the new fashioned guns, they find themselves in the impossibility of procuring for themselves and family the only actual means of subsistence. They begin to believe and say that all the oaths of friendship from the whites were not sincere. Since the danger being past [of Salish alliance with the rebellious Nez Perce led by Chief Joseph] they [non-Indians] will force them to starve. Could you not have some arrangement made so that the Flatheads, starting now for buffalo, could get somewhere the ammunition enough to procure the necessary meat for subsistence?"

Father D'Aste, 1876

Hunting was further discouraged by restrictions on travel to traditional hunting grounds except with an escort of U.S. law enforcement officials. The idea was to "civilize" the Indians by putting an end to their nomadic lifestyle: "The Indians simply are homeless children, growing up in ignorance, idleness and vice," declared the *Missoulian* newspaper. "In the interest of humanity it is a duty the government owes to the Indians to circumscribe their habits." The Montana legislature declared that if the Indians were restricted from "roaming at will through our agricultural and pastoral regions," immigration and industry would flourish.

- 1. What were the reasons for the disappearance of the buffalo? How would farms and ranches have destroyed the buffalo range habitat? How did the depletion of buffalo herds affect the Flatheads?
- 2. Ask students to summarize the dilemma faced by the Flatheads regarding to their traditional hunt. Write their responses on butcher paper. Then write the statements by the *Missoulian* and the Montana legislature on another piece of butcher paper. Analyze the language used in the latter. Have them individually formulate a response from the Salish point of view to the governor, the *Missoulian* and the Montana legislature, written in the form of a letter to the editor of the *Missoulian* or as a personal letter to the "Great Father," the President of the United States.

EXTENSION: Have students research and report on the history of buffalo in the United States. Reports should include information on the buffalo habitat.

Fenced In

"You might as well expect the rivers to run backward as that any man who was born free should be contented penned up and denied liberty to go where he pleases." Chief Joseph, Nez Perce.

The Salish, like most migratory groups, were not farmers. They did not cultivate the earth but rather regarded the earth as a mother who naturally nurtured and sustained them. The Salish thought of their homeland as a broad area that could never be used for farming.

1. Read aloud to the class the following statements by a Plateau and a Plains Indian. Parts of the Plateau cultural area and most of the Plains shared the characteristics of a nomadic culture with the Salish. The first is by the Nez Perce Smohalla, founder of the dreamer religion which rejected the Anglo-European civilization and teachings:

My young men shall never work. Men who work cannot dream; and wisdom comes to us in dreams.

You ask me to plow the ground. Shall I take a knife and tear my mother's breast? Then when I die she will not take me to her bosom to rest.

You ask me to dig for stones. Shall I dig under her skin for her bones? Then when I die I cannot enter her body to be born again.

You ask me to cut grass and make hay and sell it and be rich like white men. But how dare I cut off my mother's hair?

To what do you think this statement referred?

• What metaphor does the author use for the earth? What specific images does he use? What is the attitude expressed towards the earth?

- What other word could you substitute for "work" and still maintain the meaning of the statement? Does the author use the term "work" in the same sense that we use it today?
- 2. Read and compare the next passage by Crazy Horse, Oglala Sioux, with the one cited above.

... The Great Spirit gave us this country as a home. You had yours. We did not interfere with you. The Great Spirit gave us plenty of land to live on, and buffalo, deer, antelope and other game. But you have come here; you are taking my land from me; you are killing off our game, so it is hard for us to live. Now, you tell us to work for a living, but the Great Spirit did not make us to work, but to live by hunting. You white men can work if you want to. We do not interfere with you, and again you say, why do you not become civilized? We do not want your civilization! We would live as our fathers did, and their fathers before them.

• What is Crazy Horse's definition of "work"? Does this statement imply that the Native American is lazy because he or she refuses to work?

• Do you think of hunting as a pastime or sport? Do you think Plateau and Plains people in Crazy Horse's time considered hunting a sport?

• What is the relationship between farming and civilization expressed here? What opinion do Crazy Horse and Smohalla express about farming?

• What generalization can you make about Plateau and Plains people

regarding agriculture, based on these two passages?

