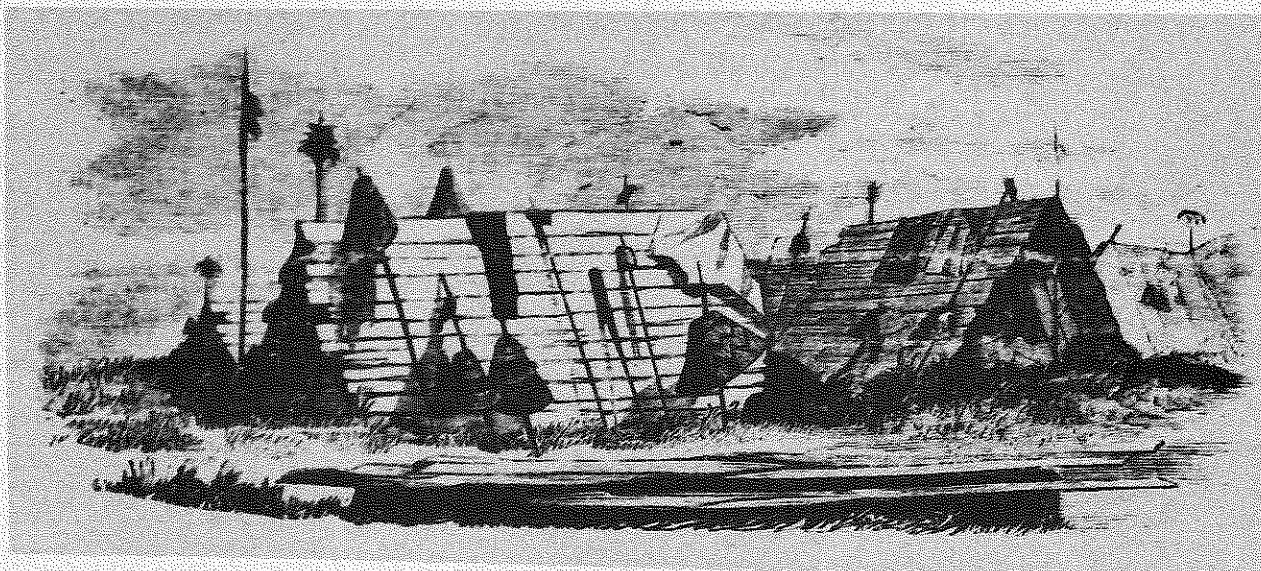


# NATIVE AMERICAN RELIGIOUS PRACTICES AND USES IN WESTERN OREGON



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Native American  
Religious Practices and Uses  
in Western Oregon

by  
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## ABSTRACT

This volume presents a comprehensive overview of the past and current Native American religious practices in the region around the Siuslaw National Forest in western Oregon. The purpose of the document is to serve as a basic sourcebook for assessing the significance of Native American religious use sites found in the Forest. The volume consists of nine major chapters which cover various aspects of Native American religious practices in western Oregon.

An initial chapter establishes the basis in federal legislation for undertaking this study and outlines the project's objectives and methodology. The environmental setting of the Siuslaw National Forest in the Coast Range of western Oregon is described, and the cultural backgrounds of the Native Americans of this region are reviewed.

The next five chapters summarize the ethnographic information available on the traditional religious practices of the Tillamook, Alsea-Yaquina, Coos, Lower Umpqua, Siuslaw, and Kalapuya peoples which inhabited this region at the time of historic contact. These native groups of western Oregon, which shared many cultural traits, focused their religious practices on the development of unique, individual linkages with the natural world. The documented religious practices of the ethnographic groups are reviewed in these chapters which include sections on the cosmology, ceremonies, shamanism, views on death, and beliefs of the four cultural groups.

The following two chapters discuss post-contact developments in Native American religious practices. Two major revitalization movements occurred among these native peoples after their removal to the reservations in the 1850's--the Ghost Dance and the Shaker religion. In reservation times, the traditional religious practices of the Native Americans of this region were discouraged, suppressed, and ultimately destroyed by the federal government's "civilization" policy. Today, most Native Americans in this region are members of Catholic or Protestant churches and recall little of their ancestors' traditional religious beliefs or practices.

A final chapter contains a listing of the few Native American religious use sites identified from the ethnographic literature in the Siuslaw National Forest. It is recommended that the management of these and other areas of religious significance found in the future be undertaken in consultation with present-day Native Americans who have shown a strong interest in protecting and preserving the sacred sites of their ancestors.

## FOREWORD

The present volume in this series is a slightly revised version of a study prepared in 1982 by Heritage Research Associates of Eugene, Oregon, for the Siuslaw National Forest in western Oregon. This study is the first religious practices overview to be completed for a federal agency in the State of Oregon in accordance with federal responsibilities defined in the American Indian Religious Freedom Act of 1978 (42 U.S.C. 1996). In order to make the volume available to a larger audience, the Siuslaw National Forest has encouraged its publication.

The geographical focus of the present overview was constrained by the scope and purpose of the project for the Siuslaw National Forest. The study addresses traditional, post-contact and contemporary religious practices among the four major tribal units occupying lands within or near the Siuslaw National Forest.

One of the major contributions of this study is the presentation of a significant amount of ethnographic information for the Tillamook and the Kalapuya, but particularly for the Coos, Lower Umpqua and Siuslaw, which has never before been published. The bulk of this unpublished material resulted from the work of Melville and Elizabeth Derr Jacobs, ethnographers affiliated with the University of Washington, who played the most significant role with their Indian informants in recording the last memories of traditional lifeways and languages in western Oregon.

In summary, this document synthesizes for the first time a large body of information on Native American religious practices in western Oregon. It is the hope of the authors as well as this editor that the present volume will have a general as well as a professional readership, and that it will lead to a greater awareness and appreciation of Native American lifeways and religious values both within federal agencies in Oregon and among the general public.

C. Melvin Aikens, editor



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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The senior author, Stephen Dow Beckham, is currently Professor of History at Lewis and Clark College, Portland, Oregon. Beckham prepared the overviews of the traditional religious practices of the Tillamook (Chapter 2) and the Coos, Lower Umpqua and Siuslaw (Chapter 4) as well as the summary for the traditional religious practices section (Chapter 6). He also authored the section on contemporary Native American religious practices (Chapter 8) and contributed to the section on post-contact religious developments (Chapter 7).

Kathryn Anne Toepel, a doctoral candidate in Anthropology at the University of Oregon, holds Masters' degrees in both Anthropology and Linguistics. She authored the overview of the traditional religious practices of the Alsea-Yaquina (Chapter 3) and the Kalapuya (Chapter 5).

Rick Minor, a Ph.D. in Anthropology, prepared the introduction to the volume (Chapter 1) and was the principal author of the section on post-contact religious developments among the Native Americans of the region (Chapter 7).

Responsibility for the compilation of Native American religious use sites in the Siuslaw National Forest and recommendations for their management (Chapter 9) was shared by all authors. Final responsibility for assembling and producing this document was assumed by Kathryn Toepel. Editorial assistance was provided by Mildred Toepel.

Access to the unpublished fieldnotes of the ethnographers Melville and Elizabeth Jacobs in the University of Washington Archives was graciously granted by the late Mrs. Elizabeth Derr Jacobs and by the Trustees of the Melville Jacobs Collection. Research in the Melville Jacobs Collection was greatly facilitated by the cooperation of Gary Lundell, Archives Specialist at the University of Washington. The authors are indebted to the Whatcom Museum Society of Bellingham, Washington, and the University of Washington Archives for permission to publish from the materials in the Melville Jacobs Collection.

Research for this project was also carried out among the documentary materials held by the National Archives and Records Service in Seattle, Washington, and Washington, D.C. The cooperation of the staffs of these two branches of the federal archives system is gratefully acknowledged.

Contact with Native Americans during the course of this project was facilitated by the interest and cooperation of the Tribal Councils of the Siletz, and the Coos, Lower Umpqua and Siuslaw Indian Tribes. Special acknowledgement should also be made to the following individuals who contributed their knowledge during this study: Frank Barrett and his mother, Anna, the widow of Howard Barrett (Siuslaw), Linda Coote (Grand Ronde), and Marge Drew Severy (Coos).

Dr. Theodore Stern, Professor of Anthropology at the University of Oregon, reviewed this volume for publication in the University of Oregon Anthropological Papers series and made several suggestions which the authors have incorporated in this revised version of the volume. Dr. Stern's comments are appreciated, but any oversights or errors in interpretation are solely the responsibility of the authors.

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Cover Illustration: Burial huts and grave goods of the Lower Umpqua Indians (from *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, 1858; print courtesy of the Oregon Historical Society).

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## Chapter 1

### INTRODUCTION

This volume presents a comprehensive overview of the past and current Native American religious practices of relevance to lands under the administration of the Siuslaw National Forest in western Oregon. The purpose of the document is to serve as a basic source-book for interpreting the meaning and assessing the significance of Native American religious use sites found in the Forest.

This document is the third of a three-volume series on the cultural resources of the Siuslaw National Forest. The first volume, entitled *Cultural Resource Overview of the Siuslaw National Forest, Western Oregon*, presents a narrative discussion of the main themes in the prehistoric and historic settlement and use of the lands administered by the Siuslaw National Forest (Beckham, Toepel and Minor 1982a). A second companion volume, prepared for administrative use, provides a detailed inventory of specific cultural resources and management considerations within the project area (Beckham, Toepel and Minor 1982b). These two earlier documents, then, constitute the point of departure for the present volume which focuses on Native American religious practices in the region surrounding the Siuslaw National Forest in western Oregon.

### PROJECT OBJECTIVES

The religious use sites of the native peoples inhabiting western Oregon in prehistoric and early historic times are recognized as cultural resources that are important to the present Native American population in the region. The USDA Forest Service is required by federal law to identify and evaluate these and other cultural resources, such as archaeological and historical sites, on public lands under its jurisdiction and to manage them for both present and future generations. This responsibility is mandated by a long series of federal laws, orders, and regulations beginning with the Antiquities Act of 1906 and continuing through the Archaeological Resources Protection Act of 1979.

The immediate stimulus for the present study, however, is the American Indian Religious Freedom Act of 1978, in which it became "the policy of the United States to protect and preserve for American Indians their inherent right of freedom to believe, express, and exercise the traditional religions of the American Indian. . . , including but not limited to access to sites, use and possession of

sacred objects, and the freedom to worship through ceremonials and traditional rites" (see Table 1 for the complete text of Public Law 95-341).

The preparation of this document is intended to meet the following basic objectives:

1. To serve as a source of background information about past and present Native American religious practices in the region surrounding the Siuslaw National Forest;
2. To identify known Native American religious use sites and resources within the Siuslaw National Forest and vicinity; and
3. To provide a framework for interpreting and assessing the significance of Native American religious use sites which may be found in the region in the future and to make recommendations for their management.

The preparation of this Native American religious practices study thus represents a major step by the Siuslaw National Forest towards compliance with both the letter and spirit of the American Indian Religious Freedom Act of 1978 and other federal laws pertaining to the preservation and management of cultural resources.

#### *THE PROJECT AREA*

The project area consists of lands within the boundaries of the Siuslaw National Forest which may have played a part in the practice of religious observances by present-day Native Americans and their ancestors. The Siuslaw National Forest encompasses 981.5 square miles and extends over portions of eight counties in western Oregon (Figure 1).

The Siuslaw National Forest is located within the Coast Range of western Oregon, which parallels the coastline between the Coquille River on the south and the Columbia River on the north. The mountains of the Coast Range are composed predominantly of marine sedimentary and intrusive volcanic rocks of Tertiary age. The terrain in this region is characterized by mature topography, with moderate to steep slopes dissected by many intermittent and perennial streams. Elevations range from sea level along the coast to 3,461 feet at Marys Peak (Baldwin 1976).

The climate of the Coast Range is of the temperate, humid marine type characterized by relatively wet, mild winters and dry, moderately cool summers. Annual precipitation ranges from 60 to 90 inches along the immediate coast to as much as 200 inches farther inland along the summit of the Coast Range (United States Department of Agriculture

Table 1. Joint Resolution on American Indian Religious Freedom, Public Law 95-341, August 11, 1978.

Public Law 95-341  
95th Congress

Joint Resolution

American Indian Religious Freedom.

Whereas the freedom of religion for all people is an inherent right, fundamental to the democratic structure of the United States and is guaranteed by the First Amendment of the United States Constitution;

Whereas the United States has traditionally rejected the concept of a government denying individuals the right to practice their religion and, as a result, has benefited from a rich variety of religious heritages in this country;

Whereas the religious practices of the American Indian (as well as Native Alaskan and Hawaiian) are an integral part of their culture, tradition and heritage, such practices forming the basis of Indian identity and value systems;

Whereas the traditional American Indian religions, as an integral part of Indian life, are indispensable and irreplaceable;

Whereas the lack of a clear, comprehensive, and consistent Federal policy has often resulted in the abridgment of religious freedom for traditional American Indians;

Whereas such religious infringements result from the lack of knowledge or the insensitive and inflexible enforcement of Federal policies and regulations premised on a variety of laws;

Whereas such laws were designed for such worthwhile purposes as conservation and preservation of natural species and resources but were never intended to relate to Indian religious practices and, therefore, were passed without consideration of their effect on traditional American Indian religions;

Whereas such laws and policies often deny American Indians access to sacred sites required in their religions, including cemeteries;

Whereas such laws at times prohibit the use and possession of sacred objects necessary to the exercise of religious rites and ceremonies;

Whereas traditional American Indian ceremonies have been intruded upon, interfered with, and in a few instances banned: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That henceforth it shall be the policy of the United States to protect and preserve for American Indians their inherent right of freedom to believe, express, and exercise the traditional religions of the American Indian, Eskimo, Aleut, and Native Hawaiians, including but not limited to access to sites, use and possession of sacred objects, and the freedom to worship through ceremonials and traditional rites.

SEC. 2. The President shall direct the various Federal departments, agencies, and other instrumentalities responsible for administering relevant laws to evaluate their policies and procedures in consultation with native traditional religious leaders in order to determine appropriate changes necessary to protect and preserve Native American religious cultural rights and practices. Twelve months after approval of this resolution, the President shall report back to the Congress the results of his evaluation, including any changes which were made in administrative policies and procedures, and any recommendations he may have for legislative action.

Approved August 11, 1978.

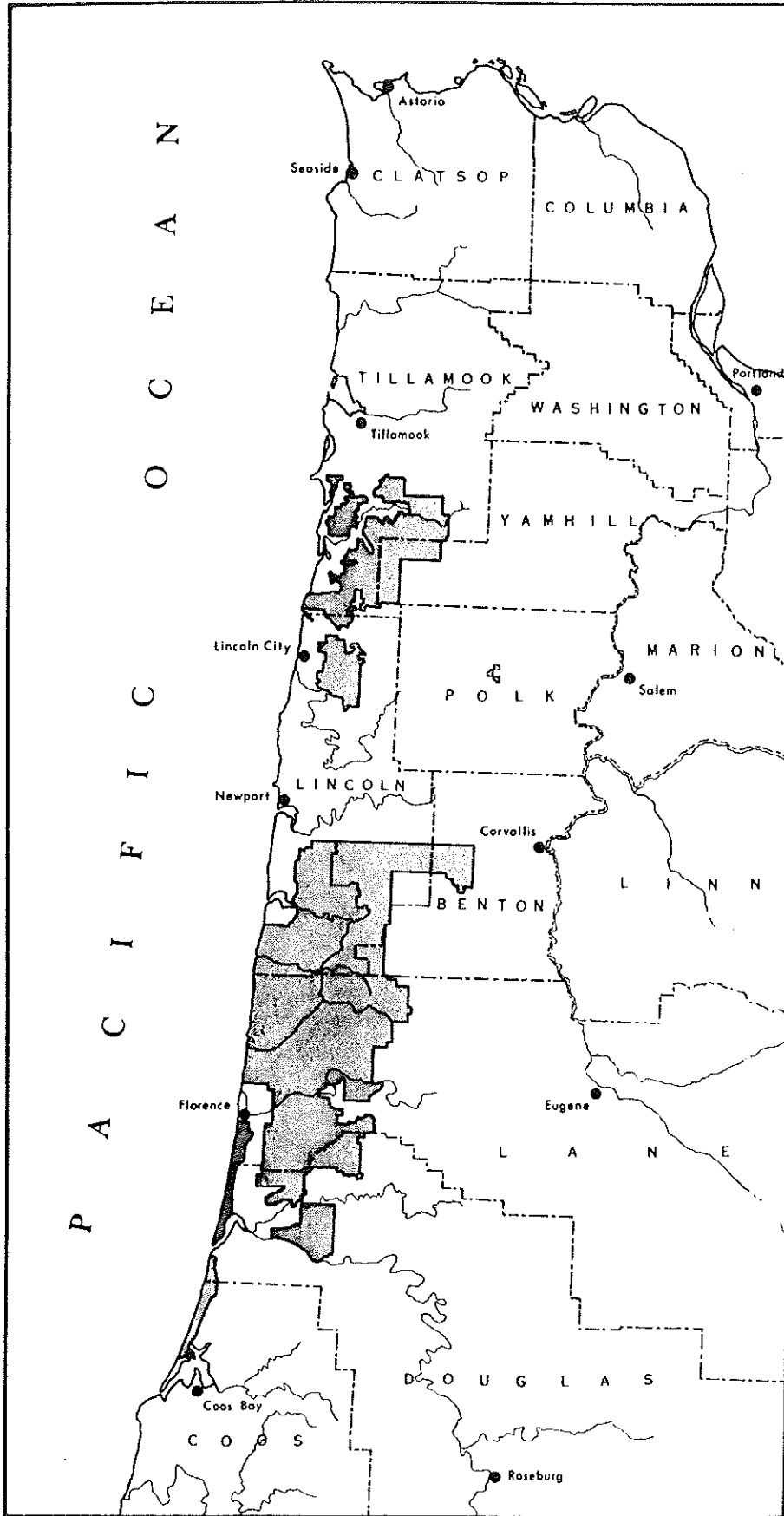


Figure 1. Location of the Siuslaw National Forest in western Oregon.

1964:1). Mean monthly temperatures in the region range between 40° and 60° F. Temperatures are generally milder in the lower elevations. Summer temperatures are fairly cool in the lower elevations but may reach as high as 100° F. farther inland (United States Department of Agriculture 1964:5).

The Coast Range of western Oregon is one of the most densely forested regions in North America. The high annual rainfall and mild winters form an environment extremely favorable for forest development (Franklin and Dyrness 1973:55). Two principal vegetation zones are found in the region. The *Picea sitchensis* (Sitka spruce) Zone is a coastal forest zone which is generally only a few miles in width except where it extends up river valleys. This zone is generally found below elevations of 450 feet, but it may extend as high as 1800 feet where mountains occur immediately adjacent to the ocean. The *Tsuga heterophylla* (western hemlock) Zone is found at elevations ranging from 450 to above 3,000 feet. This zone, which is also represented in the mountains of the Cascade Range further inland, is the most extensive forest zone in western Oregon (Franklin and Dyrness 1973).

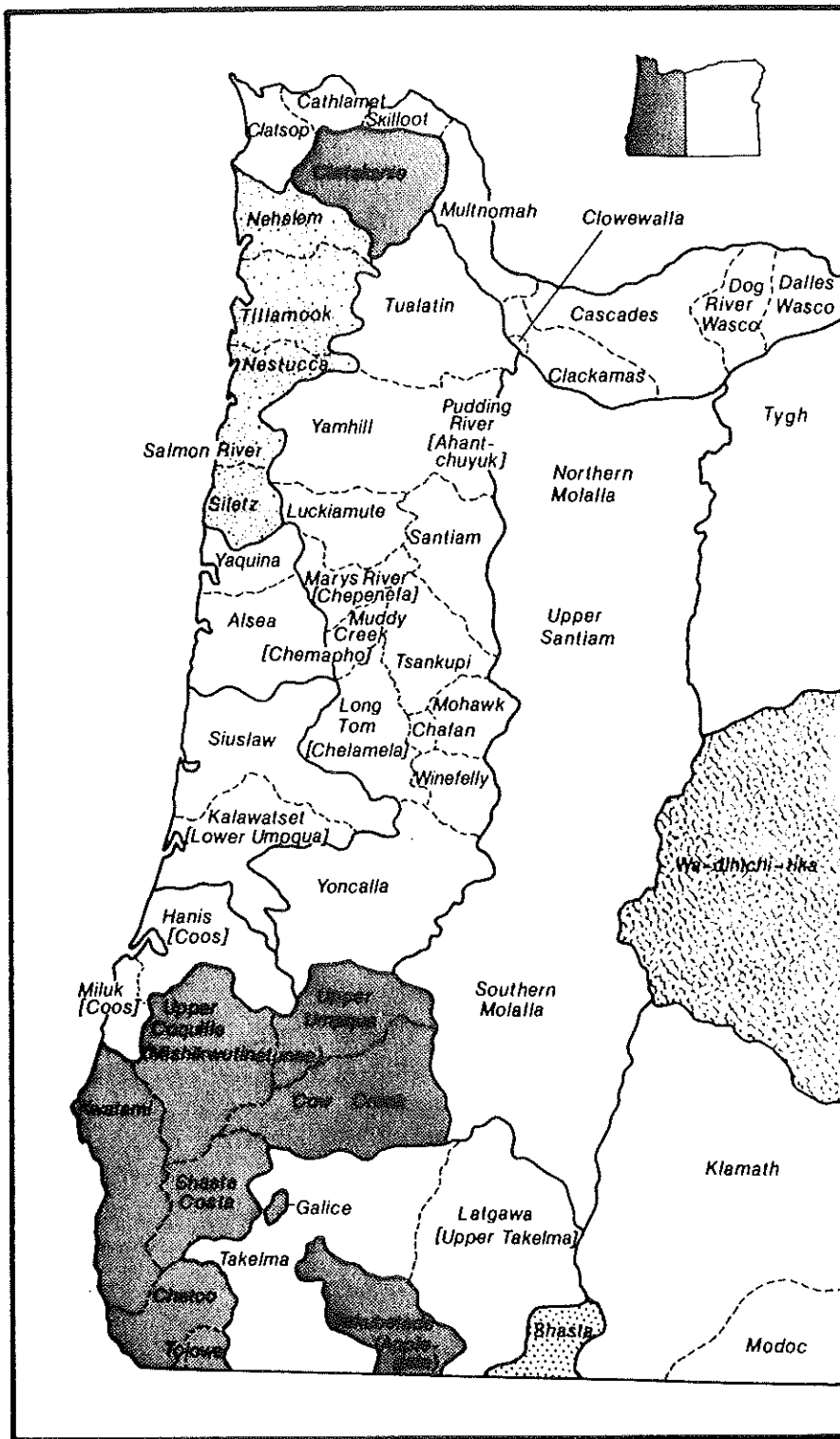
The lands within the project area occur within an upland environment containing a variety of habitat types. Rivers and creeks provide spawning grounds for anadromous fish and also support numerous freshwater species. Inland marshes and wet meadows in the coastal zone are important as watering areas for various faunal species. Riparian habitat along the edges of streams provides important shelter and food sources for fish, nesting areas for birds and waterfowl, and shade cover for elk, deer and furbearers. The many springs in the Coast Range serve as water sources for the fauna of the region. Much of the Coast Range consists of "Douglas fir-trailing blackberry" habitat, which is the principal habitat of Roosevelt elk, blacktail deer, black bear, mountain quail, blue and ruffed grouse, band-tailed pigeon, certain furbearers, and many other species of small birds and mammals (Bailey 1936).

#### CULTURAL BACKGROUND

In ethnographic times the region surrounding the Siuslaw National Forest was inhabited by Native Americans belonging to five different cultural-linguistic groups. The distribution of these groups closely corresponded with the major river valleys on both sides of the Coast Range (Figure 2). The Tillamook, Alsea-Yaquina, Siuslaw-Lower Umpqua, and Coos lived in numerous valleys along the coast and western slopes of the Coast Range. The Kalapuya occupied the interior Willamette Valley and made occasional use of the eastern slopes of the Coast Range.

The native groups of the Oregon coast are included by anthropologists within the Northwest Coast Culture Area, which extended from northern California to southern Alaska (Drucker 1955). Early anthro-





Language Groups

- Penutian
- Salishan
- Hokan
- Ut-Aztekan
- Athapaskan

Figure 2. Distribution of Indian Groups in Western Oregon (from Beckham 1976).

pologists also grouped the Kalapuya with these coastal peoples (e.g., Kroeber 1939). Later studies, however, suggest that the Kalapuya of the interior Willamette Valley were more closely related culturally to the native peoples of the Columbia Plateau than to those of the Northwest Coast (Collins 1951:139-146; Beckham, Minor and Toepel 1981:49ff, 161ff).

Detailed summaries of the information available on the ethnographic lifeways of the Tillamook, Alsea-Yaquina, Siuslaw-Lower Umpqua, Coos, and Kalapuya are presented in *Cultural Resource Overview for the Siuslaw National Forest, Western Oregon* (Beckham et al. 1982a). These summaries include discussions of the linguistic affiliations, territories, sociopolitical organization, subsistence practices, technology, and world view of these native peoples. The interested reader is referred to that volume for information on the non-religious aspects of these native cultures.

#### RESEARCH METHODS

Preparation of this study of Native American religious practices in the region surrounding the Siuslaw National Forest involved two basic forms of research:

1. *Interviews* with Native Americans having knowledge of the traditional and contemporary beliefs, values, and practices of the relevant native groups; and
2. An *intensive literature search* of both the published and unpublished materials relating to Native American religious practices and uses in the region.

Contact with present-day Native Americans was facilitated through the cooperation of the Tribal Councils of the Siletz, Grand Ronde, and Coos, Lower Umpqua and Siuslaw Indian Tribes. All of the individuals contacted expressed great interest in the subject of traditional native religious practices. Unfortunately, however, due to the tremendous disruption of the native cultures which occurred as a result of population decline and removal to reservations more than a century ago, the knowledge of most present-day Native Americans concerning traditional religious matters is very limited. The historical basis for this unfortunate situation is discussed in Chapter 8.

The summaries of Native American religious practices contained in this volume are based primarily on the work of professional anthropologists who have worked among the native peoples of this region--the Tillamook, Alsea-Yaquina, Siuslaw-Lower Umpqua, Coos, and Kalapuya. Only a relative few of the many anthropological studies conducted in this region, however, contain any substantive information about traditional religious practices. As a result, we must rely to a large

degree on the writings of a few anthropologists who were either greatly interested themselves in traditional religious beliefs or who chanced upon a native informant who was particularly knowledgeable. In this respect, it is important to acknowledge the work of the anthropologists on which this study is primarily based, especially Philip Drucker among the Alsea and southwest Oregon Athapaskans; Melville and Elizabeth Jacobs among the Tillamook; Leo J. Frachtenberg, Melville Jacobs and John P. Harrington among the Coos, Siuslaw and Lower Umpqua; and Melville Jacobs and Albert S. Gatschet among the Kalapuya.

Research for this project involved a review not only of the published anthropological literature but also of the unpublished manuscript materials and field notes of John P. Harrington and Leo J. Frachtenberg in the Office of Anthropology Archives at the Smithsonian Institution, and the manuscripts and field notes of Melville and Elizabeth Jacobs which are stored in the Melville Jacobs Collection at the University of Washington Archives. These unpublished materials contributed information on certain aspects of Native American religious practices in this region which were previously unreported. The research conducted during this project has resulted in the first systematic overview of traditional and post-contact Native American religious practices in western Oregon.

#### *ORGANIZATION OF THE VOLUME*

The remainder of this volume consists of eight major chapters which cover various aspects of the Native American religious practices in the region surrounding the Siuslaw National Forest. Chapters 2 through 6 present summaries of the ethnographic information available on the traditional religious practices of the Tillamook, the Alsea-Yaquina, and the Coos, Siuslaw and Lower Umpqua of the coastal zone, and the Kalapuya of the interior Willamette Valley.

Chapter 7 discusses the history and nature of religious revitalization movements, including the Ghost Dance and the Shaker religion, which occurred among the Native Americans of the region in reservation times. The contemporary religious practices of the Native American peoples living in the area at the present time are reviewed in Chapter 8.

The final chapter contains a listing of the Native American religious use sites in the Siuslaw National Forest which have been identified as a result of this study and sets forth recommendations for their future management by the Forest Service. The volume concludes with an extensive bibliography of the sources used in the preparation of this document.

Chapter 2

TILLAMOOK:  
TRADITIONAL RELIGIOUS PRACTICES

The Tillamook, a Salish-speaking group, occupied the coast of Oregon from Neahkahnie Mountain on the north to Cape Foulweather on the south. Their homeland included the estuaries of the Nehalem, Tillamook, Netarts, Sand Lake, Nestucca, Salmon River, and Siletz. On the east their territory reached far into the Coast Range. They had villages along a number of the rivers which poured into the many estuaries in their homeland.

The ethnographic literature on the Tillamook includes the cultural element distribution study, *Oregon Coast* (Barnett 1937), "Traditions of the Tillamook Indians" (Boas 1898), "Notes on the Tillamook" (Boas 1923), "Zur Mythologie der Indianer von Washington und Oregon" (Boas 1893), "Stability in Tillamook Folklore" (Edel 1944), "The Romantic Role of Older Women in a Culture of the Pacific Northwest Coast" (Jacobs 1958), *Nehalem Tillamook Tales* (Jacobs, E. and Jacobs, M. 1959), and "Nehalem Tillamook Ethnographic Notes," an unpublished manuscript (Jacobs, E. and Seaburg 1976).

The following review of traditional Tillamook observances is divided into five headings: (1) cosmology, (2) ceremonies, (3) shamanism, spirit quests, and dream powers, (4) views on death, and (5) beliefs.

COSMOLOGY

The Tillamook sense of history was intimately related to the passage of a series of events. The earliest time level was the myth age. In this period Ice, Raven, Bear, Deer, and other creatures acted much like humans. They were the occupants of the world. The second time level was the transformation era. During this time South Wind reshaped the world and set it in the order that humans would know. The third era was that of the immediate historic past. The Tillamook believed that figures from the myth age also were present in the third era of the recent past. Elizabeth Derr Jacobs has written about these perceptions of time:

Indeed the boundaries between the three periods appear to be tenuous to us, but very likely they were much less if at all tenuous to a Tillamook. He regarded several actors of the myth age as living on

into the third period when things were much as they are today. To be sure, Ice, Rain, and various animal beings who were persons in the myth age were not persons during subsequent epochs. But Wild Woman, South Wind, and others, who even in the myth age lacked animal characteristics, were thought of as living in the third period which includes the very recent past (Jacobs, E. and Jacobs, M. 1959: ix).

The Tillamook believed that South Wind came along the shore and put their world in order. They referred to him variously as South Wind, Everlasting Man, *tkahyal* ("our grandfather"), and *Swmutchul* (an untranslated name ascribed to him by the powerful sky being, Double-Bladed Knife) (Jacobs, E. and Jacobs, M. 1959: 123). Franz Boas' informant of 1890, Hyas John, referred to this transformer as *Tk'a*. This man said:

The transformer *Tk'a* traveled all over the world. He was also called the master of salmon. He created everything and commanded the people to be good. When he came to the mouth of a river he tried to make a cascade at that place. When he was traveling about, he carried a bunch of arrows. When he came to a nice place he would take out some arrows, break them to pieces, and throw them down. Then he began to shout as though he were going to dance, and the arrows would be transformed into human beings and begin to dance. When day came he would take his quiver and the arrows would go back into it. This was his way of amusing himself; he did this every night whenever it pleased him. When he came to Siletz he called the people his relatives. When he left he transformed his body into the rock *Tk'a*, while his soul went to the country of the salmon from which the fish come every year (Boas 1923: 12).

