Wə́xa Sxʷuqʷálustn

Pulling Together Identity, Community, and Cohesion in the Cowlitz Indian Tribe

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Abstract

In the last 30 years many changes have taken place within the Cowlitz Indian Tribe. These changes involve the tribe's sovereignty and have greatly impacted the emic identity of the tribe. Previous identity research with the Cowlitz predates these changes and no longer accurately describe the Cowlitz. The question for this research was how have these changes affected the emic identity of the Cowlitz today as seen in their community and interactions? And how does their identity now compare with their identity in the times of pre-contact and initial contact with whites? This research uses Manuel DeLanda's assemblage theory to assess and compare the emic identity of the contemporary and historical tribe in terms of sovereignty, identity, and cultural rejuvenation. When the structure, relationships, activities, and purposes of the tribe and groups within the contemporary tribe were analyzed, there was a striking resemblance to the community system described in early settler journals and histories of the Cowlitz. The research was cross-sectional, including ethnographic study, interviews of tribal members, document analysis, and historical analysis. In an attempt to allow the Cowlitz people to speak for themselves rather than project ideas onto the tribe, each section of the research first allows tribal members to voice their opinions and then relies on Cowlitz voices to confirm the analysis. The final dissertation was then submitted to the tribe for comment.

Thanks and acknowledgements

When this research first came into the works during a casual conversation with tribal leaders at the Cowlitz Tribal Office in Longview, WA, the tribal leaders were open to the idea but skeptical of the motives behind the research and the ethics of academic researchers, especially one from outside the tribe. I would like to thank the tribe for their willingness to take a risk, and I hope that this research was performed in accordance with tribal expectations regarding ethics and tribal regulations, and with the utmost respect for the Cowlitz people. It is also my sincere hope that the research will be of benefit to the tribe in some measure, rather than a reinforcement of hegemonic and academic views which have plagued research in Native American circles for centuries, or simply an exercise allowing the researcher to obtain more letters behind her name.

Thank you to every person who was willing to participate in this research. Without your cooperation and interest, this could not have been accomplished. Thank you for putting yourselves in a vulnerable position and doing so with generous hearts. Your time and help have been invaluable, and your love for the Cowlitz Tribe was obvious in every interaction. Náxʷɫqʷul'as!

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Introduction

> "Grandma taught me things I realize now were Indian. But she wouldn't teach me 'Indian'. You wouldn't do that. You just teach your child what you know. You don't point out the source of it… Lot of plants, licorice root, peel it off a tree and chew it, things like that. Berries that you can eat. I'd go out in the woods and didn't have a bucket to put them in. She'd pull off a big leaf and make a temporary holder, like a basket basically, and we put the berries in that. Put skunk cabbage leaves into a cup and drink out of a stream… I'm going to tell you something that I didn't tell anybody until this summer. Now I guess a lot of people know about it…I would go down in the field near where we lived to pick flowers…and as a child I would kneel to the four directions and not know why I was doing it… I would hope nobody sees me because they would ask why I'm doing this and I don't know why I'm doing it"

Juanita Clark

Cowlitz Tribal Elder and Ka`ya

For years the Cowlitz Indian Tribe existed in the hearts and minds of its people and as a semi-annual meeting. Outside the tribe, they existed in history books and a few scattered place names like Cowlitz County in Washington State. While one history book notes the disappearance or complete assimilation of the tribe by the 1893 (Ruby, Brown and Collins 2010:111), US Federal Court Opinions verify that the Cowlitz remained intact as a tribe throughout the late 1800's up to today (*Grand Ronde v Jewell* case 1:13-cv-00849-BJR, §3c ¶3). The court also upheld the Secretary of the Department

of Interior's finding that the tribe not only existed as an entity but had interaction with

the US government on a regular basis from the 1850's on.

Juanita Clark is 81 years old and remembers back to her childhood, recalling that

she learned Indian traditions from her grandmother and mother but was never told

"this is an Indian tradition". These traditions were simply things they did to survive

like picking berries and learning how to make baskets and cups from plants. These

traditions activities were engaged in on a small, private, family scale. The only tribal

activities Juanita remembers were the semi-annual gatherings of the Cowlitz, which met

at the Grange Hall in Toledo, Washington in an area known to the Cowlitz as Cowlitz

Prairie. People came from all over the Pacific Northwest, where they had located for

jobs, allotments[1] with other tribes, or in order to stay near family. According to tribal

histories and individual memories, the gatherings of the tribe in Juanita's youth were

focused around land claims against the US government in an attempt to receive

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[1] "In 1887, Congress passed the General Allotment Act, which authorized the president (at the time Grover Cleveland) to survey Indian tribal land and divide the area into allotments for individual Indians and families. The Allotment Act (also known as the Dawes Act, named for Senator Henry Dawes of Massachusetts, the Act's lead proponent) was applied to reservations whenever, in the president's opinion, it was advantageous for particular Indian nations. Members of the selected tribe or reservation were either given permission to select pieces of land—usually around 40 to 160 acres in size – for themselves and their children, or the tracts were assigned by the agency superintendent. If the amount of reservation land exceeded the amount needed for allotment, the federal government could negotiate to purchase the land from the tribes and sell it to non-Indian settlers. As a result, 60 million acres were either ceded outright or sold to the government for non-Indian homesteaders and corporations as "surplus lands." (Indian Land Tenure Foundation 2016)

compensation for lands that were appropriated without compensation by President

Lincoln in an 1863 presidential proclamation[2].

In contrast to Juanita's experience as a youth and similar experiences of others

her age, Cowlitz tribal activities today are vibrant expressions of a group of 4,000+

members who engage in them not for family survival, but purposefully for tribal

cohesion and development. In the words of Juanita herself, "It's a lot more fun. We're

together as a group now". In the last 30 years, the tribe has begun to have a wider scope

of operation than the former family lines, including a health care system, youth

activities, an ecology department, and tribal programs like Canoe Family. These are

made possible in part by these other changes: the tribe has partially distributed funds

from Docket 218[3], been federally acknowledged, won a legal battle granting a land trust

(commonly known as a reservation), and signed a gaming compact with the State of

Washington.

Perhaps the most interesting change, and the focus of this dissertation is the

unpremeditated revitalization of historical Cowlitz community systems. A community

system, for this research, refers to a combination of structure, relationship, activity, and

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[2] Docket 218 of the Indian Claims Court determined that official extinguishment of land for the Cowlitz took place on March 20, 1963.

[3] In 1973, the Cowlitz Indian Tribe won a suite against the US government in the Indian Claims Commission for land appropriated by the government without consent of the tribe on March 20, 1863. The settlement was for $1,550,000 which was considered fair market value for a portion of the territory claimed by the tribe. This decision and the money awarded are referred to by the tribe as 'Docket 218'.

purpose. Community structure is the grouping together within a society at different levels, such as individual, immediate family, extended family, hobby groups, work groups, tribe, nation, etc. When the structure, relationships, activities, and purposes of the tribe and groups within the tribe are analyzed, there is a striking resemblance to the community system described in early settler journals and histories of the Cowlitz.

The initial research question for this dissertation was 'what impacts are these legal and sovereignty changes having on the tribe, particularly its internal identity?' As the research progressed, the questions narrowed to 'what is the emic identity of the Cowlitz today as seen in their community and interactions[4]?' 'How do their dealings with other tribes, the state, and the US government reveal their emic identity?' and 'How does their identity now compare with their identity in the times of pre-contact and initial contact with Euro-Americans?' This research, therefore, is not a comparative research with other tribes or first nations, but an informative research where interaction with other groups is noted only for the sake of reflexive examination of emic identity. The tribe may already know the answers to these questions. In the words of Linda

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[4] The word 'emic' is specifically chosen and defined here as "of, relating to, or involving analysis of cultural phenomena from the perspective of one who participates in the culture being studied"(Mariam Webster Online Dictionary, 2016). The goal is to find how the Cowlitz view themselves and how they talk about themselves, not how the surrounding dominant settler society categorizes the Cowlitz. Having said that, much of the language and categories used by the Cowlitz are in common usage in settler society. Where Cowlitz understandings of a word vary from settler society I have attempted to make note of it and define the word according to Cowlitz understandings.

Tuhiwai Smith, research "told us things already known" (in Garroutte 2003:110). Part of

the research, then, is to find out the answers to those questions *according to the tribe*.

It may seem odd to look at identity in order to measure the changes occurring in

a group when those changes have been caused by law suites and legal status changes

that affect sovereignty. Why not take a more quantitative approach and look at the

growth of programs or the numbers of people affected by the programs? Why not look

at economics or politics? For this I take my que from Sokefeld (2001) who believes that

identity as an analytical tool is acceptable because it contains a dual hermeneutic of

concept and construct. As a result, analysis of identity can reveal the power

relationships of identity to the practice of real life. Sokefeld (2001) states that identity is

pluralistic, intersectional, and relies on difference. This combination makes identity a

strong analytical device because it keeps the research from becoming Euro-centric.

Identity is an emic concept to begin with. Economics, politics, and programmatic

statistics require a more Eurocentric, linear, and etic approach that is less appropriate

when working with a non-European indigenous group.

Assemblage Theory

As the research progressed it became evident that a framework of analysis was

necessary that allowed the tribe to express itself in its own emic terms while providing a

structure by which to measure change. It was also important that the analytical system use a non-western ontology because the tribe itself is non-western and does not fit into a western linear worldview. Initially, it was hoped that the Cowlitz tribe itself could provide this ontology, but there is currently no clearly stated ontological system put forth by the tribe.

The search for this non-restrictive and non-linear framework of analysis led to Manuel DeLanda's (2006) theory of Assemblages. An assemblage is an entity, or a whole, which is characterized by relations of exteriority, meaning that if you were to detach the whole and plug it in elsewhere, its interactions would be different even though it is the same entity, or assemblage. Each assemblage contains properties that fit under several headings; namely, capacity of the assemblage, current norms of the assemblage, historical traditions, and roles that each facet of the assemblage play. Each of these areas provide a structure for analysis that is rhizomal in nature and which has no beginning or end (Deleuze and Guattarri 1987), but allows for multiplicities connected in myriad directions. DeLanda's assemblages work within a hierarchical system (hierarchical in the sense of structure and size, not importance) which allows assemblages to be nested within each other while maintaining equality, boundaries, and identity. For these reasons, DeLanda's ontology provides both the theoretical and practical framework for an identity analysis of a non-European indigenous assemblage.

Another strength of DeLanda's theory is that as an ontology, assemblage theory does not itself contain a specific ideology (Delueze and Guatarri 1987), but instead identifies the beliefs of each assemblage through its component parts and relations with other assemblages. For this research, it allows the Cowlitz Tribe as an assemblage to reveal its own ideologies and definitions as part of its identity rather than trying to force the tribe to fit an already existing ideology.

It has been argued that DeLanda is a euro-centric philosopher because his secondary education took place in the US and his philosophy is an outgrowth of European assemblage theories. However,DeLanda is Mexican-American. He was born in Mexico City and did not move to New York until he was 23 (European Graduate School Staff Bio 2016). For about 50 years, he has been influenced by a female 'shaman' rather than traditional European religious beliefs, and believes that, "one of the main tasks of the human species is to establish a different connection to the environment by rejecting anthropocentric perspectives" (European Graduate School Staff Bio 2016). He therefore brings adds a very non-Eurocentric perspective that other more European theorists such as Latour and variations of complexity theory lack. In regard to Native American studies, this is a positive aspect because it helps break what Vizenor (1994) calls the 'Manifest Manners' that accompany European-colonial analysis in Native American studies. Manifest manners refers to the problem of European thought and

philosophy transference and assimilation techniques that skew Native American studies to colonial and settler desires and assumptions.