Do you think all Native Americans shared Smohalla's views? Explain
why other groups may not have agreed. How did the Wampanoags, who
taught the pilgrims how to plant corn and squash, provide food for
themselves? (It is probable that agriculturally based societies of the
Southwest, Eastern Woodland and the Southeast would not have shared
the same disdain for farming as the migratory groups of the Plains and
Plateau.

Homesteads and Allotments

The Homestead Act of 1893 gave legal title to Indian as well as non-Indian claims to land. However, the Salish traditionalists (followers of Charlot) believed that the titles were a vehicle for eradicated tribal unity (by dividing the land into parcels). They also protested the taxation on land the Salish considered their own by natural right. In 1896 the commissioner of Indian Affairs stated the national policy of allotting lands to Indians "to foster the pride of individual ownership of property, instead of the former dependence on the tribe." Read the following quote by the commissioner to the class:

"The allotment system tends to break up tribal relations. It has the effect of creating individuality, responsibility, and a desire to accumulate property. It teaches the Indians habits of industry and frugality, and . . . in the end it will relieve the government of large annual appropriations." (This last statement probably refers to hopes of encouraging greater self-sufficiency among Native American groups.) Ezra A. Hayt, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1879.

- 1. Ask students to work in pairs to create definitions or descriptions of the words and phrases in bold. From these definitions they make a list of the values expressed in this statement. Discuss their lists of definitions and values. How do these values contrast with the values of the Native American groups they have studied? How do these values compare with the students' own values?
- 2. Reproduce the following chart for the class. What title would students give the chart? Discuss the content to make certain they understand the concepts. Ask them to give examples supporting each statement. Do they agree with everything stated here, based on what they have learned about Native Americans? Is it possible to apply these generalizations to all Native Americans? Do these generalizations apply to the entire history of these cultures, or to a specific period? Encourage them to think about the changes in Native American economies after contact with Europeans and the fur trade, treaties and allotment laws. Write on individual sheets of paper the following items: sea shells, slaves, feathered war bonnets. Discuss each of the items in the context of the stated assertions. Would they now change the title of this chart, or reformulate, add to or remove any of the generalizations made?

Euro-Anglo Culture

Concept of private property a basic value. Concept of property includes land, natural resources, the ability to buy and sell, inheritance.

Goods produced mostly for sale, not for personal use.

Goals of production are often surplus, with the profit a primary motive.

Competition and production for private gain.

Nature viewed as a "resource."

Currency system (money)–abstract value.

Native American Culture

No private ownership of resources such as land, water, minerals, or plant life. No concept of selling land or of inheritance.

Goods produced for use.

Subsistence (production for basic needs) is the primary goal of production.

Cooperative, collective production and distribution.

Nature viewed as "being"; humans seen as part of nature.

Barter system-concrete value.

Adapted from Jerry Mander, In the Absence of the Sacred, pp. 215-216.

In response to a vociferous call to open up the Montana reservations which were perceived as "barriers to progress," Congress passed a bill in 1904 which allotted individual parcels of land to Flatheads and freed up their remaining land for settlement. Charlot traveled to Washington in 1905 to ask President Teddy Roosevelt to create a forest preserve for the Confederated Salish and Kootenai, but met with no success. Charlot died in 1910. Fifteen days after his death, the government announced that approximately 3,000 homesteads on the reservation could be settled by outsiders, totaling 1,126,587 acres. Soon after, President Taft signed a bill authorizing the Flathead to sell 60 of their 80 allotted acres.

The result of the Allotment Act among Montana tribes was the loss of 5,332,317 of their original 11,631,407 acres granted through treaty. Half a century after Charlot's death, persons affiliated with the confederated Flatheads would operate approximately one in seven of the two thousand productive farms on the reservation: the remainder belonged to non-Indians. When the original holders of allotment titles died, their land was divided among their heirs. These shares became so small that they were useless for farming, as in the case of a grandson who inherited eighteen-hundredths of his grandfather's allotment.