In November, 1933, Clara Pearson, a Tillamook informant for Melville and Elizabeth Jacobs, recounted a lengthy text about South Wind. In her narrative this cultural hero came from the south and moved along the shore making and naming the places. He made the seasons and at Neskowin created the myriad small rocks on the beach for his playthings. He made the narrow harbor entrance at Tillamook Bay and created a number of places where the camas would grow. South Wind did all kinds of things to put the world of the Tillamook into the form that they knew. At Neahkahnie Mountain, for example:

South Wind went along that mountain. He stopped, he looked down on the beach. He saw little boys down there wading around playing boat with their small boats. That ocean was clear and quiet at that time,

just like a lake. He said, "No! It is not going to be like that. On good days it will be still, but on bad days that ocean will boil and there will be breakers. No skiff, no small boat of any kind will be able to travel on it then." He built a big fire, he heated large round rocks. He threw the hot rocks down from Kani Mountain and, oh, that ocean boiled. He had made breakers. Today one can see those round rocks up on that mountain where he built his fire. They are all red where they were burned (Jacobs, E. and Jacobs, M. 1959: 123-31).

South Wind was also responsible for a number of the features of the universe known to the Tillamook. According to one tale there was a time when only Frog had water, and she kept that water carefully guarded in a basketry water bucket. Anyone who was thirsty had to ask Frog for a drink. South Wind was thirsty and came to Frog and said: "Auntie, I want a drink of water." Frog answered angrily that everyone was coming and drinking up her water. She gave South Wind just a very small drink. "It is indeed terrible that there is no water," said South Wind. "Water should be free."

South Wind then looked for a rock and when the opportunity arose he took the rock and struck Frog on the head and knocked her senseless. He took the water from the basketry bucket, emptied it, and threw it all around. South Wind then said: "That shall be rivers. All over the land there shall be rivers and creeks. Nobody shall own water, no one person." When South Wind hit Frog, she urinated and her urine mixed with the water that South Wind was throwing about. This is why certain of the rivers are a greenish color (Jacobs, E. and Jacobs, M. 1959: 147).

In the main creation story concerning the travels of South Wind the Tillamook explained the origin of the sun and the moon. Frog took a young man, turned him upside down, and shook him until the animals he had been eating crawled out again. Frog rubbed him and polished him and he became bright and warmed everything. "The limbs of the trees split open from the heat and people could not endure it; they had to stay in the water to keep from burning up," the story explained. The older brother, who observed all this, saw that nothing could live if this continued. "It is too hot," he said. "My young brother, I will put you far high up in the sky. You will travel in the daytime. I shall be Moon, in the nighttime I'll see, I'll look." And so it was that the younger brother became the sun and the older brother became the moon. The Tillamook knew this was so, for when they looked at the full moon they could see Frog, moon's wife (Jacobs, E. and Jacobs, M. 1959: 147).

The Tillamook were aware of eclipses and, according to Boas' informant, assembled the shamans to dance for five nights. During

an eclipse the people rushed about and overturned every vessel in the plank lodge. No one was allowed to eat. The Tillamook believed that the eclipse was the result of the Transformer's anger and his determination to destroy the world. No one was to look up. Everyone having to go outside was to look at the ground. The Tillamook thought that the killing of a person with strong magic was the likely cause of an eclipse and that they must turn over all containers so that this deceased person's blood might not drip into them (Boas 1923: 9).

Clara Pearson added more information about eclipses and said that a total eclipse was when the spirits from the spirit world were talking to the moon. They were playing around it. When the moon appeared to be red during an eclipse, then the people knew that the Wild Woman and the Wild Man were up there (Jacobs and Seaburg 1976: 525). Further information on views about the universe, the order of nature, the creatures present during the myth age, the time of transformation, and historic times appeared in the detailed narratives told by the Tillamook. The surviving material does not suggest a complicated cosmology or elaborate explanations about the order of the universe.

#### *CEREMONIES*

Ceremonies marked certain events in the lives of the Tillamook. Their rituals and public observances were not, however, elaborately developed and the information recorded about these practices is, at best, scanty. Ethnographers, however, recorded some information about birth, puberty, first fruit and first kill rites, and other events which gained public or special notice.

##### Birth Observances

Prospective parents went through a period of several months of special observances in anticipation of the birth of a child. They studiously avoided eating the knee or foot of an elk in fear that their child would be born with these clumsy features. They did not eat sturgeon, believing that if they did the infant would have small eyes and a small nose like this fish. If they ate clams, the Tillamook thought that the infant would be born with a large mouth. During the mother's pregnancy the parents also avoided wearing bead necklaces so that their child would not be born with marks around his or her neck (Boas 1923: 5).

Clara Pearson said that an old woman presided as midwife and that the father and other children left the house. This woman cut the umbilical cord, leaving a section the length of the forefinger on the child. When this part dried and fell off, it was placed in

a small, round bag which was stuffed with feathers and decorated around the edges with beads. A person kept this amulet throughout life. The Tillamook believed that anyone who lost this keepsake became wild and foolish. The midwife took the remaining section of the umbilical cord and the placenta into the forest and placed it at the base of a hardy spruce tree so that the infant would grow just like the tree (Jacobs, E., Notebook 105, 1933: 27-29).

The midwife immediately bathed the infant in warm water and rubbed its small body with elk marrow. She did this once a day at first and later twice each day. The new mother did not bathe for 15 days, had to avoid touching her head or scratching it, and was forbidden to eat during this period. Shortly after the birth of the child she seated herself on matting which was placed over a hole in the floor into which had been placed heated rocks. She was to warm herself throughout this period (Jacobs, E., Notebook 105: 28-30).

Boas' informants of 1890 reported that the midwife was paid for her services. She was responsible for placing the infant in the cradle board where bindings of buckskin packs (no boards) were gently attached to begin the process of head deformation. They reported that the cradle was in the form of a small canoe and was painted. They reported other birth observances:

The parents engaged a shaman who performed a dance carrying the child in its cradle. This was believed to make the child an expert canoe-man and to prevent capsizing of his canoe. Girls, while still in the cradle, were given digging sticks and baskets. It was believed that this would make them successful in digging roots and gathering food. The mother must give away all the property that was in the house (Boas 1923: 5).

Whenever the midwife or mother washed the child, they gently pulled its nose and rubbed down its arms and legs. They did this three times each day and then placed the child back in the cradle and fastened the head presser. They kept this up until the infant was ready to walk (Boas 1923: 5).

Another birth observance involved piercing of the infant's ears. Any older siblings were sent away during this event. The Tillamook believed that if the older children were present the infant's ears would swell and cause the child's death. In general infants were given special deference. The Tillamook thought that newborn children were very wise and knew the thoughts of every person. They strove to give them good attention (Boas 1923: 6).



### Naming Observance

Clara Pearson indicated that in the time when traditional cultural practices of the Tillamook were in vogue, the ear piercing and naming observances occurred at the same time. In the latter part of the nineteenth century, however, these events were not necessarily joined nor did both always occur. It was possible for a child to gain a name without having his or her ears pierced (Jacobs and Seaburg 1976: 124).

In the old times, the ear piercing and naming ceremony were held about noon or in the early afternoon. Mrs. Pearson said: "When they thought a lot of a child, they'd have a special party for him (or her) when he's about six years old. The medicine doctor named him, pierced his ears--the nose too, if it was a boy--and they all sang and danced and gave away presents." Only adults attended this ceremony and all except the shaman ate before the ritual. The shaman smoked and then took a bone needle threaded with elk sinew to pierce the earlobes. The sinew was left in place to keep the holes open. The shaman also pierced the nasal septum of boys. As each hole was opened, the family paid the shaman generously. When the final piercing was completed, the shaman called out the child's name. The parents and the audience echoed the name, distributed presents to the guests, and fed the shaman. Occasionally the shaman addressed the crowd, sometimes saying: "I hope this child grows up to be good and strong and lucky" (Jacobs, E. and Seaburg 1976: 125-26).

### Female Puberty Rites

The extant literature suggests that the Tillamook female puberty rites involved both ritual observance of the onset of menstruation and the seeking of a guardian spirit. Both of these events likely occurred in sequence and were part of the special observance associated with female rites of passage.

At the first menses, a girl went into seclusion in the plank house for four to five days. Her mother explained to her what was happening, showed her how to use cedar bark napkins to catch the flow of blood, and cautioned her not to touch her head lest her hair all fall out. The girl remained carefully screened from view behind a partition of matting and lay down most of the time. She was told to fast but was allowed small amounts of water. She was prohibited from laughing by the warning that if she did so she would lose all her teeth while she was yet young. At the end of the fifth day an old woman took her into the woods where she bathed several times in cold water (Jacobs, E., Notebook 105, 1933: 35-37, 69).

Some girls also sought a guardian spirit. This quest required the services of an old woman, preferably a shaman who was

hired by the family to assist in this process. She placed the young girl on a large plank where she squatted for several days with her elbows resting on her thighs. She fasted, wore a basket hat on her head, and kept warm by facing a small fire and wearing a blanket decorated with abalone and dentalium shells. Although she did not sweat, the girl sometimes danced at night (Boas 1923: 6).

The ceremony then involved another series of special observances:

After two days, the girl was sent out at midnight. She had to go up the mountains and bathe in ponds. The following morning she returned. After she came back she was given new dentalia, was not allowed to sit near the fire, nor touch the fire. After she had been in the house for two days, she had to rise early in the morning before sunrise and had to swim in the river. After her bath she was rubbed with rotten wood. This was intended to make her skin as white as the white wood. Two or three women must watch her, and when she reentered they decorated her and painted her with red ochre. She was given something to eat before the birds began to sing. It was believed that if the birds should begin to sing while she was bathing in the river, she would die (Boas 1923: 6-7).

At this point the girl's hands were tied. An assistant gave her a long poker and told her to attend to the fire. She was not to touch the fire except with the poker. Those involved in the ceremony then took a flint knife and scratched the girl all over her body to produce a flow of blood. During all of this time the girl was kept from eating any berries, beaver meat, elk, or deer. Only when the ceremony was at an end did the female shaman seat herself, sing to the girl, and toss berries into her mouth. All watched carefully to see if she was able to catch them, for, if she missed the berries, the Tillamook believed she would die young (Boas 1923: 7).

Louis Fuller, the Tillamook informant for H. G. Barnett in 1934, reported that the completion of a girl's rites was observed by public recognition with a round dance. At the end of this dance the girl rose, grasped a deer hoof rattle, and sang with the others. In the time of future menstruations, a woman was compelled to eat apart, avoid fresh meat, use the head scratcher, and avoid men and any implements associated with hunting or fishing (Barnett 1937: 181).

### Male Puberty Rites

Boas' informants in 1890 reported that men--at the age of 20--were sent into the forest by their fathers on a vigil to gain a guardian spirit. The young man was given a piece of blanket and was requested to tell those who observed his departure what he intended to become. He might announce that he was going to be a shaman, a warrior, or a hunter. The young man then went into the hills where he fasted for a period until a guardian spirit associated with his chosen profession came to him. During his quest he bathed at night in cold water (Boas 1923: 6).

### Salmon Rites

Special care was taken to present the first salmon taken each year to the headman or chief of the village. A person trained in handling the first fish took the salmon and placed it on the roasting sticks and cooked it. When the salmon was ready it was cut into pieces with a string. The chief or headman had to eat the whole, first fish: head, tail, and all. The salmon bones, pieces of the roasting frame, materials associated with cleaning the fish, and its blood were also thrown into the fire and burned. Throughout the first week of the salmon run the Tillamook followed these strict observances to insure that the master of the salmon would not become angry and stop the runs (Boas 1923: 9).

The Tillamook informants of the 1890's also recalled that at the commencement of the salmon run the people tied two canoes together and placed a platform above them. The shaman in charge of the observances danced on this platform. Reportedly each river had a different set of ceremonies. These differences were because the fish needed to recognize when they had returned to their old country (Boas 1893: 10).

### First "Fruits" Rites

Clara Pearson's recollections indicated that special observances were attached to virtually all first "fruits." Care was thus taken to observe properly the taking of the first salmon, a boy's first kill of an elk and deer, and the first berries picked by a girl. A child's first salmon was to be taken to older people (Jacobs, E., Notebook 105, 1933: 40).

## *SHAMANISM, SPIRIT QUESTS AND DREAM POWERS*

The spirit quests of girls and young men were part of the ceremonial observance of the Tillamook and were intimately related to shamanism and dream powers. The success of a person as a

hunter, shaman, or warrior (if a male) or as a shaman (if a female) was directly related to the efficacy of various dream powers. Clara Pearson recalled several specific dream powers which were employed by Tillamooks she knew in the late nineteenth century:

- (1) Whale Power: Only one man was known to have this dream power. He employed it to cause whales to come ashore. The people paid him for having done this.
- (2) Seal Power: A Tillamook man known as Nehalem John possessed this power and because of it neither seals nor sea lions fled from him when he went hunting. A successful hunter, he gave away the seal and sea lion hides.
- (3) Eel Power: Nehalem John also had this dream power. Mrs. Pearson did not identify what it produced.
- (4) Black Bear Power: Some Tillamook women possessed this power and used it for curing a cut or a very ill person. The practice was to sing about Black Bear, pour a small basket of bay water over the ill person, and finally pour a basket of fresh water over the patient.
- (5) Sea Serpent Power: The Tillamook believed that whoever had this power would become wealthy.
- (6) Moon Power: A person who looked at the moon at eclipse gained the ability to see who was going to die.
- (7) Evening Star Power: The Tillamook thought this a malevolent power and that its possession caused a person to want to commit murder.

(Jacobs, E., Notebook 105, 1933: 15).

Among the Tillamook not all persons sought spirit powers through the quest or vigil. Clara Pearson stated that "ordinary people" didn't seek special powers. Shamans, of course, went out to gain their powers and, in their labors, they marked the site of their vigils with a special stick which they whittled while they were waiting (Jacobs, E., Notebook 106, 1933: 55).

Franz Boas, who collected his notes in 1890, wrote about shamanism among the Tillamook:

When the narrator's father wanted to become a medicine man, he fasted for five days. Every evening he sang and danced. His face was painted and his head

was decorated with feathers. He had two carved wands, called *qelqaloxten*, with a head at one end and a figure of two men at the other end. These wands were said to belong to the salmon. The head of a humming bird was tied to one end. His father danced with the carved sticks for two nights. After he was through with these sticks, he took two others, which were painted with coal. The last night he danced, he asked his people to tie two canoes in the middle of the river. In the village they had nothing to eat. On the following morning, he sent two boys to the canoes and they found three salmon in them, although nobody had been there. This was considered proof that he had power over the salmon.

The shaman used a small bone to kill his enemy. The bone was nicely smoothed and a hair was tied to one end. The enemy into whom it was thrown must dry up and die. If the person was to be cured, this bone must be taken out of his body; then the medicine man who cured the sick person showed the bone which caused the sickness (Boas 1923: 10-11).

Clara Pearson recalled that shamans kept "power boards" (*dasx̄E'l*). At the head of the shaman's bed in the plank lodge was a special painted and carved board, the *qE'wasən*. The board alongside the bed, which was also apparently decorated, was the *acawəctə'n*. Only shamans possessed such distinctive objects. At the time of the shaman's death, these boards were placed with him in his burial canoe. The shamans kept their power sticks tied high in a tree in the forest (Jacobs, E., Notebook 105, 1933: 32-33).

Shamans engaged in both curing and conjuring. Their power sticks were important in these practices. The long power sticks (*halədjəl t'eE'lEe*, "all arms") were sometimes pounded against the ceiling boards in the houses during the ceremonies. Their smaller but tall sticks (*lala:is*) were never pounded. Both types of sticks were decorated. Sometimes the shaman had stuffed human hair into small holes along the stick. Kilchis, an important Tillamook of the 1850's, possessed a hollow, cedar power stick which he had filled with pieces of flint so that it rattled when he used it. A flint-filled stick was known as *yid·y's*, "rattling head." The sticks used in pounding were usually made of fir or yew; those for rattling were often made of cedar (Jacobs, E., Notebook 105, 1933: 3; Notebook 113: 311-12).

Clara Pearson remembered that, in her father's time in the mid-nineteenth century, a shaman with special salmon powers lived at Idaville on Tillamook Bay. His presence in that village insured that many fish came into the bay, while to the north at Nehalem the people were starving because no fish came in there.

Although this man had developed a paralysis and remained seated all the time on mats in his lodge, the Nehalem people were determined to gain his help. Mrs. Pearson said:

Someone came from Nehalem and packed him there--he sang and had feathers on his head and talked to (Siversides) at [the] mouth of Nehalem, put him in canoe--he sang 'follow-me, silversides.'

The people took this shaman up the Nehalem and all kinds of fish--chums, silversides, and other kinds--appeared. The Nehalem band took good care of this man and paid him in blankets and clothing. He stayed among them for a month (Jacobs, E., Notebook 105, 1933: 11).

Other shamans concentrated on healing. The Tillamook believed that during a curing ceremony the shaman was able to draw out blood, a black substance like ink, and a slime which appeared like egg whites. Old Samson, the last of the medicine doctors who died about 1894, was especially skilled in treating sickness in the stomach and lungs. He laid out his patients on a mat, got down beside the ill person, drew out the "pain," and drowned it in a pan or basket of water. While Samson worked, several women sang to augment his power (Jacobs, E., Notebook 105, 1933: 3-4).

#### *VIEWS ON DEATH*

The Tillamook had specific observances at death. When a person died, the survivors washed the corpse's face and painted it with red ochre. They made a hole in the corner of the house and removed the body through it. They then placed the deceased person in a blanket or wrapping of cedar bark and then put the body into a dugout canoe. They placed a second canoe over the top to make a lid for the coffin and elevated this "burial" above the ground. Often they tied the burial canoes in the limbs of a tree. For ten to fifteen days a relative of the deceased person cried at dawn (Jacobs, E., Notebook 105, 1933: 24-26).

One of Franz Boas' informants explained how the Tillamook learned about the country of the dead:

A person had died. The body was kept in the house for five days, while the people were dancing a great shaman's dance, trying to bring him back. After the fifth night, the dead one arose and asked to be given something to eat. Then he told them all he had seen. The soul of man after death had to travel a long time. He followed a trail and after two days, when he had nearly reached the country of the souls, he came to a river. There he had to sit for

ten days, if he was a bad person. After ten days a canoe came across to get him. When he reached the other side, all the souls were gathered in one house. They were very glad that another person had arrived to live with them. In the evening they danced. The river was full of fish, and there were beautiful birds there and game was plentiful. Old people were young again. *Tsaai'yahatl* is the master of this country (Boas 1923: 11).

The Tillamook believed that on the way to the land of the dead a bad person took a wrong trail. If he was very bad, he continued to take the wrong trail until he at last came to the bad country which was below. There a chief extended to him his left hand and enslaved him. This bad person was boiled in a large kettle to wash him because he smelled. Although he was given new clothing, he was permitted only to eat snakes and vermin. Sometimes the people there threw the bad person into the fire; he had to stay there. While good people might return to the land of the living, bad people never got to come back (Boas 1923: 11).

Good people went to a place in the sky--the land of souls. The Tillamook believed that if a child died, another child would be born soon who might be the same child returning again. Children returned in this manner because in the land of the dead they did not know how to find food. The chief there could hear them crying and thus he permitted them to return to the place of the living (Boas 1923: 12).

#### *BELIEFS*

The surviving narrative texts and ethnographic materials suggest that the Tillamook had a complete system of beliefs and observances by which they came to terms with their world. They were very concerned that special observances be carried out to insure the runs of salmon, to protect the order of nature, and to carry a girl from childhood into womanhood. The rituals involved the labors of shamans who exercised a variety of dream powers. The oral literature of the Tillamook reflected an extensive corpus of tales which accounted for the ages through which the world had passed. Belief and practice kept their universe in order.

## Chapter 3

ALSEA AND YAQUINA:  
TRADITIONAL RELIGIOUS PRACTICES

The Alsea and Yaquina occupied the valleys of the Alsea and Yaquina rivers, from Beaver Creek on the north to Tenmile Creek south of Alsea River. Available ethnographic information on traditional religious practices among the Alsea is limited primarily to *Notes on the Alsea Indians of Oregon* by Farrand (1901), occasional references in *Alsea Texts and Myths* (Frachtenberg 1920) and *Contributions to Alsea Ethnography* by Drucker (1939). A half century and more had passed for the Alsea on the reservation before ethnographers obtained their information. As a result, only a fraction of the old ways and beliefs were recorded.

The following review of traditional Alsea and Yaquina observances is divided into four headings: (1) cosmology, (2) ceremonies, (3) shamanism, spirit quests, and dream powers, and (4) views on death.

## COSMOLOGY

The Alsea and Yaquina, as reflected in their oral traditions and mythology, were "satisfied with a world already created" (Frachtenberg 1920: 12). The creation of the world, the sea, rivers, plants and people is taken as an accomplished fact. The original state of the world according to Alsea mythology is bettered by the culture hero, Shīō'k (or Sēū'ku), also known as the Transformer. Through a series of adventures, Shīō'k brought about the Transformation or the Universal Change, making the world a better place for humans. Farrand provides a brief summary of Shīō'k's role in the Transformation (cf. Frachtenberg 1920: 12):

With regard to the earlier conditions in this world, the Alsea believe that it was formerly peopled by the present animals and birds in human shape, but who even then had the peculiar characteristics which distinguish them today; and besides these, there were a great number of monsters (*ānkī'*) which occupied all the most favorable spots and were constantly preying upon the people. At this time appeared Shīō'k, the Transformer, who, in his journey about the world, killed the *ānkī'* and at the same time changed most of the people into their



present animal forms. During this period Shīō'k exhibited all the characteristics of a trickster which have come to be so well known in the culture hero stories of other parts of the world. Having completed his journey and work, Shīō'k went up to the sky country, taking with him many of the people of this world, and there they live to the present day. After his ascent to the sky Shīō'k is spoken of only by the term Dīewi't ("the Maker"), and always with reverence. No direct account could be obtained of Dīewi't's interference in human affairs, but it seems probable that such a belief is entertained (Farrand 1901: 241-2).

During the Transformer's journey about the world, he named various places, killed monsters, stocked rivers with salmon, created the fish trap, taught humans and animals how to live, and accomplished various other feats. Some of these accomplishments are evidenced in the following excerpt of a tale about Sēū'ku, the Transformer, collected by Farrand (Frachtenberg 1920:233):

After going up the Yahach River he stopped at a certain place and said, "I'll make a fish trap here so as to enable the people to catch salmon." So he laid some rocks down at the riffles and said, "I'll lay here a tree across the river." Then he went up a hill to cut a tree. But when he arrived at the top of the hill he heard the ocean roar and said, "No, I'll not build a salmon trap here; it is too close to the ocean." Then he went back down the river. While going back he left his footprints on the rocks, which can be still seen to-day. Pretty soon he came to a place called Qtau (Otter Rock), where he saw Crows in great numbers killing the Sea Lions. But he said nothing until he came to Yakwina. There he turned back and said to the Crows: "You shall not kill the Sea Lions any longer. Only the next people, whom I shall create, will kill Sea Lions." Then he went on destroying monsters wherever he found them. Pretty soon he came to K'ilxa'mexk'. This place was inhabited by many people. But Sēū'ku changed them into Sea Gulls, saying: "Somebody else will take your place here. You will not always be able to obtain food for yourselves and will just pick up whatever comes ashore." Then he went on until he came to the mouth of the Siletz River, passing on without doing anything.

Thence he went to Salmon River, which he named Sī-sinqau. He put many salmon into that river. He also found some Seals but told them, "You shall live

under the cliff here." Then he looked northward and said, "This is a bad-looking place." Still he went on until he reached the Nestucca River. The mouth of this river was closed; so he kicked the rocks to make a channel, and they fell to pieces. He threw the biggest rock on the north side of the bay, where it can be still seen unto this day.

A few other beliefs concerning the world and natural events are found scattered throughout the ethnographic literature. According to Farrand, the Alsea believed the earth was flat with the land floating in the ocean (Farrand 1901: 240). An eclipse of the moon was explained as being caused by "great flocks of birds, chiefly birds of prey, such as eagles, hawks, ravens, and the like, who flew up into the sky to fight the moon" (Drucker 1939: 90-91). Dishes, buckets, bowls and even canoes were turned upside down during a moon eclipse so that none of the moon's blood would be caught. It was said that the moon was "killed" (or eclipsed) only when a wealthy person (one with many dentalia shells) was about to be killed (Frachtenberg 1920: 229).

The sun was thought to be "a person living in the sky (and having (many) dentalia shells" (Frachtenberg 1920: 229). Although the reason behind the sun's being "killed" during a sun eclipse was not explained by Alsea informants, the fears of the Alsea during such events were explained by William Smith in 1910:

The people were afraid whenever the sun was seen (in) such (a condition), because all the people believed in their minds (that the sun was an important person) in view of the fact that he was the one who always makes light for all the people everywhere. Now all the people believe thus in their minds. Because it will always (happen) thus (that), should the sun disappear, (and) should darkness prevail all over the world, all the people would simply die. Now again (on this occasion) the water is habitually poured out; all the buckets are usually upset, because it is not desired that the water should become bloody whenever the sun is killed. For such a reason are all the buckets upset (Frachtenberg 1920: 229).

Fierce thunderstorms with lightning were relatively rare along the Oregon coast and were a cause for alarm among the Alsea and Yaquina. The people would entreat the lightning, through dance and chanting, not to hit them or their houses. The people were told to pour out their water and upturn their buckets and bowls. William Smith made the following comments about the cause of the thunderstorms:

Whenever the elements acted thus, it would sometimes thunder very (hard); people were always afraid very (much) whenever it began to thunder. One man would probably say (thus) whenever the elements acted like this: "Nature does not always act like that. Only occasionally does it thunder all over." Thus that one man would talk, "The world is not doing anything (wrong); nature acts thus just without any (bad) cause" (Frachtenberg 1920: 231).

### *CEREMONIES*

The role of ceremonialism among the Alsea is expressed by Drucker (1939: 97-98):

There were no ceremonials of great importance. Occasions elaborately celebrated by other peoples--crises of life, first fruits, and the like--were observed with but meager ritual. In this respect, however, the Alsea were not unlike their neighbors . . . .

Several types of ceremonies were observed by the Alsea, however, although not elaborately. These included First-Salmon Rite, First-Fruit Rites, birth observances, puberty rites, and purification rituals.

#### Birth Observances

Although little ritual was involved, certain prescriptions were followed during the birth process among the Alsea. When it came time for a woman to give birth, a midwife with special powers was called to assist. Drucker notes that "informants were not sure from what being a midwife's power came, but from it, they said, she learned how to care for a parturient, and to understand the language of a newborn infant" (Drucker 1939: 95). After birth, the placenta was hidden in the woods by the midwife; if it were burned the mother would bear no more children. Several other observances were followed at birth to ensure the health of mother and child:

The baby's arms and legs were rubbed to make them grow straight; . . . The mother lay in for five days, abstaining from fresh food and cold water. She did not have to use a scratching stick. Her husband was subject to no restrictions whatsoever, it is said. All the things used during child-bearing--mats, the knife, and so forth--were given to the midwife as pay. After a few days, when the

stump of the umbilical cord detached, it was put in a little skin sack and tied to the child's cradle (Drucker 1939: 95).

It was said that, in the event of twin births, the second child was called "afterbirth," considered to be not a real person, and was killed (Drucker 1939: 95).

A birth feast was given for the first-born child when it was five days old. Parents of the new mother and father exchanged reciprocal gifts at this time. Sometimes at the feast, or later while the child was still small, its nose and ears were pierced. Drucker (1939: 96) states that a family name was bestowed by a parental relative when the child was very young. Farrand (1901: 243), however, says that a child was only given a nickname at birth but received a true name at puberty.

#### Puberty Rites

Before children reached puberty, they learned hunting and gathering techniques taught them by their elders. Children were trained to be self-sufficient but were also guided to accept responsibility for others as indicated by the traditional sharing of a child's first fruits:

The first of any sort of game a youth took he had to give to the old people. It was taboo for him to eat it himself; bad luck would befall him should he do so. A girl too had to give away the first fruits of her industry, the berries, roots, or shellfish she gathered. Otherwise she would become selfish, and no one would like her. Nor would she ever be able to gather as much of that particular food again if she ate of it herself (Drucker 1939: 96).

According to Farrand (1901: 243), when a child reached puberty he was given a permanent name rather than a nickname:

When a child was born he was given a nickname. This he retained until puberty, when he received his regular name, which was ordinarily that of one of his ancestors on either side, no preference being given to either line so far as could be learned. He might take the name of a living man, but in that case the giver must assume another. The same name was never used by two living people, nor did the giving of a name carry with it any privileges of position or rank. The giving was permanent, names never being lent nor pawned, as is sometimes the case farther north. The same rules held in the case of females as of males.

A young male's puberty was apparently not marked by any particular ceremony, with the possible exception of a naming feast. Some boys were sent on a spirit quest to gain powers through supernatural experiences, but many were not.

A young girl's puberty rites were well defined but privately conducted, as related by Drucker (1939: 96):

A girl at puberty was confined for five days. During this time she lay on her bed in the house, screened from view by mats. She abstained from all food and drink. Early each morning she bathed, using a wood bowl. She used a scratching stick, which she wore suspended from a necklace. On the fifth day an old woman combed the girl's hair and tied dentalia in it, put ornaments in her ears and nose, and painted her face red. The proctor "prayed" for her protegee (recited a formula ?) and fed her. For five mornings at dawn she took the lass, veiled with a robe or mat, to a brush hut in the woods, and each evening brought her home to be fed. The girl might work on baskets during the day if she liked. This part of the ritual seems to have been in the nature of a spirit quest, for some girls obtained supernatural guardians at this time. At the end of the second five-day period the proctor trimmed the girl's hair in bangs across her forehead, and tattooed rows of dots on her wrists to strengthen them for womanly tasks. There was no public performance of any sort. As reward for her services the proctor received the mats and other things used by the girl.

During subsequent menses, a woman had to avoid the sick to prevent doing them harm by her presence. Such a woman was also thought to be bad luck in hunting and fishing, so all gear and weapons were kept out of her way lest they be contaminated.

### Purification Rituals

Sweat bathing in a sweat house was practiced individually and irregularly for purification, minor curing, and luck in hunting, fishing and gambling. There appears to have been no ceremonial or group aspect to purification, which consisted of fasting, sweating and bathing in a stream or lake.

### First-Salmon Rites

If the ceremonial observances following the season's first catch of salmon were ever of great import to the Alsea, such was

not the case by late reservation times. Only brief mention of these rites is made by Drucker (1939: 97):

Mrs. Ludson had no knowledge of such rites. John Albert said that after a weir was built, the owner of the place cooked and ate the first salmon trout caught. All its bones were wrapped up in the leaves of a water plant to be saved until enough salmon had been caught to feast all the people. Then the package was unceremoniously thrown away. "After that it was all over; you could throw fishbones anywhere."

#### First-Fruits Rites

No description of annual or seasonal observances associated with the gathering of the season's first camas, acorns, or berries is provided by ethnographers, perhaps because such a rite had lost its importance. Drucker does mention a first-fruits rite which was "observed with but meager ritual" (1939: 97-98). Barnett (1937: 193) notes the practice of this rite among the Alsea in his culture element distribution list for the Oregon coast; he further observes that the body of the first gatherer was ritually marked during the ceremony.

#### *SHAMANISM, SPIRIT QUESTS AND DREAM POWERS*

According to ethnographic accounts, religious observances among the Alsea and Yaquina were little emphasized. Drucker (1939: 97) observed instead that "the chief religious outlet of the Alsea lay in shamanism." Stress was placed on the supernatural experiences of the individual. Although all Alsea and Yaquina knew of spirits and supernatural beings in a general way, most did not seek special powers from the many spirits capable of bestowing them:

There were a variety of supernatural beings which one might meet. Many kinds of birds and animals and a few natural phenomena (sun, moon, comet, thunder, west wind) were potential guardian spirits. There were also beings, such as a long-haired female wood sprite (*osun*) who gave power (Drucker 1939: 98).