Along this line, many scholars in Native American fields claim that oral traditions and histories were excluded from scholarship simply on the basis of not being the way western academics did things. In other words, they were excluded because they weren't *western* ways. Following this argument to its logical end, if it is wrong to exclude a possible philosophy or voice simply because it is *not western*, then it must be equally wrong to dismiss an ontology simply because it is *not Native American*. From this viewpoint, whether a theory comes from Alexie, Deloria Jr., Plato, or Confucius, the important thing is not where it came from but how well it functions for the research. Therefore, it is not improper to use a non-Native American ontology if it does in fact provide for a gap. In this case the gap is a lack of cohesive analytical ontology derived solely from the Cowlitz. It is appropriate, then, to look for other theories that fill this gap, and not to limit the theories available by their global point of origin. So even if one is not convinced that DeLanda is non-euro-centric, one cannot deny that his philosophy may be appropriate if it does indeed allow the entity being analyzed to provide it's own definitions and categories. Part of this research then, will be to determine if DeLanda's assemblage theory is a viable analytical ontology in terms of Native American and Cowlitz experience. It can be dismissed as an ontology if it fails in that respect, but it cannot be dismissed before a serious attempt has been made to diagnose its relevance.

In the end, the research confirmed that DeLanda was in fact a viable tool, because as the research progressed, the categories given by the tribe for analysis, such as territory, traditions, norms, and beliefs line up with the data in both ethnographic research and interviews. At several points in the research, I specifically repeated to tribal members what they were saying using DeLanda's categories, and each time those categories and definitions of categories were confirmed, showing that DeLanda's theory was indeed allowing for emic identity analysis without western imposition beyond the use of English as a common language.

In regard to language and the use of etic verses emic categories, it is important to remember that the contemporary Cowlitz use English as their primary language, therefore any categories they provide will have automatic western assumptions for the reader. It is therefore important not to get hung up on whether the category name came from the tribe or from the west. Instead, the focus must be on how the tribe defines those categories and what they agree fits into them. When this dissertation was in its final drafting stages, tribal members had an opportunity to read and comment of any aspect of the dissertation. Not a single comment was made that the categories used and the system of analysis based on DeLanda's theory was inappropriate. If the tribe cannot find fault with the theory or the analysis, we must accept that they do not see a conflict between their emic understandings and DeLanda's theory.

DeLanda's theory of assemblages is relatively new and has not been widely used outside of hard sciences as an analytical tool. Although there are a few researchers using assemblage theory for social analysis [6], most do so in a cursory manner due, in part, to the constraints of length in journal publications. Therefore, a bi-product of this research was determining the benefits and drawbacks of DeLanda's theory in terms of a tool for extensive analysis.

Using DeLanda's theory, two matrices were created through which the research data was funneled. Using the matrices allowed each family, tribal activity, the tribe at large, the entities interacting with each of these groups, as well as the historical tribe to be analyzed as separate assemblages. This process resulted in a multilevel comparative analysis that revealed the unintended re-emergence of pre-contact era community systems within the tribe. Using assemblage theory, it was possible to see how the Cowlitz Tribe is successfully rejuvenating the old ways of community through emergent and synthetic properties in the areas of capacities, norms, and historical traditions as they interact with other assemblages.

Using historical documents, oral and written tribal histories, and shared memories and traditions of tribal members alive today, it was possible to assess the

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[6] Such as Macdonald's (2013) *Memorylands* (an insightful look at memory assemblages which she admits stays at 'meso-level theorizing' rather than an in depth ontological review of assemblages as a conceptual tool (7)), For further recent examples see Foley, "The Roman-Irish Bath: Medical/health history as a therapeutic assemblage" (2014); Duff, "Realism, materialism, and the assemblage: Thinking psychologically with DeLanda"(2016); and Davies, "Identity and the assemblage of protest: The special politics of the Royal Indian Navy Mutiny, 1946"(2013).

historical assemblages of community in the tribe. These include family, village, geographic area groups, and the tribe as a whole. Using ethnographic research, interviews, and document analysis, the contemporary tribe's assemblages of community were analyzed. In total, the assemblages included in this research are the historical and contemporary Cowlitz, smaller assemblages within the tribe such as family units, villages, and organizations, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the US Department of Interior, US Government's Native American Policies and legislative movements, and other tribes in the Pacific Northwest. It is beyond the time and scope of this research to completely map each of those assemblages in its entirety. Instead only those components and historical information of those assemblages relevant to the current research will be touched upon as needed in the course of this dissertation.

Gender, Race, Class and the Cowlitz

Historical, sociological, and anthropological research is riddled with race, class, and gender. From phenotypes in the 1800s to Marxism, eugenics and gender roles in the 1900s, these categories have dominated the field. A classic example is Healey's (2003) book titled *Race, Ethnicity, Gender, and Class: the sociology of group conflict and change*. Standard academic historical and sociological research in the past 50 years has taken a turn towards voicing the unvoiced and the non-elite by seeking alternative

perspectives, such as Jones and Wills' (2009) book *The American West: Competing Visions* and Zinn's (1980) *A People's History of the United States*. While race, gender, and class are laudable and these books have made important contributions, they are all etic categories used in academic research unless the entity being researched has identified those as important emic categories. The goal of this research is not to impose etic categories, but to find the emic categories important to the Cowlitz, which is why De Landa's theory was chosen over others, and why the methodology involves so much reflexive input from the Cowlitz on the research and writing. As such I could not force an analysis of a category that the Cowlitz themselves did not recognize as imperative to the research, nor did I wish to. This is not to say that those are not important categories of analysis, but rather to say that as a reflexive and emic study, those categories were at the very least seen as secondary to the research by the tribe, and in the case of gender, were not mentioned at all. Throughout this dissertation the reader will no doubt see patterns of race, class, and gender. To be sure, race, class, and gender exist and play a role, however, they are not the focus of this research. Therefore, those categories have been conspicuously left out of overt analysis in terms of headings and subheadings with the exception of this one in the introduction to explain its general absence.

Instead, race is dealt with in identity through such terms as phenotype, blood quantum, and a short discussion regarding the difference between ethnicity and nation – a theme that recurs implicitly throughout the dissertation. However, it is important to

note that these are spoken of in terms of western constructs imposed on the Cowlitz

after Settler cultural domination. They cannot be found in the analysis of the historical

Cowlitz until settler intervention. The legends of the tribe could be construed from an

outside perspective as including racial distinctions, however, that would be imposing

etic and western concepts of race into a groups that did not see distinctions in terms of

race, but in terms of a broader category of 'peoples' which will be explained in chapter

5. For now, it is enough to say that 'peoples' for the historical Cowlitz definition meant

any entity, including rocks, rivers, mountains, and humans, and was clearly distinct

from contemporary western understandings. As for the contemporary Cowlitz, when

asked about racial distinctions, beyond identity issues discussed in this dissertation,

there were no racial distinctions made or divisions based on white, black, etc. Many, in

fact, embraced a more inclusive idea of all peoples being human and of being in

existence, revealing a closer resemblance to their historical Cowlitz definition of peoples

than to contemporary academic distinctions of peoples and races. No doubt it would be

interesting to delve deeper into the influences of settler and academic definitions of race

and its impact on the tribe, however, due to space restraints and choices on what

material is crucial and what material may be interesting but not crucial to the thesis, for

this dissertation that discussion is limited to describing the etic racial concepts in terms

of Native American identity and allowing the Cowlitz to give their own emic

understandings through their quotes rather than giving a long interpretive narrative from me.

Class *is* a category mentioned by the tribe and an important part of the emic understanding of the tribe. However, as the research progressed, class seemed to be a reinforcing element of coding for identity, and will therefore be dealt with as such in chapters 5 and 6. As for gender, the category only came up twice in ethnographic research and interviews as a reference to historical norms by contemporary tribal members. Again, from an etic perspective it is possible to see gender patterns in the answers given by tribal members to various questions throughout the research, but those patterns were not recognized or given as a category by the Cowlitz. Therefore, there is no specific section of gender analysis in this dissertation beyond a few paragraphs in chapters 5 and 6 where the historical and contemporary tribes briefly mention it, and there is almost no assumptive interpretation by me beyond what is clearly stated by tribal members. Tribal members made it clear that any gender inequalities in the contemporary tribe were a result of settler influence, and not part of the emic identity of the tribe. Therefore, beyond mentioning some obvious gender distinctions in the contemporary tribe, gender is dealt with only briefly through the dissertation. This brevity, while mostly a function of the collaborative nature of the research and a lack of gender categorization by tribal members, is also a function of the limited space of a dissertation and the reality that choices had to be made on what

<mark>materials from the research would best reveal the thesis. A more in depth discussion on this process of choosing and writing and its effect on the research can be found later in this introduction.</mark>

Reflexive Epistemology

Since the goal of the research is to answer the research questions from an emic perspective, it was prudent to maintain cultural validity[8] in this research because I, the researcher, am not a part of the culture being research. Maintaining cultural validity required understanding the history of the assemblages in question as well as it's current manifestations. This was doubly important because assemblages and their identities are in part created out of their historical components. Along with the history and the concrete facts of the research, it is important to understand that the epistemology of this research is neo-Kantian, meaning that the hope is to find the best possible approximation to reality (Kant 2007[1781]). I would qualify this by saying that rigor in research and analysis is not enough to remove all that skews my research. I do not believe in pure objectivity, nor do I subscribe to the notion that pure objectivity is the goal in research. I believe it is impossible to remove all aspects of who I am in my

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[8] By cultural validity I am referring to Charles Kraft's Definition of cultural validity in anthropology. He states that, "an observer should be careful to evaluate a culture first in terms of its own values, goals, and focuses before venturing to compare it (either positively or negatively) with any other culture" (Kraft 1979:49)

analysis, therefore it is important to note who I am and my potential points of conflict as far as researching and analyzing data from the Cowlitz Tribe.

First it is imperative to note that, to my knowledge, I am not Native American. My ancestors were white settlers, some of the earliest in the Cowlitz area. As such I have been raised within a different culture and worldview than many of the Cowlitz I worked with in this research. There are some assumptions that go with a settler mindset that are true of me. For example, I have a very European-oriented education. I also dress, talk, and act in a manner according to the white culture in Western Oregon and Washington. However, there are also aspects assumed to exist in Euro-Americans that would be incorrect regarding me. These would include the fact that I have lived and worked in many different countries, including Asian, African, and other non-European cultural contexts. As a result, I am far less bound by Euro-American ways of thinking and worldviews than many Euro-American settler descendants in Western Washington today. It was important to try to limit the settler influence in my research and analysis while recognizing it couldn't be eradicated entirely, and my familiarity with non-western worldviews hopefully counteracted any tendency toward 'settlerisms' in the research.

Second, it is important to note that my family on my father's side is Jewish, which has had a profound influence on my worldview. I am familiar with tribal divisions and questions of blood quantum and lineal descent to the extent that while

my father can be considered Jewish without question, I am not considered Jewish

because my mother is not Jewish. Thus, many of the same struggles confronting the

Cowlitz regarding identity have also been confronted in my personal life. I believe this

was an advantage in this research, and at the very least helped keep perspective when

facing conflicting ideas of identity from the Cowlitz.

Third, I note that although I am the descendant of Euro-American settlers, and

although there is an ongoing philosophy in Native American studies that white people

cannot comprehend the Native American attachment to their land and culture

(Mihesuah 1998), I have a very deep attachment to the Pacific Northwest. This is

especially true of Cowlitz aboriginal territory, and as such, I have a deep respect for the

Cowlitz and their traditional ways of life. Since the day I was born I have walked their

old trails through the mountains, harvested, hunted, and eaten the native foods of this

land, fished, swum, and canoed in its rivers and lakes. I believe this was also an

advantage when doing research with the Cowlitz, as it allowed me to understand the

profound connection they feel with the land and water, and its importance in their

identity as a tribe and as individuals. Although understood and manifested in different

ways, this is a point of connection and respect that I believe allowed me and the Cowlitz

to work together in a way that has brought positive results for the research.