Philosophical and economic divisions among the confederated Flathead continue to this day. Ranchers and skilled workers, often descendants of mixed marriages who have accepted the dominant culture, live well and hold high positions in the community. Traditionalist Salish tend to have less economic

and political influence. The philosophical differences between the two sectors play a major role in the politics of the reservation. On the one hand, the "progressives" promote the economic development of natural resources over concerns for traditional cultural and religious values. On the other hand, the "traditionalists" have struggled to preserve land, resources and other cultural patrimony which they believe are essential to the cultural survival of the Tribe.

What Is a Resource?

• As an evaluation of what students have learned about the Native Amerian relationship to the land, ask them to work in small groups to identify differing views of natural resources: between Native Americans and non-Indians, between "traditionalists" and "progressives" and other views not represented in these dichotomies. Ask that they provide examples demonstrating each point of view. It may help to review materials from previous chapters as part of this exercise.

Creation of a Tribal Wilderness

Early in the 1900s when the Flathead reservation was being divided and settled by outsiders, there was a small but significant resurgence of Salish use of the remote Mission Mountain backcountry. A small group of traditionalists took to the mountains and built trails through the passes for hunting, fishing and food gathering. Some felt their motive was to escape, and possibly to attack, white settlers.

Soon, commercial logging, road building and irrigation projects began to reshape the western slope of the Mission Mountains. In 1936 the Tribal Council attempted to set aside 100,000 acres of the Mission range as an Indian-run national park. The proposal died in the office of the Commission of Indian Affairs. A year later Commissioner John Collier established a roadless area on the west side of Mission Mountains where, if the Flatheads desired privacy, it would be possible for them "to maintain a retreat where they may escape from constant contact with white men."

With progressives in control of the Tribal Council in 1958, the Tribe officially requested that the Mission Range Roadless Area be declassified. Their goal was to facilitate logging and road building to boost the economic development of the reservation, as well as to avoid confusion with those areas that would become protected by the national wilderness bills under consideration in Congress. In fact, much of the northern end of the western slope has since been logged.



In the late 1970s three Salish elders–fondly called "the three ya-ya's" (grandmothers)–took the Tribal Council and the BIA agents by surprise with their adamant opposition to the proposed logging of the western slope of the Mission Mountains. The three ya-ya's have since been credited with introducing the idea of a Mission Mountain Tribal Wilderness, which was created in 1979 and stands as a pioneering example of tribal resource conservation. Constituting 36,220 hectares–almost one fourth of the Indian-owned land on the reservation–plus an over 20,000-acre buffer zone to make the transition from wilderness to ranch and residential areas, the Mission Tribal Wilderness is unique in the United States. Run independently of the federal Wilderness Act, the tribally managed wilderness area provides all of the benefits of a wilderness area to the general public while giving priority to the historical, cultural and spiritual needs of the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes (CSKT).

- 1. Review with students the Indian's definitions of wilderness. How is a wilderness area different from a National Forest? (the latter promotes multiple use—see Taos Pueblo chapter) Have any students ever visited one of these areas? What kinds of activities were going on there? Can students recall what the campgrounds and other facilities were like?
- 2. Read the definition below to the class.

Definition of wilderness, adapted from the federal Wilderness Act, 1964: A wilderness, in contrast with those areas where humankind and their own works dominate the landscape, is an area where the earth and community of life are unspoiled by humans, where people are visitors who do not remain. A wilderness area is also an area of undeveloped public land retaining its primeval character and influence, without permanent improvements or human habitation, which is protected and managed so as to preserve its natural conditions. (For the complete definition refer to The Wilderness Act Handbook, published by the Wilderness Society.)

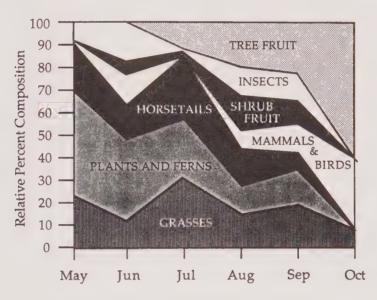
While the CSKT tribal definition of wilderness in many ways parallels the federal definition, it differs significantly in that the cultural value of the wilderness to the Tribes is given central consideration.