Most people did not seek special powers; those who did seek guardian spirits (*solhattiu*) and the powers they gave became shamans. Because of the unpredictable and powerful nature of guardian spirits, few youngsters sought spirits. Some showed an interest in the supernatural or were "sickly, or different"

(Drucker 1939: 96). These youngsters were encouraged to seek power:

Most prospective shamans began their training quite young. Pre-adolescents of either sex were sent out by their parents, either because they showed aptitude for the calling by dreaming a great deal, or because their parents wished them to become shamans on account of the lucrative nature of the calling. A close relative who was a shaman usually had a hand in urging the child to go out, and in instructing him. One reason for this early beginning may have been that persons old enough to realize the hardships and dangers of the profession were loath to undertake it (Drucker 1939: 98).

Spirits were usually obtained only after a long quest involving solitary vigils and fasting for several days in the woods. Girls sometimes obtained supernatural guardians during their first menses isolation (Drucker 1939: 96). The seeker's quest followed a general pattern of isolation and fasting:

Apparently the being appeared in a dream after the seeker had fasted, bathed, and remained alone long enough. In this dream or vision, the guardian told his protege how and when to train, visiting him in dreams from time to time to instruct him in the shamanistic arts. Songs, special regalia and paints, and similar tokens, would be "given" to the novice in this fashion. The latter continued his training in secret for a fairly long time, often until after he had reached maturity (Drucker 1939: 98).

The novice seeker had to engage in the novice dance at the command of his guardian spirit before he could become a shaman:

Finally his familiar spirit told him to undertake the novice dance (*phkilhit*). The novice's relatives would be ready to help, for they were expecting him to dance. Repeated absences, fasting, and troubled sleep revealed the supposedly secret quest. Two or three accredited shamans were hired (or perhaps, if relatives, volunteered their services) to assist the novice, singing and dancing with him. The people sat about singing. Some drummed on the roof boards with long poles "carved to look like persons." (These may have been rude representations of the novice's familiars, as for example, the Quinault "tamanawous sticks," but a specific statement to that effect could not be obtained.) It is not clear whether the novice sought to demonstrate his

shamanistic abilities, to hang out his shingle, as it were, or if he danced to gain control of the supernatural power. Sometimes he fell unconscious in the midst of the performance. The assisting shamans hastened to revive him. Laymen interpreted such an event variously. Some believed the older doctors threw "pains" at the novice to test him; others thought "his own power came on him too strong." Only shamans themselves knew what really happened to them in the dance, and they were not disposed to tell. The performance was repeated for a number of nights, and apparently at intervals for several winters, until the novice was informed by his guardian that he was ready to begin curing. Then he tried his hand at doctoring someone (perhaps free of charge), and, if successful, would be a full-fledged shaman (*tcuyaliclo*) (Drucker 1939: 98-99).

A person often had a main guardian spirit and several lesser spirits. The more powerful shamans had numerous spirits.

One of the primary functions of a shaman was curing. Sickness could be caused by a disease object sent by an enemy through witchcraft or contracted by the breach of a taboo, or by the departure of a person's soul. A shaman used his powers to determine the cause of the illness. A powerful disease object had to be forcibly sucked or drawn out. The exertion involved in capturing a disease object is described by Drucker (1939: 99-100):

To extract a disease object, the doctor threw himself on the patient either to suck it out or to draw it out with his hands. When he had it firmly, two assistants grasped him by his wide leather belt to draw him back. Such was the power of the malignant particle that it was all two brawny men could do to hold the shaman, once he had it in his grasp. If he had sucked the object out, he spat it into his hands. His helpers seized his arms and by main strength forced him into a basket of water. This weakened the disease object. Then the shaman displayed it--a luminous white thing "like a little worm." The nature of these pains is rather vague. They were sometimes, at least, partly identified with spirits, so that when a shaman crushed one of them between his teeth and swallowed it, his powers were increased just as though he had met another guardian. At times, the informants spoke of the disease objects as if they had no connection at all with the guardian spirits.



In soul-loss sickness, a shaman sent one of his familiars after the soul to catch it and bring it back (Drucker 1939: 99-100). Shamans were well paid for successful curings.

When a shaman went out to cure, he took along those items which brought him the powers of his guardian spirits:

The paraphernalia a shaman took along varied according to the instructions of his familiars. He would have about his person amulets such as he had seen in his dreams, usually objects indicating the nature of his guardian. For instance, a shaman with a Wolf or Bluejay spirit would have some ornaments of wolf fur or bluejay feathers. Each shaman had his own style of face paint. Most shamans wore wide belts of elkhide. Each probably took along his own set of carved sticks for thumping against the roof boards (Drucker 1939: 99).

Shamans also performed other community tasks. Salmon run failures were attributed to bad magic which had to be countered by the shaman. Shamans were expected to avert famine, foretell the future, remove taboos, and purify mourners after a burial.

Although shamans were expected to use their powers for the good of the village, some could not resist the temptation to misuse their powers. When witchcraft was strongly suspected in someone's death, the ultimate fate of the shaman believed to be responsible was death at the hands of the victim's kin. The shaman was feared for his possession of strong powers, but his security was always precarious:

The status of doctor possessed both advantages and disadvantages. The ease with which a shaman acquired wealth was its chief attraction. There was no other way by which a poor man could hope to become rich. Social prominence was his as well, for his services were in demand on other occasions than curing--bringing food in time of need, and so on. But in addition to the long, weary training period, the shaman's path was beset with dangers. Once let the suspicion of black magic be directed against him and his race was run. It was only a matter of time until a dying man's kinsman, mad with grief, would hurl himself on the hapless doctor, or send an arrow through him from ambush. No less efficacious were the wizardries worked against him, it was said. And in the informants' opinion he merited his fate, for few shamans could resist the temptation to use their power for evil, for fire, or to settle a personal grudge. One scarcely knows whether to admire or sympathize with the child who was cast, most often



Figure 3. Kaseeah, an Alsea headman, his two wives and son at Yaquina Bay in 1877, with red ochre facial painting and feather plumes or wands sometimes used in religious observances (From Wallis Nash, *Oregon: There and Back in 1877* [1878:151]).

not of his own volition, to play the only spectacular role in the humdrum little drama of Alsea life (Drucker 1939: 101).

#### VIEWS ON DEATH

When a person died, "his soul traveled swiftly northward to the place where it crossed in a canoe to the Land of the Dead, whence there was no returning" (Drucker 1939: 99). The Alsea apparently believed in an afterlife, although references concerning the nature of life after death are rather vague. Farrand provides the following information on the land of the dead:

[The underworld] was peopled entirely by spirits or shades of the dead and only by those apparently who had lived "bad" lives in this world. The entrance to the lower world was over the edge of this one, the shades of those doomed to go there passing through the air and dropping over the edge. When a bad chief died his shade could be heard flying through the air and dropping into the lower world with a loud "boom." In some of their stories there were allusions to other entrances; but no tradition of a regular visit to the underworld, such as is common to the tribes immediately to the north, could be obtained. There was also an abode for the good spirits of the dead, where the water was level with the land, salmon and game were abundant, and life happy. This place was conceived of as being somewhere on this earth, but just where was not known. There was a possibility, of course, of missionary modification in these conceptions, but the impression given was that they are of native origin (Farrand 1901: 241).

Once a person died, the body was finely dressed, adorned, and buried in a small hut (Farrand 1901: 241) or a canoe:

At death the body was dressed in its best garments, and the hair combed just as in life. It was flexed tightly and bound up in mats. Mrs. Ludson said she had never heard that her people took a corpse out by any other way than the door. Canoes were used as depositories for the dead. They were not raised on posts, but rested on the ground, covered with boards or with another canoe. Holes were made so that no one would be tempted to take them. The canoes of the dead were placed not far from the village; Mrs. Ludson recalled playing near them as a small girl. Sometimes several members of a family would be put one after another in the same canoe (Drucker 1939: 97).

Valuables and other goods, such as dentalia and clamshell beads, were used as "grave offerings" (Drucker 1939: 97). The rationale for this practice is explained by Farrand (1901: 241):

. . . goods of all kinds were placed with the corpse; the explanation given of this custom was that the bodies were animated and moved about at night if they so willed, so easy exit from the graves was afforded and the things deposited were for their use under such circumstances.

After the burial, mourning kin of the deceased were washed in the river by a shaman to remove the contamination of contact with the dead. If this precaution were not taken, the contamination could become like a dangerous infection and cause great harm to the living. Mourning was observed by the deceased's family for up to several months.

Very little is recorded about the possible ways in which the dead could influence or communicate with the living. No warnings about cemeteries or property of the dead are included in the ethnographic literature. In fact, cemeteries were most often in or near village settlements, and houses of the dead were not purified. A comment made by one informant was that "the dead sometimes gave material aid to the living; for example, a canoe made in the woods was sometimes found moved some distance toward the shore, and this could have been done only by friendly dead" (Farrand 1901: 241).

Direct contact with a dead person was felt to result in contamination, however, and purification was required or the person could become ill and die. The souls or "hearts" of the dead were feared as restless, unsatisfied souls which could haunt the village and cause unrest. Souls could also come back for old people and others and take them to the land of the dead with them. The Milky Way was thought to be the road of the ghost or soul (Barnett 1937: 184-85).

*Chapter 4*

COOS, LOWER UMPQUA, AND SIUSLAW:  
TRADITIONAL RELIGIOUS PRACTICES

The United States government in the 1850's began a series of actions which fostered the merging of the Coos, Lower Umpqua, and the Siuslaw. The three "tribes" signed the coastal treaty of 1855 and between 1856 and 1875 experienced removal and programs of "civilization" when they were held under the Alsea Sub-agency of the Siletz Reservation. The Lower Umpqua and the Coos resided at Yachats Prairie during the years 1859-75, while the Siuslaw remained in their old homeland. With the closing of the agency in 1875, many of the Coos and Lower Umpqua settled among the Siuslaw near Florence, Oregon. Others drifted back south along the coast to their old homes.

Many linguists and ethnographers who have worked among these Indians have found that their informants knew data about one or more of the three "tribes." Some individuals such as Annie Miner Peterson were well-versed in the language and traditions of one group; others such as Frank Drew knew cultural data from all three of the tribes. Of the Coos, Lower Umpqua and Siuslaw, the Coos are by far the most well-known. They were probably the most numerous and a number of them worked with twentieth century anthropologists. Henry Hull St. Clair, Leo J. Frachtenberg, Melville Jacobs, and John Harrington were among those who recorded the language and cultural traditions of these Indians.

The Siuslaw occupied the watershed of the Siuslaw River and held a territory which extended far to the east into the Coast Range along this stream. Their territory reached from Tenmile Creek north of Heceta Head to the Siltcoos Outlet on the south. The Lower Umpqua lived primarily on the estuaries of the Umpqua and Smith rivers but held the coast from Siltcoos Outlet south to Tenmile Creek, the outlet from Tenmile Lake. On the east their territory reached to the first rapids in the Umpqua River above Scottsburg. The Coos, consisting of two linguistic groups--Miluk and Hanis--held the estuary of Coos Bay and the lower tidal sections of the Coquille River approximately to the mouth of Beaver Slough. Their territory extended east through the watershed of Coos River far into the Coast Range.

The ethnographic literature on these peoples includes the cultural element distribution study *Oregon Coast* (Barnett 1937), *Coos Texts* (Frachtenberg 1913), *Coos* (Frachtenberg 1922), *Lower Umpqua Texts and Notes on the Kusan Dialects* (Frachtenberg 1914),

*Coos Narrative and Ethnologic Texts* (Jacobs 1939), *Coos Myth Texts* (Jacobs, 1940), *Traditions of the Coos Indians* (St. Clair and Frachtenberg 1909), *Siuslawan* (Frachtenberg 1922), and "Our Siuslaw Natives, the Indians" (Knowles 1965). The Office of Anthropology Archives of the Smithsonian Institution holds the unpublished field notes of John Harrington who worked among Siuslaw and Coos informants in 1942. The University of Washington Archives has the field notes of Melville Jacobs. Most of the Jacobs materials relate to the Coos.

The following review of traditional Coos, Lower Umpqua and Siuslaw observances is divided into five headings: (1) cosmology, (2) ceremonies, (3) shamanism, spirit quests, and dream powers, (4) views on death, and (5) beliefs. Most of the material relates to the Coos who are well-documented in the literature.

#### COSMOLOGY

As with other Oregon coastal Indians, the Coos, Lower Umpqua and the Siuslaw knew that the world in which they lived had been put in place by a transformer or "trickster." During the summer of 1909 James Buchanan, a Coos living at Acme on the Siuslaw River, dictated to Leo J. Frachtenberg the tale of "Arrow Young Men." In this account of creation, two young men were traveling. All the earth at that time was covered with water; however, the men decided to drop small disks of soot over a series of days into this water. Slowly land began to appear but the water ran over it. Eventually the men tore up a basket and put it along the beach and that stopped the water flowing so far across the land.

The creative powers of these men were great. Buchanan said:

Now they began to look around the world which they had created. There were no trees. 'Suppose we set up some trees,' said one of them. 'It would be very good,' answered the other one. Then they stuck into the ground the feathers of an eagle. The feathers began to grow, and developed soon into fir-trees. 'All kinds of trees shall grow,' said the older man. 'Suppose we create animals,' said one of the young men. 'It won't be good if there shouldn't be any animals. The future generations ought to have animals.' (Then they created animals.)

Looking at their new land in the morning, the men discerned that footprints ran across the beach. Following them they found a person seated on a snag. He was a medicine man whose face was painted with red ochre. "You have no right to travel here. This is our world, we have made it," they said. The young men seized

the shaman and killed him. They scattered his blood in all directions and said: "You will be nothing, the last generation shall see you" (Frachtenberg 1913: 5-10).

In this creation story, one of the young men became pregnant, but being a male he was unable to give birth. The men knew, however, that a good man lived somewhere to the north. They brought him to the pregnant man and he took out a female child. This girl became the female ancestor of all the people. Buchanan said: "Now the young men continued their journey. They once more examined the world which they had created, and found it to be good. Everything began to assume its present appearance" (Frachtenberg 1913: 11-12).

When all these things were done, the young men began shooting their arrows into the sky. Each succeeding arrow hit the shaft which had gone up before it until they joined and formed a ladder from the earth into the sky. The two men climbed their arrow ladder. "They looked down, and saw the beautiful appearance of the world which they had created. Nobody knows what became of the two young men. Here the story ends," concluded Buchanan (Frachtenberg 1913: 13-14).

This particular story is very similar to that of the creation account of the Athabaskan-speakers who lived near the mouth of the Rogue River farther south along the Oregon Coast. Several of the same motifs appear in both creation stories. In each case two cultural heroes who lived before the land, plants, animals, and humans were created carried out the actions that set the world in order (Farrand and Frachtenberg 1915: 224-25).

In 1932 Frank Drew, a Coos informant living near Florence, Oregon, worked with Melville Jacobs on Coos cultural information. Drew had a good but partial knowledge of traditional ways of his people. He dictated, however, a narrative which added further details about the creation of the land on which the Coos lived. His account he entitled "The Ocean Went Far in to the Land."

The first evil in the world was the shaman. God created the world in five days with the aid of some unknown power he had. Though completed in five days something was still lacking, it was not perfect. The ocean remained out of control, the fearful power the ocean has was breaking clear across in to the land. That was not right. Every breaker ploughed across the land. So the people took baskets, cut them into many strips, and laid the strips along the shore which at that time had no sand beach--which was why the breakers went so far inland. The Parents of the People (*hE'mE'u mə'a'nyəs*, 'the people's parents') did this so that the basket strips would act as a beach and be like sand. When

the basket-beach was completed the first breakers that hit it went through the holes in the baskets instead of inland to the hills. That was fine, that was why the water went right down through the basket-sand. The first morning after this was done it was fine, it was just all right. Everyone came down to the shore to watch.

They saw tracks leading to the north on the new beach. One man said, 'Who can have gone along this new ground, who was not allowed to do that?' They followed the tracks. Far to the north they saw a log adrift. A woman decorated with red paint was seated on the log, which had drifted now onto the beach. She was asked, 'Who are you?' 'I am a shaman.' 'A shaman, eh?' 'Yes, I am a shaman.' 'If you are a shaman you are an evil person. This new world is not for anyone to trespass upon as soon as that. It is still perfect and clean, and then you trespass on it. We will kill you now and be rid of you.' They killed her, took out her entrails, and scattered them east to the Kalapuya country. That is why the Kalapuya all have big bellies. That is why the Umpquas are big boned. That is why the Coos are small but numerous, as numerous as the head hair of the evil shaman. That is why the Coos outnumber the others, all three others together. That is why shamans are not highly regarded nowadays, and if anything goes wrong they are put out of the way and killed (Jacobs 1940: 239-40).

The Siuslaw and the Alsea to the north of them jointly shared a creation story about the "universal change." Set in a time before there were any humans but when animals acted like humans, Coyote, the trickster or transformer, assembled people from many directions. Over a period of days messengers went out and called the people to come to play games. They gathered to play shinny, to shoot arrows at targets, and to throw spears. At last Coyote and his assistant announced the last game. All who were present were in succession to place a feather on their head and attempt to walk with it. Wildcat, then Bear, and finally Wolf tried walking with the feather on. They found the way difficult and the feather too heavy.

The informant, William Smith, had learned this story from his wife, Louisa Smith. According to the narrative, Coyote turned to Wolf and told him that his home would always be in the mountains. Other animals then attempted to carry the feather:

Then Cougar was told to put it on. He put it on, raised his head, but lowered it frequently. 'Hey! it does not fit you. Cougar shall be your name. It



does not look nice on you. You shall just walk around everywhere, trying to look for food.

Next Deer put it on, and began to run around in all directions. 'It looks very nice on you. Deer shall be your name. People will always eat (your meat). Finally Elk put on that feather. People were shouting, as that Elk began to run about in all directions. Even on bad places he succeeded in running. People shouted at him, 'It looks very nice on you!' Then the chief said, 'It fits you very well. You shall always carry it. Your name shall be Elk.' He was not merely standing (still), he kept on walking in all directions. 'Elk shall be your name. People will always eat (your meat).'

Now here the story ends. People kept on shouting. 'Tis the end' (Frachtenberg 1914: 7-14).

These Indians had many explanations for the world in which they resided. The black spots visible at night on the moon were, they believed, two dogs which had fought one another on earth. They had engaged in such lively combat that they rose up from the ground and landed on the moon. They knew that when a meteor flashed across the sky that a headman was going to die. "That is what they say, when it looks as if it falls to the ground," noted Annie Peterson. In the winter a snowfall was explained as the action of the giant spider throwing out the ashes. "I suppose giant spider is sweeping out his ashes," is what the people said (Jacobs 1939: 69, 100-01; 1940: 241).

The Coos knew that the forests were filled with ghosts or spirits. Frank Drew identified a number of these figures:

- (1) *ε'cən*: a ghost or spirit which has reentered a corpse and escaped into the forest to do evil things to humans, especially poor people.
- (2) *Yε'gwε*: an "appearance" such as the mirror image of oneself; a doubling meaning that your life is shortened.
- (3) *Gεdlə' gwsəts*: giant people who do no harm and no good; these creatures live on fish in the streams and do not scare people.
- (4) *Ilwε' 'tcəs*: a visible spirit or ghost.
- (5) *La' 'wa' 'la' 'wa*: the "noisy ones," little creatures leaving tracks along creek banks; when you meet them they want to wrestle and try their strength; seen only at

## song no. 6 (16) ©

Blue Jay Shaman's Myth Song 14579 a

sung by: Annie Peterson 1932

text: cict ci ci le di la a xa yal i

or: It is my own poison power they are talking about.

drum

cict ci ci le di la a xa yal i cict ci ci le di la a xa yal i cict ci

ci le di la a xa yal i cict ci ci le di la a xa yal i

## song no. 7 (17) ©

Crab Shaman's Song 14607 a

sung by: Annie Peterson 1934

text: a dla ga ga wa tei dim da ha li wa

or: I am a crab, I have long pinchers.

a dla ga ga wa tei dim da ha li wa a dla ga ga wa tei dim da ha li wa

## song no. 8 (18) ©

Jack Rabbit Myth Song 14578 h

sung by: Annie Peterson 1932

text: gwele 'niye! gwele 'swa! = gwele 'niye! North Wind Blow!

gwe le ni ye gwe le ni ye gwe li swa gwe li swa gwe le ni ye gwe

le ni ye gwe li swa gwe li swa

Figure 4. Songs sung during the telling of myths (sung by Annie Miner Peterson, a Coos, to Melville Jacobs in 1932; transcribed by Johnson 1982).

night; they make noise constantly and throw rocks at people's houses; probably covered with long hair (Jacobs, Notebook 91, 1932: 99-104).

Nature thus held a host of spirits and creatures which sought to engage themselves with humans and their affairs. These people clearly felt that the world surrounding them was filled with other active beings.

### CEREMONIES

Ceremonialism was not elaborately developed by the Coos, Lower Umpqua, and the Siuslaw. These peoples, however, had a series of observances that were followed to maintain social harmony and follow traditional rites. Some of these were associated with passage through various stages of life; others were related to the prerogatives of the wealthy. Few writers have addressed this topic though manuscript materials clearly document some ceremonial observances.

#### Birth Observances

When a woman went into labor, her family summoned the *i'l·a'xqain* (Hanis term for this figure), a common practitioner who for birth observances was usually a male. To preserve the mother's privacy in the presence of the male shaman, the infant was born under a covering of buckskin or beaver hide. One of those present carefully gathered up the placenta, wrapped it in a skin, carried it into the forest, and placed it on a tree branch. The *i'l·a'xqain* cut the umbilical cord using a knife made from the shell of the fresh water mussel. He painted the infant's navel with red mineral paint made by mixing elk and deer marrow with red ochre. The assistants washed the newborn baby's face and rubbed the little body with buckskin. When the child was two weeks old, the mother washed it with cold water and sang to it to harden it against cold weather (Jacobs, Notebook 91, 1932: 133).

The Coos knew that special observances at birth were necessary. Annie Miner Peterson told about "Grandmother Afterbirth":

When the grandmother (afterbirth) was born, that is what scared the baby. That is why the very young infant drew (puckered, grimaced) its face. That is what the people said. 'It is the old woman who scared her, and that is why it grimaced.' That is why the people danced there, the children danced there. They danced five days for the sake of the old woman laid up above there, because they believed that. Sometimes it cried when the old woman scared the baby. The people believed that. That is why

they fed the old woman for five days (throwing food into the tree fire), because if they did not do that, the old woman would scare it, if they did not treat her thus. That is why they danced five days. Then the old woman left the child.

The Coos also said when a baby was born with the Mongolian spot at the base of the spine: "It is grandmother [afterbirth] who bruised it. Go on! get outside quickly!" (Jacobs 1939: 24-25).

### Naming Observance

Until about the age of five, children only used a nickname. Annie Miner Peterson then explained what occurred:

Now a child's parents spoke thus: 'We will name our child.' 'Good.' They assembled all the people when they were going to name their child. So everyone came who was invited. Then they cooked all sorts of things that could be cooked. Now the people came together. Now they were going to name their child. When they finished eating the (*mit'e'din*) shaman called out its name. 'We will give this name to the child.' They then pronounced a dead person's name. Everyone knew that that was its name, that dead person's name. That is how (it was done) (Jacobs 1939: 67).

The *mit'e'din*, possessing both powers for great evil as well as for good (at times), frequently worked during the day. Perhaps because the naming observance was a daytime ceremony, the *mit'e'din* was the shaman involved in this joyous occasion. Everyone who gathered ate food and engaged in joking and story telling (Jacobs, Notebook 91, 1932: 69). Poor parents named their own children, probably being unable to afford the payment for services of the shaman (St. Clair and Frachtenberg 1909: 26).

### Female Puberty Rites

One of the very important ceremonies was related to the puberty rites of girls. Probably the last Coos girl to experience these ages-old rites was Annie Miner Peterson. The observances were held between 1875-77 for Mrs. Peterson; she was then aged about 13 years. In 1932 and 1933 she recalled in detail the aspects of this ceremony (Jacobs, Notebooks 91, 93, 1932, 1933).

At her first menses, a girl went into seclusion for usually five days. She was placed in a part of the plank house partitioned off with temporary walls of woven matting. She began a series of special and rigidly controlled practices. The girl was also

forbidden to touch her head; she could only use a scratcher attached to a beaded string which was hanging around her neck. She was to remain naked throughout this period. She could not eat any regular food; only dried elk meat (*t'eli'st'εht*) and water could give her nourishment (Jacobs, Notebook 91, 1932: 53; Notebook 93, 1933: 30-31).

On the fifth day the old men of the village came to the outside wall of the plank house, near where the girl was secluded. Sometimes they stood inside near the mat partition. They sang a series of funny songs; the girl had been carefully instructed by a female assistant who was with her throughout the puberty ceremony not to laugh or make any response to these songs. A shaman and four old women then entered the partitioned area, lifted the girl up, and using a flint knife made light cuts all over the girl's body to draw blood. The object was to produce a light blood flow to smear over the young person's body (Jacobs, Notebook 93, 1933: 30).

When the drawing of blood was completed, the shaman (*mit'ε' din*) took the girl from the house to the nearby river. The girl was clothed in a simple garment, perhaps a cedar bark skirt. She was dipped five times into the water. An assistant passed a toy canoe, about two feet long, over the girl each time she was ducked beneath the water, while the shaman prayed: "God if you believe in him you will get old if you believe in God." The small, carved canoe was filled with sand and had a little fire burning in it (Jacobs, Notebook 93, 1933: 30-31).

When this ceremony in the river was completed, the shaman took the girl back to the plank house where she was dressed in the best of her clothes by four women who had been hired by her family. They bedecked her with beads and, when trade-good bells were available, they tied those to the ends of her braids. They applied facial and body paint and then escorted the girl to a seat on fine matting. She was carefully instructed to avoid looking at the fire, for it was believed at this critical point in her life she would have filmy eyes if she watched the flames. The shaman then gave the girl a small amount of elk meat and prayed for her. She was to avoid all fresh foods (Jacobs, Notebook 93, 1933: 30-31).

The women assistants and the shaman were at this point given gifts (payments) by the girl's parents for their work. They were also feasted at this point in the puberty observances. That night the girl and a friend, probably a girl about her age, left the village to spend the night in the woods or on the beach to face danger and the mysteries of darkness. They were to go fearlessly. Shortly before dawn the two girls returned to the house where they were permitted to sleep as long as they wished during the day. Each night, for a succession of five nights, they had to go out into the darkness, avoiding during their vigil eating or drinking

and at home any direct watching of the fire (Jacobs, Notebook 93, 1933: 30-31).

On the tenth day following the first menses, the shaman brought the girl to the edge of the fire in the house and called for the tattoo women. He gave the girl newly-made, split wood fire tongs and had her stir the charcoal in the fire. This was to symbolize that she was now able to do her own cooking. The tattooing women took charcoal, mixed it in a dish with elk tallow, and dipped a thread back and forth through the mixture blackened with the carbon. The women then commenced stitching lightly across the back of the girl's hand to produce a line of black dots, each about one-fourth inch apart in a row. A month later they would return and make a row of dots on the other hand; in successive months they would work on one hand or the other, producing these light tattoos (Jacobs, Notebook 93, 1933: 32-33).

Part of the female puberty rites involved the parents of the girl also assembling virtually everyone in the village to take note of the rites of passage of their daughter. They had made advance payment to the shaman with beaver hides, otter skins, deer robes, bows and arrows for his services. The people who assembled held feather wands (*we'swəs*) and had eagle bone whistles (*tša'itsai*). When all were assembled and standing in total silence, the shaman summoned the finely bedecked girl from her compartment and said to her:

I am glad this day you are becoming a woman take  
good care of yourself Look on, be sure to look on  
the good things of this world for your own good  
Think of things as good and clean as the sky above,  
which is so nice to look upon that your life may be  
a long one don't do anything that is mean [sic]  
(Jacobs, Notebook 91, 1932: 53-54).

The shaman then put his hands on the girl's forehead, took water from a cup and drank it and gave some to the girl. He took a mouth full of water and blew a gust of it on her face; he then wiped her face dry with a buckskin towel. Six young men, friends or relatives of the girl, then surrounded her; three stood on each side of her and they each placed a hand on her head. They sang a song and congratulated her on becoming a woman and hoped for her to have a long life. The girl then walked the length of the house, seated herself, and watched as the feasting began. She was prohibited, however, from eating any salmon for five days because it was believed she would develop bronchial or stomach trouble (Jacobs, Notebook 91, 1932: 54).

As part of the feast ceremony the audience sang dream power songs. Perhaps the event opened with the girl's father singing his power song first. Most in the audience stood for the "dream dance" (*maGe'en*). As the leader sang his or her song, the

participants split into two rows, sexes and ages mixed. One man pounded on a round, deerskin drum, standing like the others. The girl's father repeated his song three times and possibly then sang another of his power songs, also three times. As soon as he started singing, the rest of the audience joined in. The people rested between songs and then another person would sing his or her power song. The girl remained seated throughout this presentation. The dancing and singing lasted about an hour and thus occurred on only one evening (Jacobs, Notebook 91, 1932: 55-56).

At the conclusion of this ceremony the guests left and took with them any of the extra food. The more elaborate the ceremony the higher the honor to the girl and to her family. With this public event the girl was no longer to remain in seclusion. This tenth day feast, however, inaugurated a new period of special ceremony for the girl. She was required for the next several months to be painted and "dolloed up" before eating. She traveled occasionally with a friend and at night. She was required to cook outside and to eat inside. All fresh foods remained taboo. She was permitted to pick berries but could not eat them. Ultimately, perhaps a year or more later when the family could afford to bring in the shaman again, the family held another ritual which permitted the girl to eat outside the house (Jacobs, Notebook 93, 1933: 34-35).

At this final ceremony many people gathered and seated themselves. Some sang and the shaman gave the girl any kind of food. He told all she would have a long life. The girl was painted and dressed in her finest outfit. When the feast concluded she removed these special garments. In most cases the girl was then deemed ready for marriage (Jacobs, Notebook 93, 1933: 35).

### Salmon Rites

James Buchanan and Frank Drew, two important informants for Leo J. Frachtenberg, Melville Jacobs, and John Harrington, reported no knowledge of a "first" salmon rite. They did, however, note that the salmon required special observances. Drew recalled that the Coos believed that if a woman, shortly after giving birth to a child, consumed newly caught salmon, a thunder and lightning storm and a violent southwesterly storm would result. The storm would come because of her health condition (Jacobs, Notebook 92, 1932: 2).

If a shaman assisted a woman shortly after giving birth, she could eat fish without the resulting bad weather. The shaman took fresh salmon, prayed to the Father, roasted it in the fire, washed the woman's face with cold water, and placed the fish in her mouth. The shaman transferred the fish to the woman by holding it between her teeth. The woman was told to eat and swallow the fish. As she was doing this, the shaman said: "Chew it well!

Now you are at liberty to eat whatever you want to--fish of any kind--since this has been performed; it frees now you from all stomach and bronchial troubles." The shaman then placed the woman's basket hat on her head, wished the patient well, and left (Jacobs, Notebook 92, 1932: 2).

Annie Peterson reported that the Coos were extremely careful not to urinate in a place where the urine might come into contact with the fresh slime, blood, or guts of a salmon. If this occurred the person would become paralyzed, nervous, or shakey. The Coos, she said, carefully collected fish slime and blood in little toy canoes or wood receptacles and put it back into the river (Jacobs, Notebook 93, 1933: 35).