Finally, it is important to acknowledge that I am a proponent of grounded theory

(Neuman 2006:157), meaning that data and concepts are in constant conversation;

concept affects data affects concepts. This is one of the reasons DeLanda's assemblage theory is so attractive for this research. It allows space for reciprocal influence outside of time and space through its non-linear structure and multi-level process of finding the boundaries of assemblages.

Research Methodology

The study itself is interdisciplinary, and involved extensive input from the Cowlitz people, such as: their views of sovereignty, their versions of their history, and their perceptions of and interactions with US-Native American legal assemblages. In order to establish the emic identity in terms of community for pre-contact and contact time periods, this research includes analysis of historical documents from the contact era, which are the earliest written descriptions of the tribe (admittedly from settler points of view) as well as oral traditions of the tribe which have been recorded and written down in the last 50 years. It is questionable whether using settler journals provides an emic understanding of tribe during early contact with Euro-Americans, but since the tribal histories published by the tribe themselves use these journals, I will follow their lead. This is especially true since assemblage theory uses relations of exteriority to provide a reflexive emic identity. In other words, the relations of the tribe

with settlers who wrote the journals can provide an insight into how the tribe viewed itself.

In order to gain the necessary input from the Cowlitz people on the current emic identity, a year of ethnographic study was undertaken. As the Cowlitz did not have a reservation or bounded area in which all Cowlitz live, the ethnographic research involved attending tribal activities and programs throughout the year. As these programs are cyclical in nature and based on a year calendar, one year of ethnographic work was adequate. Activities ranged from youth outings to canoe trips, berry picking camps, tribal meetings, celebrations, ceremonies, and elder activities. While participating in these activities it was possible to engage tribal members in informal conversations as well as observe the activities. I was frequently introduced in group settings as a non-tribal researcher. In this way it was understood that if someone chose to engage in conversation with me, they were doing so with informed consent.

Ethnography can take many forms, so for this research Thornton's definition from *Narrative Ethnology in Africa* will be used: "a synthetic cultural description based on participant observation" (Clifford 1988:31). This definition was chosen because of the physical distance between members of the Cowlitz Tribe, making ethnography that requires living in a tribal setting but only observing and not engaging entirely impossible. Instead, active participation in tribal events was the only way to create rapport and spend the required time in order to obtain accurate information.

Ethnography was chosen for this research for several reasons. First, it is generally agreed among Native Americans that researchers who are not native should strive to include native voices in their research (Mihesuah; 1998). Ethnography and oral traditions are general accepted ways of including this voice. Ethnography also helps avoid what Miller calls "White's reductionism"[9] when studying a group of Native Americans (in Mihesuah 1998:103). That is, it helps the researcher avoid mistakes such as making important nuances seem trivial. Also, Fixico notes that, "thinking about the 'whole' of Indian life is imperative. After this step, it is essential of define the conception of reality constructed by the Indian community" (Mihesuah 1998:94). Again, ethnography allows the researcher to see the community as a whole rather than isolating individual perspectives outside the context of the community through stand-alone interviews.

While ethnography does allow for the above advantages in research, it also has limitations, and it cannot grasp a whole entity in the short time allowed for this research. The most limiting factor of ethnography by an outsider is that some places and events are not open to the ethnographer. For instance, tribal council meetings were closed to me. Also, although there is technically no rule against me seeing the tribal constitution, no-one who was approached about the subject felt comfortable giving me a

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[9] in reference to Richard White's *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (New York; Cambridge University Press; 1991).

copy. Instead, they described certain aspects to me that they thought important, interesting, or unique. Therefore, a cross-sectional approach involving more methods was a sensible step. At the same time as the ethnographic research was proceeding, 25 tribal members age 18+ were interviewed in depth. All ethical protocols regarding informed consent and anonymity were met. Participation in the interviews was entirely voluntary, and the 'snowball'[10] method was used to find interested parties to interview.

Interviews were necessary because, as Latour (2005) says, when social boundaries are fluid or difficult to distinguish, as in a tribe highly integrated into settler society like the Cowlitz, you should, "grant them back the ability to make up their own theories of what the social is made of" (11). The goal is to "learn from them what the collective existence has become in their hands" (Latour 2005:13). While ethnography, especially participatory ethnography, can provide much useful information, it does not allow for people to express their views in direct relation to the subject of the study. Interviews allow for research participants to be actively involved in the creation of theories and how their society is understood. Garroutte (2003) calls this Native American reflexively informed methodology "radical indegenism"(10). Latour believes this active participation in itself is a telling method of research that can provide insights

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[10] The snowball method is where one interviewee is asked if they can recommend anyone who might be interested in being interviewed or would be a good candidate for an interview, or the researcher meets possible candidates through relationship and connection with those already interviewed. In this way the number of interviewees grows through recommendation, word of mouth, and connection at events and programs, gathering people as the research progresses. With a physically scattered group that meet for only for events and programs, this was deemed the most practical method of gathering interview candidates for this research.

where other methods such as strict observation cannot. This philosophy is an

outgrowth of Tarde's (2000[1899]) non-evolutionary concept of sociology where not

only can the whole explain the part, but the part can also explain the whole. Rather

than a line of cause and effect, the effect could be the cause. In his own words, you can,

"explain the collective resemblances of the whole by the massing together of the minute

elementary acts – the greater by the lesser and the whole by the part" (Tarde

2000[1899]:35). In this case, the massing together of the minute details in interviews can

help reveal the whole of the tribe's identity.

The above phases of research were followed by an analysis of historical and legal

documents from the Cowlitz Tribe, Washington State, Clark and Cowlitz counties, and

the US government to assess the interactions of the Cowlitz assemblage with these other

assemblages. However, this textual analysis is also not without its drawbacks. For

example, Clifford (1988:40) notes that textualizing masks the role of the part or

component in a language of wholes; 'Mary' becomes disconnected from her narrative

and the narrative becomes 'Cowlitz' in a form of synecdoche. While Arnold Krupat

lauds this form of synecdoche as a Native American form of the social self, Clifford

warns that it can also result in a complete erasure of self from which others extrapolate

false ideas regarding the group. In order to deal with this conundrum, DeLanda's

theory analyzes texts in their relations of exteriority – 'Mary's' narrative is analyzed for

how it interacts with the whole of the tribe, allowing a continuing recognition of Mary

as a whole herself while avoiding the danger of false extrapolation. At the same time,

assemblage theory allows Mary's narrative to sit within the context of the larger social

whole of which she is a component part, thus allowing for Krupat's conception of

Native American self-narrative synecdoche as a key to understanding native American

identity dynamics. In regard to texts, as opposed to interview transcriptions, it is

important to remember that each historical volume or journal is a narrative of the

author, and is analyzed accordingly, looking for its interactions with other assemblages.

As for textualizing in this dissertation, "the staging of indigenous speech in an

ethnography, the degree of translation and familiarization necessary, are complicated

practical and rhetorical problems" (Clifford 1988:49). In answer to the question of when

and how to translate and use original language, this dissertation uses the following

method: as much as possible original language of interviews and texts are kept and in

quotes to facilitate a Cowlitz coding of their assemblage rather than trying to interpret

the coding. However, anything outside quotes must necessarily carry a measure of

interpretation. The original Cowlitz language, while not entirely extinct, is not in

common usage and contains many letters that are not in the English language. Words

that are in common use by the tribe, such as *kay'a* (grandmother) have been included

into the writing because they reveal a part of the identity of the tribe. Those words are

written according to the *Cowlitz Dictionary and Grammatical Sketch* (Kinkade 2004) when

possible, and phonetically otherwise.

The cross-sectional method of research allows each component part to be analyzed both as a whole and as a component part, allowing each part to keep its identity while contributing to the identity of the larger whole. The material and expressive roles of each assemblage are in relation to the stability of the assemblages themselves, not other assemblages they interact with. The Cowlitz assemblage was therefore analyzed separately for emic components and properties, and then re-analyzed in terms of their relations of exteriority with others in order to complete the analysis. This dissertation follows a similar outline. In keeping with the desire to let the tribe speak for itself on matters of importance to the research, the first three chapters of this dissertation are organized so that the first encounter the reader has with each topic is from the words of Cowlitz tribal members themselves. Following the Cowlitz voice regarding each subject is a broader discussion of the subject from an academic and broader Native American perspective. However, in order to re-engage the Cowlitz voice and keep it in the forefront of the discussion, the final portion of each chapter comes back to the Cowlitz by integrating the ethnographic and interview data with the broader academic discussion.

The integration of Native and Cowlitz worldview and voice into an academic research has posed many problems for this paper. Being familiar with the atrocities of colonization and forced cultural assimilation, the worst possible thing would be for this research to further harm any person or culture. At the same time, the school under

whose authority this research was conducted and the academic nature of the research

require certain western constructs for a dissertation, such as showing understanding of

those who have gone before us in research and theories for our field. For some, such as

Twiss (2010), the very idea of analyzing cultural revitalization was repulsive because it

required dehumanizing people and their survival struggles by making them a category

of analysis. Twiss speaks of the sacred nature of the stories of Native people and how

they have been loaned to him for his research. He also speaks of the necessity of

deconstructing narratives to understand what has taken place, while at the same time

honoring and respecting those whose stories he is recounting. A similar dilemma

presented itself in this research many times. The voices heard and the textualized

stories here are those of living people who are working to understand their own place,

their people, the process of decolonization, as well as the larger world. These are the

words and thoughts of people who deeply care about their tribe and their families.

They have honored me by entrusting their words to me. While the academic construct

of the dissertation requires a level of analysis and comparison with existing theories, the

ideas and philosophies of the people recorded in this work stand on their own and do

not need legitimizing by academic theories and analysis.

The fact that in any research of this nature, there are no scripted answers makes

research a difficult proposition. The answers and results of the research may not be

pleasant to everyone who reads them. The words of those recorded here are not

scripted, but are the genuine thoughts and beliefs of those interviewed. As such, the researcher has little control over their intended meaning by the speaker, or their interpreted meaning by the reader. Some may find words in this research not to their liking or disagree with the conclusions drawn. It is my hope that the thought and care put into the process of this research to allow those participating in it to express themselves with as little presumptive interpretation as possible on my part (preferring instead an informed and collaborative interpretation when interpretation is necessary)[11], and the desire to respect the hopes, goals, and future of the Cowlitz Tribe will help to maintain the trust built over the course of the research. This is especially true regarding controversial subjects lacking a consensus among tribal members. It is also my hope that readers will respect the courage it took to speak and the convictions of those who participated, whether they agree or not.

In an attempt to avoid presumptive interpretation, when the draft dissertation was finished, it was send to the tribal council for right of review and to allow anyone who had participated in the research to comment on what I wrote. Only one member of the tribe, Tanna Engdahl, requested I integrate her comments into the finished work, saying, "after seeing my comments in writing, I feel compelled to add a few more explanatory words because I can see that some of my comments seem to have taken

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[11] Avoiding presumptive interpretation is both a key to maintaining the emic integrity of the research, but also in line with modern ethics in Native American Studies. A well written introduction to discussions on ethics in Native American studies is *Natives and Academics: Researching and writing about American Indians* (Mihesuah 1998).

place in my mind, and what came out is a little incomplete." Her collaborative

comments appear in this work as footnotes to her original quotes.

Having stated the desire to maintain trust and a collaborative work with the

Cowlitz, it was also important to maintain the anonymity of those interviewees who

requested it. Interviewees were given random letters rather than pseudonyms which

can inadvertently provide gender distinction, or gender confusion if male and female

names are interchanged. Due to the small size of the tribe and inter-relatedness of tribal

members, no biographical information is given unless the interviewee approved its use.