Wilderness has played a paramount role in shaping the character of the people and the culture of the Salish and Kootenai tribes; it is the essence of traditional Indian religion and has served the Indian people of these Tribes as a place to hunt, as a place to gather medicinal herbs and roots, as a vision-seeking ground, as a sanctuary, and in countless other ways for thousands of years. Because maintaining an enduring resource of wilderness is vitally important to the people of the CSKT and the perpetuation of their culture, there is hereby established a Mission Mountains Tribal Wilderness Area (CSKT 1982: 7)

The Grizzly Bear Conservation Area

Among the unique aspects of the Mission Mountains Tribal Wilderness is a Grizzly Bear Conservation Area of about 10,000 acres, which is closed each summer to protect the grizzly bear population. Every year an unusually large number of grizzlies—as many as 11 at a time—congregate in the area to feed on ladybugs and army cutworm moths, which are extremely high in protein. The high concentration of bears using the area indicates its importance as a feeding site. By allowing the bears to feed undisturbed, gaining as much weight as possible, the Wildland Recreation Department hopes to prevent problems between bears and landowners in the Mission Valley.

• Make an overhead of the graph below. Use the questions provided as a guide.



Food Sources of Grizzly Bears in the Mission Mountains, Montana Adapted from C. Servheen, "Aspects of Grizzly Bear Ecology," Journal Wildlife Management, 47(4) 1983

What do the grizzlies eat in May? In October? What do they have available in May that they don't have in October? What foods are available in October that are not available in May? For the month of May, what percentage of the grizzly bear's total diet does each category make up? (Grasses constitute approximately 23%.) Are there more horsetails (a kind of plant) available to bears in May or in October? What percentage of the total bear diet do horsetails make up in each of these months?

What food do these grizzly bears eat most of in each month shown? Do these grizzly bears have a favorite food? What is it?

Grizzlies in the Wilderness

The grizzly bear has traditionally held profound cultural significance for both the Salish and the Kootenai people. Have students share the reading aloud of the description below.

The Kootenai considered grizzly bears to be the most powerful of the guardian spirits. The Salish, and Native Americans in general, believed that guardian spirits were needed by humans who were the only creatures on Earth born powerless into the world. To hunt or gather well, to provide for your family, to avoid being killed in battle, you needed power. Often the only way for humans to gain power was through the guardian spirits of animals or mythological spirits.

Men and women both acquired guardian spirits, most often through dreams and visions. Most visions came to the individual on a vision quest, usually during a young person's initiation into adulthood. Let's say the young person seeking a vision was a girl just about to reach puberty. She would begin purifying herself by sweating and fasting. Then she would go alone to a remote spot like a cave or a mountain top and continue her fast. If she were lucky, after several days a spirit would appear to her in the form of a human or an animal and give her some special power. This would be her special power for the rest of her life. In return, the spirit would ask her to honor it by following some rule, such as not gathering or eating a particular plant certain times of the year.

Often, the spirit would teach the child how to make a sumesh—a small leather pouch hung by a thong around the neck. The sumesh stood as a manifestation of the spirit itself. The spirit also taught the child a medicine song, which she could use to call on the power of the spirit. Before disappearing, the spirit would leave something for the child—a claw, fur, a horn—some part of the animal's body to be kept and protected throughout her life.

Adapted from Rockwell, Giving Voice to the Bear, pp. 24-25.

- 1. Ask students if they would have liked to have gone on a vision quest. Why and why not? How do they think it would feel to be out in the wilderness alone? Would they be frightened to have a human or animal spirit approach them while they were alone like that? Are there any rituals in our society today which serve as initiation rites for adolescents (such as bar mitzvahs or gang initiations)?
- 2. Pass out copies of "Grizzly Spirit Comes to Sdipp-Shin-Mah [Fallen from the sky]." Form a large circle. Have each student read a sentence from this personal account of a Salish girl's vision quest.

HOME ASSIGNMENT: Tell students to follow this procedure at home: 1) Think about what kind of guardian spirit you would like to have; 2) draw the spirit that you would like to appear to you if you were to go on a vision quest; 3) describe the powers given to you by your guardian spirit and how you are to honor it; 4) find a token symbol, the kind of thing that would have been placed in a *sumesh* or medicine bundle; 5) write a short song-like poem or create a song that is your own personal medicine song.