### Hunting Rites

Special ceremonial observances were carried out prior to a hunting expedition. The men had to abstain from sexual intercourse for at least two to three days prior to a hunt. They believed that any other behavior would lead to bad luck and that the elk or deer would scent the men and flee immediately. Prior to the hunt the men slept closely together, gazing at the stars, talking and singing the song of deer until they were sleepy. At dawn they awakened and shared their dreams with each other. Any man who had had an erotic dream was compelled to remain in camp, for they believed that he would affect the luck of the party (Jacobs, Notebook 91, 1932: 131).

The Coos believed that after an animal was killed, the hunters had to observe careful procedures. As they butchered an elk or a deer, they laid down all the parts carefully and did not throw away any of the bones carelessly. When they had completed the butchering they gathered up the bones, roasted them over a fire, and had a feast on the marrow (Jacobs, Notebook 91, 1932: 51).

### Yɛ'ɫ.ɛs Observance

This special observance was conducted by an *i'ɫ.a'xqain* shaman at a time of severe weather. On the first night the shaman assembled the people and made much noise in an effort to increase the power and might of the storm. On the second night the shaman and all others with very strong dream powers, including the *mit'ɛ.'din* shamans, assembled, debated, and sang a series of doctor songs called the Yɛ'ɫ.ɛs. Before a large audience the shaman danced and said things for the people's welfare. He or she pointed out individuals and said what was wrong and why they were not in harmony for the events of the evening. Sometimes during this process the shaman was able to get various people to confess what they felt.



As the evening progressed, the shaman conducting this ceremony also revealed the wrongs of the other shamans who were present. The function of the *Ye'ł·es* was to delve deep into the secrets of the village and to find out things that people didn't know. Melville Jacobs, who heard about this observance from Frank Drew, concluded: "This was the most exciting event of a Coos' days, to attend a *Ye'ł·es* revelation of family skeletons performance. This event must have been a gorgeous outlet for prurient curiosities." The observance lasted half of the second night. No feasting was associated with it (Jacobs, Notebook 92, 1932: 46-47).

### Dream Dance

Also of ceremonial importance was the presentation of a person's dream power experience. When fully performed, the dream dance involved many in the village. At dusk a drummer passed through the village beating slowly for ten or fifteen minutes on a skin drum to summon all to the dance. Everyone dressed well for this occasion, putting on beads and bringing their feather wands (*Wε·'wəs*). All over the ages of 12 to 15 years had the wands which were made of clusters of vertical duck feathers bound to a short piece of fir (Jacobs, Notebook 91, 1932: 30, 119).

The object of the dream dance was that by dancing and praying the participants might "bring the dead home." The harder the throng danced, the greater the certainty that this would be accomplished. Frank Drew described in detail the elements of the dream dance:

All line up, feathers on heads and in hands; in two lines, or three or four lines if a crowd. Room is left in the middle. An old man with a drum at end-middle. Faces all decorated with red paint; some have round blue paint spots (*tge·'en*, blue mineral paint on the cheeks . . .). They call on some person who has a good dream song. That person (man or woman) then sings, starts his song. All come forward, go back, perform, go through all kinds of motions, holding up feathers, going through motions with them. When tired, some one yells or halloos, sort of descends. Then they stop, talk a few moments, then start in again with the same song, halt again, then sing it a third (and last time). Then some other dream song of that same person can be sung (three times), possibly even more. But another's dream song may be sung, too, then, or several of that second person. They go on with just dream songs until about midnight. But not until everybody's dream songs have been sung, who wants to.

At the completion of this important and focal element of the dream dance, all participants stopped for a half hour to an hour of rest. During this time they talked about dreams and the dead; care was taken, however, not to mention the name of a deceased person. Finally, the young people might start a round dance or the old persons could initiate a "winter" dance (*səm·ε't*) (Jacobs, Notebook 91, 1932: 104-05, 119-20).

While the Dream Dance and its emphasis upon gaining a communication with the dead possessed overtones of the movements which followed the Ghost Dance in western Oregon, Frank Drew was insistent that the Coos had two traditional religious dances: Dream Dance and Winter Dance (*səm·ε't*). None of the informants explained whether or not the Dream Dance, as they knew it, was a late nineteenth century development or an ages-old observance.

#### Winter Dance

The Winter Dance (*səm·ε't*) was performed late at night and involved several variations on a theme. In its basic features this dance required that two rows of performers line up, the sexes in alternate rows. In its "deer" form, the observance commenced when a male, wearing a stuffed, dried deerhead with horns attached, leaped into the center of the dance area and imitated a deer in the forest while everyone assisted him by singing. The "deer man" only danced; he did not sing. He was accompanied by what was known as an old, old song, one which had no dream power connotations (Jacobs, Notebook 91, 1932: 120).

While Drew insisted that the Winter Dance, in its various forms, was a religious dance, he did not explain its function or purpose. He did stress, however, that the Coos and the Athabaskan-speakers to the south of them possessed the *səm·ε't* dances, while the Lower Umpqua, Siuslaw, and Alsea did not. Among the versions other than the "deer man" in this dance was one representing "catching fish with a dipnet" (Jacobs, Notebook 91, 1932: 120, 122).

#### Boy's First Game Kill

When a boy killed his first game, such as an elk, the event was one for special observance. When the hunters returned home, they began preparation for a feast and invited many in the village to join them. This was a friendly time for joking. Annie Peterson recalled that the shaman then came and took the boy's hunting bow, examined it, worked upon it, talked to it, and sprayed it with water from his mouth. The bow was then passed on to another person and another; each treated the bow in the same manner as had the shaman. "This is how they always did, whatever the child had killed for the first time. This is how it was," noted Mrs. Peterson.

Central to this observance was the prohibition from eating any part of the animal that was his first kill. The Coos believed that if a boy ate the first killed animal he would never be able to kill anything again (Jacobs, 1939: 66).

#### Girl's First Berries Observance

Girls often accompanied their mothers and grandmothers into the hills to pick berries. Mothers watched carefully when a girl picked her first basket of berries. When a girl finished her picking and had filled her basket, they covered it. If the girl then wanted to eat berries, the mother responded: "Oh no you must not eat them." The mother then watched the girl and berries carefully and also when they got home. Then the mother took a few of the girl's berries and put them in a basket and instructed her to give them away. She was not permitted to eat a one of them.

After the girl had distributed the berries, the old people said: "Hm. You will become an old old person. You feel sorry for the old people. May the people's father watch over this good child! Make her become an old person." If the girl asked her mother why she had been forbidden to eat any of the berries she had first picked, the mother's usual response was: "Oh you might have had a boil" (Jacobs 1939: 67).

#### SHAMANISM, SPIRIT QUESTS AND DREAM POWERS

The published materials on the Coos, Lower Umpqua, and the Siuslaw are rather terse in the exploration of shamanism. A somewhat fuller description of spirit quests and dream powers is covered in the writings of Melville Jacobs (1939, 1940). Henry Hull St. Clair and Leo J. Frachtenberg who worked between 1903 and 1912 with Coos and Lower Umpqua informants made almost no comment on these topics (St. Clair and Frachtenberg 1909: 25).

Frank Drew and Annie Miner Peterson were clear in their identification of two different types of shamans. One was the *mit'ε.'din*, a figure identified by Drew as "a kind of doctor of a different type who is very dangerous." This shaman worked in secret and was believed capable of doing great good or great harm. Only men received the power to become a *mit'ε.'din*. They were reputed to work only on the head and bronchial areas of humans (Jacobs, Notebook 91, 1932: 87-88).

Mrs. Peterson explained the role of the *mit'ε.'din* shaman:

When people paid a *mit'ε.'din* (shaman), indeed this is what he said. 'However you desire it, that is the way it will be done. If you wish him blind eyed

(blinded), that is how it will be. If you want his legs to become no good, that is how it will be. If you want his feet to rot, that is how it will be. If his arms are to be no good, that will be done too. And if you want him to become a forest being ( $\epsilon$ . 'ain), that is how it will be. And if you want him to shoot himself, that is how it will be. If you want him to injure himself, that will be done also. Whatever you desire, that is how I will do it.' And indeed it would be done that way. That is why ( $m\acute{i}t'\epsilon$ . 'd $\acute{i}n$ ) shamans were no good (evil). They were even worse than ( $i\acute{l}x'$ qa'  $i\acute{n}$ ) shamans (Jacobs 1939: 92).

The shaman called upon for most curing and special events was the respected, feared, but less awesome  $i'l\cdot a'xqain$ . Frank Drew said that the calling for this type of shaman commenced at about the age of twelve when a person began to have a powerful, recurrent dream. Although a number of potential spirit powers might appear in dreams, one eventually emerged as the strongest and directed the young person to go into the mountains to remain for several days and nights to increase the spirit power. Finally the young person, having secured a power augmentation through the vigil, returned to the village. Along the way they sang their spirit power song lustily so that all could hear. This event was the culmination of four or five days of fasting and solitary time in the woods.

Upon his or her return to the village the young person then went to bed. Each morning they rose at dawn and took a cold water bath. They did not go to the sweat lodge nor did they sing. They remained for five days largely in seclusion and continued a virtual fast. After the fifth day at home, the parents of the young person celebrated with a feast. They sent out word for all the relatives and others to come. Drew said that a twelve-year-old, of course, did not reach this stage of preparation. The feast and public declaration of shamanistic power came later after repeated trips into the forest to acquire the power augmentation.

At the feast the headmen and other shamans attended and congratulated the young shaman. They advised the young person to use his or her power for the people's welfare and not for evil. The shamans then tested the novice. Sometimes they picked a hot coal from the fire and asked the person to hold it in the hand. It was believed that if a shaman truly had power they could do this without getting burned. A more real test occurred when a young shaman was called upon for the first time to cure someone who was ill. The efficacy of the dream powers was here truly revealed (Jacobs, Notebook 91, 1932: 88-90).

For ceremonies the shamans of the Coos wore a distinctive

headband. This was made from tanned buckskin, approximately the size of a razorstrap. The leather band was decorated with ten or twelve woodpecker scalps which included both the bright red topknot and the upper bill. Dangling from this band on either side of the face were leather dangles ten to twelve inches long to which were attached eagle claws. The choice of feathers was purposeful. The Coos thought that the eagle was the most formidable of all birds; they believed that some persons could understand the tapping sounds of woodpeckers (Jacobs, Notebook 91, 1932: 29). The shaman also wore a decorated belt made of buckskin and trimmed with colored beads and shells. No one else dared to wear these special ceremonial items (Jacobs, Notebook 91, 1932: 29-31).

The Coos believed that shamans had good powers for curing those who were ill. Annie Peterson stated: "Whatever their dream (power), when it becomes strong, no matter what it is they indeed see through it. Even though he may be staying inside he (can) see outside. A powerful shaman even sees a pain-power inside a person. That is why he knows whatever sickness (it is) that has made him (a patient) ill" (Jacobs 1939: 93).

Frank Drew described the curing ceremony carried out by an *i'z-a'xqain*. The ill person was placed in bed by the fire and the plank house filled with spectators. The headman, a drummer, a speaker, and the shaman completed the cast. The shaman announced to everyone who had caused the illness and what was its cause. The shaman then stripped off everything except a skirt or pants but kept on the shaman's headband of woodpecker scalps and eagle claws. Sometimes the shaman wore dentalium shells and a buckskin belt. In historic times the shaman also wore a copper bracelet.

The shaman then knelt over the sick person while the audience said: "We want you to do your best to bring this person well, to cure him. Do your best." The shaman got down, examined the patient further, began singing, and slowly rose again. The shaman sang his or her power song while the drummer accompanied rapidly. The shaman then talked a little to the audience about the challenges of being a curer of the sick. As he or she began singing the power song again, the audience joined in.

At this heightened moment of participation, the shaman leaped down to the side of the sick person while everyone was singing and watching closely. The shaman took a few sips of cold water from a basket near the patient and blew it over the patient. At this point the audience stopped singing and the shaman perhaps told them that another shaman, paid by someone wanting revenge, has caused the pain (*k'xa'i*). The shaman then got down on one knee near the patient and sang his song again or several of his or her power songs. The audience joined in this singing.

Finally the shaman put his or her hands on the exact place

Example Song no. 1 ©

Dream Power Song of the Lower Umpqua 14577c sung by: James Buchanan-1932

gvc hen-hay-en hentayen hen-an-hay-en hentayen hen-en-hay-en hentayen hen-an-hay-en hentayen hen-an-hay-en hentayen  
 gvc hen-hay-an hentayen hen-an-hay-en hentayen hen-an-hay-en hentayen hen-an-hay a hentayen hen hog coda

The song is repeated indefinitely with the coda following the last repeat.

Song no. 2 ©

Mrs. Wasson's Dream Power Song 14611a sung by: Annie Peterson 1933 & 1934

text: Heq hias hen ishli (It is impossible to understand the text on the tape.)

(text)  
 (text) (nonsense syllables)  
 (text) (nonsense syllables)  
 (nonsense syllables) uh uh uh hey

song no. 3 ©

Shaman woman's power augmentation song in Siulau dialect 14575c sung by: Frank Drew-1932

text: Have mercy upon me my father: a translation

Figure 5. Dream power songs (sung to Melville Jacobs in 1932-1934; transcribed by Johnson 1982).

where the "pain" was lodged in the patient. Drew said: "he gathers up the flesh in a little lump in his fist, on knees and hands the shaman gets it in his teeth, between his lips, sucks, pulls, sucks, on this handful of flesh, just trembling with exertion. It's hard to get it out." While the shaman was thus engaged, the drummer and the audience continued singing. As the shaman is ready to extract the pain, the strongest men in the audience grasp the shaman from behind and plunge his or her head into the basket or pan of cold water. The shaman is exhausted. The crowd carried the patient outside away from the shaman and the powerful "pain" which the shaman is grasping.

In the plank house the shaman holds the weakened "pain" in his or her hand, then arises, signs, dances a little holding the pain, and prays. Finally the shaman opened the hand and said: "There it is! It has a head on it, it is like a small lizard, black. That's what the evil shaman sent." The shaman took a clean board, laid the lizard on it, cut it with a knife, and watched it bleed. The shaman then, if seeking new power, put the lizard parts on his or her head--in doing that a new power was gained. The shaman might also swallow the lizard.

These activities completed the curing ceremony. Everyone was greatly relieved, especially the patient. The guests left and no feast was offered. The shaman, of course, was well paid for the services rendered. If, however, the patient remained ill and ultimately died, the shaman was compelled to return all payments. Retribution might also be delivered and the shaman possibly could be killed (Jacobs, Notebook 91, 111-13).

Shamans played roles at burial, birth, puberty, and illness. They were consulted in securing good luck, bringing ill fortune to enemies, and in settling untoward events. Shamans were both feared and respected in these Indian communities.

Shamanistic power and personal guardian spirits were obtained by going on spirit quests. None of the ethnographic informants for the Coos or Lower Umpqua grew up in the old homelands of their respective peoples and thus none was able to identify site specific locations where spirit quests were held. The surviving manuscript notes confirm, however, that spirit powers were many. They included crab, sculpin, fir, and other natural objects or creatures. These were obtained through dreaming, fasting, praying, and the maintenance of vigils at special remote locations (Jacobs 1932, 1933, 1939).

#### *VIEWS ON DEATH*

Death was an existential reality for the Coos, Lower Umpqua and Siuslaw. They were painfully aware of the transitory nature

of life and of the presence of the spirits of the dead in their midst. From earliest childhood young persons were warned of the possible malevolent presence of the dead in their midst. Small children, for example, were admonished when they misbehaved: "Be silent! I will throw you outside if you do not stop crying. Then a dangerous thing will take you." If they continued to be bad, the elders would again say: "Throw him outside! Dead people will take him" (Jacobs 1939: 22).

Death was a serious, community affair. All in the village, even those not relatives of the deceased person, assembled to mourn and cry. After death a person unrelated to the deceased volunteered to wash and clothe the body in the best garments. This was done soon after death before the body had become rigid. This volunteer, who worked without pay, painted the face of the deceased person with red ochre paint. The corpse was then taken to a grave site oriented with the face to the west. These Indians believed that the dead were still "new" and if the deceased person only saw the ocean, he would not take any living person along with him and thus cause their death.

The body was lowered into the grave by a rope and was allowed to touch the bottom five times. Ultimately on the fifth time the body was covered with earth because it took five days for the creation of the world. Burial usually occurred within a day of death. The survivors were careful not to leave water in a water basket or bucket at night for five nights after the burial because they believed that the deceased person was yet among them for five nights and visiting all his or her old familiar haunts and washing in every water container to be found.

The survivors sometimes erected a small burial house above the grave. These consisted of two long planks laid up against poles in a small gable above the grave. Unlike the Alsea, the Coos, Lower Umpqua, and the Siuslaw interred their dead in the ground. These Indians also frequently killed the deceased person's dog, split in half their canoe, and placed these and other grave goods near the burial. Sometimes they also burned the plank house of the deceased person. They believed that the deceased person needed this property in the next world and that their "essence" would go with the "spirit" of the deceased to that place and be of service (Jacobs, Notebook 91, 1932: 94-97).

The Coos had no graveyard ceremony. They did, however, cry from the house to the place of burial and the closest relative of the deceased went to the grave each night for five nights to cry and say: "Don't think of anything anymore in this world!" They believed that the "life," "soul," or "spirit" (*ilwε. 'tcəs*) of the deceased went above to join the spirits of other deceased persons. The spirit of a deceased person was believed to cause sickness and trouble. The purpose of going to the cemetery for five nights was to make sure that this spirit went away and did not reenter the



body of the deceased (Jacobs, Notebook 91, 1932: 102).

The Coos believed that occasionally the spirit did not escape. It reentered the body of a deceased person and then the body came up from the grave, feet first. If no one was in the cemetery when this happened, the corpse went off into the mountains and was known as an  $\epsilon'ciniye$ , "he's getting pretty wild." In essence, the deceased person became a spook, an  $\epsilon'c\bar{a}n$ , a ghost. If one of these beings was encountered in the mountains, they caused a person to fall unconscious and to become demented. The Coos believed that the  $\epsilon'c\bar{a}n$  were covered all over with hair, had peculiar eyes, were naked, and often acted like crazy people. They thought that it might be possible to capture the emerging corpse and through the efficacy of a shaman restore the person to normal health. That is why they waited for five nights in the cemetery in case the deceased person emerged from the ground (Jacobs, Notebook 91, 1932: 99-100).

The  $\epsilon'c\bar{a}n$ , the escaped deceased person's spirit which remained on earth but in the mountains, could assume many frightful forms. Hunters knew, for example, that when they were deep into the mountains and at night smelled a horrible odor that it was undoubtedly the presence of an  $\epsilon'c\bar{a}n$ . Although these spirits could go as fast as they chose, they might not bother to pursue a person who took off quickly (Jacobs, Notebook 91, 1932: 99-100).

Jim Buchanan, a Coos informant who lived until the early 1930's, told about the encounter between a man whom he knew and an  $\epsilon'c\bar{a}n$ :

There was a Siuslau fellow named  $pi'D\bar{a}c$ , Peters, he was coming across the jungles [forest] in evening time, making a short cut through woods, and he had a rifle, he heard a noise as of voices, he didn't know what it could be, right behind him. He got frightened, he tried to run along to escape it, but he wasn't moving. The  $\epsilon'c\bar{a}n$  got hold of him, it took his clothes off, stripped him, broke his gun, hung his clothes on the limbs. He lay there 'dead,' he didn't know how long. When he revived he found his now broken gun and his clothes on pine tree limbs. He put them on. He got to the village late at night. When he got home he acted peculiar, out of his mind sort of. He had a peculiar odor about him (Jacobs, Notebook 91, 1932: 100-01).

Peters told about his bad encounter and from then on was foolish and out of his mind. Even when a shaman worked on him he was unable to restore him. He could draw nothing out of his body.

The Coos believed that the Milky Way was the pathway of the

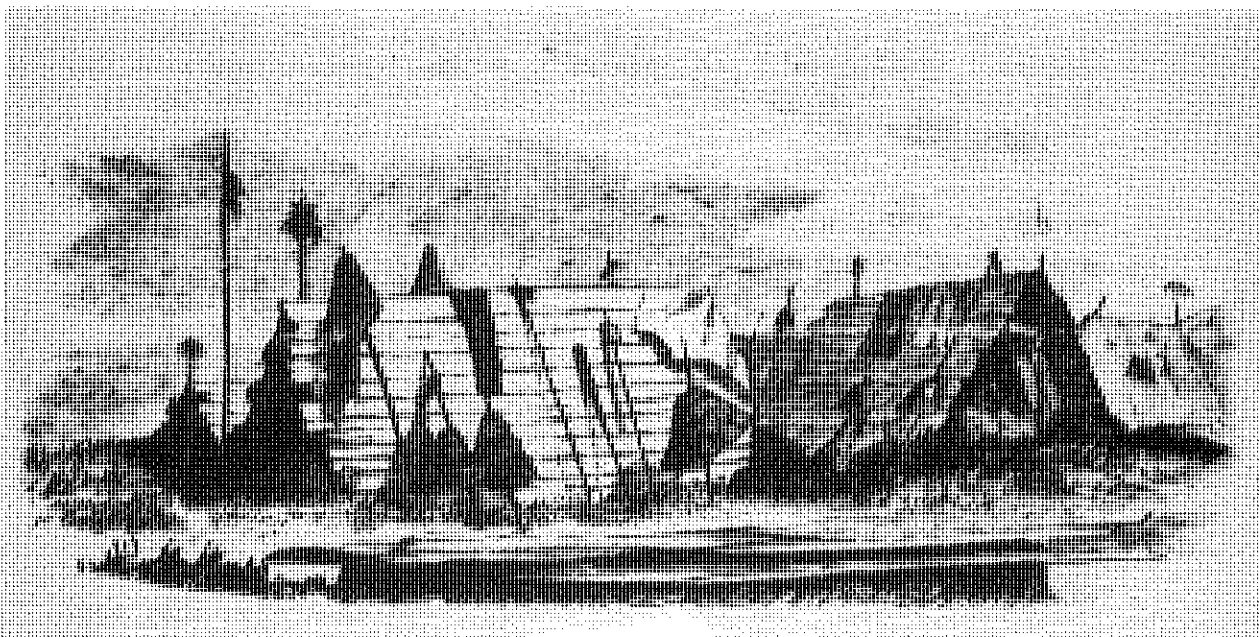


Figure 6. Burial huts and grave goods of the Lower Umpqua Indians (from *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, 1858; print courtesy of the Oregon Historical Society).

dead to the other world and that the deceased traveled on it from east to west. They knew that travelers on that route might get confused or be delayed in reaching the right destination. Just before entering the Land of the Dead, the deceased person had to cross a river (*xla.'nik*). At this point the people in the land of the dead knew that a new resident was ready to enter and they crossed over the river in their canoes. Sometimes a person's father came to get them. In the Land of the Dead the newcomer gave presents to his or her relatives; this was why so many grave goods were placed with the deceased person (Jacobs, Notebook 91, 1932: 106-09).

#### BELIEFS

The attitudes of the Coos, Lower Umpqua, and Siuslaw toward life were shaped by extensive folkways or beliefs. They had specific explanations for virtually every phenomenon in nature and in the human experience. Among the beliefs of the Coos were the following:

- (1) An eclipse was caused by crows playing shinny. The old people told the children: "Then you notice the sun (or

moon) becoming darkened. It's the movement, the life in it, it almost loses its power and gets helpless, is about exhausted, on account of the crows flying around, working or exercising power on it."

- (2) The cry of a crow in the night means that sickness or hard luck is coming.
- (3) If you are poor but hard-working and dream of maggots, you will become wealthy.
- (4) If you put a dead snake around your neck, you will get wealth.
- (5) If you put a live snake around your neck, you will never drown. You need to do this all the time to become a good swimmer.
- (6) If you dream of snakes, beware. Some other tribe will work evil on you.
- (7) If you dream of dentalia, you will never get them. You will be poor all your life.
- (8) If you find an eagle feather, pick it up. You will be lucky.
- (9) If you hear two owls talking near your home, beware. Someone in your family is soon to die.
- (10) If you kill a chickenhawk, an owl, or an eagle there will be bad luck. These birds were once human.
- (11) If you camp above tidewater and the children throw dry gravel in the river, it will soon rain.
- (12) If your dog digs a hole in the path or trail, sickness or death will soon come to your family.
- (13) If you bring an abalone shell home, it will soon storm.
- (14) If you lose a tooth, place it on a two-pronged stick in your own feces. You will never again have a toothache!
- (15) To avoid eye trouble cut out and swallow the lenses from the eyes of a deer when you have killed it. This will improve your eyesight (Jacobs, Notebook 92, 1932: 6-39).

These materials are only part of the religious beliefs of the Coos, Lower Umpqua, and the Siuslaw. Unfortunately Leo J. Frachtenberg and Henry Hull St. Clair who worked among them early

in the twentieth century were not interested in or did not know how to solicit this information. Likewise, John Harrington's primary interest was in the ethnogeography of these peoples, and his focus was not on religious topics, although he did obtain information relating to quarry sites for blue and red face paint associated with religious practices while pursuing ethnogeographic topics (Harrington 1942). Fortunately, in the 1930's the superb labors of Melville Jacobs and the patient sharing of Annie Miner Peterson and Frank Drew resulted in the extensive manuscript field notes from which this overview has been drawn. All evidence suggests that these Indians knew their land and that they had a well-developed means of coming to terms with life.

*Chapter 5*

KALAPUYA:  
TRADITIONAL RELIGIOUS PRACTICES

The Kalapuya lived in the extensive valley of the Willamette River and made use of the eastern slopes of the Coast Range as well as the river floodplain. Although the territory of the Kalapuya is largely peripheral to the Siuslaw National Forest, their beliefs were similar to many other western Oregon groups, and some of their religious observances undoubtedly took place within the Forest boundaries.

Virtually all that is known of traditional religious practices among the Kalapuya is recounted in *Kalapuya Texts*, a compilation of ethnographic and myth texts gathered by linguists Jacobs, Gatschet and Frachtenberg (1945). Minor references to Kalapuyan beliefs are made in two short works by Gatschet (1891) and Frachtenberg (1916). More recently, Mackey (1974) has published notes taken by Leo Frachtenberg in 1913 during his conversations with William Hartless, a Marys River Kalapuya. Unpublished fieldnotes and manuscripts on the Kalapuya by Frachtenberg and Gatschet are in the National Anthropological Archives. Kalapuya materials collected by Jacobs and his students are housed in the Melville Jacobs Collection at the University of Washington and were consulted for this study.

The following discussion of traditional Kalapuya beliefs and practices is directed to five general topics: (1) cosmology, (2) ceremonies, (3) shamanism and guardian spirits, (4) views on death, and (5) folk beliefs.

*COSMOLOGY*

Only fragments remain of the rich mythological heritage of the Kalapuya, which ordered and explained their world. Various animals and supernatural beings were the focus of those myths recounted for the records (e.g., Jacobs et al. 1945). The major character in many myths is the trickster Coyote who created, among other things, the world, Willamette Falls, sickness, and net fishing for salmon, and also engaged in a number of amusing adventures and misadventures. Frachtenberg (1920) likened the Kalapuya myths to those told to him by his Alsea informants, but this similarity may only be the result of six decades of intergroup contact and intermarriage on the Grande Ronde Reservation prior to Frachtenberg's research in 1914.

The creation of the world, with its stars, clouds, animals and people, was told in 1877 by Tualatin Kalapuya informants on the Grand Ronde Reservation to Albert S. Gatschet. In this telling, as abstracted by Jacobs, the creation and peopling of the world involved four myth ages:

In the first myth age there is neither sickness nor death. Five men go to hunt. Their dog returns, tells a girl back home that the hunters have killed five deer. The earth turns over, the people of the first myth age become stars. The dog becomes the girl's husband--they are the only people. She bears one dog and one human at each successive birth--and so the population grows again. These second myth age people turn into pebbles. There is no water, moisture is sucked from trees. The third myth age people arrive and multiply. Two women steal a baby girl. Flint Boy finds and returns the girl to her own mother; angry, the other two women dance to make rain, it rains twenty days, there is a flood. All third myth age people die except the two women, Flint Boy, and the girl. When the water recedes he kills the two women, burns them, blows their ashes upwards to become fog and clouds. Third myth age people also become sea mammals, beaver, and various fishes. Flint Boy and the girl give rise to the people of the fourth myth age (Jacobs et al. 1945: 381).

Another creation myth as told by the Yoncalla, the southernmost Kalapuyan group, was recorded by Jesse A. Applegate, who settled as a youth among the Yoncalla and who learned of their creation story from a Chemomochot, a shaman. The three characters in this story were known to the Yoncalla as Snowats, Iswukaw, and Quartux (woman, boy and wolf) (Applegate 1914: 94):

In the beginning was a mountain, and on the mountain top was a table of stone. On this table was a deposit of some kind of matter jelly-like in consistence--we would call it protoplasm--and out of this protoplasmic mass grew a living being in the form of, and was, a woman. She held in her arms a male child, and when she was fully grown she descended, carrying the child on her bosom, to the base of the mountain, where the two were joined by a wolf. The woman placed the boy astride on the wolf's back and passed a strap around the child and over the wolf's head above his eyes.

In addition to relating how the world came to be, Kalapuya mythology explained the relations of the spirit world, describing in story or parable form the characteristics and behaviors of the

various guardian spirits. A list of major myth characters has been compiled by Collins (Table 2) from *Kalapuya Texts* (Jacobs et al. 1945).

Table 2. Major Myth Characters in Kalapuya Mythology  
(compiled by Collins 1951:55-57)

Character	Role(s)
Coyote	trickster, transformer, culture hero, traitor to own kind, treacherous
Turkey Buzzard	helper to Coyote, dupe to Coyote
Fly	tattletale
Frog women	spirit power connected with water and snow from the southeast
Woodpecker	hero; aids or outwits Coyote
Panther	personifies male head of house, hero, culture hero
Mudfish	Whale's aid
Whale	hero
Copperhead snake	hero
Grizzly	treacherous, powerful, villain
Brown Bear	hero
Crane	aide
Sapsucker	braggart
Rattlesnake	aid with rattlesnake power
Flint Boy	hero; kills grizzly who killed his father
Wolf	hero; parasite
Wren	parasite
Elk	water monster
Pheasant	female, grandmother, evil or villain
Coon	hero; stingy
Frogs	villains; connected with water
Rabbit	braggart and dupe
Skunk	villain; treacherous
Grey Fox	hero
Water Being	villain; evil
Dog	hero; villain

Table 2 (continued)

Character	Role(s)
Crow	culture hero
Cougar	hero yet treacherous
Blue Jay	thief, informer
Snail	dupe for Coyote
Geese, Crane, Brant, Swan, and Duck	aid in singing to strengthen spirit power of Coyote
Louse	would-be spy
Flea	would-be spy
Spider	spy, successful; woman, protector
Mountain Weasel	foolish
Bull Frog	aide to Panther, transformer toad
Whale Woman	dupe for Coyote, Flint Boy
Otter, Beaver	aid whale in spirit power
Mink	secondary position, younger brother, innocent bystander
Hoot Owl	trickster-looser
Eagle	aide to Grizzly; carries him up on his back to escape disease
Blow Fly	tattletale
Wild Cat	hero, female
Grey Squirrel, Dog, Crow	aide in deception of Grizzly

Stories were also told to be entertaining or to instill a lesson in the young listeners. For example, a Marys River tale tells of an old woman who threw one of her grandsons out of the house in the wintertime for being mischievous and disobedient; he cried all night and then disappeared, becoming a spirit and a lesson to potentially naughty children. Other "just-so" stories tell why thunder strikes white fir trees and why flint is to be used only for arrowpoints, spearheads and cutting of skin for curing purposes (Jacobs et al. 1945).