An attempt has been made to remove names and details that might reveal the identity

of the interviewee without compromising the integrity of the research and quotes,

replacing them with ------.

Section one of this thesis will start with the question "Who are the Cowlitz?"

Chapter one will explore the Cowlitz Tribe in terms of history, blood quantum,

phenotype, and other common factors of belonging and identity within Native

American communities. This will be followed by chapter two and a discussion of

identity and sovereignty for the Cowlitz. Chapter three will discuss cultural

revitalization and Cowlitz identity. These first three chapters will provide a common

framework of understanding for the research by introducing both Cowlitz perspectives

and the perspectives of academia in Native American Studies on the issues of identity,

sovereignty, and revitalization. These three categories of identity, sovereignty, and

revitalization, were categories drawn out from the research as emic focal points in the research with the contemporary tribe, and are therefore dealt with extensively in section one.

Section two will take a sharp but temporary turn in Chapter four away from the Cowlitz to explore DeLanda's theory of assemblages and its qualities for allowing and supporting an emic research while providing a framework of analysis. Chapter five will bring us back to the Cowlitz with a look at how assemblage theory has been adapted as an analytical matrix for this research, and then analyze the historical Cowlitz Tribe and the assemblages the tribe interacted with. These will include the US/Native American legal system and Government, other tribes, and the invasive settler society. Chapter six will analyze the contemporary Cowlitz Tribe, revealing the similarity between pre-contact tribal community systems and contemporary tribal community systems.

The dissertation will conclude with a review of the identity issues faced by the Cowlitz today and a cause an effect analysis revealing that the similarities between historical and contemporary community systems were an unintended result of choices made by Cowlitz tribal assemblages. Finally, I will give some thoughts on the usefulness of assemblage theory as an analytical tool in research, and suggestions for future research.

Chapter 1

Identity in the Cowlitz Context

A Brief History of the Cowlitz Tribe

The history of the Cowlitz is long and complex. According to tribal legend, it dates back to the creation of the Earth and the great flood of Earth brought by *Hyas Saghalie Tyee* [the Great Chief of the Above] (Wilson 2001). Since that time the Cowlitz have inhabited an area of land that is today known as Southwest Washington in the United States. Their traditional territory ranges from *Takhoma* [Mt. Rainier] south to the Columbia River near Portland, Oregon and from the Willapa Hills on the west to *Patu'* [Mt. Adams] in central Washington (Wilson 1998). At the height of their civilization[12], the Cowlitz were known as one of the five 'King Countries' of the Pacific Northwest (Wilson 1998:14), and while specific numbers are not known, they were one of the largest people groups in the area. They had 2 languages and 4 dialects within their tribe, and were considered to be a tribe of upper class standing with wealth and a deeply rooted identity (Irwin 2014).

There were initially three groups of Cowlitz people. The *Sƛpúlmš*, or Lower Cowlitz, lived along the Lower Cowlitz River near the mouth and upstream

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[12] The exact date of which is unknown as this information is contained in legends and oral histories of the Cowlitz and neighbouring tribes, as well as oral histories and interviews.

approximately 20 miles. These were Salish-speaking, fish-eating, game-hunting, and horse-raising people. Another group of mixed *Sx̌púlmš* and *Táytnapam* (Taidnapam) lived along, and spread out from, what is today known as the Lewis River (*Cathlapotle*) from the mouth up to the headwaters on *Lawe'latla* (Mt. St. Helens) and down to Vancouver, Washington. These people were also fish-catching, game-hunting, horse-raising[13], Salish-speaking people. Farther north on the upper reaches of the Cowlitz River lived a third group, known as the *Táytnapam*, who spoke a Sahaptin language. These people were less reliant on fish and more reliant on hunting game. They also raised horses. These three groups would meet at yearly gatherings according to season for horse racing, games, ceremonies, and harvest activities. These groups also intermarried with each other, and frequently with their neigbours to the east across the mountains, the Yakama and Klickitat, and north with the Chehalis and other tribes (Irwin 2014). There was a strict taboo against marrying anyone closer than a 7th cousin, so intermarriage with other groups and tribes was routine (Mike Iyall 2015).

Early contact with settlers began shortly after 1800 when fur traders first entered the area. Several, such as Simon Plamondon, married Cowlitz women and lived with the tribe at Cowlitz prairie, near present day Toledo, Washington, as well as other

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[13] The Cowlitz already had a wide reputation among pacific northwest tribes as skilled horse people at the time of European contact in the early 1800s (interviewees).

villages in Cowlitz territory. These men and their wives and children played prominent roles in both the tribe and the settler community.

Between 1810 and 1850 a series of plagues, the actual disease(s) unknown, swept through the Pacific Northwest, hitting the Cowlitz and other tribes along the Lower Columbia River the hardest (Ruby 1976:154). Estimates of death range from 50% to 99% of most tribes in that area (Ruby, Brown, and Collins 2010). It was during this time that a fourth group of Cowlitz emerged. Neighbours to the west, known as Kwalhioqua inhabiting the Willapa Hills and an Athabaskan speaking people, were one of those tribes nearly destroyed by the plagues. As their numbers decreased, the survivors integrated into the Cowlitz, even to the extent of referring to themselves as Cowlitz and took on the Cowlitz language (Irwin 2014:89).

By 1855 the US government and settlers were present in the Pacific Northwest in such numbers as to be a direct challenge to the local tribes. The US government set out to sign treaties with the various tribes; most of whom signed, affording them some economic and personal rights, as well as a land base on which to live (known as a reservation) while ceding the rest of their lands to the US government[14]. However, unlike most tribes who were allowed reservation land near or in their traditional territory, the Cowlitz were asked to leave their traditional lands and move to the

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[14] For information on locations, attendees, negotiations, and which tribes signed treaties, refer to the Washington State Governor's Office of Indian Affairs website - http://www.goia.wa.gov/Treaties/Treaties.htm (accessed July 22, 2016).

Quinault reservation (Irwin 2014:205). The Quinault were the traditional enemies of the

Cowlitz (Mike Iyall interview 2015) so the Cowlitz people refused to sign the treaties

(Irwin 2014:205).

Then, on March 20, 1863, the US Government extinguished Cowlitz' title to their

land and seized control of all Cowlitz territory without compensation to, or agreement

from, the tribe (Simon Plamondon v. the United States 1972). The Cowlitz people

dispersed over their former territory and that of their neigbours as they attempted to

survive and maintain their identity against the forces of occupation by white settlers.

Two main groups eventually banded together, one located in the heart of their

traditional territory and one located on the Yakama Indian Reservation. Together, these

two groups managed to continue engagement with the US government to gain back

their rights as an indigenous people, receive compensation for their land, and to re-

acquire an autonomous territory or land base of their own.

In 1971, the Cowlitz succeeded in winning a suit in the Indian Claims

Commission for compensation for a portion, but not all, of their land. The proceeds

from this case, known as Docket 218 as previously stated, were put into trust instead of

being distributed among tribal members. On December 31, 2001, the tribe was

successful in gaining US Federal Recognition (Cowlitz Indian Tribe Distribution of

Judgement Funds Act 2003), making many federal programs and funding for Native

Americans available to the tribe and releasing the Docket 218 funds for tribal use.

On April 22, 2013 The Bureau of Indian Affairs issued a Record of Decision allowing the Cowlitz Tribe to take 155 acres of land into trust as a reservation according to the laws of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. This decision was appealed by neigbouring tribes and civic groups and various aspects of the appeal made their way to the US Supreme Court. In December 2014, the tribe successfully won the case in the US Supreme Court (*Grand Ronde v Jewell*) and was granted a land base on which to establish an original reservation. The new reservation, located near the Lewis River next to the city of La Center, WA, under the conditions of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 and the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act of 1988[15], is considered their original territorial reservation, allowing the tribe relative autonomy and increased sovereignty within its boundaries. As a result, the tribe has engaged in a series of give-and-take relationships with the surrounding county and city governments. For example, the tribe has entered an agreement with the county allowing the county to be responsible for law enforcement within the reservation territory. Each agreement the tribe engages in is a flexing of the tribe's recently re-acquired powers of sovereignty (Harju interview 2015).

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[15] The Indian Reorganization Act (Wheeler-Howard Act - 48 Stat. 984 - 25 U.S.C. § 461 et seq) allows the US government to proclaim lands as reservations or trust land for Native American tribes with sovereign rights as nations within the boundaries of the trust land or reservation (Sect.5¶4). The Indian Gaming Regulatory Act allows tribes to build casino style gaming establishments for economic development on land that are trust or reservation as long as such lands are considered the first or initial reservation of the tribe. These laws provide and ensure a certain amount of sovereignty for tribes on trust and initial trust/reservation land (25 U.S. Code § 2719 - Gaming on lands acquired after October 17, 1988, b.B.ii).

It is not within the scope of this research project to pass judgment on any actions of the tribe in their pursuit of sovereignty and a land base, or their choice of uses for their land and money. Rather, it is the intention of this research to understand the ways in which these and other changes in the legal and policy interactions between the tribe and the settler governments have impacted the tribe's own sense of their identity.

In order to address this question properly, it is essential to visit the various issues of contention within Native American studies that this research touches upon. Those issues mainly revolve around 3 topics: 1) ideas of Native American and indigenous identity, 2) the concept of sovereignty in Native American culture and the politics and economics of Native American sovereignty within the United States, and 3) the process of cultural revitalization. This chapter focuses on the first of those three, the concept of Native American identity.

Indigenous Identity

Globally, the question "who is indigenous?" has plagued nations for years. How long does one have to live in a place before one is considered native or indigenous? Are there special rights pertaining to indigenous people or should they be treated like everyone else? How do we draw the line on who is 'everyone else'? Drafting of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) began in 1985 and shows the irascible nature of these questions through the intense debate over

the definition of 'Indigenous' in the document. In fact, the final and adopted form of

UNDRIP conspicuously avoids defining indigenous peoples. In the working papers

created by the Working Group on Indigenous Populations (the drafters of UNDRIP) the

reason for the missing definition becomes clear, and it is partly to do with the issue of

identity.

Indigenous groups and the UN Development Program representatives

supported the idea that since there was no definition of indigenous that covered all

groups, "'self-identification' as indigenous or tribal is usually regarded as a

fundamental criterion" (Daes 1996:1.F). In fact, indigenous groups insisted on their

right to define themselves both as a group and as individual members of that group in

order to keep governments from using too restrictive of a definition (Daes 1996:1.G).

Governments, on the other hand, regarded self-identification as too open, allowing

anyone to claim indigenous status, and instead supported the proposal that

governments, or at least the UN, should determine who is indigenous (Daes 1996:1.G).

Bengoa, of the working group, added that a definitional difference between indigenous

and minorities would solve the governments' problem of too many claims for

indigenous status, while the Chairperson-Rapporteur came against this by

acknowledging that "within the United States, for example, more than 100 groups are

still seeking formal acknowledgement of their status as 'Indian tribes'" (Daes 1996:1.I)

because of a restrictive definition used by the US. No agreement could be reached

concerning who had the right to define indigenous groups, so anyone and no-one can say to whom the term indigenous actually applies. This means that the US can claim it is legal for the government to define who is an American Indian, while American Indians can claim the US government doesn't have that right. According to UNDRIP, both of them and neither of them are correct due to lack of consensus in the drafting process and the resulting vagueness in the final draft.

The US, with no international consensus or laws guiding the process of indigenous determination, is free to make its own determination system for identifying indigenous peoples and groups. Individual groups are also free to make their own set of rules for membership, and there are many competing and cooperating factors that go into these determinations.