- 1. Salish legend recalls Chinese men on the Columbia River 600 or 700 years before Lewis and Clark, trading wax tablets. Other Salish remember tales of five wandering red-haired strangers wearing fur clothing and horned helmets who perished of natural causes in Spokane country. Mesoamerican (Mexico and Central America) legend recalls similar bearded strangers, as in the myth of Quetzalcoatl. From where do you think these people might have come? What do we call them?
- 2. The area in which Salish was spoken in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was extensive. In 1823 a Hudson Bay trader observed, "Throughout this vast extent of country there is but one language (Salish) spoken"

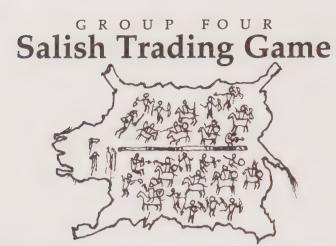
 Trace the area in which the dialect of the Flatheads was spoken: 25 miles east of Helena westward to the Grand Coulee Reservoir; from the Dalles on the south to the Fraser River on the north.
- 3. The Salish sometimes traded with coastal tribes for slaves, sea-shell ornaments, and bone needles, which they in turn traded with Plains tribes.
- 4. Abalone earrings from southern Oregon (and perhaps from California, brought north to coastal tribes by Spanish seamen) were traded north to Fraser and east to Plains tribes by the Salish.
- 5. The Salish traded buffalo robes for watertight bags and baskets made by the Nez Perce.



- 1. The Salish traded Nez Perce wallets and bows east to the Plains Indians.
- 2. The Salish traded salmon oil and salmon pemmican (dried meat pounded into a powder and mixed with hot fat and dried fruit or berries, pressed into loaves or small cakes), fish-skin bags, shells, seashell beads, Indian hemp and twine with Plains tribes for Sioux-style war bonnets, robes tanned and ornamented, leather shirts and catlinite pipes.
- 3. Pipestone, pipes and molded Blackfoot pottery which passed through the hands of the Salish were found on the Pacific coast.
- 4. A French trader noted Flatheads trading beaver pelts every year with the Mandans.
- 5. In 1838 a smallpox epidemic introduced by white men killed large numbers of Salish and other groups.
- 6. Approximately 2,000 B.C. Athabascan peoples (later Navajo and Apache), located north of the Salish speakers, began to move south over a period of about 600 years. The Salish speakers moved south under pressure from the Athabascans.



- 1. A Sioux battle-ax was found among lower Columbian Indians in 1789, probably traded by the Salish.
- 2. The Salish traded obsidian arrow heads with Shoshoni and Thompsons, who used them in burial ceremonies. Some scholars claim that obsidian arrowheads were obtained for northeastern tribes.
- 3. In 1809 the Salish acquired their first guns, traded with a Canadian fur trader for horses, berries and fish.
- 4. The Salish adopted the Spanish saddle, bridle and handling, which were modified to suit Indian life. The Flatheads made rawhide bridles and created a saddle pad, a kind of soft pillow of animal skin stuffed with hair or grass, without stirrups.
- 5. For a brief period beginning in the 1830s, buffalo robes were all the rage in Europe and China.



- 1. The original source of horses were the Spaniards, who prohibited the selling of guns or horses to Indians. But news of the horse spread northward, and in 1659 the Spaniards reported horse raids by Apache. The Salish acquired their first horses through trade with the Shoshoni, around 1700.
- 2. In the eighteenth century, European blue glass beads passed from Shoshonis and Klamath to Flatheads.
- 3. The Salish made clothes from white deerskin obtained from the Spokanes and Coeur d'Alenes.
- 4. In 1805, ten years after the Flatheads occupied the Bitterroot Valley, the chief Three Eagles sighted a party of seme (Salish word meaning not human, an old word for bogeyman) approaching. The chief went out to meet them carrying a white buffalo robe to throw over the shoulders of their leader. The travelers were Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, explorers from the United States of America.
- 5. About 1830 European fashions changed from beaver to silk hats, and the nutria became more popular than beaver as a decorative fur. In 1842 the beaver headdress of the British Army gave way to a cloth cap, further lowering demand for American beaver. British companies in Flathead country began trading for buffalo hides instead of beaver fur.