*CEREMONIES*

Aside from the acquisition and use of spirit powers, scant attention has been given to ceremonialism among the Kalapuya in the ethnographic literature. Although ceremonialism does not appear to have played an overriding role for the Willamette Valley peoples, it is certain that ceremonial events marked important milestones in the lives of individuals.

Birth Observances

No ceremonies appear to have accompanied the birthing process, but several observances were strictly followed to ensure the health of the mother and the newborn. Jacobs provides an account of a typical birth:

Long ago when a woman became ill (and) wanted (expected) to give birth, then they would fix her bed (in the house), and they would place her there. And now when she began to suffer very much, then they would tell the man (her husband), "Sit down behind (her)." And so he sat down behind (her), and women sat in front (of her). Then they took care of her. Now when the child came, the man held his wife (from behind), and when the child came, then those women took the child. Then they tied it, and they cut its umbilical cord. They always took special care of its umbilical cord. And when it fell off then they did not take so much care of it. Now then the woman who had given birth lay asleep there all the time (for some days after). Now then they dug a hole in the ground, and they heated rocks, and then they put the rocks that were hot in where there was a hole in the ground. And now she remained beside those hot rocks. That is how they always did, they did it like that for five days. And then they stopped (lying beside hot rocks). They did like that all the time. And they did not want her to drink cold water for five days (lest she get cold inside, her blood got cold). Then she could drink cold water if she desired (Jacobs et al. 1945: 42-43).

According to John B. Hudson, one of Jacobs Santiam Kalapuya informants, the midwife would coax the baby out of the safety and warmth of the womb. If labor was hard and long, it was thought that the baby didn't want to come out, requiring more coaxing from those in attendance. The birth was usually at home and, as indicated in the passage above, the husband sometimes assisted the midwives (Jacobs 1928: 30).

The husband of a new mother was also affected by the birth and usually cleansed himself before returning to his routine:

Her husband did not hunt for five days, and then he might go hunting. They said that the deer would smell the blood, the woman's blood. The husband sweated (those) five days, and then he might go hunting (Jacobs et al. 1945: 43).

### Naming Observances

William Hartless, a Marys River Kalapuya, recounted to Leo Frachtenberg a terse account of the feast held to name children:

When first child born a feast was given. Presents given to those present. When other children came, presents were given only to family-in-law. Name bestowed during that evening by grand parents or closest relative on woman's side. Names taken from those who had died long ago (cited in Mackey 1974: 37).

Gatschet observed that, in addition to a name bestowed formally at a feast, children were often given three or four nicknames by neighbors and family (Jacobs n.d.).

An important aspect of naming was the policy of passing on the names of the dead. According to Gatschet, "the body of the dead had to become dust first, all his flesh gone, before his name could be assumed by some living relative." Men often took the names of deceased relatives after ten or fifteen years (Jacobs, n.d.). John B. Hudson explained the importance in handling the names of the dead:

Now when he (one of the people) died, no one would ever utter his name. If any other person pronounced his name, the name of the person who had died, then if the relatives of the person who had died should hear that name being pronounced, they would maintain that that was a very bad (insulting) thing, (and) sometimes they would fight about it. They used to say that no one who was a different (unrelated) person could utter that name, when they were dead. It was indeed only his own relatives (who could). Then (after quite a while) they would call (some child of theirs) by that name (Jacobs et al. 1945: 41-42).

### Puberty Rites

For a young girl, her first menses marked the passage to womanhood and a new set of taboos associated with her new state, as told by William Hartless:

Girls had to dance five nights. Presents to all those present. Girls dance in trails (5). She is assisted by others. Girl first is covered by mask of yellow-hammer feathers. After dance she is O.K. During ceremony girl is kept away from other members of family (cited in Mackey 1974: 37).

Gatschet also described the restrictions placed on a girl reaching puberty:

A first menstruating woman was not allowed to look at babies, for this would disturb them. Nor were they permitted to cook, for this would make the child sick. Such women go to a *tamanwis* mountain as soon as it gets dark and stay out there a whole night. They heap up the dirt, sing, stay for five nights without eating (Jacobs n.d.).

Aside from the taboos observed in accordance with the first menses, puberty for both boys and girls was a time for going alone to a mountain place to seek a vision and their first guardian spirit as indicated in the preceding passage. Mose Hudson described another version of the vision quest to Jacobs:

The kids used to clean up, keep nice, the spot on the hill where they used to go to get spirit power. There was a trench dug. Each child went alone-- three or four together was bad, too much play then. One at a time went. [They] cleaned off the spot that was the place where all went. The people all knew that that was the place. The cleaned off place was on the east side of the hill or mountain. There were five trenches or cleaned off places on this one mountain near Grande Ronde, each trench seven or eight feet long. The east side was the sun-first side (Jacobs 1928, Notebook 33: 70).

A third version of the vision quest is provided by Jacobs in his *Kalapuya Texts* (1945: 56):

Always a boy who wanted to become a shaman, he was always swimming in the early morning. And when it became dark (at night), (and) the moon was full, then he would go to the mountain. He would fix up that spirit-power-place on the mountain. He would go five nights. Always in the early morning he

would be swimming. And then he would find his spirit-power, while he slept he would see his dream-power, his spirit-power. That is how he was (did) all the time.

The quest for additional guardian spirits continued for some men and women throughout their lives. Communication with the spirits was sought at a special place on a mountain where they bathed in the creek, packed wood for a big fire, heaped up dirt and sang spirit songs. Quests were often undertaken at Spirit Mountain near Grand Ronde, at Mount Angel east of Salem, and at an unnamed mountain north of Forest Grove (Jacobs 1929d, n.d.). No Kalapuyan vision quest sites are recorded for the Upper Willamette Valley, however. In addition to being the sites of vision quests, the lower ridges of these mountains were visited by women undergoing their first menses who stayed for five days and nights to purify themselves.

#### Subsistence Rites

Ceremonies pertaining to subsistence do not survive in the ethnographic literature. First Salmon rites were not held as salmon were not obtained in large quantities from the upper and middle Willamette Valley streams. Observances for the first harvest of the season are not described, nor are any practices concerning the first kill or gathering of a young boy or girl. With the exception of a mention of the shaman dancing on a camas oven (Jacobs et al. 1945:18-19), there is no indication that shamans played a significant role in harvesting practices. William Hartless described ceremonies he observed at Alsea prior to ocean fishing trips, but such an observance was probably not practiced by the Kalapuya given their inland location (Jacobs et al. 1945: 348). Hunters sometimes sweated and swam to cleanse themselves and bring them luck in catching game.

#### *SHAMANISM, SPIRIT QUESTS AND DREAM POWERS*

The most extensive literature on Kalapuyan religious practices concerns shamanism and the acquisition and use of spirit powers. Much of this material has been published in *Kalapuya Texts* (Jacobs et al. 1945), although some information remains in unpublished form in the field notes of Jacobs and others.

Young people first sought a guardian spirit through vision quests undertaken when they reached puberty (see the previous section on puberty rites). Although it had been decades since the last Kalapuya child had embarked on a traditional spirit quest, the Kalapuyan informants consulted by Jacobs, Gatschet and Frachtenberg were able to provide considerable information on the quest and specific spirit powers. One of Gatschet's Tualatin Kalapuya informants recalled in 1877 how and why young men and women sought a spirit power:

Youths go (to that place--to Spirit Mt. near Grand Ronde), they go in order to make their hearts good at the dirt wall (trench), all night long (and) when the day (sun) rises, then they call out to the dream-power, "Oh dear I am poor (have pity on me)! Come oh day (oh spirit-power)!" They are gone five nights for (in order to make pure and find spirit-power for) their hearts. They cry out (to the day--to a spirit-power--to come to them) after dark (till) the next morning.

The girls (too) would go for their hearts. At their first mensis for five nights, (and) five days, they (too) wanted to see (and obtain) a good spirit-power. She would cry in her heart, and so she went for (she went to make clean and obtain a spirit-power for) her heart. She would want to become a shaman. She wanted to see (and live in) this country (this world) a long time. It was that (a long life spirit-power) she wanted (too). They would go to seek that kind of thing, they sought a good spirit-power (one conferring long life and shamanistic power) (Jacobs et al. 1945: 180).

Quests for spirit powers took place in secluded spots in the forest. According to one Tualatin informant, "we went to get our shaman spirit-powers in the mountains and in the lakes too" (Jacobs et al. 1945: 341-42). Some spirit quest sites were apparently reused by different generations of young people and were probably within a few miles of the main village. Once at the spirit quest site, the youngster would fast, swim, and engage in strenuous activities, such as packing wood for a big fire, cleaning the area, heaping up large mounds of dirt (e.g., Figure 18 in Sauter and Johnson 1974: 47) or piles of rock (Figure 7; also Figure 17 in Sauter and Johnson 1974: 36).

Not all spirit powers were acquired through a vision quest per se. Sometimes spirit powers made themselves known in an ordinary dream (Jacobs et al. 1945: 347). People could also inherit spirit powers from others:

They used to say that once in a while if a shaman knew in his heart (sensed, believed) that he would not be good in heart (would not live much longer), he would give his dream-power to some one who was his very best (his closest) relative. And so then when he (the shaman) gave it to him, and when that shaman died, the person to whom he had given it, he himself would take (obtain, receive) that dream-power, (and) he (too) might become a shaman (Jacobs et al. 1945: 58-59).

When a guardian spirit made itself known in a dream or quest, it gave the person a song which linked the person to their spirit power. The song generally characterized the spirit power in some way and was the key to being able to use, control, or benefit from the spirit power. The link between the song and the spirit power is illustrated by the belief that a spirit power could be stolen by taking a person's spirit song:

Long ago they used to say that some shamans would take another person's dream-power, from this person who had always sung his (dream-power) song (at winter power-renewal-dances), and then when he died, then later some other shaman would sing that (dream-power) song of his, the song of the person who had died. Thereupon they said, "This shaman is singing that (deceased) person's song. Maybe he himself had taken that man's dream-power" (and so killed him) (Jacobs et al. 1945: 59).

Spirit songs collected by Jacobs (n.d.) consist of short repeated verses such as the following:

1. He who sat down he has no voice.
2. He changes his voice.
3. Full of blood (4 times), here from *Timanwi* (big mountain west of Corvallis).
4. It lies upside down across sky.  
It is grizzly.
5. I went through the five skys superposed to each other.
6. I am *sqe'yup?*  
I burn up the sky.

Many spirits inhabited the land of the Kalapuya and acted as guardians of the people (Table 3). The spirit powers obtained by ordinary people were weak and aided in such pursuits as rain-making and seeking a long life, hunting prowess, or wealth. Strong powers made one a shaman, capable of curing the sick, seeing into the land of the dead, and other powerful deeds. In order to strengthen the powers of the shamans and other people, dances were held every winter:

Long ago the shamans fixed up their (own) dream-powers during the wintertime. When some one shaman wanted to fix up his spirit-power, he got together a lot of people, and he (and they) stood at his dance (he danced), he stood at his dance for

Table 3. Kalapuya Spirit Powers (from Jacobs et al. 1945)

Spirit	Powers
Eagle spirit	wealth, wives, slaves and shamanistic power
Deer spirit	hunting power
Thunder spirit	thunder and rainstorm power
Grizzly spirit	bad power to kill and devour people
Grouse spirit	snow power
Coyote spirit	transvestite power
Dead person spirit	clairvoyance and speaking to dead people powers
Ocean fishing spirit	success in ocean fishing and safety from drowning
North Wind spirit	blizzard and snow power
Other spirit powers:	Black Bear power Spotted Sea Bear (Sea Dog) power Bird power Black Man power Blizzard power Dark Night power Disease-causing power Flint power Fog-smoke power Gambling power Long life power Mink power Screech Owl power Panther power Polecat power Rattlesnake power Sea Lion power Skunk power Weasel power Whale power Wolf power Woodpecker power

five nights. Everybody came. Those who had assembled stood up at their own dance (too). Of all those people when they stood at their dance, the older (bigger, wealthier) people themselves sang their own (dream-power) songs, (and) in the very same manner the women sang their own songs. The

shaman (who was giving the dance) himself sang his own songs first, and those others who were also shamans, when they came to their own dance, they (also) sang ahead (of non-shamans). These mere common people (who lacked shamanistic dream-powers) sang after (the shamans). Always when they sang one song, they would throw (sing) that song five times (before proceeding to another song). Always on the fifth night in the middle of the night, they would all eat when they rested. And then they would stand up to their dancing again, and (only) when morning came they would cease their dancing. Once in a while the shaman sent off a relative of his, he told him to kill one ox. Then those people would skin it, and they would distribute pieces of it, they would (thus) pay them for (assisting by) standing at their dancing. To some of the men and women they would give out clothes, with this they paid them for their standing at their dancing. They would say of that shaman, "Now indeed he has been making good (bettering, strengthening) his spirit-power." That is what the shamans always did in the wintertime, when they stood up to their dance (Jacobs et al. 1945: 61-62).

Because the shamans had powerful spirits, they bore heavy community responsibilities as healers and ceremonial leaders. Shamans doctored the sick, diagnosing the cause of the sickness (e.g., poison powers, soul loss, failure to obey spirit power) and prescribing a cure which sometimes involved much ceremony and family or village involvement. (A number of doctoring cases are presented in Jacobs et al. 1945: 30, 36, 37, 56-60, 161, 184, 242-44, 261, 274, 344, 347). Some shamans fell under the influence of bad spirits which caused them to kill people through poisoning, stealing their spirit power, or other sorcery. If foul play was suspected, it usually meant a sorry end for the shaman:

They would always kill shamans, when they said in their hearts (when the people believed) they were bad shamans (had fatal spirit-powers which were killing people) (Jacobs et al. 1945: 60).

The regalia of shamans--male and female--symbolized their spirit powers as well as their respected status in the village. Descriptions of two different belts worn by Tualatin shamans were recorded in 1977 by Gatschet (Jacobs n.d.):

1. The first belt was made of untanned otter skin, about one inch wide, worn over the shoulder. It was decorated with beads fastened to the belt by means of buckskin strings which held ten beads and five shells and also four or five black woodpecker feathers with red underneath. The whole belt was about four feet



long when doubled and was sewed together where it reached the loins.

2. The second belt described also consisted of a broad strip six inches wide of untanned otter's skin. The two ends were drawn over the shoulders and the outside was decorated with dead women's hair with round haliotis shell and two woodpecker feathers. This part hung forward on the body while dancing, and was also worn on the back or else hung up in a house as an aid in curing. At the lower end of the belt, pieces of thin brown buckskin perforated many times (symbolizing the wounds of a warrior) were cut into many tassel strips. At the lower end were also a couple wing feathers of an eagle; above the feathers were eight claws of *ampcui* (?) on buckskin strings. Three rosettes were in the middle and broadest part of the belt; each rosette was made of 65 beads, two shells, and human hair. The tail of the belt reached to the ground.

The dress of a Marys River shaman was described to Frachtenberg some years later in 1913 by William Hartless (Mackey 1974: 36):

Doctor dressed in buckskin suit: coat with sleeves up to elbow, sleeves fringed. Open at breast (decoletee). Bead bracelets on arms. Beads, shells, grizzly's teeth or paws or feathers on neck. On head a band of cedar bark braided about 2 inches wide. Studded with feathers. Kind of feathers suggested by spirit. The head-band came down in back like Siouan feather bands. Feather-band. Sometimes an otter skin over shoulder. Trousers of hide. Reaching to knee from thence leggins on feet moccassins.

Other items used by shamans or participants in religious dances included the following:

1. woodpecker dance head dresses (Jacobs et al. 1945: 194; using feathers of the red-shafted flicker or scalps of the big black or red-headed woodpecker [Zenk 1976: 115]);
2. painted canes, which represented the spirit power (Jacobs et al. 1945: 62, 181);
3. spirit dance rattles of hollow rawhide (Jacobs et al. 1945: 184);
4. feather dance wands and feather ornaments, also representing the spirit power (Jacobs et al. 1945: 62, 113, 119-20, 181, 184; sometimes using bald eagle feathers [Zenk 1976:116]); and

5. split stick willow clappers, which are mentioned for use in the post-contact Ghost Dance but were probably also used at traditional dances (Jacobs et al. 1945: 72).

The coming of Euro-Americans disrupted the traditional religious system of the Kalapuya which relied on obtaining power from the guardian spirits. As one informant explained, the guardian spirits left the land of the Kalapuya when it was taken over by the whites:

Now there are no more spirit-powers. But long ago there were many, when only Indians still lived here. . . . But now there is nothing any longer in the water like long ago. And it is gone the very same way in the mountains, everything (all the spirit-powers) that lived in the mountains, (which) the Indians made to be their spirit-powers, they are gone now. They all went back to the ocean (Jacobs et al. 1945: 347).

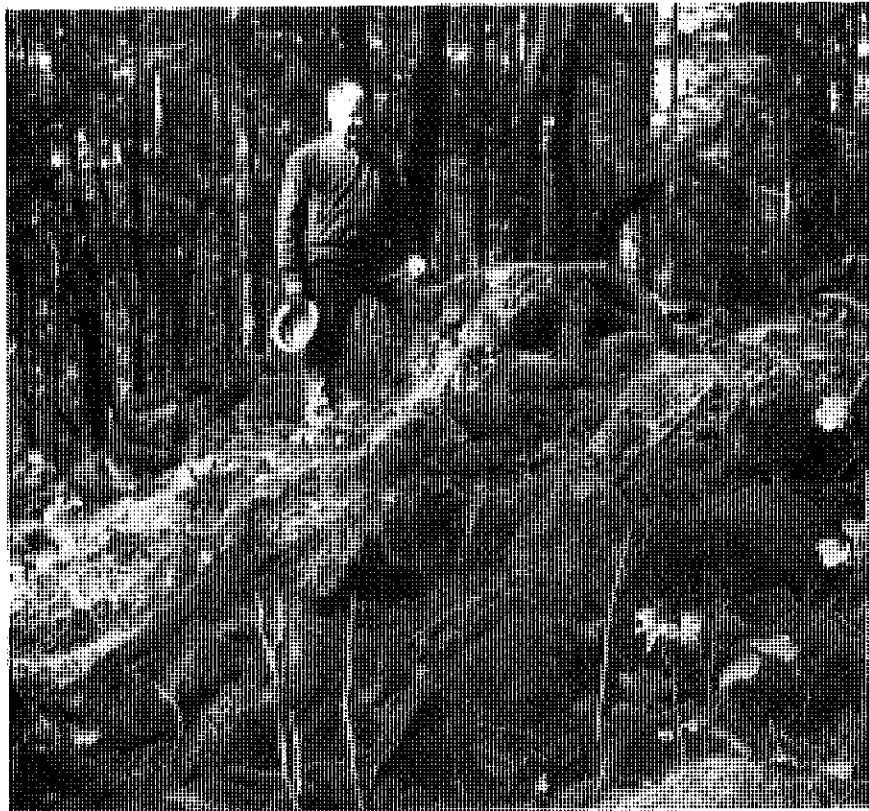


Figure 7. These rock mounds, located along Susan Creek in the Umpqua Valley and listed on the National Register of Historic Places, are like those described as being constructed by the Kalapuya during their spirit quests (courtesy of the Oregon State Museum of Anthropology).

## VIEWS ON DEATH

Death was interpreted to be either the result of natural causes or the work of a malicious shaman or spirit power (Hartless in Mackey 1974: 41). Although spirit powers could be a great asset, they could also cause death. Shamans with bad spirit powers could kill people. Also, if a person rejected a spirit power which had chosen him, or if the power was stolen from him, he might die or become very sick (Jacobs et al. 1945: 65, 171, 179-81, 193, 274, 346).

The dead were usually buried or cremated. Cremation was preferred if it was feared that coyotes and wolves might eat the body (Jacobs et al. 1945: 74). If a man was poor, he would be buried or cremated without grave goods or fine clothing (Jacobs et al. 1945: 198). Wealthy men were given a more elaborate burial, however, in keeping with their social standing both in the land of the living and in the next world:

(Among) the Tualatin Indians, when (some) one man died he was buried, he was dressed in quantities of money beads. One horse would be killed. They would wait one day, (if) his sons were away, (then) they got back. They dressed up (the body), they wrapped it in ten blankets. They put numbers of baskets (and wooden buckets--with holes punched in their bottoms) on sticks, they made a wooden fence, they buried him, they went back home (Jacobs et al. 1945: 196).

A woman's burial was similarly described:

They dug a hole, and then they put her into it, and they buried her. Now then they stood up sticks, and they hung baskets on them (at the grave). Always at the cemetery, they always hung buckets around all over the graveyard (Jacobs et al. 1945: 75).

If a person died or was killed away from home, he would be brought back to be buried with his parents and grandparents. Gatschet's informants also indicated that exhumation and reinterment were sometimes practiced to keep close relatives together:

He wanted to be there where his father had been buried. Maybe he would be dug out (i.e. his father's bones would be dug out and replaced?) (Jacobs et al. 1945: 197).

After the burial, the property of the dead person was divided among his relatives:

They divided the property, the wife as head, his money beads (were also divided). His property in slaves was divided among them. One man, his younger brother, the wife was made his property (according to levirate rule). Two horses were given away as his return money (to her family for receiving her). The wife became his property. All sorts of things which were his property were divided (the recipients giving his relatives somewhat less property as return gifts), if he who had died had been a good (i.e. a well-to-do) man (Jacobs et al. 1945: 196-97).

Sometimes the dead person's house was burned, especially if he was an important man, as indicated by Gatschet (Jacobs et al. 1945: 197). Perhaps more frequently, the deceased's house was ritually cleansed by smoking the house with a fire of white fir limbs for five nights, by which time the dead spirit was no doubt driven from the house (Jacobs et al. 1945: 40).

The spouse of the deceased went into mourning, sometimes for a year. A widowed husband "did not go where there were many people" (Jacobs et al. 1945: 75). A widow cut her hair and went into seclusion as well. The status and expected behavior of a Tualatin widow as explained to Gatschet follows:

When a woman became widowed her hair was cut, she became another man's property. They did not put pitch on her face (which the Shastas and Oregon Athabaskans did to a mourning wife). She wept (ceremonially) for one year. She cried for her husband who had died. Then her heart became well. The next year she would take another (man) (Jacobs et al. 1945: 197).

It was believed that, after death, a person's heart went across the ocean to the west (Jacobs et al. 1945: 73). The clothes and grave goods buried with the deceased person were intended to be used by them in the land of the dead people. After horses had been acquired by the Kalapuya after white contact, a horse was killed at the death of the owner so that he could ride it in the country of the dead people (Jacobs et al. 1945: 76).

Mrs. Louisa Selky, the last speaker of the Yamhill dialect of Kalapuya, recounted a myth to Frachtenberg in 1914 about Coyote following his daughter to the land of the dead. In this tale, the land of the dead is briefly described (Jacobs et al. 1945: 199-203).

If a person revived after he had been given up for dead, it was said that the people in the land of the dead had not wanted

him yet and had turned him back (Jacobs et al. 1945: 74). It was also said, when a flame leapt high in the air at night; that someone was near death: "It is his heart that is going along there in the night," they would say (Jacobs et al. 1945: 73).

Although the dead had a land of their own, they also frequented the world of the living. The spirits of the dead liked to stay near their former homes and families and could only be discouraged by the smoke of a white fir fire. Dead people were a strong spirit power capable of causing illness or death. Shamans had access to these spirit powers, enabling them to see past the land of the living, converse with the dead, and use the dead for the shaman's own aims (Jacobs et al. 1945: 51-52, 59-61).

Night was the time for the dead spirits to awake and travel through the land of the living. The dead people could cause bad things to befall those they encountered at night, so children were strictly cautioned:

The graveyard was feared especially at night. Spirits were there. Those of the dead people. Their powers if bad might cause the death of the living. The dead person's power was the thing feared. In the daytime a graveyard was perfectly safe; the dead were all asleep; but at night the dead's spirits were going all around doing their old occupations, following the old trails, etc. (Jacobs 1928: 62).

Children were not allowed to play close to a graveyard in the evening; dead people might whistle at you, stand there, look at you. One must not think of them when passing but just march right on past (Jacobs 1929b: 133).

#### BELIEFS

Intermeshed with the guardian spirit complex, the cosmology, and mythology of the Kalapuya were numerous folk beliefs which explained various phenomena of nature and sometimes provided a remedy for daily problems. Among the folk sayings and beliefs were the following which are presented in *Kalapuya Texts* (Jacobs et al. 1945) and in Melville Jacobs' unpublished notes:

1. If you were born early in the morning, you had a long life; born late in the evening, a short life (Jacobs 1928).
2. When a person sneezed, that person who sneezed would say, "Wonder who is talking about me!" (i.e., saying bad things about me, or even wishing my death). (And) he would (also) say, "May you die too!" (Jacobs et al. 1945: 78).

3. If your face should twitch they would say, "Maybe somebody will strike you (there)." Or on the other hand others might say, "Maybe you will be seeing someone whom you have never (before) seen, when there is twitching of your face" (Jacobs et al. 1945: 77).

4. If a rattler bit someone and didn't shake its tail, it was said that a shaman had sent him (Jacobs 1929a).

5. When yellowhammer cries, that means it's going to be dark and rain soon (Jacobs 1929c).

6. When robin sings a bad storm is coming, a heavy rain. Frog's croaking in the evening is also a sign of rain (Jacobs 1929c).

7. If crow comes close and "hollers around" he tells of trouble, bad news to come, a death of one's people, an accident, etc. (Jacobs 1929c).

8. Long ago (it was) a make-trouble (a bad omen or sign), when an owl got to a house, it was not just like that (it was not just a circumstance devoid of meaning). And screech owl too (was a bad sign). Someone would die pretty soon now. When some (people) went hunting, and they had just made camp (their first night out), when owl came and hooted, he made-trouble (he indicated proximate tragedy) by doing that. And screech owl the very same way. And grouse himself also knew his make-trouble (he also knew of coming tragedy and indicated it to the people). When he got to a house, it was not just like that (it was not for nothing that he came). And likewise when a pheasant got to a house, (it was) not merely (for nothing) (Jacobs et al. 1945: 349).

9. Still another who knew his make-trouble (who gave a sign of ill omen), (it was) a snake (it was always a bull snake) when he lay across a trail (it was) not for nothing, (it meant) your impending death. Some of you when you met a snake, in the same way too (it was) his make-trouble (his warning of trouble or tragedy). But on the other hand when they (snakes) are just going along, (and) they go away in rapid flight (then nothing ill is indicated). But when they do not go away in flight, then (it is) not merely that way (for nothing) their make-trouble (sign of ill omen). When they direct their head here to the left, (it is) not like that for nothing. They (people) will be killed, or they will be caught (and) made slaves. But on the other hand if they (snakes) turn to the good (the right) hand, that (sign) I have forgotten about. That other (kind of) snake which has two heads, it is not just seen like that for nothing. Some of them are almost dark (brown), some are yellow, with two heads. When they (people) see it (it is) their make-trouble (sign of ill omen) (Jacobs et al. 1945: 349).

10. And further that thing we call the horned toad, it too if it enters a house, (it is) not just for nothing, your make-trouble (it too is a bad sign). And further, birds of all kinds do not merely enter houses. Their make-trouble (their sign of ill omen is) when they enter a house where people are living (Jacobs et al. 1945: 350).

11. Long ago the people observed everything with care. If you had killed a deer, and then you wanted to (were about to) skin it, and it arose (and) it made its escape, they would say, "It is bad (a bad sign)." And too if when you shot it, then it cried (*wa...*), they would say, "That is bad also. Maybe a relative of yours is going to die." And further if when a deer was shot, it then licked its blood, they would say, "That is extremely bad." Whatever they killed, and it then arose again (and) it moved about, they would say, "That too is bad." That is how those people of long ago used to speak. "Indeed whatever you have killed, and its heart awakens (it comes to), that is also bad." They would say, "Maybe you yourself are going to die. Or maybe a relative of yours will die." They would say that of whatever made a bad sign. That is how they always spoke (Jacobs et al. 1945: 78).

12. The coffin bugs (a type of beetle) always travel about in the nighttime. If it strikes a person in the dark, they say, "The coffin bug was what hit him. He will die pretty soon, some time not very long now." That is what they used to say. They always said, "The coffin bug is a very bad thing (an ill omen). When it hits a person, that person is going to die." They always were fearful of the coffin bug. That is how they always spoke (Jacobs et al. 1945: 79).

13. If you cut your foot, you should throw away your clothes (that you have on). Then you will never cut your foot again (Jacobs et al. 1945: 80).

14. They would say that such a man (did that) when he had had a bad dream, when his dream was no good, then he would sing (one or more of his dream-power songs) to his child. And a woman would do the very same way too, she would (also) sing (her dream-power songs) once in a while (after a night of bad dreaming) to her child. When they sang (thus) to their children, they would take ashes, and they would slap the ashes together in their hands, and the ashes would go up in a puff, and they would blow the ash dust (on their child). . . . Then they would scatter the ash dust about, and when they blew on the ashes, they would say in their hearts, "May it not become like that, like it was in my dream last night!" (Jacobs et al. 1945: 55-56).

15. In sleep, if you see a dead person, it is believed it really was the dead person returned. If you don't clearly

recognize the person in the dream and converse and have social relations with them then your life is likely to be short; but if in the dream you recognize that the person is so and so, clearly, then your life is good yet for a while and you will live on perhaps long yet (Jacobs n.d.).

16. If you have a bad dream then you should go swim in the morning before eating anything. It would then ensure that the dream would not come to be so. Now if you have a good dream you go swim and then it might, will come to be so (Jacobs n.d.).

17. And if your relatives are buried there in a graveyard, if (a ball of) fire comes out from your graveyard, (it is) not just like that (for nothing), (it is) your make-trouble (sign of ill omen). Still another of your relatives you will bury in no long time afterwards. If another (ball of) fire rises in front of a house, this (is) not just for nothing. The house too will be spoiled (will be ruined--as follows). A man may perhaps become a widower, or possibly a woman (living there) may become a widow. That is the way it might be. Perhaps if the (ball of) fire came out from above (the top of) the house, (it would) not (be) for nothing like that. If it were a small (ball of) fire, it would be children like that (who would die). Were it a big (ball of) fire, then big people (adults) who were dwelling there would die (Jacobs et al. 1945: 350).

In addition to beliefs such as those listed above, Jacobs noted that the number "5" appears to have special significance as mentioned in the following situations (Jacobs et al. 1945: 392);

1. An initiate's vision quest lasts for five days (Jacobs et al. 1945: 56, 180, 345).

2. A fire of white fir was burned for five days to purify the house of the dead (Jacobs et al. 1945: 40).

3. A woman who had just given birth was kept warm and cared for for five days in order to stay healthy, and her husband must cleanse himself for five days after the birth before going hunting (Jacobs et al. 1945: 43).

4. A man had to cleanse himself for five days after sexual relations in order to become pure for hunting or gambling (Jacobs et al. 1945: 50).

5. A dance for curing a sick person was held for five nights (Jacobs et al. 1945: 58).

6. Winter dances to strengthen dream powers lasted five nights (Jacobs et al. 1945: 61-2).



The world of the Kalapuya, like that of their neighbors in western Oregon, was bound together with a complex series of beliefs about the world, how it worked and how it came to be. Through the joint efforts of ethnographers and Kalapuya informants, a small part of the rich religious heritage has been preserved and indicates a strong understanding of and reliance upon the land and the creatures which inhabited it.

*Chapter 6*

SUMMARY OF  
TRADITIONAL RELIGIOUS PRACTICES

A detailed comparative study of traditional religious practices among the various native groups in western Oregon is difficult to accomplish because of the unevenness of the breadth and depth of information available from the accounts of ethnographers. The preceding chapters indicate, however, that the various religious activities practiced in western Oregon share a number of common threads in belief systems and rituals. These commonalities are briefly reviewed in this chapter.