"Identity arises through the exercise of powers of self-determination by a group which defines itself. Identity in the fullest sense is internally constituted by a group, and thus is an act of self-definition on the part of that group" (Green 1995:4). This definition of identity relies heavily on the principle of self-determination. In Native American studies however, there are several ways in which identity is measured, including both internal and external measures. According to Garroutte (2003) these include the following: Legal Indian according to US and/or tribal rules (14); Biological Indian through blood quantum and/or descent (38); Cultural Indian (61); and Self-identified Indian (82).

Wilkins (2007:30-31) further divides Native American Identity into six categories

of definitions: 1) blood quantum; 2) member of federally recognized community; 3)

resident on or near a reservation; 4) descent; 5) self-identification; 6) other definition not

fitting the above. Both Garroutte and Wilkins include more than self-determination and

internal measures in the possible identification of Native Americans. Due to the

confusing nature of the various claims to Cowlitz identity, I will give a brief description

of the following eight identification categories and how the Cowlitz view themselves in

light of these criteria: 1) blood quantum; 2) descent; 3) phenotype; 4) culture; 5) self-

identification; 6) location based; 7) legal Indian according to US rules; and 8) legal

Indian according to tribal rules.

Blood Quantum

Cowlitz words on blood quantum:

> "You get a blood quantum, you wouldn't have a tribe very shortly"
> (Don VanMechelen)

> "If that quantum was still in [the enrollment requirements] I wouldn't be
> [enrolled]. I'm Cowlitz. So there!"   (Christine Hawkins)

> "I think the construct of blood quantum is foreign to native people. I don't
> think it's a - it's not a native idea. So culturally you would have always married
> out because you are prohibited by a very rigid taboo to marry a cousin closer

than the 7th degree. So you would have always married out and I don't believe, listening the way my aunts and uncles talked about their extended family, there were no step sisters, no half-brothers, there was no lesser kinship. There was only brothers and sisters. I believe that Scanewa, my great great grandfather, had eight or more wives. All the children of Scanewa were brothers and sisters. Period." (Mike Iyall)

"I think I deal with it like most people in the world. It's not uncommon to have different cultures, history, background and intermixing of those things. Especially in the mobile world that we live in now. 5000 years ago it would have been different how you interacted with other people. But it's now just part of, I think, the world as it is. I don't have any problem with that. I'm proud of my Native American heritage. I'm proud of my father's side and the Finish heritage and all of that, and I'm proud of being an American. So I don't pit one against the other. But as a member of the Cowlitz Tribe I certainly am going to fight for every right for the Cowlitz people." (Phil Harju)

Blood quantum is a concept based on how pure a person's descent from a Native American is. For example, if a person has one full-blooded Native American parent and 1 non-Native parent, their blood quantum is ½. The US Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) has developed an extensive chart of blood quantum over the last two centuries, which they use to determine who may have access to certain BIA benefits[16]. The BIA and many Native American tribes require a ¼ blood quantum for an individual to qualify

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[16] For a detailed account of the development of blood quantum as a racial theory and BIA tool, see Schmidt, Ryan W.; *American Indian Identity and Blood Quantum in the 21st Century: A Critical Review*; Journal of Anthropology; Volume 2011, Article ID 549521.

for benefits or tribal enrollment. By this method, it is irrelevant whether one follows

traditional customs or looks Native American.

An example is the Absentee Shawnee Tribe's use of blood quantum to establish

membership, "From and after the effective date of this Constitution, no person shall be

enrolled as a member of the Absentee Shawnee Tribe unless he possesses at least one-

fourth (1/4) degree Absentee Shawnee Indian blood" (Absentee Shawnee Tribe 1999:

IV:2). In the Cowlitz Tribe, one of the requirements for enrollment used to be 1/16

blood quantum. However, in 2006 the tribal general council changed the enrollment

requirements from blood quantum to lineal descent (Cowlitz Indian Tribe Fall

Newsletter 2013). There are people within the tribe who would like to reinstate blood

quantum (*Cowlitz Country News* Feb 19, 2013). In regard to this research, when Cowlitz

tribal members were asked "who can say they are Cowlitz?" they unanimously

expressed their distaste for blood quantum as a US government imposed restriction,

stating instead that if you are of lineal decedent, whether enrolled or not, you could call

yourself Cowlitz.

Many people, such as Rod Van Mechelen of *Cowlitz Country News*, point out that

blood quantum is not a Native American concept at all, much less a Cowlitz concept. In

an effort to help others understand blood quantum, he pointed out that blood quantum

works on the same principles as inheritance – blood relatives inherit from their

predecessors. Thus, the special relationship Native Americans have to the US

government is inherited by blood relation. He qualifies that with the fact that inheritance does not depend on the degree of blood relation, but on the fact of blood relation in any proportion (*Cowlitz Country News*, Feb. 19, 2013). In other words, if all the descendants of the Queen of England die, up to a sixth cousin, that cousin inherits the throne because of blood relation, no matter how distant.

Some insist that blood quantum is a concept that the BIA and many tribes use to cut off blood relations from inheritance after a certain distance, in order to diminish the number of Native Americans. Wilkins (2007) says that the use of blood quantum is a form of termination, intentionally decreasing "the numbers of Native Americans to whom [the United States] is obligated" (32). However, others, such as the Absentee Shawnee Tribe mentioned earlier, argue that blood quantum keeps the tribe pure.

Cowlitz have various perspectives on blood quantum. Some see it as a tool to keep the tribe strong, while others see it as a way to extinguish a tribe through intermarriage. Most often, however, I found a confused mix of these sentiments within the same person. For example, Interviewee "D" said, "we keep marrying into the dominant culture, the dominant society, we're eventually gonna wash our blood quantum right out and those tribes will be annihilated pretty much" but later in the interview said, "and so to hear a chief ask for us to get rid of that [blood quantum], so his child doesn't have to travel to find a Cowlitz wife, to have Cowlitz children to keep them enrolled and keep the blood quantum strong, you know… I would hear the elders

say that, even those grandmothers and grandfathers that would stand up and speak in council and say, 'my parents, my grandfather, my grandmother told me if you have one drop of Cowlitz blood in you, you're a Cowlitz. Period.' It's not what part of you is, it's not how much you are. You are." The first quote shows how, on the one hand, blood quantum was seen as keeping the tribe true to its roots and not dominated by settler culture, keeping the tribe native. On the other hand, the second quote shows that blood quantum was not historically a Cowlitz concept and that the tribe lives on if there is a ½ blood quantum or a 1/1000th blood quantum. The result of these quotes is the revelation that for this tribal member emic Cowlitz belonging is determined by the fact of blood rather than the amount of blood.

Lineal Descent

Cowlitz words on lineal descent:

> "You have to have somebody with blood to be on the enrollment. To be able to have the lineage."   (Christine Hawkins, Tribal Council Member)

> "I knew I was Cowlitz in the womb. My grandmother was so powerful that before - I think I knew Cowlitz before I knew anything. I knew I was Cowlitz, I knew I was female, I knew I was in America. I knew I was in this country because the country meant a lot to my grandmother. So I knew those three things, but before everything I knew I was Indian but more specifically it wasn't just the word Indian. It was Cowlitz. My grandmother was Mary Teresa Plamondon. She was the daughter of Simon Plamondon Jr. who was the son of

Simon Plamondon Sr. who married Thasamuth who was the daughter of Scanewa, the Cowlitz principle chief at that time. These are my Indian grandparents[17]."   (Tanna Engdahl)

"It was fairly early, probably 4 or 5. My grandmother was very involved. I was enrolled the minute I was born. While I don't remember super early necessarily coming down to the tribal functions, I was 4 or 5 and my grandma would take me up to other tribe's events and powwows and stories. So fairly early I was attached to it with my grandma."   (Interviewee "E")

"Interviewer: do you think that people who are not enrolled in the tribe should still be allowed to call themselves Cowlitz?

Lisa: if their ancestors are Cowlitz, yes, I feel that they can be called Cowlitz."

(Lisa Majewski)

Lineal decent is the idea that no matter how diluted a person's Indian ancestry is,

if they have an ancestor at any time in history who was Native American, and can

prove it, then they are also Native American. Thus, if your great great great great

grandmother was Native American, you are Native American, regardless of how you

live or look. This disregards any cultural boundaries of identity and because of

intermarriage over the centuries, brings with it an enormous increase in the number of

Native Americans in the US who qualify for the special relationships developed by

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[17] "And this is who I am" Tanna Engdahl – collaborative comments.

treaty and US jurisprudence[18]. The following is a portion of a tribal enrollment policy

based on descent from the Catawba Indian Nation:

> "Every living descendant of anyone who is listed on the Base Membership
>
> Rolls.
>
> Adopted children are considered to [be] part of the Catawba Indian Nation
>
> for purposes of fellowship and community. They are also, by law, entitled to
>
> benefits such as health care, through the age of 18 years. They are eligible
>
> for other tribal benefits which may from time to time become available.
>
> Adopted children are not, however, included in the Membership Rolls of
>
> the Nation as Catawbas" (Catawba Indian Nation 1999).

Most tribes using lineal decent require decent from a roll of membership which

was usually compiled by and named after one of the US Government's Indian Agents in

charge of that tribe's region between 1700 and 1950. The roll used by the Cowlitz Tribe

is known as Roblin's Roll of 1918. In the case of the Cowlitz, who use lineal descent

instead of blood quantum, this means that the tribe is compiled of many blue-eyed, red

and blond-haired members whose Cowlitz predecessors intermarried often with

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[18] US jurisprudence in Native American issues will be discussed at length in chapter two.

settlers. This is especially true as many of the chiefs in the early 1800s married their

daughters with fur traders as part of their trade alliances (Irwin 2014). This has opened

the tribe up to criticism from other tribes and the settler community surrounding them

claiming the Cowlitz are not Indians (Tilkin 2013). The BIA disagrees with these

detractors, affirming that tribes, once federally recognized, are legal sovereigns and

must choose their own requirements for enrollment (Bureau of Indian Affairs [BIA]

2014). If lineal descent is the tribe's choice, the US Government must honor that.

The Cowlitz, initially had a blood quantum requirement which, according to

interviewees, was recommended by the BIA. However, the tribe voted to change from

blood quantum to lineal descent in 2006, reinforcing the concept that emic identity for

Cowlitz depends not as much on the amount of blood relation as on the fact of blood

relation. Since all tribal members are voting members, we can take the change to lineal

descent as a broad tribal preference and way of understanding identity and belonging,

as opposed to blood quantum.

Legal Indian According to Tribal Rules

Cowlitz words about being Indian according to tribal rules:

> "We just knew we were Indian forever. It's just part of who we were. As
> far as being Cowlitz that's a long story too… [my mother] saw a little article in
> there in probably 1973 or 74, and it was about the Cowlitz effort to do their land

claims settlement. And she said to me and my sister, "you know, you have some Cowlitz blood. Maybe you could get enrolled there". Well that was the first time that I remember knowing that I had Cowlitz blood… I was 23 probably…I had inquired of the Yakama agency about getting enrolled for myself and they said no, you don't meet the blood quantum. So I didn't expect them to take me but I was interested in something. So then when she [interviewee's mother] mentioned that about the Cowlitz - most of the Cowlitz basis for enrollment goes back the Roblin's roll in 1918 or so. And our Cowlitz ancestor who was my grandmother's father was Cowlitz, half Cowlitz. He was on that roll, and his mother was on that roll. His mother is buried down at St. Mary's in the church yard - So then we had the documentation to show that we could trace our lineage to Roblin's roll and I got enrolled as Cowlitz and brought along my sisters…so we got enrolled. So we started going to meetings together." (Interviewee F)

"Well that's a little difference about being Cowlitz. I can remember growing up and my mother, who was the Cowlitz tribal member – I was born and raised up in the Gorge up in Carson. And there was the - at that time the Cowlitz Tribe were not federally recognized and no-one used Cowlitz [language]. My earliest memories were mostly Yakama because my grandfather and great uncle were enrolled Yakama. It wasn't until later that my mother got me enrolled in the Cowlitz Tribe."   (Phil Harju)

"Breaks my heart. I could cry… oh, there's a lot of Cowlitz that are Cowlitz that are not enrolled. If you are Cowlitz in here (points to heart) you are Cowlitz. Our village people were not enrolled. They were Cowlitz. So what in the hell is this enrollment business? That was something the government - that's a government thing … there was in the BIA, a particular job classification that existed no-where else in the whole of government. And it was called the enrollment officer. And that man's job was to try to keep track of all the Indians. And every agency - we have Washington DC and then you have regional offices and then you have agencies - and you had enrollment officers in all those places - and that was their job, to try to keep track of all the Indians. Then when the government could no longer afford to do that, they turned that process over to the tribes. So now the tribes are stuck with it. So now they have to go through an enrollment process. A procedure that had its genesis in government when the

government decided it had to figure out who were all these people that are Indians – 'We got to record them'. So now *we* have to record them. Has nothing to do with the way you were raised. It's a process. It's a paper process. You are related to whom and you are related to whom and you are related to whom…and you've got this little window you've got to enroll this child or they can't be on the roll. Well there was a lot of people lost in that initial process[19]."