- 1. By 1707 Flatheads were seen alongside Kiowas in horse raids near Amarillo, Texas.
- 2. Around 1700 the Salish discarded quartzite, basalt and slate for making weapon points in favor of flint, chalcedony, jasper and chert–rock materials from central Montana. This may mark the date of widening trade relations introduced by the horse which served both as transportation and as a unit of barter.
- 3. Apache, Comanche and Kiowa-all from the Shoshoni language family-raided Spanish ranches in the Southwest for horses, beginning in 1659, and passed them along a chain west of the continental divide from New Mexico to Colorado to Montana through the Comanches, Utes and Kiowas and eventually to the Salish.
- 4. A Hudson Bay Company trader noted in 1787 that he saw Blackfeet, Piegans and Bloods stealing horses from the Salish.
- 5. Approximately 5,000 B.C. the Pacific Northwest interior became drier. Groups were forced to borrow tools and methods of desert people to the south, probably through trade along the western slopes of the continental divide. (Identify continental divide on your map.)



- 1. In 1809 the first fur trading post was established in Flathead country by the Canadian North West Company. The Salish and other groups supplied beaver pelts and buffalo hides for seven decades. The fur trading posts provided a foothold for British merchants in Flathead country until 1871. American fur traders had a presence in Flathead country for a few years leading up to the war of 1812, and then again beginning in 1825. (Make certain to note United States territory at this time.)
- 2. From the Thompsons the Salish received dressed moose skins, painted hide bags and fish products.
- 3. Spokane Indians residing near a trading post called Spokane House wore leather leggings and buffalo robes purchased from Flatheads.
- 4. A buffalo robe was traded for one dollar's worth of goods-coffee and sugar were in special demand. Where are coffee and sugar grown?
- 5. In 1831 a group of four Nez Perce, Iroquois and Salish set out on a steamboat down the Missouri River to St. Louis, to request that Jesuit missionaries be sent to live and teach among them. The appeals were seen as a fulfillment of the prophecies of Shining Shirt, who predicted that men in black robes would come to teach them, change their lives, and help them survive when the wild game was gone. The Jesuits built a mission among the Flatheads in 1841 and had a lasting effect on the culture and religion of the people.

Cultural Change and the Equine Revolution

Read aloud the following description with your partner. Create a category for each change described (such as hunting, warfare, role of women). Design a diagram which will show the impact of the horse on Salish culture and economy.

Within a decade the Flatheads converted from pedestrians to equestrians. Many facets of Salish life changed when they acquired horses, including the range of their territory and their values. Mounted horsemen could now ride 100 miles in a day if necessary, and whole camps could move 30 miles. Whereas the quantity of buffalo they could hunt was limited when they were on foot, with the horse the Salish could hunt buffalo in large numbers. With guns and horses, the impact of mounted hunters on the bison herds increased, and mounted and armed hunting tribes began to deplete the bison herds. The Flathead had to range farther and farther away for buffalo hunts, and eventually began to spend the spring hunting buffalo on the plains east of the Rockies.

The social and economic role of women expanded after the Salish obtained horses. The increase in the number of buffalo hunted—raised the status of women who were needed to clean and tan hides. Women moved with large hunting camps to assist with the butchering and skinning of buffalo. Except for horses, weapons and religious objects, the wife continued to own everything—clothing, food and even the lodge. She did with her possessions what she pleased. Women did not hunt but sometimes participated as assistants or warriors in battle.

As horses allowed large-scale buffalo hunting, the Salish began to draw together into bands large enough to defend themselves. They copied a tribal political structure common among Plains Indians, consisting of a council of chiefs which made decisions about important questions. Before the horse, the Salish moved in small bands with no chiefs. After the horse arrived, they began to appoint chiefs to govern the larger bands during wartime and hunting. The increase in buffalo wealth also produced a "wealthy" and prominent group of men. Wealth was measured in horses, which in turn led to an abundance of buffalo robes for those hunters with many horses.

Contact with Plains Indians on the hunting grounds east of the Rockies every season promoted even greater assimilation of Plains cultural traits by the Salish. Most visible of these traits were forms of human dress and the decoration of horses. The Salish adopted feathered war bonnets, buckskin moccasins and leggings, and began to decorate their best horses with fringes trailing to the ground, feathers, beads and intricate designs painted on the horse.