*COSMOLOGY*

The Indians of western Oregon clearly perceived that their world had been created or formed by the actions of a transformer. Known variously as South Wind, Everlasting Man, Our Grandfather (*tkhyał* or *Tk'a*) or *Sunmitchul* to the Tillamook; the Transformer (*Shō'k* or *Seū'ku*) to the Alsea and Yaquina; Arrow Young Men or The Parents of the People (*he'me'u mə'a'nyəs*) to the Coos; and Coyote to the Kalapuyans, this hero or heroes had helped make the land, create its animals, and set the world in order for the humans who one day were to occupy it.

The time frame of this cosmological scheme included perceptions of events that occurred roughly in three ages: (1) a Myth Age, (2) a Transformation Time, and (3) the historic past. The demarcation between these ages or times was inexact. It was clear, however, that humans who occasionally appeared in stories about the Myth Age did not act in quite the same ways as did humans in the present or the historic past. In the Myth Age humanlike creatures gave birth to humans and animals. The Transformation Time was marked by the "universal change" in the cosmology of the Siuslaw and the Alsea. At that moment the animals assumed their appropriate places and functions in nature.

These Indians also shared the perception that the natural world was filled with spirits, many of which were malevolent "ghosts." They had specific beliefs about world events such as eclipses, lightning and thunder, spots on the moon, or why animals had specific characteristics. The degree to which the various linguistic groups shared these beliefs is not clear. The surviving ethnographic literature is the product of the recorder's own

interests and the knowledge of the informant. Excellent data survive on the "ghost" world of the Coos but not on that of the Kalapuya. Similarly the mythic roles of animals in Kalapuyan literature are spelled out but those of the Alsea and Yaquina are less evident.

Information on the views of the universe, the order of nature, creation, and transformation times was elaborately presented in the detailed narratives told by the Indians and passed down through the generations. The surviving ethnographic material indicates well-developed cosmologies and detailed, rational orderings of the universe.

### *CEREMONIES*

Ceremonies were of limited interest and observance by the aboriginal population in western Oregon. While certain rites at points of life crisis--birth, first menses, first fruits, dream power acquisition, and death--were celebrated, the ritual and degree of community involvement was consistently modest. Prescribed behaviors were clearly present and dictated "right" modes of coming to terms with life crises, but public observances with elaborate costuming, staging, feasting, and displays were not a part of the lifeways of the Indians of this region. Rather, ceremonies involved the family, the village, or at most, the neighbors from a nearby village and were unostentatious performances of the right activities for the right time.

Shamans customarily participated in ceremonies but did not initiate such observances. The impetus for an event's celebration came from the individual or the family and required the hiring of services of an appropriate communicator with the spirit world. Birth observances, for example, were gender exclusive in terms of female involvement with the mother, although when proper screening of the parturition was secured, a male shaman might ritually treat the newborn child. Naming of the child consistently involved the assignment of the name of a person, usually a relative, who had been deceased for some time. Nicknames were used in early years of life. When the critical period of infancy and early childhood was past, then families assigned a permanent name to their maturing child.

First fruits and first salmon rituals varied but were important parts of the annual cycle of the food quest in this region. The observances varied but consistently suggested respect for the life of the animals who had given their lives to sustain human life. Closely related to first fruits were special ceremonial observances for males who purified themselves before hunting expeditions. Males had to be free of contamination, especially

contact with females, and observe prescribed modes of handling the large game animals they killed on a successful expedition. Unfortunately these rituals associated with food procurement are incompletely reported, particularly for the Kalapuya and the Alsea and Yaquina.

Puberty, for females, was uniformly fixed with prescribed behaviors and rites in this region. While the specific aspects of the observances varied, the centrality of the concern of this passage into adulthood was uniformly a cultural element. The observances involved the elders of the family and village leading the pubescent girl into adulthood. Seclusion, taboos (such as the young woman touching her scalp), bathing, tattooing, admonitory instructions, and other actions had to be taken. In some instances puberty was also the moment for gaining an initial dream or spirit power.

#### *SHAMANISM, SPIRIT QUESTS, AND DREAM POWERS*

Throughout western Oregon, the presence of "dream powers" was common and a basic part of the human experience. These "powers" included both animate and inanimate objects. Deer, grizzly, flint, dentalia, thunder--the power of any of these might be gained by an individual as a special companion in life. The dream powers were obtained by vigils or retreats to lonely sites, few of which were known to informants surviving into the twentieth century. It is certain, however, that "dream powers" were not gained while in the village. The hopeful seeker of such inspiration or assistance had to prepare for his or her quest physically and mentally. The seeker had to go to an appropriate, lonely site and await the coming of the spirit guide.

Spirit powers were usually related in short songs gained during the dream power vigil. These were shared by the candidate upon returning to his or her family and village. The ethnographic data suggest that the dream power songs, sometimes accompanied by dances, were performed at public events and that these utterances--sometimes made up solely of nonsense syllables--were unique to the individual who had gained them. However, one Coos informant, Annie Miner Peterson, had memorized and could relate the dream power formulas of perhaps 20 to 30 of her tribal members. Her recall suggests that such dream powers were frequently related and, while the "property" of the person who had gained the power, they were nevertheless of common knowledge.

Shamans were those who had gained additional spirit powers. Sometimes this process involved seeking an augmentation or strengthening of existing powers. Other times, vigils were held for securing new powers to add to the resources that the shaman could tap

when involved in his or her trade. Shamans were respected and often feared as well. The Coos, for example, differentiated between benevolent (*i'l'a'xqain*) and malevolent (*mit'ε'din*) shamans.

Shamans performed their duties both out of civic responsibility and in expectation of payment for services rendered. Individuals or families hired shamans to perform their rites. Shamans who failed might be killed for malpractice. Shamans commonly wore modest ceremonial regalia--head bands, staffs, bird or mammal scalps, wands, or belts--which denoted their office or unique dream powers.

#### IEWS ON DEATH

Western Oregon Indians perceived of death as the result of two causes: (1) the natural course of events, such as illness or accident, and (2) the malevolent machinations of a shaman. Running throughout the death observances in this geographical area were prescribed activities of mourning, avoidance of the "spirit" of the recently deceased person, and proper handling of the body and grave goods.

The Tillamook view of death--presented by Clara Pearson--suggested a concept of cosmic justice of "good" and "bad" fates for the deceased individual in the land of the dead. The extent to which this informant's view was formulated with Christian influences is not clear. Since this Tillamook "reward" and "punishment" system is unique, it may well represent elements of acculturation. Consistent in the views of death of western Oregon Indians, however, was a specific "land of the dead." In a sense, this place was a mirror image of the world of the living and thus dictated the necessity of appropriate grave goods.

Burial practices differed substantially in this region at the time of white contact. The Kalapuya buried or cremated their dead; the Lower Umpqua wrapped their dead in matting and placed them beneath a pyramidal wood shelter above the ground. The Coos interred their dead, and the Tillamook usually tied the body of a deceased person in the boughs of a tree, using both canoes or boxes as coffins.

\* \* \* \* \*

The religious practices of the native peoples of western Oregon consisted of beliefs and traditions which had developed and persisted over many thousands of years. These practices

guided the daily lives of these peoples and reflected their perception of and their close relationship with the natural and supernatural worlds around them. The traditional religious systems of these native peoples were abruptly disrupted and challenged as a result of contact with Euro-Americans beginning in the late eighteenth century. This period of change continued into the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries by which time only fragments of the traditional belief systems survived, often integrated into a new religious framework. The changes in the traditional religious systems, which occurred in direct response to historic contact, are the subject of the following section of this overview.

*Chapter 7*

POST-CONTACT DEVELOPMENTS  
IN NATIVE AMERICAN RELIGIOUS PRACTICES

Contact with Euro-Americans in the late eighteenth and following nineteenth century set in motion a series of events that changed forever the traditional lifeways of the Native Americans of the western United States. The effects of the adoption of tools and clothing of Euro-American manufacture, decimation of the native population by epidemic diseases, and eventual removal to reservations all combined to contribute to the progressive disintegration of Native American culture.

At various times in the history of Indian-White relations religious revivals occurred among the native peoples. These revivals generally entailed an increase in religious activity accompanied by the incorporation of Christian elements into traditional religious symbols and practices. Religious revivals of this nature among non-western peoples are generally referred to as "nativistic" (Linton 1943) or "revitalization" (Wallace 1956) movements, as they represent attempts by the members of native societies to revive or perpetuate selected aspects of their culture.

In the second half of the nineteenth century a recurrent series of revitalization movements spread among the Indians of western North America. Certain of these movements were eventually carried to the Siletz and Grand Ronde reservations of western Oregon, where they were accepted and practiced for a time by the native peoples confined there. Some of these movements also occurred among the native population which did not reside on these reservations. In particular these practices appeared among the Coos, Lower Umpqua, and Siuslaw living near Florence and Gardiner and among the Tillamook in northern Tillamook County. This chapter summarizes the information available on those revitalization movements--the Prophet Dance, the Ghost Dance, and the Shaker religion--which had an impact on the Indians of western Oregon.

*THE PROPHET DANCE*

The Prophet Dance is the name applied by Spier (1935) to the underlying stratum of Native American religious activity which was centered around the belief in the impending destruction of the

world and the return of the dead. The Prophet Dance was widespread in the interior of northwestern North America from western Canada on the north to the northern Great Basin on the south. A form of the Prophet Dance also reached certain groups on the adjacent Northwest Coast (for a description of the Prophet Dance among the Coast Salish of northwestern Washington, see Suttles 1957). It was practiced in one form or another by a number of Native American peoples in Oregon, including the Klamath, Modoc, Nez Perce, Umatilla, Tenino, Cayuse, and Paviotso (Northern Paiute). The Prophet Dance is significant because it may have served as the original source for subsequent religious developments among Native Americans in this region in historic times, including the derivative Smohalla cult, the two Ghost Dance movements, and also perhaps the Shaker religion (Spier 1935: 5).

The principal belief associated with the Prophet Dance was that of the impending destruction of the world, as portended by phenomena such as earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, and falling stars. This belief was spread by "prophets"--men who typically either had communicated with God in their dreams, or had "died" and returned with messages from the dead. Advocating a more righteous and God-fearing life for their followers, these prophets led songs and dances which were thought to hasten the end of the world, at which time the dead would rejoin the living.

It should be noted that the Prophet Dance was distinctly separate from the Spirit Quest rituals practiced by Pacific Northwest Indians (Spier 1935: 8). The Spirit Quest was centered around the individual. Dances were performed at midwinter ceremonies only by those who had obtained a guardian spirit. Only in later years, after extensive changes had occurred in the traditional way of life, did the Prophet Dance and Spirit Quest become melded in the religious life of the Native Americans of this region (Stern 1956).

At least three stages are recognized in the history and development of the Prophet Dance. The first stage was the original native form, which existed at least as early as the first decades of the nineteenth century and perhaps even earlier (Spier 1935: 8-9). The second stage began during the 1820's and represented the period during which Christian elements became integrated into the Prophet Dance (Spier 1935: 30-39). The third stage, which began in the mid-1830's, saw the gradual transformation of the Christianized version of the Prophet Dance into a new movement known as the Smohalla cult.

#### *THE SMOHALLA CULT*

The Smohalla cult appeared among the native peoples of the Columbia Plateau about 1860. The origin of the cult is generally



attributed to Smohalla, a Sahaptin-speaking Indian. Around 1860, Smohalla was wounded in a fight and left for dead. He disappeared for a time, and upon his return home announced that he had been with the dead from whom he had been entrusted with a message (Mooney 1896: 718). For the most part, this message was the same as that associated with the earlier Prophet Dance. The world would soon be destroyed, at which time the dead would return and a pristine world would be restored. Only by strict adherence to native forms of dress and way of life could true believers participate in the final resurrection (Spier 1935: 40-41).

The doctrine of the Smohalla cult went even further, however, and advocated an attitude of hostility toward whites and their intrusive culture. The Smohalla cult also differed from the Prophet Dance in that the earlier circular dances were replaced by churchlike ceremonies which were regularly held in buildings usually specially constructed for the purpose (for a description of these ceremonies, see Mooney 1896: 725-731; Spier 1935: 41-46). No Smohalla ceremonies were ever conducted on Siuslaw lands, however.

Smohalla was actually just one of a series of prophets who preached a similar doctrine (Spier 1935: 41). For example, Luls, a contemporary of Smohalla, preached among the Umatilla (Stern 1956), and the prophet Kolaskin had followers among the Sanpoil, Spokane, and Southern Okanogan (Ray 1936). Additional prophets associated with the Smohalla cult are listed by Du Bois (1938).

By the early 1870's the Smohalla cult was flourishing among most of the Sahaptin groups along the Columbia River as well as many of their neighbors, including the Cayuse, Spokane, Wasco, Wishram, and Nez Perce (Spier 1935). The message of hostility toward Euro-Americans and their lifestyle contained in the doctrine of the Smohalla cult played an important role in uniting native resistance during the wars between the Nez Perce and Bannock Indians and the U.S. government in the late 1870's (Spier 1935: 46). A modified version of the Smohalla cult continues to be practiced among some native peoples of the Columbia River region as the derivative Pompom or Feather religion (also known as the Washat or Seven Drums religion today; for a discussion of this religion, see Du Bois 1938).

According to Spier (1935: 48), it is possible that the teachings of the Smohalla cult were transmitted to the Indians on the Siletz Reservation in western Oregon. In 1877 the Indian agent wrote:

Some opposition to the progress of Christianity among them has been manifested by a few of the 'dreamers,' or spiritualists, though their opposition had only been shown in words (cited in Spier 1935: 48).

It is more likely, however, that the "dreamers" referred to by the Indian agent were influenced by the Ghost Dance movement instead, which spread to the Indian reservations in western Oregon during the 1870's (Du Bois 1939: 25-37).

#### *THE 1870 GHOST DANCE*

About 1870 the religious movement known as the Ghost Dance spread westward from the Great Basin into California and Oregon. Most researchers trace the source of this religious movement to Wodziwob (Gray Hair), a Paviotso Indian who lived at the Walker Lake Indian Reservation in Nevada. In 1869 Wodziwob went into a trance, during which he learned that the

Supreme Ruler . . . was then on the way with all the spirits of the departed dead to again reside upon this earth and change it into a paradise. Life was to be eternal, and no distinction was to exist between races (Mooney 1896: 703).

Rawhide Henry, one of Du Bois' informants on the Pyramid Lake Reservation in Nevada, recalled that Wodziwob preached that

Our fathers are coming, our mothers are coming, they are coming pretty soon. You had better dance. Never stop for a long time. Swim. Paint in white and black and red paint. Every morning wash and paint. Everybody be happy (Du Bois 1939: 4).

Wodziwob preached his message about the return of the dead until he died three or four years after his trance experience (Du Bois 1939: 6). His doctrine was adopted by another prophet, Weneyuga (Frank Spencer), who converted the neighboring Washo in 1871, and carried the message to the Paviotso living on the Fort Bidwell Reservation in northeastern California and the Klamath Reservation in southern Oregon. After preaching the Ghost Dance doctrine on these reservations, Weneyuga began practicing shamanistic functions such as curing and rain making. According to Du Bois (1939: 6), it was primarily as a curer that Weneyuga was remembered among his people.

Among the Paviotso, the Ghost Dance did not entail any special ceremonies. For the most part, the prophet preached at normal gatherings, such as those associated with the pine nut harvest and the communal rabbit drives, and the traditional round dance was performed. Songs were generally new, however, and were said to have been learned by the prophet while visiting the spirit land during a trance (Du Bois 1939: 6-7).

The 1870 Ghost Dance, then, did not represent a radical departure from traditional Paviotso religious practices. It was only after its introduction among neighboring peoples, when it was placed in a context of more advanced cultural disintegration, that the Ghost Dance became a truly dynamic revitalization movement (Du Bois 1939: 7). There are some suggestions in historical accounts that similar religious movements occurred among the native peoples of the Great Basin prior to the 1870 Ghost Dance (e.g., Mooney 1896: 809). The Prophet Dance of the adjacent Columbia Plateau, either in its original form or in the later Smohalla cult phase, was a likely source from which the general doctrine of the Ghost Dance may have been derived (Spier 1935: 22-24).

As a result of Woneyuga's visit, the Ghost Dance spread in 1871 from the Paviotso to the other two Indian tribes on the Klamath Reservation, the Klamath and Modoc. From them it was carried to the Karok and Shasta of northern California. It was then transmitted by the Shasta to the Siletz and Grand Ronde reservations in western Oregon. From Siletz it was carried down the coast to the Tolowa and Yurok (Du Bois 1939: 1).

At the same time, the Ghost Dance also spread from the Paviotso westward into California. Its course in south-central California has been described by Gayton (1930). In north-central California, a modified version of the Ghost Dance known as the Earth Lodge cult developed among the Wintun and Hill Patwin. While the original Ghost Dance stressed the return of the dead, the Earth Lodge cult emphasized the end of the world. Dances were held at ritual centers, often in the semisubterranean earth-covered dance houses where rituals of the native Kuksu religion had been held. The cult is named for these structures, which were to be the means by which the faithful were to be protected from the predicted world holocaust (Du Bois 1939: 1).

Like the Ghost Dance proper, the Earth Lodge cult spread to neighboring native peoples. It was carried to the north to the Achomawi and then to the Klamath Reservation. At the same time, it was passed to the Shasta who are credited with carrying it to the Siletz and Grand Ronde reservations, where it was locally known as the Warm House Dance (Du Bois 1939: 1).

Meanwhile, the Earth Lodge cult was also transmitted south to the Pomo, where in 1872 a more elaborate form known as the Dreamer or Bole-Marú cult developed among the tribes of north-central California. The doctrine of the Bole-Marú cult was the creation of dreamers, supposedly inspired by God, who imparted to their people the content of their revelations and preached a moralistic code. In this cult, the idea that the end of the world was imminent was gradually abandoned, and instead concepts of the afterlife and the supreme being were emphasized.

From the Bole-Marú still another cult developed among the Pomo which is known as the Big Head cult. This cult, which involved the wearing of particular regalia during special dances, spread rapidly northward as far as the Shasta, with some knowledge of it also being transmitted by them to the Siletz and Grand Ronde reservations in western Oregon. The Bole-Marú cult has persisted in modified form to the present among the Pomo and Patwin peoples of north-central California (Meighan and Riddell 1972).

The Ghost Dance first appeared on the Klamath Reservation in southern Oregon in 1871. This movement, which has been the subject of studies by Spier (1927) and Nash (1937), was introduced by the Paviotso Weneyuga who carried the message to the Klamath that "Kemukumps, the Klamath culture hero, was coming from the south and the dead were on their way to the land of the living" (Spier 1927: 45). The Ghost Dance on the Klamath Reservation involved mass ceremonies accompanied by songs about the dead. Interest in the movement lasted about a year. At this stage, participation in the dance "implied no discernible anti-white feeling, merely a generalized apprehension about the future" (Nash 1937: 420).

In 1874 the Earth Lodge cult, with its dance house of the central California type, new styles of dancing and face paint, and new songs, was introduced. The doctrine of the Earth Lodge cult as practiced on the Klamath Reservation was generally similar to that of the earlier Ghost Dance:

It was asserted that the dead would return, that the date of their return was near at hand, and that on the day of their return whites and unbelievers would be destroyed by an earthquake. Dancing, it was said, would hasten the approach of the dead. Dancers were encouraged to faint and dream of the returning dead. The leaders frequently went into trances in which they met the dead and, when they regained consciousness, reported how near the dead were. Many people met and talked with their dead relatives who were then on the march, or had visions of the land of the dead where everyone was happy (Nash 1937: 421).

In some aspects, however, the Earth Lodge cult did differ from the earlier Ghost Dance. For example, in some areas of the Klamath Reservation the practice of the Earth Lodge cult instilled a strong anti-white feeling (Nash 1937: 423). The two movements also differed in the way in which believers participated. In the Ghost Dance the joint or communal aspects of the ceremony were stressed, while in the Earth Lodge cult individual experiences came to be emphasized. In time the Dream Dance, in which each individual was encouraged to dream about the dead, came to overshadow other aspects of the Earth Lodge cult (Nash 1937: 426-435).

The Earth Lodge cult was strongly suppressed by the reservation authorities, and within a few months the dances were no longer performed in public. Singing of songs associated with the Ghost Dance and the Earth Lodge cult continued in secret for some years, however, until the introduction of Christianity in 1878 (Spier 1927: 46; Nash 1937: 434).

The Ghost Dance was introduced to the Siletz and Grand Ronde reservations in northwestern Oregon in 1871. Some Shasta Indians, who had earlier been removed to the Grand Ronde Reservation, returned to their home territory for a visit where they came into contact with the new religion. On their return they carried the message to the Tututni on the Siletz Reservation, who under the leadership of Sixes George eagerly adopted the new beliefs. A detailed account of the introduction of the Ghost Dance to the reservations in northwestern Oregon was given by informant Coquille Thompson:

About one year before Bogus Tom [Shasta] came, some Grande Ronde Indians went down to California and learned about the dead coming back. They said the grass would be about 16 inches high when the dead arrived. On the way back they told Sixes George [Tututni], who was living at Lower Farm on Siletz Reservation. That started them [Tututni colony] dreaming and getting excited. About a hundred old ladies danced like young girls. It was so crowded in the dance house, you could hardly walk in. Those people at Siletz also dreamed the dead were coming back. It made everybody excited. The whites were to be driven back across the ocean where they came from and no one but Indians would be here. They never said, though, how the world was to turn over. Sixes George said all those things. He had lost his wife and his son. He felt badly. He wanted to die and go where his relatives were. That is why he started to dream and dance.

Then Depot Charlie started to dream like Sixes George. He took his dance to Smith River [Tolowa]. That was before the Warm House Dance. The dream dance they used was old, but it started up strong when this new message came. Everywhere there were Indians dancing. At Grand Ronde the Calapuya and Yoncalla joined in too.

Then from Siletz, Klamath Charlie, Klamath Smith, and Klamath Henry went down to California. On their way back they met Shasta Isaac and John Smith, from Grand Ronde, who were on their way down to California. When those three Shasta Indians got back to Siletz, they told all they remembered--the

songs and how they danced in California. They thought the dead would come back. They began building a sweat house for the dance, but not so big as the one Bogus Tom built the next year. When Bogus Tom brought in the Warm House Dance [Earth Lodge cult], Sixes George didn't go. He didn't believe in it. He had his own dream dance (Du Bois 1939: 25).

In addition to the Indians on the Siletz and Grand Ronde reservations, the Ghost Dance was also adopted by native peoples living along the Alsea and Yachats rivers along the northern Oregon coast (Du Bois 1939: 26). The new religion was also carried by Depot Charlie, a Tututni living on the Siletz Reservation, south along the coast to the Tolowa near the Oregon-California border (Du Bois 1939: 18-19).

Among those who became involved in the Ghost Dance were a number of the Coos. Annie Miner Peterson, then married to an Alsea named William Jackson, recalled that many of her people traveled from Yachats to Siletz to participate in these events. As she remembered the Ghost Dance, both men and women danced but in separate lines or rows. The men accompanied the dance with wooden clappers. This dance later spread south along the coast and was observed by the Coos who lived at Empire on Coos Bay (Jacobs, Box 64, n.d.).

Contemporary newspaper accounts indicate that the Ghost Dance activities frightened the white settlers living near the reservations. A letter from Newport containing the following account of activities on the Siletz Reservation appeared in the January 4, 1873 edition of the *Corvallis Gazette*:

Several months ago a prophet came among the Indians at Siletz, and stated that if the Indians would dance long and strong, the dead Siwash of many years past would return to life and their friends, a war would be made on the whites, and a short successful warfare would terminate in a repossession of their old homes and hunting grounds. For a while this prophet labored, dancing and telling of the good time coming, without obtaining any converts; but gradually the prophet's teachings gained ground and believers, until now scarcely an Indian on the Siletz or Alsea agency can be found who does not express perfect confidence in the . . . prophecies. Dancing among the Indians has been carried to that extravagant extent that the able-bodied Indians have been compelled to desist from . . . exhaustion; some of the most fanatical, dancing for several days and nights continuous . . . (Du Bois 1939: 26).

In an effort to calm the fears of the white settlers, Joel Palmer, Superintendent of the Siletz Reservation, prepared the following letter which appeared in the February 8, 1873 issue of the *Corvallis Gazette*:

Denial that war dance was in progress because 'men, women, boys and girls, even children and old blind women, all engaged. The dances are for the spirits of their departed relatives, with a hope that they may be restored to them on this earth, and there is seemingly a kind of mesmeric influence brought to bear that pervades the entire mass.' Definite denial of doctrine to expel white people, but had urged Indians to cease because of alarm of white settlers. Considered dances 'less harmful than gambling. I presume two-thirds who have engaged in these dances did so for mere amusement' (Du Bois 1939: 26).

In the 1870's the Ghost Dance appeared among the Tillamook. Calling it the Southwest Wind Dance and insisting that they had possessed the inspiration for inaugurating it, the Tillamook were involved in these observances for some fifteen years. Clara Pearson recalled that *YE't'cit*, or *Yat'exa'la* had introduced the dance and was especially active in recruiting young men. He taught that all the Indians would die off if they did not get involved. He told the Tillamook that if they danced they would live, their dead family members would return, and that whatever they wished for during the dance would appear at their doorstep the next morning (Jacobs, E., Notebook 113, 1934: 305-06).

The Southwest Wind Dance was different from the usual Tillamook Winter Dance. In the Winter Dance women sat and drummed on the floor while the young men used drumming poles to strike the roof planks. The women's drum was a long board over a hollow place in the floor. In the Southwest Wind Dance the Tillamook used a skin drum (*skuga'winu*); several argued that this square drum, associated with the spirit land, should not be used because it could cause a short life for the dancers. In addition to this square, hide-covered drum, the Tillamook used a hollow spirit pole filled with pieces of flint which rattled during the dance (Jacobs, E., Notebook 119, 1934: 49-50).

The dancers wore any type of clothing they wished, but many put feathers in their hair and carried feathered dance sticks. The dance was popularized by George *T'cainas* and Hyas John. *T'cainas* made a square, skin drum and a special headdress of eagle tail feathers for use in the Southwest Wind Dance. The Tillamook constructed no special building for this dance. They held it at anyone's house which was large enough. Clara Pearson said that it was danced at her uncle's house and at Nehalem John's (Jacobs, E., Notebook 113, 1934: 305-10; Notebook 119: 49-50).

Clara Pearson's recollections of this dance which she witnessed several times during her childhood were yet vivid in 1934. She said:

In the Southwest Wind Dance, the leader stood in front of the line. He gave orders who should dance. He'd call people out of the line to dance. They'd play, fish, birds. They'd say this is seagull, this is crow, this is pelican, this is fish song and the dance would be correspondingly different. All [was] different from the W[inter] dance which was purely power (Jacobs, E., Notebook 119, 1934: 298).

Nothing in the Southwest Wind Dance promised to get rid of the whites. In fact, the Tillamook tolerated the presence of some whites, including the pioneer Dan Pike, at their observances. Pearson said that Pike made fun of George *T'cainas* for the way he beat time with his foot during these observances. Pike charged that his foot acted just like a sturgeon caught in a net (Jacobs, E., Notebook 113, 1934: 302).

Many of the Tillamook became ardent believers in this dance. Taking their children with them, they followed the leaders to observances at Siletz, on the Yaquina, or among the Clatsop and the Chinook. They primarily danced during the winter. Clara Pearson's mother, however, remained dubious about the efficacy of the Southwest Wind Dance. "Your dead people will never come back," she said to Joe Sewaheva's mother. "Hey! There's your mother standing in the corner, right there! She's come back," responded Joe's mother. "If you don't believe you'll spoil it all. It won't happen then." Ultimately the good singers and dancers died and the enthusiasm for the Southwest Wind Dance passed (Jacobs, E., Notebook 119, 1934: 51-52).

In 1872 the Shasta Indians on the Siletz Reservation sent three of their tribesmen back to their home territory in northern California to obtain information about further religious developments in that area. They returned with an early form of the Earth Lodge cult which, however, was rejected by native peoples on the Siletz Reservation.

In 1873, a Shasta named Bogus Tom brought a more elaborate form of the Earth Lodge cult which was accepted by the native peoples of the Siletz and Grand Ronde reservations. It was known to these people as the Warm House Dance. It is significant to note that several new cultural traits of central California origin were introduced at this time, including the square semisubterranean dance house with a sacred center pole, the split-stick clapper, feather capes and woodpecker quill headbands (Du Bois 1939: 25-27). An account of the introduction of the Earth Lodge cult on the Siletz Reservation was given by informant Coquille Thompson:



I was a grown man when the Warm House Dance was brought from California by Bogus Tom, Peter, and Mollie. They belonged to the Shasta tribe. There were some people at Siletz who spoke their language. On their way up here they stopped to dance at every town. I guess they must have stopped at Jacksonville, Medford, Eugene, and Corvallis. I saw the first dance at Corvallis. They put up a round canvas fence, [circa] 20 feet in diameter. You paid about one dollar to get in. They stayed at Corvallis for about one week and made quite a lot of money. There were Indians from Siletz there who were out on passes from the agent to work on the harvests for one or two months. After the Corvallis dance, Bogus Tom went to Upper Farm on Siletz Reservation. They put up a Warm House there. After the Upper Farm dances, Bogus Tom, Peter, and some Siletz people went to Grand Ronde. They stayed there three or four weeks and then I guess they went home. Tom had three or four horses which had been given him. Peter went back too, but Mollie married at Siletz and stayed.

Bogus Tom was doing this for another man, called Alexander [a Wintu chief in California]. Alexander was the man who sent Tom. Some big man in California had dreamed this and made good songs.

Tom preached, 'You dance this. It is a good word, a good dance, like church. Don't do wrong, don't try anything bad. Be good.' He said if you didn't believe in this dance you would turn into a snake, bear, or something. He was the first to say that you would turn into an animal. We had never heard that before. He preached all the time about doing right. He told how things were where he came from, how they danced. He said we were Indians and should not believe the white ways. 'They put things down in books, anything they want. We Indians see what is right. We have to give these dances. They are right for us.' Tom believed the dead would come back but he never said when and didn't talk much about it (Du Bois 1939: 27).

Three semisubterranean dance houses were built on the Siletz Reservation: (1) at Klamath Grade three miles from Siletz on the Siletz River, used by Shasta Indians; (2) at Upper Farm, used by Upper Rogue River Indians; and (3) at Lower Farm, used by Lower Rogue River Indians, mainly Tututni. Two more dance houses were built on the Grand Ronde Reservation: (1) at Rock Creek in the present town of New Grand Ronde, used by Shasta, Umpqua, and Rogue River Indians; and (2) several miles away on the South Yamhill

River used by "Santiam" (band of Kalapuya) and other Kalapuya Indians (Du Bois 1939: 27, 30).

John B. Hudson, Melville Jacobs' principal Santiam Kalapuya informant, recounted the following description of the Warm House Dance at Grand Ronde:

Long ago these people (here at Grand Ronde) always used to stand at their dance (to dance--here the warm house dance). There was a large house of theirs, there they stood at their dance (they danced). They built a fire in the center of the house. Now then all who would stand at their dance danced. (1) They had all painted themselves. They striped (themselves) with the paint. There was white paint, and there was black paint, and there was red paint. Then they would dance. They ran (around the fire) . . . , all those who were dancing would run around the fire. (2) And then they would stop their dancing, and they would kick (stamp) their foot on the ground. Then the rest of the people would be standing at the side, they were all singing. Some of the men held small split sticks, and they hit their hands with them (Jacobs et al. 1945: 72).

The songs accompanying the dancing were obtained from the Shasta, and the words were thus not intelligible to the local Indians. In addition to dancing and singing, some curing of the sick was carried out by dance leaders as part of the Earth Lodge cult (Du Bois 1939: 28, 30-31).