(Tanna Engdahl)

"In our family and in almost every family, there is either a case where someone has been born and adopted out or there are family members who have children who have not had an interest in the tribe and so have never enrolled and their parents never enrolled them. But yet their offspring, when they get to an age where they can think about this in their teens or college years, realize that they are Indian and they want to be part of it. Well it's 18 or 20 years too late, 'I'm sorry' is what our policy says… I think that if we are born with Cowlitz blood our eligibility to be Cowlitz, that doesn't change. We have that same blood when I was 12 months old now that I'm 21."   (Interviewee "F")

"It's one of my big things is people say, "Well you can enroll a child up 'til the age of 1". Well if you have a parent who's strung out on meth and alcohol or drugs and alcohol, it's the last priority is to get that child enrolled by the time

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[19] "Enrollment was a process of Government and it existed in the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The BIA had a particular job classification that existed nowhere else in the whole Government, called the Enrollment Officer. That person's job was t try to keep track of all the Indians and their blood quantum. You had the Headquarters in Washington DC, an office in the Regional Office and offices in agencies. When the Government could no longer sustain the personnel budget for all these people, the enrollment process was turned over to the tribes to keep track of their own people. How can anyone tell if a tribe truly had the capability to continue the process in a fair and adequate way? Were there computer programs in place? How many Indian children, how many adults were left out in the transition period or who were denied enrollment due to a change in the tribe's blood quantum determination? How many native people were lost due to a problem in the tribe's enrollment procedure? It is all a paper process and it was blind to how a person was raised. Many were raised as Indian but denied their own heritage due to a glitch in the systems: human, paper or computer system. In a tribe like ours whose people were driven away from their homes to survive (the Cowlitz Diaspora), the enrollment process was uneven due to communication difficulties and the small window that was open for an infant to be enrolled. I weep for cousins, grand children of my beloved Aunt Annie (Anna Catlin) whose white father did not understand the importance of enrollment and did not pay attention to any opportunity to enroll his children if he even knew about it. I believe there were a lot of Cowlitz people lost in the initial enrollment process. It's painful." Tanna Engdahl – collaborative comments.

they turn 1. These children should have an option of when they turn 18 that they get to enroll themselves." (Interviewee "D")

"I think that if you leave it open people are just going to try to take advantage of it. And we who've been active in the tribe, that knew about it. We made the choices, especially my generation, whether to enroll our children or not. And we have to live with the consequences if we didn't or forgot to. And I have a ----- who forgot to enroll one of her children. So she can't be enrolled now. I feel bad for her, but they have to stop somewhere… She's Cowlitz, but she's just not enrolled." (Lisa Majewski)

"I think being Indian is what's in your blood. I don't think that really it's about a tribe saying you can or can't be." (Interviewee "F")

Many tribes use a combination of identity markers such as blood quantum, traditional tribal rules, and cultural involvement to define who is legally part of their tribe. The BIA rules say:

"Tribal enrollment criteria are set forth in tribal constitutions, articles of incorporation or ordinances. The criterion varies from tribe to tribe, so uniform membership requirements do not exist. Two common requirements for membership are lineal descent from someone named on the tribe's base roll or relationship to a tribal member who descended from someone named on the base roll. (A "base roll" is the original list of members as designated in a tribal constitution or other document specifying enrollment criteria.) Other conditions such as tribal blood quantum, tribal residency, or continued contact with the tribe are common." (US Department of Interior 2016)

This allows tribes to have autonomy in their membership requirements, and is why the Cowlitz were able to change their enrollment requirements after federal recognition. While some see the Cowlitz changes as a ploy for the people involved to receive more

benefits and money, others see it as embracing their sovereignty apart from the US. No

tribe, including the Cowlitz are bound to follow US laws regarding enrollment. The

fact that the BIA uses a set of standards to determine recognition does not dictate that

these same requirements be used by the tribe once recognized.

The above quotes from interviewees show the mixed feeling among Cowlitz

tribal members regarding their enrollment requirements. While most agree with Lisa

Majewski that at some point you just have to draw a line, there is much controversy

over where to draw it. In the end, all 25 interviewees said that as far as identity and

belonging, it didn't really matter whether you were enrolled – if you were Cowlitz, you

were Cowlitz. Enrollment only mattered in regard to accessing tribal benefits.

Legal Indian According to US Rules

Cowlitz words about US rules for being legally Indian:

> "Interviewer: In 1924 the US government passed the Indian Citizen Act that made every Native American a citizen of the US regardless of whether they wanted to be or not. Do you agree with that? Does that make you frustrated, upset, how do you feel about that?
>
> Christine: Well the fact that we were United States citizens before they were here, I guess, yeah, there's frustration.
>
> Juanita: I think you went too far back – we never should have been excluded. We never should have been considered non-citizens. They're either trying to right a wrong, I don't know, 'cause it's too many years we were considered, when you

read some of the history books it makes you sick, to have to pass a law to recognize…it's preposterous."

(Juanita Clark and Christine Hawkins)

The United States congress not only defines who is a US citizen, but also defines who is a Native American for the purposes of receiving benefits directly from the Bureau of Indian Affairs or for the purpose of suing the US government. In other words, tribes are subject to US congress' plenary power, and the US government relies most heavily on blood quantum, but also takes historical allegiance and culture into its considerations (Wilkins 2007). Wilkins points out that the problem with this method is that each agency, congressional committee, or department has its own 'legal' definition of Native American so that Wilkins counted more than 30 different definitions (2007:30). It is therefore possible to be an Indian according to the US government, and not be an enrolled member in a specific tribe. This is how the Cowlitz tribe was able to sue for compensation for land before they were a federally recognized tribe – they met the legal definition set forth by the Indian Claims Court, but it had not, at that time, been determined whether they met the requirements of Federal Recognition.

The quote at the beginning of this section shows some of the animosity many tribal members feel towards the US government about its cavalier designations and decisions regarding who is Indian. Juanita is a little frustrated that the US deigned to

accept Native Americans as Americans in 1924. Her statement reveals her opinion that

Native Americans, being in the land first, were the original citizens and did not need an

act of congress to be considered US citizens. Her subsequent comments, not recorded

here, reveal that she believes that act was a conciliatory action of a government with a

guilty conscience for having excluded Native Americans in the first place. What does

this have to do with the US defining who is Native American?

The answer is everything. The US, by defining who was Native American and

who was not, not only determined who qualified for a special relationship by treaty, but

also who was excluded from constitutional rights and citizenship. Up until the

Citizenship Act of 1924, Native Americans who were deemed by the US government to

be legally Indian were excluded from constitutional rights and protections, leaving

them open to the horrors and abuses of extreme prejudice on the part of the settlers.

These abuses play a significant role in the personal and tribal history and stories of the

Cowlitz, from forced removal from homes (Interviewee H and Roy Wilson), to

separating children from parents (Roy Wilson and Interviewee W), to outright murder

(Interviewees R and F)[20]. Since the US passed the Citizenship Act, Native Americans are

now protected by the constitution[21].

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[20] These histories were told by these interviewees as part of their family histories and as being major historical events for the tribe.

[21] Members of the Cowlitz Tribe played a significant role in getting the Citizenship Act written and passed as law (Mike Iyall and Roy Wilson interviews).

This works in the opposite direction today as there are tribes who cannot access the benefits of a special relationship with the US government because they do not meet the government's criteria for federal acknowledgement. These tribes feel a very real sense of discrimination by the government for not being 'Indian enough'. The Cowlitz Tribe, having only recently been acknowledge by the federal government, has felt both sides of this discrimination. First in not being protected by the constitution because they *were* Native American, and then in not being allowed the benefits accorded to Native Americans because they were *not* recognized as Native American until 2000.

As Interviewee J put it, "we're more equal to them now than we were before, because before we got recognition we were just a second class citizen to the US government." In this quote, the previous status of Indian created a second class citizen with unequal rights and benefits. Now, Interviewee J believes the inequality has been righted to some extent, but the correction only happened because the US government made a legal determination that the Cowlitz are Indians, granting them access to special treaty status and its attendant rights and benefits.

Phenotype

Cowlitz words on phenotype:

"Christine: I can remember [being] that one girl, I don't' know how old, going to the grange hall for meetings. That's where they used to have the tribal meetings, and [I] was the little white girl amongst all - [I] felt very out of place.

Juanita: I had wanted to be darker… I was the one that was light.

Christine: Well even me having dark hair and having kind of curly hair. The girls were dark straight hair…I didn't think it was fair that they had the dark hair.

Interviewer: So do you feel like you were treated differently by people in the schools?

Juanita: I never was because I looked white. I felt badly about it because I felt like I was passing you know? And I felt guilty about that."

(Interview with Juanita Clark and her daughter, Christine Hawkins)

"I really do think the land bridge theory is true. Because we have oriental eyes, the slant to our eyes. That's part of the family. The first thing I look for is Indian eyes."   (Interviewee U)

Identity is often linked with impressions of the physical self – or phenotype. Phenotype in Native American studies comes from the 19th century colonial practice of scientific racism, which some people believe was used to justify colonization and other forms of oppression (Arendt 1951). Scientific racism alleged that races were scientifically different from each other and could be classified by looks as well as other characteristics, and was given credibility by Galton (1883). These classifications contained a hierarchy of most human to least human and most civilized to least civilized. Those less civilized needed to be dominated and taught to be civilized by the

more civilized. Today's scientific definition of phenotype goes far beyond this simple definition of physical features and focuses more on cellular and genome differences, and while it is related to its early origins, it is not considered racist or imperialist by mainstream science.

However, in Native American studies, phenotype is general defined in a limited way as having the visible facial and body features of a stereotypical person. For Native Americans this means traits such as straight black hair, 'red' or dark skin, skinny build, muscular, etc. Think of classic American TV images of Indians and you have a phenotypical Indian. In this category, even if a person is full blood Native American, but doesn't have the phenotypical look, they are not considered Native American because they look too 'white'. Within the Cowlitz, according to Fitzpatrick (2004), the Yakama, or Taidnapam Cowlitz tend to look phenotypically Indian and the Lower Cowlitz tend to look phenotypically white. This has been a source of conflict between the two groups in the past (Fitzpatrick 2004), but interviewees in this research unanimously agreed that phenotype is not important to them. While some, like Juanita and Christine lamented the fact that they didn't look phenotypically Indian, they also noted that it matters less to them today as adults than it did as children. They do not look at phenotypical Indians as the only true Indians. Both of these Cowlitz women embraced their Cowlitz heritage regardless of their appearance. But it is not cut and dried, because Juanita also mentions that the first thing she looks for in someone who

claims a family relation on the Cowlitz side is their "Indian eyes". She would not

exclude them if they failed the eye test, but she still looks for it. This reveals the deep

seated idea of phenotype in the American experience, both for settlers and Native

Americans. Depending on what a person desires, this can be a problem or a blessing.