Grizzly Spirit Comes to Sdipp-Shin-Mah (Fallen from the Sky)

My name is Sdipp-Shin-Mah (Fallen from the Sky). I am Flathead. I am going to tell you now about the time when the grizzly spirit gave me its power.

One day when I was a girl just about six or seven winters, my mother told me we were going berrying in the mountains. We rode double on her horse and went high into the mountains. It was getting late in the evening. I saw a patch of bushes. I told my mother, "Look, there are some berries and plenty of them."

She said, "Child have patience, a little farther up is a place where we will get our berries."

So we went on and on until when the sun was just about going down she stopped our horse and said, "Here is the place where we are going to pick."

She put me off the horse and got off also. She started picking and put some berries on the ground for me and said, "Sit here and eat on these berries while I go down here to see if there are more below."

She spread out my robe, and I sat on it and began eating. She got on the horse and reminded me to stay where I was, and she said she would be back soon. She disappeared in the bushes. I was not afraid. I ate berries and talked to myself about the trees. Then I saw night was coming and my mother was not yet back. I became frightened and called for her. I called for my mother but saw no sign of her. I called and called while crying, not knowing what to do. I just cried and cried and called for my mother all night. But there was no use. She had left me and gone back home leaving me alone in the high mountains.

When I could not cry any longer, I got up and took my robe and walked not knowing where I was going. It was still night and very dark. I went on until I got tired and sleepy and lay down and went to sleep. When I woke up the sun was way up already, and it was nice and warm. At first I thought I was sleeping with my mother at home. Then I remembered I was high in the mountains, and my mother was not there. I started to cry again. When I stopped crying, I began to walk and eat the berries growing there. I kept going until I got to a deep gulch fully covered with trees. While I sat there, I thought of my home and my mother. I began to cry again. Then I

heard something and thought it must be the cry of a bird or something. Then I heard a sound again, and as I listened I heard it again and again and knew it was the sound of humans laughing and talking loudly way down in the bottom of the gulch. I could not see them as it was covered all over with trees and bushes, but I could tell they were coming towards me.

Just where I was sitting was on a ridge and below on the hillside was an open bald place. The sound came from that way and I was watching closely and was surprised with joy to see a woman with two little ones coming. I thought it was someone from my tribe. They were running and chasing each other. Laughing and shouting, they came pretty close. I saw the woman was a very handsome woman, well clothed all in buckskin and clean. One of the children was a boy and one was a girl. They were also well-dressed, all in buckskin.

This woman said to me, "Poor girl, this is not the place for you especially to be alone. I am sure you are thirsty by this time. Come, we will bring you down to the stream to drink." Then she told her children, "Do not bother your little sister, she is thirsty and tired."

While we were going down, the children were playing and laughing and tried to get me to play with them but the mother always stopped them saying, "Your little sister is tired so leave her alone."

When we got to the stream we all had a good drink. I was the last to finish my drink and when I stood and looked, instead of seeing my little sister and brother and mother there was a grizzly bear and two cubs. I was afraid. The bear spoke, "Do not be afraid, little child. I am your mother bear and here is your little brother and sister. We will not hurt you."

Then she told me this: "Listen closely. I am going to give you medicine power by which you will be a great help to your people in the future. This time will come after you pass middle age. But do not try to do more than I am allowing you or granting you because, if you do, it will be nothing more than false and you will be responsible for sufferings and even death. One of my gifts is that you are going to be helpful to women especially those that are having hard times and suffering giving the birth of a child." She said this. Then the grizzly bear mother and her cubs took me back to my people.

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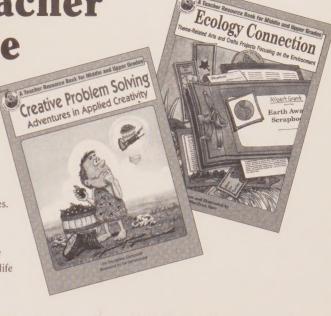
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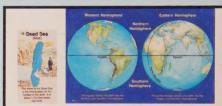
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