Four years after Bogus Tom's first visit he returned to the Grand Ronde Reservation. By this time, however, the authorities were suppressing the religion and Bogus Tom was ordered off the reservation the same day he arrived. He then traveled north to St. Helens and The Dalles on the Columbia River, but he was unable to interest anyone in the cult. An unsuccessful attempt was also made by Indians from the Klamath Reservation to introduce the Earth Lodge cult among Indians living in Oregon City (Du Bois 1939: 31-32).

About a year after Bogus Tom's last trip to Grand Ronde another proselytizer, a Wintun Indian named Yreka Frank, visited the reservation. He conveyed information about the Big Head Dance in California, and promised that it would soon be introduced (Du Bois 1939: 29, 31). Apparently, however, practice of the Big Head Dance never actually spread to the reservations in north-western Oregon (Du Bois 1939: 13).

The Earth Lodge cult persisted on the Siletz and Grand Ronde reservations for several years, but by 1878 the movement was on

the decline. Meetings in the dance houses were probably discontinued by 1880, but small groups still met to sing the songs for two or three more decades. A passive interest in the belief still existed among the surviving participants at the time of anthropological research by Dr. and Mrs. Melville Jacobs on these reservations in the 1920's and 1930's (Du Bois 1939: 29-30).

In 1878 Coquille Thompson and Chetco Charlie of the Siletz Reservation carried the Earth Lodge cult southward along the coast of Oregon. Thompson, born on the Coquille River and reared as an Athabaskan-speaking Upper Coquille, had a Coos mother. Chetco Charlie was an Athabaskan-speaker from the Oregon-California border who, like Thompson, had been taken as a youth to the new Siletz Reservation. These men came to a large community of Coos, Lower Umpqua, and Siuslaw residing along the lower reaches of the North Fork of the Siuslaw River at Acme, Oregon, approximately two miles east of Florence. This community included the Siuslaw who had always lived on this estuary and many refugee Coos and Lower Umpqua Indians who had fled Yachats in 1875 when Congress passed an act opening the Alsea Sub-Agency to white settlement (Beckham 1977: 162-64; Jacobs, Box 64, n.d.).

These two men were in their prime and reportedly Thompson, who had a very fine singing voice, nearly enticed a Siuslaw woman, the wife of Alec and the daughter of Pidel, to run off with him. Charlie either at this time or shortly thereafter married a Coos woman from the Siuslaw; she was the sister of Jim Buchanan, a prominent Coos and ethnographic informant in the twentieth century. Both Thompson and Charlie were persuasive speakers and within a few days they had induced the Indians along the North Fork of the Siuslaw to gather on the west shore near where that estuary entered the main river to erect a large, ceremonial dance house (Jacobs, Box 64, n.d.).

The whites who lived in the district called this structure a "sweat house," but such was not its function. Nevertheless, Frank Drew, a Coos who witnessed these events, recalled that it was referred to as an *xu'xu* (sweat lodge) by the Indians who constructed it. The people worked for three weeks to build this ceremonial structure according to the designs of Thompson and Charlie. The workers dug a rectangular pit 60 by 24 feet and four feet deep. Down the center they erected three large posts, each ten feet high and notched on top. Parallel to these and eight feet high they set up supporting side posts. When these were in place, they lifted three long ridge poles into the notches atop the vertical posts as roof beams. They then began putting on the horizontal, cedar siding. They lapped each board over the one below it to keep out cold air (Jacobs, Notebook 91, 1932: 45; Notebook 92, 1932: 120).

The interior of this building thus contained a minimum of support posts. At one end the people erected a partition of

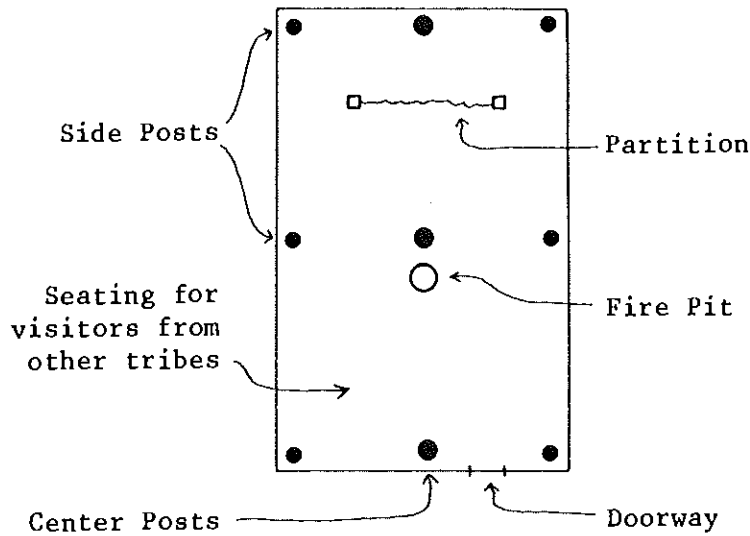


Figure 8. Floor Plan of the Earth Lodge Cult Ceremonial House (*Xu'xu*), Acme, Oregon, 1878. This building was 60 feet long by 24 feet wide.

upright cedar boards, seven feet high. This was to screen off the place where the dance paraphernalia was stored or where the shamans might wait. Near the center of the building was the fire pit; there was only one fire and all dancing was to be around it. The single doorway was a narrow 18 or 24 inches and was located to the side of the center pole (Jacobs, Notebook 91, 1932: 45).

Thompson and Charlie told these Indians that they knew the intentions of the deceased members of the tribes and that the dead Indians desired to come back but could not because of the presence of a great, rainbow-like obstruction which reached from west to east from one end of heaven to the other. The dead, they said, were at the eastern end of this obstruction and had tried to return to earth, but every time they did so the obstruction lowered like a curtain to block their way under it or raised like a high wall so they could not go over it. They told the people that if they danced and sang the Earth Lodge Cult songs that God would deliver the dead ones to them. They said that the more ardently the people danced and the better they performed the greater would be the pleasure of the Great Spirit. If they kept up these observances eventually all of the dead ones would return to live among their families once again on earth (Jacobs, Box 64, n.d.).

The Earth Lodge Cult required special rattles. Thompson and Charlie instructed the people how to gather long stalks of elderberry, cut these into sections eighteen inches long, split the stalks ten inches, and whittle one section thinner than the other. The rattle was in essence an elderberry stalk clapper which, when

shaken, caused the two parts of the stem to clap together and produce a sound (Jacobs, Box 64, n.d.).

When all were assembled, Thompson and Charlie delivered speeches in jargon and led out with the songs. The dancing was restricted to men, usually 10 or 12, who were barefoot and bare-chested; they wore only modern trousers and a headband in which they had placed feathers colored blue or red with dye or paint. In the center of the clay floor was a fire and the men danced in a circle, holding hands, around this fire. Only songs without drumming accompanied this dance. The men prepared for this dance behind the partition and participated in the dances and songs for half the night for a succession of three nights (Jacobs, Box 64, n.d.).

Frank Drew who observed the building of the Earth Lodge Cult Ceremonial House thought that the cycle of three night performances of the songs and dances occurred twice at Acme in 1878. When the dead did not reappear Thompson and Charlie moved their performance to Gardiner, Oregon, on the Umpqua River where they gathered the Indians in that area for similar observances. While they had been on the Siuslaw, the two men had been treated well by the Indians. They paid them with guns, horses, blankets, shirts, and trousers for bringing in this new religion. When they departed, however, the large ceremonial house fell into disuse and was never again employed by the local Indian community for its gatherings. Eventually the planks and posts rotted and the building caved in. Its rectangular pit was still visible on Drew's allotment in 1934 (Jacobs, Box 64, n.d.).

In the Gardiner observances Thompson and Charlie rented a hall. When they began singing and dancing the whites in the community forced their way into the room. No whites had been allowed to witness the ceremonies on the Siuslaw. When these men entered the hall the Indians challenged them and a brawl erupted. Some ten Indian men were involved in the altercation. This trouble probably ended the Earth Lodge Cult among the Lower Umpqua and the Coos who lived near Gardiner in 1878 (Jacobs, Notebook 92, 1932: 122-25).

#### *THE 1890 GHOST DANCE*

The Ghost Dance of 1890 originated among the same group of Paviotso Indians in Nevada as did the earlier movement of 1870. The later Ghost Dance was begun by a powerful healing shaman named Wovoka (Jack Wilson). Under the influence of a high fever, he had a vision in which he saw God and was given the responsibility of carrying a message back to his people. The message spread by Wovoka was closely similar in doctrine and practice to that of the 1870 Ghost Dance: the dead were soon to return and the white

people and their culture were at the same time to be destroyed by a natural cataclysm (Mooney 1896).

While the 1870 Ghost Dance was disseminated primarily to the west among the native peoples of California and Oregon, the 1890 movement was mainly spread among the tribes to the east, including the Bannock, Shoshoni, Arapaho, Cheyenne, Kiowa, Sioux and other peoples. Among the Plains tribes, the Ghost Dance of 1890 provided the spark for the last Indian war, which ended in tragedy when Sioux men, women, and children were killed and wounded by the U.S. Army at the battle of Wounded Knee (Mooney 1896).

The 1890 Ghost Dance was never carried to the Indians of western Oregon (Mooney 1896: 804-05). Most native peoples who had been exposed to the earlier movement during the 1870's were probably too disillusioned by the failure of the first Ghost Dance to place much hope in the same basic doctrine again (Du Bois 1939: 51). On December 29, 1890, Agent J. Day Buford of the Siletz Reservation answered the Bureau of Indian Affairs circular letter asking if any of the Indians under his charge were involved in the Ghost Dance. He said that there was none observing the Ghost Dance at Siletz and added: "I am informed that these people indulged in a similar craze some ten years ago, for some months, but as their dead people did not return, they gave it up as a 'bad job'" (Buford 1890).

#### THE SHAKER RELIGION

In the 1920's a new religion, that of the Shaker Church, was introduced among the Native Americans of western Oregon. Like the earlier Ghost Dance, the Shaker religion was in large measure a response to the breakdown of the traditional way of life after the segregation of native peoples on reservations. The Shaker religion has been the subject of considerable anthropological research (in particular, see Mooney 1896; Waterman 1924; Spier 1935; Gunther 1949; Smith 1954). By far the most exhaustive study is *Indian Shakers: A Messianic Cult of the Pacific Northwest* (Barnett 1957, 1972).

The Shaker religion originated in the early 1880's among the Indians of the Puget Sound area of western Washington:

In 1881 an illiterate Squaxin Indian named John Slocum presumably died near Olympia, Washington, and, after a period of time, revived. His resurrection, he claimed, was granted so that he might carry the Christian way of life to the Indian people. A year later a second illness struck Slocum, and he was not expected to live. During this crisis Mrs. Mary Slocum was suddenly taken with

a ". . . hysterical seizure in the course of which she approached Slocum's prostrate body, praying, sobbing, and trembling uncontrollably." When her convulsion had passed, it was observed that Slocum had recovered slightly. This improvement Mary attributed to her seizure, which she interpreted as a manifestation of divine power. That was the beginning of "shaking." The incident also provoked a renewal of interest in Slocum's message and marked its rebirth as the Indian Shaker Religion (Barnett 1957: 7).

Spier (1935: 50-53) suggests that the Shaker religion was possibly inspired by the Smohalla cult of the Columbia Plateau, news of which was undoubtedly communicated to the Indians of Puget Sound. Shakerism differs strongly from the Smohalla cult, however, including many more elements of Christianity and in lacking any anti-white feeling. Most researchers now agree that indigenous elements in the Shaker religion are more likely derived from native beliefs associated with the earlier Prophet Dance movement in general rather than ideas specifically attributable to the later Smohalla cult (Suttles 1957: 389; Barnett 1972: 306-07).

Shaker doctrine is derived almost entirely from Christian sources. In particular, church services lean heavily toward Roman Catholicism. Jesus Christ as Redeemer, the concept of the Trinity, the crucifix, and other elements of Roman Catholic iconography were all adopted in the new religion. Protestant influence is also discernible, mostly in the puritanical code of Christian virtues imposed by the Shaker church on its members (Barnett 1972: 285-299).

The Shakers recognize ten ritual occasions, the most important of which are rites of worship, healing, thanksgiving, divination, and burial. Worship, which takes place on Sunday mornings in churches, involves by far the most elaborate ceremony. Most acts of shaking occur either during services, or during healing rites which may take place in the church or at the home of a patient (Barnett 1972: 204-269). A Shaker healing ceremony which occurred sometime before 1900 has been described as follows:

It was my good fortune to witness the treatment and attempted cure of a sick child by the shakers. This child, a little girl of twelve years old, was brought into the room by her father and held in his lap. There was evidence from the appearance of the child that it was indeed very sick. The ceremony began with the lighting of the tallow candles on the numerous crosses. The father and child were placed in the center of the room and the shakers arranged themselves in circles around them and began ringing their bells in unison. Soon they began to jump in

unison with the ringing of the bells. After this had continued for some time, one after another proceeded to the child and, by feeling over its body, took out some of the *masache* [Chinook jargon word for evil], which was burned over the candles. Then in a most reverential and devout manner, they knelt around the sick child and most earnestly prayed for its recovery. Their prayers were intermingled with responsive exercises in which they all fervently took part (Barnett 1972: 258).

The only aspect of Shakerism that was clearly derived from Slocum's native background was the trance experience:

. . . the concept of a vision in the sense of a supernatural visitation was a well integrated aspect of aboriginal culture. . . . The conviction in the reality of these manifestations and in their importance to individual success in life was at the root of the widespread practice of seeking for spirit help to sanction personal ambitions. More to the point, however, was the belief that a person's soul could leave his body and travel anywhere, even to the land of the dead, and that it was capable of sensing and retaining a recollection of its experiences. The soul might remain indefinitely; but if it would not be restored to its owner within a certain time the person would die. This was the theoretical basis for Slocum's death and resurrection (Barnett 1972: 299).

The appeal of the Shaker religion has been succinctly described by Sackett (1973: 124):

The Shaker religion was an ideal movement to join, for it contained a mixture of both traditional and new elements. It was also unconcerned with the written word. To those Indians who could not read, the Shakers, with their stress on direct communication with God, offered an unconcern with the Bible. There was also the actual act of shaking. What, exactly, shaking does for the individual is unknown, but it certainly seems to have a therapeutic effect. The equalitarian nature of the Shaker church was also a strong attraction. In the Shaker church there was no white leader telling the Indian congregation how to behave. And members could wear any type of clothing without feeling that they were being talked about. In sum, they were all brothers and sisters in the eyes of the Lord, and in their own eyes also.



The Shaker religion found converts almost immediately among most of the Indian groups of western Washington, as well as some in southern British Columbia. In the 1890's, it was carried east of the Cascades to the Yakima Reservation in eastern Washington and the Umatilla and Warm Springs reservations in eastern Oregon (Pope 1953). By 1920, a Shaker church was established on the Klamath Reservation, and a few years later the religion was introduced on the Siletz Reservation. From there it was subsequently transmitted southward down the Oregon coast to the Tolowa, Yurok, Hupa and other Indians of northern California (Barnett 1972: 45-85).

During the late 1920's, the Shaker congregation at Siletz made two attempts to introduce the religion among the Indians of northern California. The second attempt in 1929 resulted in the establishment of the Smith River Indian Shaker Church, which today is the center of the Shaker religion in northern California (Gould and Furukawa 1964; Valory 1966). This church brings together individuals from a number of different tribal backgrounds and acts as a focal point for Native American "identity" in the region (Gould and Furukawa 1964: 64).

Some of the Tillamook became involved in the Shaker Faith, but none of them held services in their old homeland at Nehalem or on Tillamook Bay. They explained, however, that this faith was introduced by a Tillamook woman who had endured great adversity. She had first married a Clatsop and had many children; her husband and all her children died. She next married a Chinook from Bay Center and eventually lived for a time at Taholah on the Quinault Reservation. The woman grieved all the time and became so depressed that she could not eat. Reportedly one evening a man spoke to her:

Oh, you poor thing. You must stop this, you mustn't come here any more and weep. You go home and brace up and eat. And you get lots of candles and buy some bells and tell all the people you like to come to you if they believe you and all of them, when you talk, they should kneel. Whoever believes this thing can learn for himself and after a while they'll shake. You will shake yourself; you can't help it. Any evil people who do not believe cannot learn this. They cannot shake (Jacobs, E., Notebook 113, 1934: 305-07).

The woman came home, washed her face, and began eating again. She sent out someone to purchase bells and candles. She called many people to come to her and to kneel when she spoke. She lit the candles and the people got down on their knees. Clara Pearson said: "After [a] while lots of people liked that. She had it every week. She had stopped crying. Those people thought: 'Well this will help her out. Keep her from crying. She doesn't cry

while she does this way. We will go to her and pay attention to her" (Jacobs, E., Notebook 113, 1934:307-310).

The history of the Shaker Church on the Siletz Reservation has been studied by Sackett (1973). Word of the Shaker religion probably reached the reservation in the 1890's, but it was not until the 1920's that the religion became established (Sackett 1973: 122; also see Gunther 1949). By the early 1930's a majority of the Indians in the Siletz area were members. An account of Shaker divination in a search for a lost child on the Grand Ronde Reservation was given by Kalapuya informant John B. Hudson to Melville Jacobs (Jacobs et al. 1945: 52).

Soon thereafter, however, ideological differences over the role of the Bible in the Shaker religion led many to abandon the church. The deaths of many of the older members further diminished the congregation, which by 1945 was reduced to between five and ten members (Sackett 1973: 123-4).

#### CONCLUSION

The religious revivals which occurred among the Indians of western Oregon in historic times fit well within the framework provided by previous comparative studies of revitalization movements (e.g., Linton 1943; Wallace 1956; Lanternari 1965; Aberle 1966). Most theories about the origins of revitalization movements see them as responses to contact with a dominant alien society and stress the deprivation that native peoples have suffered at the hands of Euro-American civilization since the beginning of historic times. In this context, revitalization movements generally reflect two trends, which correspond to two different phases in Indian-White relations.

During the first phase, revitalization movements which tend to be revolutionary and hostile to intrusive White culture occur. These movements are *transformative*, in that their goal is a total change in the existing state of things within the participants' lifetimes (Aberle 1966: 318-320). These movements reflect the yearning of the native peoples for the recovery of their own culture, which is already in decline. The Prophet Dance, especially during the later Smohalla Cult phase, and the Ghost Dance of 1870 and 1890, are examples of revitalization movements which sought to salvage and reinstitute the traditional way of life by rejecting the whites and their alien culture. Such movements can also be seen as retrospective, in that it is the past that offers the way to salvation (Lanternari 1965: 101).

In contrast, the second phase of Indian-White relations, which begins after White civilization has become established, tends to produce religious revivals that call for adjustment to

the new situation without at the same time renouncing religious independence (Lanternari 1965: 101). These movements are *redemptive*, in that they aim for a change of heart in individuals rather than in society as a whole (Aberle 1966: 320-322). The Shaker Religion among the Indians of the Pacific Northwest is a prime example of a redemptive movement. In this type of revitalization movement, collective longing for the past tends to be de-emphasized while the native peoples look to change and progress in the future through individual betterment.

Religious revivals among Native Americans are symbolic of the struggle which occurred, and continues to occur in other parts of the world, when non-western peoples are confronted with Euro-American civilization. In most cases these revitalization movements represent flashes of creativity in declining traditional Indian cultures, as well as an attempt to maintain native values in the face of a rapidly changing world. Religious revivals bear witness to a vitality inherent in Native American religious life. This vitality continues to manifest itself in certain religious movements--such as the Bole-Marú Cult of north-central California, the Shaker Church of the Pacific Northwest, and the Feather Religion of the Columbia Plateau--the practice of which have persisted among Native Americans up to the present time.

*Chapter 8*

## CONTEMPORARY RELIGIOUS PRACTICES AND USES

Present Indian religious practices in the coastal zone of Oregon, and specifically in the lands administered by the Siuslaw National Forest, are the result of nearly 200 years of Anglo-European contact and 125 years of reservation and federal government programs. The combined impact of these forces has resulted in the cultural alteration of the native population and in the almost total destruction of the traditional religious observances of these people. Few of them know any detailed information about past practices or the locations of such observances. This situation is the result of several factors.

*DECLINE OF TRADITIONAL RELIGIOUS PRACTICES*

The context for the present state of religious practices among the native population of western Oregon is founded in part in the population destruction and relocation in the years 1830-60. Commencing in 1830 a period of calamitous disease swept through northwestern Oregon, decimating the Kalapuya, Chinook, and Tillamook Indians of the northern coast and Willamette Valley. Between 70 and 80 percent of the population died. The deaths of these people included many who were that vital element of the community responsible for sustaining the traditional beliefs and practices. Many of the shamans, raconteurs of oral literature, and elders of the bands perished. Those who survived sometimes were not the best informed on religious practices. Children who survived were on occasion the sole living member of a village. Thus the fevers of 1830-33 and the recurrent ravages over the next fifteen years shaped, in part, the background for those Indians who came in 1857 to the Grand Ronde Reservation.

In southwestern Oregon in the valleys of the Umpqua and Rogue rivers as well as in the many river systems along the coast, the years 1850-56 were likewise ones of holocaust. Smallpox, tuberculosis, and other diseases took a large toll, but the recurring wars and wanton massacres promulgated by the Oregon Mounted Volunteers were also a significant factor in destroying the Indian population. Of the many thousands of Indians who lived in western Oregon in the 1840s, less than 3,000 were alive in 1856-57 at the time of the creation of the Siletz and Grand Ronde reservations. Thus the combined forces of disease and warfare took a heavy toll on the ability of this population to sustain its old ways.

Another crucial factor in the background of altering religious practices of the native population of western Oregon was the creation of the two reservations. The great majority of the Indians on those federally-administered tracts had never lived in those areas before. Most were refugees from the conflicts of the early 1850s and were moved from their traditional homelands to these new areas. They left behind their spirit quest sites, the locations which were featured in their oral literature, their ancestral "centers of the world" and philosophical frames of reference. They were in a very real sense vanquished peoples taken to prison camps where their sense of geography had little meaning. On the reservations they were then subjected to a concentrated program designed to destroy their traditional culture, including the religious practices (Beckham 1977: 147-69).

The efforts to change the Indians of western Oregon into "civilized," nineteenth-century Americans were reflected in the comments of Benjamin Simpson, agent at Siletz, in his annual report of July, 1868:

Indeed, it is obvious, upon a moment's consideration, that it is utterly useless to attempt to elevate any individuals of a heretofore savage race without removing them from their rude associates, and thus freeing them as far as possible from all degrading influences.

So far as they remain connected with their tribes their knowledge that they may acquire at school will be either effaced from their minds or perverted to vicious ends by those absurd traditions and superstitious myths that are continually floating about among a savage people. Besides, it is evident that among the Indians physical and mental training must go together, for it is like putting new wine into old bottles to attempt to educate a mind that inhabits a savage body; mind and body must be civilized at the same time, and while the one is being stored with useful knowledge the other must be taught sober, steady, industrious habits; under such a system, not only will the pupils be benefit[t]ed, but they will contribute largely by their influence and example toward the elevation of their race from its barbarous condition (Simpson 1868: 121; emphasis added).

From the founding of the Siletz and Grand Ronde reservations in 1856 and 1857 the federal government's announced policy was in line with Simpson's philosophy: the Indians were to be civilized. The standards were narrow but clear. These people were to give up hunting and fishing and become farmers. They were to abandon their traditional languages and literature to learn English. They

were to cease their traditional religious practices, ignore the shamans, curtail the seeking of spirit powers, and convert to Christianity. They were to alter their social systems and adopt monogamous marriage patterns. They were to abandon their traditional dwellings and reside in frame houses with paned windows and shingle roofs. All were expected to wear "civilized" clothing and display appropriate haircuts (Beckham 1977: 147-69).

The results of these events were a rapid decline in traditional religious practices in conjunction with wholesale cultural change during the mid-nineteenth century.

#### *THE CHRISTIAN MISSIONS*

Rev. Jason Lee, the founder of the Methodist Mission in the Willamette Valley in 1834, was the first missionary to come among the Indians of the coastal zone of Oregon. Lee's first visit was to the land of the Yamhill Kalapuya and Nechesne or Salmon River Band of Tillamook-speakers during the summer of 1837. The occasion was Lee's honeymoon trip with his wife, Anna Maria Pittman. The purpose was for pleasure and not for converting Indians to Christianity (Williams 1951: 107; Brosnan 1932: 89). Later that year, however, Lee visited the Umpqua watershed to check out the prospects for a mission and was sufficiently impressed to plan a subsequent expedition (Brosnan 1932: 182).

Lee took two of his mission staff members in 1840 to the Umpqua Valley and descended the river to its mouth. While in the canyon of the Umpqua between present Elkton and Scottsburg, Gustavus Hines, a member of the party, wrote about the missionaries singing hymns during the evening to the Indians and attempting to preach to them. "The sombre shades of moral darkness, which had ever cast a melancholy gloom upon the people, had never been penetrated by the rays of gospel light," wrote Hines. Among the Lower Umpqua at the river's mouth, the missionaries continued their efforts:

Mr. Lee then addressed them, describing the objects of our visit, and telling them whence we came; how long it took us to perform our voyage from our native land to their country; that we had many friends at home who desired us not to leave them; that a sense of duty had brought us to their country to tell them about Jesus Christ; that in coming to them, we had been exposed to a thousand dangers, but had been preserved in the midst of them all by the "Great Chief above"; that we had heard much about them, and that we were glad now to be permitted to see them for ourselves, and become acquainted with them (Hines 1881: 103-04).

Following several verses from Heber's missionary hymn the Methodist travelers then explained the "creation of the world, the fall of man, the advent, sufferings, death, resurrection, and ascension of Christ" and other tenets of the faith to the assembled people. They then left, concluding that God had doomed the Indians of the Umpqua to extinction and was removing them for a "people more worthy of this beautiful and fertile country" (Hines 1881: 105, 118).

The first mission to the Indians of the lands later embraced by the Siuslaw National Forest was mounted in 1860 by Father Adrien Croquet of Braine-l'Alleud, Belgium. The origins of this mission can be traced back to 1838 with the initial Catholic labors of Father Francois Blanchet. Over a period of two decades the Catholics established a series of missions, schools, parishes, and convents in the Pacific Northwest. Croquet came under the auspices of Father Tousaint Mesplie who had in 1849 opened Stellamaris Mission among the Chinooks at the mouth of the Columbia River and had extended his labors east along that river to the Columbia Plateau as well as into the Willamette Valley. In the fall of 1859 Mesplie took Croquet among the surviving Indians of the lower Columbia and Willamette regions and within a year Croquet had located on the Grand Ronde Reservation on the South Fork of the Yamhill River. Croquet wrote:

We were most cordially welcomed by the Captain and the officers of Fort Yamhill, which borders on the Reservation. We celebrated the Mass at the Fort, preached and admitted to the Sacraments the soldiers and the members of a few Catholic families occupying land in the neighborhood. The Indians were not forgotten; the Agent, Mr. Miller, giving us full scope to do all the good we could. He is a most estimable official, who takes the poor Redman's interests to heart, and whose sympathies are all with the Catholic missionaries (O'Hara 1925: 142-43).

Within a short time Croquet launched his primary mission among the Indians of the reservation--an endeavor which he pursued for the next thirty-nine years. Although based at Grand Ronde, he also sought out the Indians of the nearby Siletz Reservation. In September, 1864, he wrote in detail about his early baptisms among the Indians of the coastal reservation:

Là, nous commençames l'exercice de notre St ministère, parmi les sauvages qui séjournent sur les bords de la baie, en procédant au baptême des enfants et de ceux parmi les adultes qui paraissent en danger de mort. L'administration du baptême comme vous le jugez bien parmi les sauvages encore sans aucune instruction religieuse, était nécessairement précédée d'une courte instruction,

sur l'existence de Dieu, la création et la chute de l'homme.

[There we began our work of our sacred ministry among the savages who sojourned on the margins of (Siletz) Bay and began to baptize the children and others of the adults who were on the verge of death. The office of baptism as you may well judge among the savages was yet with short religious instruction a necessary precedent on the existence of God, the creation, and the fall of man] (Bosse 1977: 65).

As early as 1860, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon, Edward R. Geary, anticipated the opening of missions on the western Oregon reservation. He wrote that year to the Commissioner of Indian affairs: "Missions should be encouraged among all the Indians of this coast, and the way fully opened for their cultivation in Christian sentiment and obligation" (Geary 1861: 409). Geary envisioned an educational program which broke up families and fostered the program of "civilization." He wrote:

The children educated at these institutions [industrial boarding schools] should, in most cases, be taken entirely from the control of their parents, and boarded under the care of a judicious matron, where habits of cleanliness, punctuality, and order should be carefully cultivated. The education of these schools should not only embrace letters, but the boys should be instructed in agriculture and trades; the girls in the use of the needle and the various branches of domestic economy. These schools should be governed and taught by persons of not only capacity, firmness, and amiability, but by those of decidedly religious character. You cannot displace a superstition and leave the mind and heart a religious void. Man is, by nature, a worshipper, and a true religion alone can elevate him (Geary 1861: 409; emphasis added).

Geary advocated instruction founded on "a *regimen* embracing an inculcation and practice of the pure and elevated maxims of Christianity" (Geary 1860: 755). The arrival of Father Croquet at Grand Ronde clearly fit into the programs of the Oregon Superintendency in the 1860s.

As early as 1862 Father Croquet had erected a church at Grand Ronde in which he held weekly services (Condon 1864: 201; Simpson 1865: 105). The impact of his labors was clearly evident in the allotment conference held at Grand Ronde on September 14, 1871. Peter Connoyer, one of the Indian men, spoke in English at this conference and said:



About religions--I am a Catholic; so are all my family. All the children are Catholics. We want the sisters to come and teach the girls. The boys, I don't care whether the Catholics or Protestants have them. The priest lives here. He does not get any pay. He teaches us to pray night and morning (Cree 1872: 565).

By January 1874, Father Croquet's mission efforts led Charles Ewing to write that more than half of the children at Siletz and Grand Ronde had been baptized as Catholics (Ewing 1874).

In the 1870s, however, tensions mounted between the Catholics and the Methodists over the struggle to win the souls of the Indians at Grand Ronde and to control the "spoils" of administering the reservations. The Grant administration initiated its Peace Policy in 1869 and began transferring the management of reservations to various Christian denominations. In 1870 the Mission Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church of New York gained control to run the Siletz and Grand Ronde agencies in western Oregon. Although the Society needed a number of months to select its personnel, it began through the Oregon Conference to exert its influence on the reservations. On August 22, 1872, Agent Charles LeFollett of Grand Ronde resigned alleging "the interference of members of the Methodist Church" in his administration. A Catholic, LaFollett could not bear the scrutiny and sectarian concerns of the new overseers of the reservation (Meacham 1872: 718-19).

The decade of the 1870s was one of heavy religious emphasis on the two western Oregon reservations. In September, 1872, Agent Joel Palmer wrote from Siletz:

The new policy of the Government, in seeking to encourage Christian civilization, by placing the agencies under the charge of persons recommended by the different religious denominations, if carried out in good faith, can but be approved by all good men. But even in this errors will sometimes occur, for men sometimes overlook their obligations to God and their reputations as ministers of the gospel while scheming for place and profit, and very many pious, good Christians are wholly unsuited for agents or employees upon an Indian reservation (Palmer 1873: 754).

Palmer was entirely prophetic, for the leaders of the Methodist Conference soon embraced the idea that "to the victor belonged the spoils."