For example, if a person is Native American and looks phenotypically Native

American, they may still run into prejudices from settler society who may see them as

drunks, lazy, or swindlers taking advantage of the US government[22]. On the other

hand, if a Native American does not have the expected phenotype and wishes to be an

advocate for their tribe or Native Americans in general, they may face opposition and

prejudice from those who don't believe they are Native because they don't look Native.

One of the Cowlitz, Interviewee C, related this story regarding phenotype and the

Cowlitz tribe:

> "One day I was in the IT office [of a Neigbouring tribe] and one of the
> ladies was sitting there and of course she's tribal, and her sister was sitting
> there…I said to ------, who is the secretary of IT, I said, "oh" – on her wall she had
> an Umpqua College plaque and I said, "oh I have one of those - many moons ago
> we went to the same college." And the lady sitting on the chair says "oh listen to
> the white girl – 'many moons ago'". And I just looked at her and stuff, and then
> my co-worker walked up behind me and said, "well, she's part of the Cowlitz
> tribe" and she (the first woman] goes "and?" So it can be quite the racism
> sometimes."

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[22] One has only to watch movie portrayals of Native Americans to see this is an ongoing stereotype, even in films written and directed by Native Americans such as Smoke Signals (1998).

In this story related by a Cowlitz tribal member, the idea of looking Native directly influenced the relationship between these two Native Americans. One Native American was unwilling to recognize that the other, and her Cowlitz tribe, were really Native Americans. This dichotomy was reinforced during the ethnographic study when several Cowlitz spoke of neigbouring tribes' resistance to their federal recognition and refusal to accept the Cowlitz as a Native American tribe. Many Cowlitz directly related this to phenotype by noting that among Native Americans in general, the coastal Salish Native Americans - the Cowlitz especially - were always lighter skinned and less "native looking" than other tribes.

The idea of physical appearance is also deeply connected with place. This can be seen in the interview excerpt from Juanita Clark, where the connection between belonging, place, and physical appearance becomes apparent. Juanita believes that Phenotypes regarding eyes – the slanted eye she associates with Native Americans, comes from Asia. This gives her a sense of place and history that differs from the round eyed settlers in America. The places she associates with slanted eyes tell her where she belongs – she belongs to the Native Americans who came from Asia, crossed the Arctic Land Bridge, and have lived in the Americas for hundreds of years. As she said this, there was a sense of pride and joy in her voice and body language. This leads us to the next concept of Native American identity - place or location.

Location-Based:

Cowlitz words on location:

"Historically, knowing the history of your people and that we were one of the powerful, the most powerful tribe in western Washington. That we weren't just located in southwestern Washington. That our chiefs had villages all the way up and down the I-5 corridor and to know that we were considered the blue blood, kind of the royals. And to feel that you're trying to bring that back, and that you have to hold yourself in a certain way. "   (Interviewee D)

"Interviewer: What do you think it means to be Native American? Who is a Native American?

Juanita: Well I'd like to think it was that we were there first, but I'm not sure.

Interviewer: Whoever was here first is a Native?

Juanita: But actually I think our ancestors came across on the land bridge, so I don't know who was here before that.

Don: that's the interesting thing about the ancient history when they came across the land bridge and were populating the areas for the first time, I don't think there were lines drawn in the sand, this is this tribe's, that's the other tribe's. I think it was pretty much open, everybody just - of course you had villages wherever they wanted, here or there, wherever they wanted to. Lot of people creepin' going on back then and everything."

(Juanita Clark and Don Van Mechelen)

"I now understand better why almost everything I say about my heritage seems like a story---because it is! And storytelling is how Cowlitz convey who they are as a tribe and as individuals. Family & story were the glue that held us together for so long before we were recognized and embarked on creating programs that are a more visible framework. Second thing is about identity through relationship to the land. You asked me, sort of, to distinguish between my Cascade and my Cowlitz parts. Because I grew up in the Columbia Gorge

area, that is the landscape that I identify with--the River, Mt. Adams & Mt. Hood. I identify with Mt. St. Helens as she is a figure in the Bridge of the Gods legend which centers on the Cascades homeland. And then I see her from the Cowlitz Prairie side and recognize her there, as well, but to a lesser degree. My identification with the Cowlitz River is not from my growing-up time but from my tribal leadership time when I worked with the utilities on the creation of Cowlitz Falls Dam and the relicensing of Tacoma Power's dams. I probably told you that I did the Labor Day float trip on the Cowlitz a few years ago which also made me more intimate with that river."   (Interviewee F)

"I cannot recall my first memory because I've always thought of myself as Cowlitz… I've been an Indian all my life because I was raised on a reservation"

(Juanita Clark – raised on a neigbouring tribe's reservation)

Location or place creating Native American identity is the concept that a person

is Indian if they live on or near a reservation or Indian country or territory – that the

real Indians live in 'Indian country', not in cities (Lucero 2014:10). It also assumes that

Native Americans have a connection to the land and place of their origin, even if they

are forced to leave that land and relocate. This and the following identity type, cultural

Indian, can also be described as allegiance identity (Wilkins 2007: 28).   Location-based

connects identity with the environment around you, which shapes your identity in

ways that differ from other places. For example, a close connection with a geographic

feature creates an identity link to that feature which makes a person different from

someone who does not have a link to that feature. An identity/place link can also be

created by proximity to a culture associated with a place rather than a geographic

feature. This concept of place influencing identity is inherently one of difference and

marked by the fact that if something one values as part of their identity or culture is

only accessible in a certain place, that place plays a distinguishing role in the person's

identity (Taylor 1994:34). If one takes into account only rural and wilderness locations

as Indian country (as is often the stereotype) this view of Native identity is only true for

less than 12% of American Indians. This is because by 2012, according to Lucero (2014),

78% of Native Americans lived in urban settings, disassociated to some extent from the

traditional places of their tribes. Lucero has a valid point where it concerns Native

Americans who have relocated to urban locations far removed from their traditional

lands. However, it is possible, as with many Cowlitz, to live in an urban setting and still

maintain an identity heavily influenced by place. For example, the city of Olympia, WA

is on the northern edge of Cowlitz traditional territory, has a commanding view of the

sacred mountains of Cowlitz traditions, is surrounded by their sacred rivers and

streams, and is a highly urban setting. In this circumstance it would be possible to

maintain an urban lifestyle while still drawing a significant portion of tribal identity

from the traditional places valued by the tribe.

In the past, there have been distinctions drawn regarding anyone of Cowlitz

ancestry who moved away from traditional Cowlitz lands, such as to the Quinault or

Yakama reservations, as having given up their Cowlitz tribal identity to become

Yakama or Quinault (Fitzpatrick 2004). In my research, I found that although

Fitzpatrick and other writers note these distinctions (BIA Anthropological Report 2002), those interviewed for this research did not make such distinctions. Several times I was told that many Cowlitz have brothers, sisters, and other family enrolled with other tribes who are still Cowlitz, but are not enrolled members. One interviewee, Mike Iyall, noted that there have been disagreements between Cowlitz descendants enrolled with other tribes and Cowlitz enrolled people, but he still recognized that everyone involved was of Cowlitz descent regardless of where they currently live or are enrolled.

Interviewees also expressed the idea that a Cowlitz is someone who feels a connection with the rivers and lands of their traditional territory even if unable to be present in them. Several of those interviewed in this research do not live directly in Cowlitz country due to jobs, marriage, and other factors. However, they are still enrolled, still vote, and still consider themselves to be as much a part of the tribe as anyone else. The most obvious difference is the frequency with which those living outside Cowlitz country are able to attend Cowlitz events. Others who do live within Cowlitz country also seemed accepting and understanding of those who live farther away, not condemning them or casting them out for living elsewhere. Most agreed with Tanna Engdahl that there are times when some will be able to do more and some will do less because of different life circumstances, but they are all Cowlitz.

Cultural Indian

Cowlitz words on cultural identity:

> "I was born into it. I remember it from when I could first walk, talk. I was raised with a grandmother in a traditional setting with lots of family members so ever since I can remember that's the way, I was Cowlitz."   (Interviewee "H")

> "So the earliest Cowlitz that I can remember would have been attending the encampment down on the Cowlitz River with my mother. Used to camp there and I would come and visit her there at some of the early Cowlitz encampments on the Cowlitz River."   (Phil Harju)

> "I get concerned about it, being federally recognized, is that you get people who do come out of the woodwork looking for the money, but you also get people coming out who want to come home. And that is one of our things in our honor song, we call all our Cowlitz people home."   (Interviewee D)

> "My dad was treasurer of the tribe from the time of my early memories, so I grew up being part of it…he was tribal treasurer for 25 years before we became federally recognized so I grew up knowing I was Cowlitz."   (Lisa Majewski)

> "I've know all the time, I'm Cowlitz my whole life. I was born and brought home into the sweat lodge - first 4 years of my life just about every week. I practiced my traditions my whole life."   (Interviewee "I")

> "My husband has it. I consider him an Indian masquerading as a Swede. He feels it so deeply[23]."   (Tanna Engdahl)

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[23] "I can explain why I state my husband is an Indian masquerading as a Swede. In his Federal career, he became the Indian liaison for the Bureau of Land Management and was remarkable in that position because he actually thought in a tribal way. He was not raised as an Indian but thought like one. He understands the tribal view not

Cultural Indian identity is the viewpoint that anyone who practices Indian culture, regardless of how much blood descent they have or where their ancestors originate from, is Indian. Many Indians of diverse ethnicity have been adopted into neigbouring or warring tribes through adoption of culture (Garroutte 2003). This concept very closely mirrors assimilation but lacks the negative connotations of white colonialism that assimilation is famous for. Among Native Americans, cultural identity is about whether or not a person of Native American descent acts like a traditional Indian[24].

Many Native Americans believe you are only Native American if you follow the traditional ways, which leaves many urban, eastern, and highly assimilated groups out despite their Native American origins (Fixico 2000). Among Cowlitz, according to Fitzpatrick (2004), the Yakama and Taidnapam groups tend to be involved in ceremonial activities and use the spoken language of their ancestors more often than today's Lower Cowlitz, which has been a source of tension between the two groups. In the 15 years since 2000, the Lower Cowlitz have begun revitalizing their cultural practices in significant ways. Most of the interviewees in this research noted that many

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just intellectually but through his senses. The first time I heard him speak at a gathering, I wept because I had never heard a white man speak with an Indian's knowledge. I have said I love my tribe to the point of death, I think Lynn Engdahl loves them more." Tanna Engdahl – collaborative comments.

[24] A discussion of what is traditional culture can be found in ch.3.

Cowlitz, due to distance, work, or other reasons, do not attend regular cultural activities. Interviewee E noted that because of distance and work she was unable to attend more than one cultural event each year. What was important to her, and to many of those interviewed, was what people did while they were at the events rather than how many events they attended. Cowlitz cultural and tribal participation was most often expressed in terms of 'doing the work'. A person who 'does the work' is someone who does not sit back and watch others prepare and participate, but gets in and gets his or her hands dirty. A second mark of cultural significance to many interviewees was a felt connection with the ancestors and/or traditional tribal spirituality. For example, someone who had never attended tribal meetings but had gone on a vision quest to find his or her *Tamanawas* (spirit helper in the form of an animal) was definitely considered Cowlitz.

Self-Identified Indian:

Cowlitz words on self-identification as Indian:

> "I feel everyone that comes[25], Indian or not Indian, in their own heart has to know why they are there. If they come for a spectacle, a spectator sport, they will probably stay one time and it will be crossed off their bucket list. Someone who feels it. They belong there. That energy?[26] The energy to know the rhythms

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[25] "to a Cowlitz gathering, or an Indian gathering come because of a calling" Tanna Engdahl – collaborative comments.