In 1879 the New York-based Mission Society secured the appointment of a veteran Methodist, Edmund Swan, as agent at

Siletz. In less than a year, Swan wrote directly to the Secretary of Interior, Carl Schurz, to voice his disgust at the behavior of the Methodists in Oregon and, in particular, the local churchmen who had taken positions on the reservation:

I may add that even amongst our Employees who at times seem to get selfish and thoughtless of the interests of the Government, I have with some found it necessary to remind them that Reservations were not formed for the benefit of them, as a class, but rather for other and higher purposes, and in performance of this duty it has tended to sometimes sour their feelings toward their superior (Swan 1880).

Swan reported that the Oregon Conference insisted that he purchase supplies only from Methodists and that he employ "Methodists because they are Methodists, regardless of their efficiency" (Swan 1880).

By 1882 the Oregon Conference had driven Swan from his position as Agent at Siletz. The Methodists had established a church on the reservation and in the late 1870s began the maintenance of a minister to the Indians. Swan, however, in a parting letter to the Interior Department in 1882, noted: "This Conference nor any minister has ever given a dollar since my arrival for books, papers or indeed anything connected with their church or Sunday school" (Swan 1882).

In 1883 Agent Wadsworth at Siletz, the hireling of the Oregon Conference, refused permission for Father Croquet to come onto the reservation to minister to the Indians whom he had baptized (Seghers 1883). The priest was so provoked that he wrote to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to point out that for twenty-two years he had labored among these Indians. He added:

I can also testify that being now well advanced in years, I have spent the best portion of my life in honestly and faithfully laboring for the intellectual and moral advancement of the Indians of this northwest Coast. The former Agents of Siletz always gave me willingly their consent and help for the fulfilling of my sacred Calling, being careful to avoid everything that might disturb peace and order (Croquet 1883).

Somehow the conflict between the Methodists and the Catholics was quelled and the conversions continued. Beal Gaither, agent in 1889, reported that 40 Indians had recently converted to the Methodist faith while another 40 had that year been baptized as Catholics. Above all, Agent Gaither affirmed the impact of thirty-some years of reservation life by noting that all the

Siletz Indians wore regular clothing, lived in frame houses, and had gained increasing skills in the English language. "The Teepee, the Blankets, and the Moccasin are things of the past on this reservation," he concluded (Gaither 1889).

In 1891 Rev. C. R. Ellsworth, a Methodist, came to Siletz and erected a parsonage. By 1892 he had sufficient lumber to construct a church building and reportedly had expended \$940.75 on his projects over the preceding year. In that year both Fathers Gross and Croquet held services at Siletz and occasionally Father Lynch came among the Catholics there as well (Buford 1891: 1892).

In January, 1895, Father Felix Bucher (1895) reported that the following Indians were active members of the Catholic Church at Siletz:

Mrs. Mary Washington	Mr. H. C. Calahan
Mrs. Sara Wood	Mrs. Hoxie Simmons
Mrs. Kaluse Williams	Mrs. Lily Reusee
Mrs. Hatty Clamath	Mr. Thomas Linnans
Mrs. Suntan	Mrs. Netty Brosen
Mr. Peter Mockens	Mrs. Mary Williams
Mrs. Mary Wilpurt	Mr. Charley Sherdan
Mr. Pellet Lane	Mrs. Martha Saloman
Mrs. Mary Hausa	Mrs. Elisabeth Lane
Mr. Scott Lane	Mrs. Mary Metsle
Mr. George Harney	Mrs. Metcalf
Mrs. Francis	Mr. Metcalf
Mrs. Mary Calhan	Mrs. Mary Morris
Mr. John Reusee	Mr. Moses Kelly
Mrs. Kitty Chiens	Mrs. Helen King
Mrs. Tessly Brosen	Mrs. Waty
Mr. Warney Williams	Mr. Larnsan
Mr. Oscar Wood	Mrs. Elisabeth Sherdan
Mr. John Williams	Mr. Lane
Mr. Clamath Williams	Mr. G. R. Washington
Mr. Charley Suntan	Mr. Charley Johnson
Mr. Thomas Smith	Mrs. Marntain
Mr. George Wilpurt	Mr. W. Tain
Mrs. Chapman	Mr. W. Dick
Mr. W. Hausa	Mr. King
Mr. Brown Ortan	Mr. Frank Ortan
Mrs. Minny Lane	Mrs. Ida Ortan
Mrs. Elisabeth Harney	Mr. Charley Hosard

#### *INDIAN RESPONSES*

The responses of the Indians on the Grand Ronde and Siletz reservation to the several decades of "civilization" programs and missionary efforts were threefold.

1. A number of people ignored the attempts to persuade them to alter their religious views; privately they clung to the old ways and, on occasion, sought out shamans and recounted the traditional literature of their people.

2. Many, for a time, were swept up in the messianic movements which passed over the Pacific Northwest in the years 1870-1900; these people became active in the Ghost Dance, Earth Lodge Cult, and the Shaker Religion (see Chapter 7).

3. Others, as in the list enumerated above, joined either the Catholic or the Methodist fellowships.

Very little information is available about the Indians who clung to their traditional beliefs at Grand Ronde and Siletz. A number of ethnographic informants, however, were able as recently as the 1930s to provide detailed information about spirit quests, puberty rites, birth observances, and other religious activities of their people (see Chapters 2-5). Public exercise of the traditional religious beliefs, however, appears to have been effectively curtailed in the 1870s. Annie Miner Peterson, a Coos woman who lived on the isolated Alsea Sub-Agency and was outside the sphere of influence of the missionaries entirely, recalled in 1933 that she was probably the last of the Coos Indians to go through the puberty rite ceremonies. By her estimate this termination of an age-old practice occurred between 1875 and 1877 (Jacobs 1933: 22ff.).

The surviving Indians along the coast of Oregon found considerable pressure exerted on them not only by the Methodist and Catholic missionaries who sought to convert them to their beliefs but also by the surrounding non-Indian community which, though not particularly religious, deemed traditional Indian activities as "savage" or pagan. Frank Drew recalled, for example, the non-Indian actions and the historical context of the last Dream Dance he saw about 1890: "Too many elders had died, the whites were crowding in, watching the dance, mocking, disbelieving, the remainder lost interest in being exhibits, lost heart, and there were no more dream dances" (Jacobs, Notebook 91, 1942: 142).

The interactions between the Christian sects and the revitalization movements were not clearly documented but undoubtedly occurred. The Methodist agents at Siletz were careful to record in their reports for the Bureau of Indian Affairs the identities of the Christian Indians under their jurisdiction. Father Croquet, likewise, maintained his parish registers which chronicled the inexorable baptisms, marriages, and burials of the Catholic converts at the Grand Ronde Reservation. The participation of the Coos, Lower Umpqua, and Siuslaw and the Siletz in Christian churches in the nineteenth century was quite limited. In 1892 Agent T. J. Buford reported that of a total of 568 Indians at Siletz there were 48 Methodists and 45 Catholics--16.4% of the population (Buford 1892). Present Coos, Lower Umpqua, and Siuslaw tribal members cannot

identify any of their ancestors who had joined a Christian fellowship prior to 1900 (Coos, Lower Umpqua, and Siuslaw Tribal Council 1981).

Many of the western Oregon Indians, except those under the constant ministry of the Catholic mission at Grand Ronde, held aloof from Christianity but also did not continue their traditional religions. At times, such as in the 1870s, they turned with enthusiasm to the revitalization movements. When those observances incurred disapproval from their non-Indian neighbors and did not produce the results promised by their leaders, such movements quickly disappeared. The exception was the Shaker Faith, sustained by contact with other groups of like believers at other reservations from Smith River, California, to Puget Sound. The Shakers, however, were numerically similar to the Methodist and Catholic groups at Siletz--they drew a small core of dedicated believers but did not convert more than 15-20% of the reservation population (Gunther 1949: 46-47).

Nellie Lane, an Upper Coquille woman, told ethnographer Philip Drucker in the early 1930s how she abandoned her traditional religion with the growing influence of the missionaries. Coming from a family which had produced several shamans, Lane had sought a variety of spirit powers when a girl on the Siletz Reservation was ill. She then said:

When I joined the church I threw all my dreams away.  
Now I don't dream any more. I have cured a few people,  
if they weren't too sick. That was before I joined  
the church. I can't suck pains out, because I have  
never danced [the doctor-fixing dance]. I just  
sang my songs over them (Drucker 1936:281).

Evidence of acculturation on these two reservations points to the years 1870-1900 as ones of a sharp break with the past. This was the period of the emergence of the messianic responses, and it was also the era of the Methodist control of the administration of these two agencies. Increasingly by the late 1870s, the reports of the agents stress the visibility of the external signs of culture change: dress, housing, language, and subsistence patterns were within the "civilized" mode prescribed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The ethnographic informants likewise have testified that this period was the one in which the traditional practices were abandoned under the pressure of the missionaries, the boarding school programs, and the church-dominated administration of the agencies.

Another indication of culture change still evident today is the grave markers at the Paul Washington Cemetery on Government Hill at Siletz and the Klamath Cemetery at Logsdon. Tombstones at these cemeteries show a heavy Christian influence by the late nineteenth century which continued to be evident in grave



Figure 9. Early 1881 tombstone showing Christian influence; a hand points to heaven with the inscription "Gone to Rest" (Government Hill, Siletz).



Figure 10. Headstone dated 1899 with several Christian motifs: a cross, a crown and palm fronds (Government Hill, Siletz).



Figure 11. Easter lilies and cross on 1900 headstone (Government Hill, Siletz).



Figure 12. Dove of peace on the tombstone of Klamath John who died in 1901 (Klamath Cemetery, Logsdan).

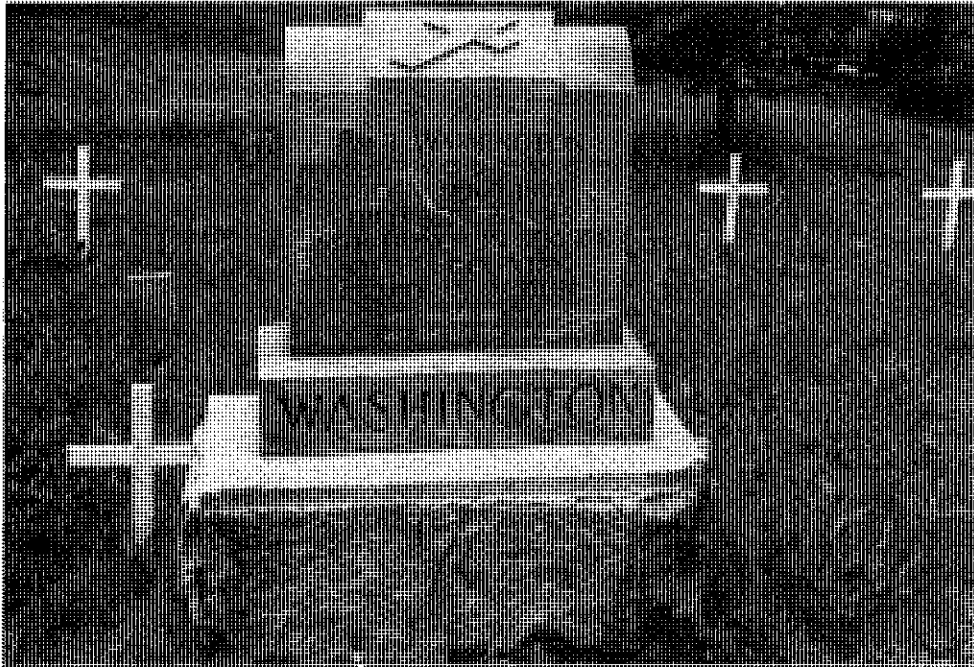


Figure 13. Native American serviceman's gravestone with cross; "Paul Washington. . .died Sept. 28, 1918 with honor in service of his country. Killed in action" (Government Hill, Siletz).

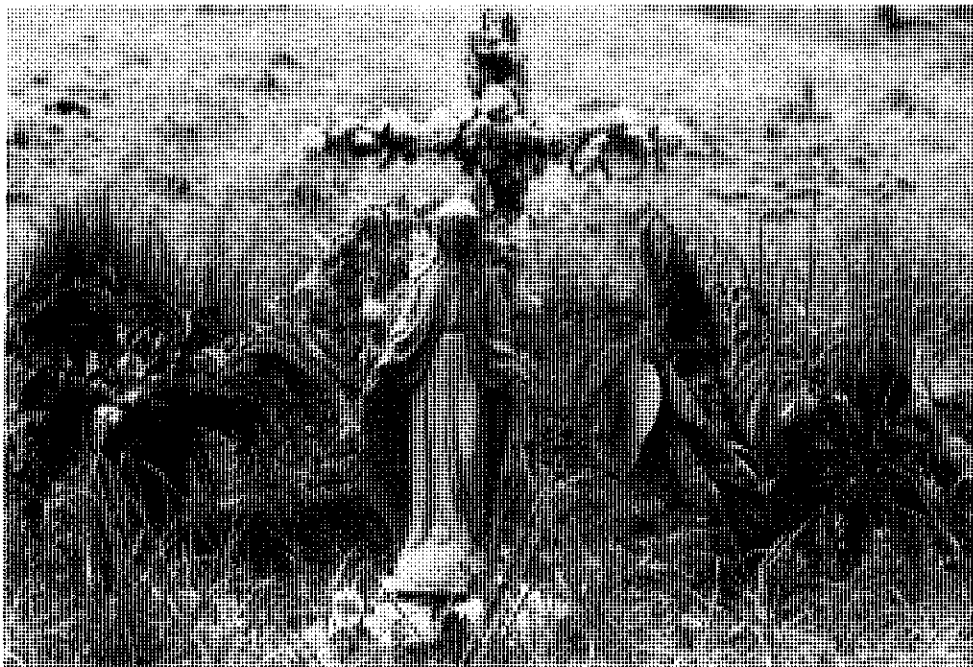


Figure 14. Contemporary gravesite showing Catholic influence with small Virgin Mary icon and cross of flowers (Government Hill, Siletz).



iconography to the present (Figures 9-14). Comparable tombstone motifs are found in the Coos-Siuslaw Cemetery on the Frank Drew Allotment on the North Fork of the Siuslaw River near Florence, Oregon.

#### *CURRENT PRACTICES*

There is no evidence as of this writing in 1982 of the exercise of any traditional religious practices among the Indians of western Oregon which pertain to the Siuslaw National Forest. This finding is based upon a careful review of extant manuscript and published ethnographic and ethnohistorical literature as well as upon interviews with the tribal councils of both federally-recognized and terminated tribes within the bounds of the Siuslaw National Forest. The following religious activities have been identified by these tribes:

1. Catholic Church

Some tribal members attend the Catholic Church at Siletz and at Grand Ronde. The parish registers at Grand Ronde document the Catholic labors among these Indians since the advent of Father Croquet's mission in 1860. Of all religious activity among the Indians of western Oregon that of the Catholic persuasion is the most evident.

2. Full Gospel Church, Assembly of God

This church is attended by approximately 40 regular worshippers and is the major religious involvement of members of the Siletz Tribe who live at Siletz, Oregon. The orientation of this fellowship is pentecostal or evangelical.

3. Church of Christ

This fellowship meets in the building erected by the Methodists at Siletz in the twentieth century. This church has a number of members who are on the rolls of the Siletz Tribe. The land for this building site was donated by the Siletz Tribe.

The Baptists have a church at Siletz, Oregon, but no members of the Siletz Tribe are known to be members. The Methodists are no longer active at Siletz. Their old worship site at Siletz is now held by the Church of Christ and their church at Logsdan is now owned by the Mennonites (Siletz Tribal Council 1981).

The Coos, Lower Umpqua, and Siuslaw have identified a number of sites associated with their traditional subsistence activities



Figure 15. The Shaker Church at Siletz, torn down in 1976 (from Beckham 1977:189).

including Bluebill Lake, a location in the Dunes Recreation Area where they hunted for ducks and geese, and various blueberry patches in the Dunes Recreation Area. Three of their traditional cemeteries have also been identified:

1. the old village of *Baldiyasa* at the Cape Arago Lighthouse;
2. the Jordan Family Cemetery on Tenmile Creek near its confluence with Eel Creek on the eastern border of the Dunes Recreation Area; and
3. the Coos-Siuslaw Cemetery on the Frank Drew allotment near the confluence of the North Fork and the Siuslaw River east of Florence, Oregon.

Tribal members have been and continue to be interred at these sites. The location at the Cape Arago Lighthouse is also the annual meeting place for the Confederated Coos, Lower Umpqua, and Siuslaw tribes in early August for their annual salmon bake and observance of returning the bones of the salmon to the sea (Coos, Lower Umpqua and Siuslaw Tribal Council 1981).

The Shaker Church, which emerged as an important fellowship

at Siletz in the 1920s, has largely passed from active membership among the Indians of western Oregon. The church building at Siletz (Figure 15) was razed in 1976 by Siletz young people as a youth or Job Corps project. The last Shaker funeral was that of Abson "Abe" Logan who died on February 3, 1960. Among those who are yet active Shakers are Ida Bensell, born in 1879, and her daughter, Gladys (Bensell) Muschamp. In spite of Mrs. Bensell's extreme age, as recently as May, 1981, she journeyed to Taholah on the Quinault Reservation for Shaker services. (Muschamp 1981).

#### *CONCLUSION*

The combined impacts of population decline of calamitous proportion, removal from traditional homelands, programs of "civilization" promulgated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (and enforced from 1856-63 by the U.S. Army), and the active labors of Catholic and Methodist missionaries led to significant acculturation and the destruction of traditional religious practices among the Indians of western Oregon. In 1982 no evidence exists of the exercise of traditional religious practices by the native population on any of the lands administered by the Siuslaw National Forest.

*Chapter 9*RELIGIOUS USE SITES  
IN THE SIUSLAW NATIONAL FOREST:  
MANAGEMENT CONSIDERATIONS

The preceding review of Native American religious practices and uses indicates that, while religion was an integral part of Native American life in western Oregon, religious activities which may have been carried out in the forested uplands of the Siuslaw National Forest were limited. Interviews with Native American individuals and contacts with the Tribal Councils of the Siletz and the Coos, Lower Umpqua and Siuslaw Indian Tribes produced no information on past or present religious use sites within the Siuslaw National Forest. Likewise, a review of archaeological sites recorded with the Oregon State Historic Preservation Office yielded no sites within the Forest with remains or resources from which religious use could be inferred (e.g., red ochre quarries, rock mounds, dirt piles or trenches from vision quest activities). The only source of information concerning religious use sites in the project area was the ethnographic literature. These few sites are identified in the following section. Comments on the management of these and other religious use sites which may be found in the future are presented in the concluding section of this chapter.

*RELIGIOUS USE SITES*

The following use sites within or immediately adjacent to the boundaries of the Siuslaw National Forest have been identified during the research for this religious practices study. Approximate locations of these sites are presented in Figure 16, while Table 4 provides a summary of the site information.

Cascade Head

This bald promontory rises nearly 1,200 feet directly above the Pacific Ocean at the north side of the mouth of the Salmon River. The reference to the use of this peak and its open meadows as a spirit quest site is only the inference of such designation as indicated in the myth tale "The Journey Across the Ocean," a literary account recorded in 1890 by Franz Boas from the Salmon River informant Hyas John.

Table 4. Documented Religious Use Sites.

Map Reference Number	Site Name	Cultural Affiliation	Period of Use	Reference
1	Cascade Head	Tillamook	historic	Boas 1898: 27
2	Cape Perpetua Red Ochre Quarry Site	Coos	historic	Harrington 1942
3	Cook's Chasm Blue Mineral Quarry Site	Siuslaw	historic	Jacobs 1932; Harrington 1942
4	Christ's Footprints on Smith River	Coos	historic	Jacobs 1932: 74
5	Marys Peak Spirit Quest Area	Kalapuya	historic	Jacobs n.d., 1929

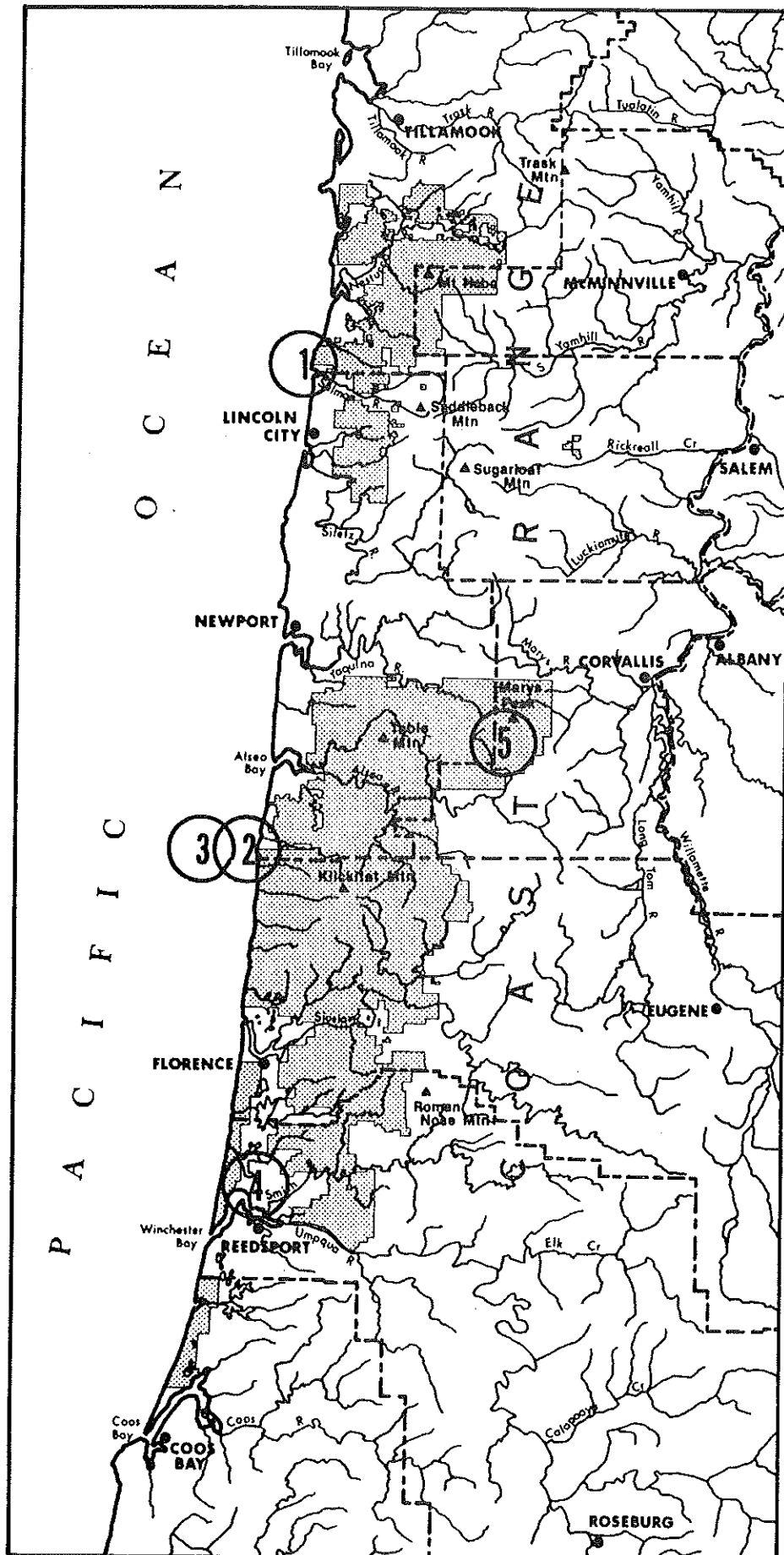


Figure 16. Location of Documented Religious Use Sites in the Siuslaw National Forest (key, Table 4).

This literary account has a central motif concerned with people who lived beyond the horizon across the ocean to the west. In the tale one of five surviving brothers escaped from these people and ran to his plank house calling out: "The men from the other side of the ocean have taken my brothers." The tale continued: "He went to the top of Bald Mountain, at the mouth of Salmon River, where he stayed twenty days fasting. Then he dreamed of his brothers. After this he returned to the village and asked all the people to accompany him across the ocean to see what had become of his brothers" (Boas 1898: 27).

#### Cape Perpetua Red Ochre Quarry Site

Red ochre was used as facial paint in several religious ceremonies of the Coos, Lower Umpqua, and Siuslaw in traditional times. It is likely that it was also employed by the Alsea and Yaquina. Lottie Evanoff, the daughter of Chief Jackson (Doloose) of the Coos, resided at Yachats Prairie north of Cape Perpetua as a child in the 1860's. She recalled that an important red ochre quarry was located at Cape Perpetua. She referred to it as the *má' .lvwí'ts'*, the "red ochre place."

Writing in 1942 during his fieldwork with Lottie Evanoff, Frank Drew, and Spencer Scott, Coos and Siuslaw informants, John Harrington noted:

The Ind[ia]ns prepare *má'lvq* (red ochre) the same way. This they get on Cape Perpetua Mt., up on that mt. I saw any amt of red-ocher, a big deposit of it, deep red, at a place betw[een] the head of North Fork & the outlet forest road that the g[o]v[ernmen]t has built  $\frac{1}{2}$  [mile] S of 10 m[ile] Creek. This red ochre deposit is yellowish before burnt & is at the very top of Cape Perpetua Mt. where the g[o]v[ernmen]t b[uil]d[ings] are there--water from the red paint deposit drains into the ocean (Harrington 1942).

Spencer Scott identified the Siuslaw place name for this site at Cape Perpetua as *ʔt's'tsIyoə'məʔt'ʔə'əy*, the "red ochre place" (Harrington 1942).

#### Cook's Chasm Blue Mineral Quarry Site

A narrow cleft in the basalt flows a short distance south of Cape Perpetua, a site today known as Cook's Chasm, figured importantly in the oral literature of the Siuslaw Indians. This site was the location of what was believed a passage into the interior. In a myth tale a man entered this chasm and eventually emerged on the North Fork of the Siuslaw River.

Frank Drew, a Coos living on the North Fork of the Siuslaw River, reported to Harrington in 1942 that Cook's Chasm was the location of a quarry site for blue body paint (Harrington 1942).

James Buchanan, a Coos informant, reported in 1932 that this same site was an important mineral paint quarry. In his account, Buchanan said that at some time in the past two men had quarreled at this site; one of the men was shoved over the edge into Cook's Chasm. For five days he crawled east through this tunnel and at last emerged to be taken to a plank house where the people had all kinds of meat. The man remained there for ten days and then returned to the coast via the tunnel to emerge from the chasm. The man returned in a small canoe and found his father waiting for him. He was alive and well in spite of his difficult journey.

Buchanan called the chasm *toi'ls-ha'la'dite*, "where the penis goes in." The blue paint, *tge'en*, was quarried here (Jacobs 1932).

#### Christ's Footprints on Smith River

At a site of undetermined location in the watershed of Smith River was a rock shelf which the Indians believed in historic times held the footprints of Jesus Christ. Frank Drew reported in 1932 this location:

On the Smith, an Umpqua tributary, there is a rock with a footprint where the Indians say Christ was when he was about 12 years of age. He told the people he was going on, to his father to complete his work. On he went then. His Father had sent him, in the form of spirit, but he appeared here in human flesh, at an age of about 12 years old, light shone over his head, he spoke to a multitude of Indians, hundreds of years ago, here, down at Coos Bay. That was where the largest number of people were. There were great numbers of people there long ago. The Coos River invisible because of the hundreds of thousands of native living there long ago, with hundreds and hundreds of house fires smoking of morning (Jacobs 1932: 74).

#### Marys Peak Spirit Quest Area

In Melville Jacobs' manuscript notes, he mentions a place called *toentei'ndu'* which he defines as Spirit Mountain at Grand Ronde; he mentions that it is the same as Marys Peak near Corvallis (Jacobs n.d.). It is possible that the reference to Marys Peak is in error, as Spirit Mountain is in fact located approximately one mile north of the town of Grand Ronde and can still be found on maps today. It is also possible, however, that Marys Peak was one of several "spirit mountains" and was the site of native vision



quests. No archaeological remains of rock piles or dirt mounds have yet been reported in the vicinity, but their possible presence should not be ignored.

Marys Peak was also mentioned by Eustace Howard in the myth of the "big water" or flood, which he recounted to Melville Jacobs in 1929. In his telling, which was apparently heavily influenced by the Biblical story of the great flood, Howard names Marys Peak as the location of a new beginning for the survivors of the flood. His reference to Marys Peak in this context could be an indication that the mountain was a part of the traditional mythology and religious practices of the Kalapuya of the Willamette Valley.

Within a few miles of the southern boundary of the Siuslaw National Forest are a variety of sites associated with the religious practices and oral literature of the Coos Indians. These locations include the following:

#### Red Ochre Quarry Site at Porter

Known as *ma' ukv*, this site was located at the base of the hillside at Porter, the present location of the Weyerhaeuser Timber Company Mill of North Bend, Oregon. Lottie Evanoff reported that the ochre was a yellow or cream colored substance when dug out of the ground but that it turned red when cooked. She said that the Coos found this mineral at several locations around Coos Bay. When put on the face it prevented the wrinkling of the skin (Harrington 1942).

#### Rock Islets in Coos Bay

At least four small rock islets, some of them tree-covered, once stood in Coos Bay. Each figured in its own way in the oral tales of the Coos Indians. Of these, only Lone Rock on Haynes Inlet survives today. Dewey's Rock, one of these, was blasted away to become the base of the boilers in the Beuhner Sawmill at North Bend about 1910. Another, the "Child-Catcher Man and Woman Rock" in a small cove about one-quarter mile south of Tar Heel Point at Fossil Point in lower Coos Bay succumbed to erosion in the 1960's when the last tree on the rock toppled into the bay. Another rock, nameless but well known to the Coos Indians, stood about one mile north of Dewey's Rock near Old Town at North Bend, Oregon. These islets are mentioned in the Coos oral literature recorded by Melville Jacobs and John Harrington. The interested reader is referred to the tale, "He Eats Human Children" (Jacobs 1939: 56) and the manuscripts of Harrington (1942).

*MANAGEMENT CONSIDERATIONS*

Like other cultural resources such as prehistoric Indian camps and early American homesteads, Native American religious use sites require special management considerations because they are *non-renewable*: once they are destroyed, they are gone forever. Religious use sites, however, have an even greater importance because of their value to contemporary Native Americans as a link to their traditional past.

For this reason, care should be taken to identify and avoid alteration of the setting of the sites at Cape Perpetua, Cook's Chasm, Cascade Head, and Marys Peak which might in any way detract from their use or interpretive potential as singular locations associated with past Indian religious practices in western Oregon.

Any Native American religious use sites which also served as cemeteries are protected by the provisions of the Oregon Indian Burial Act (ORS 97.740), which requires contact with the nearest organized Indian tribe. For the Siuslaw National Forest, these organizations and their leaders are as follows:

Tribal Chairman  
Confederated Tribes of Siletz Indians  
of Oregon  
P.O. Box 549  
101 East Buford Street  
Siletz, Oregon 97380  
(503) 444-2532

Tribal Chairman  
Confederated Tribes of Coos, Lower Umpqua,  
and Siuslaw Indians, Inc.  
533 Buchanan  
Coos Bay, Oregon 97420  
(503) 269-2867

Tribal Chairman  
Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde Indians  
P.O. Box 94  
Grand Ronde, Oregon 97347  
(503) 879-5253

In the long run, the best means of assuring compliance with the American Indian Religious Freedom Act is to consult closely with these tribes whenever matters relating to Native American religious use sites arise. Contemporary Native Americans have a strong interest in preserving and protecting religious use sites and other localities associated with their heritage and should be allowed, indeed encouraged, to provide input in making decisions

involving their management by the federal government. Close cooperation between the Siuslaw National Forest at all administrative levels and the Native American community will no doubt go a long way toward ensuring the effective management of religious use sites and other cultural resources in the Siuslaw National Forest.

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CHAPTER 9:

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