[26] "It is the inner knowledge to feel the energy" Tanna Engdahl – collaborative comments.

of the earth ... And if they come there for the wrong reason they won't last. They'll move on. There'll be something – a Seahawks game or something else going on that's more interesting. They've been there, now they can cross it off – they've done that. But the people that should be there are."

(Tanna Engdahl)

This category allows anyone to self-identify themselves as Native American without any proof of relation or acceptance by a tribal group. This category is often seen as the most controversial because people with no Indian ancestry have been known to claim Native American status based on a wish to be seen as Native American by participating in culture and ceremonies, being a 'kindred spirit' to natives, and living in the vicinity of Indian lands. Many Native Americans feel this cheapens what it means to be Native American and is actually a theft of identity. Others believe that the autonomy of an individual to identify themselves with a group is the key factor in Native American philosophy (Garroutte 2003). Examples of self-defined Indians include Long Lance (Cobb 1928), Gray Owl (Dickson 1974), and Ward Churchill (Flynn 2005).

In my time with the Cowlitz tribe, I did not meet anyone who claimed to be Cowlitz solely on this basis. In fact, every person I met was more than willing to tell me their family lineage back to a member of Roblin's Roll or farther. Those who spend time with the tribe or work for the tribe and do not have Cowlitz ancestry were very open

about it, and tribal members accepted them as part of the 'family' but not as actual

Cowlitz. The one exception to this was Tanna, who considered her husband an "Indian

masquerading as a Swede" but never specifically said "Cowlitz" regarding him. Several

interviewees mentioned their spouses who are not Cowlitz, referring to them not as

"Cowlitz" but as part of the "family". In this case the use of words is key in

understanding the dynamics of this distinction. It is possible in the Cowlitz way of

thinking to be "family" and accepted as part of the group through marriage and/or

engagement with the tribe, without being "Cowlitz" or an enrolled member. At several

times as a participant researcher I was told that I was "part of the Canoe 'Family' even

though you're not 'Cowlitz'". These observations were based on my participation in

"doing the work" and made me a part of the group but not a member of the tribe. It

appears, then, that self-identification, while used for over 100 years by the tribe to

define itself when the US government refused to recognize them as a tribe, is not an

acceptable way for individuals to claim membership. In fact, those who were

considered part of the family but not part of tribe were not part of the family because

they self-identified as part of the family, but because tribal members verbally granted

them that status.

The fact that the tribe self-identified as Native American for over 100 years while

unrecognized as such by the Federal government begs the question, is there a critical

mass at which a groups of people who self-identify as Native American or as a specific

tribe must be taken seriously as a tribe by others? Or is self-identification irrelevant outside the social boundaries of that group? Clearly the UNDRIP drafters struggled to answer that question and therefore left the definition of indigenous open. It would seem, since self-identification held the Cowlitz tribe together for over a hundred years against pressure from the US government, settler society, and other tribes who would have preferred the Cowlitz disappear, that self-identification is important beyond a group's social boundaries. By hanging on to their self-identification against all odds, the Cowlitz were eventually able to gain recognition and recover some of what they had lost while unrecognized by others. However, there is also clearly a social and legal boundary set by the tribe today that does not allow individual self-identification, but instead requires the Tribal Enrollment Office to also identify a person as Cowlitz, or for other Cowlitz to recognize one as an unenrolled Cowlitz. This is evident not only from the interviews and comments heard during the ethnographic research, but also by the fact that the Cowlitz enrollment criteria do not allow self-identification as a determining factor. In order to be a tribal member one must prove descent from a person on Roblin's Role. Even to be considered Cowlitz but not an enrolled member it is expected that a person be able to show their decent from a recognized Cowlitz person.

Identity as Ethnicity or Nation?

Fitzpatrick (2004) argues that the Cowlitz tribe, particularly the mix-bloods, by way of an ethos (a collective identity forged by themselves and connected over time with their ancestors) is an ethnic group. While she does make a compelling case, there are others, such as David Wilkins (2007), who would argue that Indian tribes are not ethnic minorities. Wilkins gives three reasons why tribes are different from ethnic minorities in the US. First, Wilkins argues that Native Americans are the first and original inhabitants of the land, not latecomers. This naturally results in his second argument, that tribes have an extraconstitutional standing, that is, that native tribes are pre-existent and separate from the Constitution and the creation of the United States. His third argument is that the trust doctrine separates tribes from ethnic minorities by recognizing a special relationship with the US Government that includes a separate sovereignty of the tribes meant to be respected by the US Government. This special relationship creates an identity that goes beyond ethnicity to nationhood.

In contrast, Fitzpatrick focuses principally on current connection to the land as place, relationship and kin networks, and community or social networks. Fitzpatrick does not spend much time looking at the interplay between the tribe and the US government in her case to establish the Cowlitz as an ethnic group, and she occasionally dismisses the contemporary issues of sovereignty and autonomy in that relationship with comments such as, "it seems being acknowledged, in this case, is related to settling

the historical grievances" (2004:191). As a result of dismissing the relationship between the US and the Cowlitz tribe as simply settling old grievances rather than a continuous relationship of sovereign to sovereign, her view of the Cowlitz tribe as simply an ethnic minority in the US is called into question.

The inherent sovereignty and extraconstitutional status of a tribe take it beyond the level of an ethnic group and elevate it to the level of nation with its own culture and government as well as the ethos she describes in her book. However, it must be noted that at the time of Fitzpatrick's research, the Cowlitz were not yet an acknowledge tribe by the US government, which may account for the lack of analysis of this area in her research. Since this research takes the position that the Cowlitz tribe is more than an ethnic group, and is a sovereign nation, the issues of identity as connected to sovereignty will be discussed in depth in chapter two.

Synecdoche, Urbanization, Assimilation, and Other Native American Identity Issues

In Cowlitz words:

> "I think that like 5 or 6 I remember really knowing that I was native but it wasn't - we were born urban so I lived in the city so it was something we *went* to do and *went* to participate in because we didn't live with our Cowlitz cousins or anything. So 5 or 6 is when I really remember knowing that I was native. And then really living it was later in my 20's or so. Late 20's." (Interviewee "K")

"I remember when I was like 5 or 6 my grandpa ---- told me about ---- Taidnepam. I don't remember too much more than that. I just remember going to Catholic Church every now and then with him... I started using drugs when I was young and continued on to harder drugs and met somebody who was Taidnepam and my aunts and stuff. My aunt ---- talked about it a little bit but that's about it. And then I got involved with this guy ----- and then we kind of, I started getting interested in it. And we made it to the Recognition but we never went inside. I really didn't know too many people besides ----- and a couple other people. And I went to prison and when I was in prison I got really involved with the native circle. And I got out of prison and the culture saved my life. I really didn't know much about it but I just jumped into it head first and gave it everything I got."   (Interviewee G)

In his book *The Predicament of Culture*, Clifford (1988) says the "fields of

synechdoches are created in which parts are related to wholes, and by which the whole

– what we often call culture – is constituted" (38). What Clifford is talking about is that

often when looking for a group identity, characteristics, or culture we look at the

individuals who make up the group and can assume, in part, that their individual views

help us extrapolate the views of the group. "Metonymy is concerned with part-part

relations while synecdoche is concerned with part-whole relations. Here I want to

propose that while modern Western autobiography has been essentially metonymic in

orientation, Native American autobiography has been and continues to be persistently

synecdochic, and that the preference for synecdochic models of the self has relations to

the oral techniques of information transmission typical of Native American cultures."

(Krupat 1992:216). In less formal terms, the parts allow us to see and understand the

whole. However, this way determining what a group stands for does pose some problems. For example, does having one member of a tribe, or even 75% of the tribe, subscribe to a pro-blood-quantum stance mean the stance of the tribe is pro blood quantum? Not Necessarily. Depending on how the tribe is organized and led, the official stance of the tribe may be against blood quantum. The same goes for identity as a whole. While the identity or statements of one or more people within a tribe may direct a researcher to make certain assumptions about the tribe's identity, that assumption may not hold true across the tribe. Conversely, it may hold true but not accurately reflect the underlying identity nuances that attend that particular issue.

An example of this can be seen in this research with the Cowlitz. Most of the people interviewed for this research said they either began attending tribal activities with their parents since they were born, when they were 5 or 6 (children), or on their own when they were adults. This could lead a researcher to assume that there are identity groups within the tribe of those who have been there from their early childhood and those who came later as adults. While factually true, it does not accurately portray the identity of the tribe. There are curently a large number of teenagers involved with the tribe who came to the tribe as teenagers. The interviews do not reflect the views of this population because they are not 18 or older and many of them were not attending with their parents and so were not interviewed due to ethical protocols for research requiring parental permission.

Also, each individual experience has a unique set of factors leading to that moment. Both interviewees at the beginning of this section knew from a young age about their tribal relations but didn't get involved with the tribe until their 20s. This would seem to put them in the same category and create a pattern from which identity could be built. However, the interviewee who got involved as a result of being in prison is far different from the individual who also began to get involved in their 20's without a prison experience. They are vastly different people with vastly different views. Thus, any attempt to build a representation of tribal identity through the individuals of a tribe must be done with caution and a measure of distrust in the conclusions a researcher comes to. For this reason, no picture of identity is ever truly 100% accurate. Synechdoche, even if it is a measure of authentic Native American narrative, does not guarantee accuracy in the conclusions.

A further conundrum in Native American identity is the urban/rural/reservation "divide" and the concept of assimilation. Dictionary.com defines assimilation as the state or condition of being assimilated, or of being absorbed into something, or the process of adapting or adjusting to the culture of a group or nation, or the state of being so adapted. In most scholarly work on Native American groups, assimilation is seen as a colonial evil – the process of making tribes into white western people through force and coercion. Wilkins suggests that there are many types of, or techniques for, assimilation including cultural, structural, biological, and psychological. Myriad books

have been written on the subject detailing horrifying accounts of boarding schools,

forced religious conversions, reservation agricultural programs, and the urbanization

movement that started with the Indian Relocation Act of 1956.

Assimilation is connected with the concept of Native Americans being truly

'Indian' in the cultural sense - only if they follow traditional ways such as living in a

teepee and hunting for their food. While this is an extreme stereotype, there are those,

such as Elizabeth Cook-Lynn, who believe that literature and other aspects of Native

American life aren't authentic if they aren't traditional (Mihesuah 1998:132). The

balance between tradition and authenticity will be discussed more in chapter three. For

now, it is enough to note that assimilation has affected every tribe, and groups within

those tribes, at varying rates and depths. Some tribes have embraced modern settler

society while other have rejected as much as possible the settler ways that surround

them. Some tribes have not taken a stance on assimilation at all and leave it to their

members to choose how they will live – in teepees, hogans, trailers, suburban houses,

forest cabins, city apartments, or mansions on the beach.

In regard to tribal identity, there is a widely held debate between what it means

to be Native American and how one lives, as seen in the varying definitions of Native

American discussed earlier. The debate is deepened by the historical facts of

assimilation. Some tribes were forcibly assimilated through reservation programs,

boarding schools, and other forms of coercion. Some tribes were absorbed into

surrounding people groups, whether settler or other tribes, as their numbers and power diminished. An example of this from the Cowlitz tribe is the Kwalhioqua from the Willapa Hills region who were assimilated into the Cowlitz tribe. Other tribes, like the Cowlitz, assimilated to settler culture for survival even while they were still a large group. Having had their land stolen and the general settler mentality being one of antagonism toward Indians, most of the Cowlitz tribe assimilated as rapidly as they could into the surrounding settler community. Intermarriage and hiding the fact of Native American ancestry were common as a survival tool, not as a free choice (seven interviewees expressed this viewpoint). This leaves questions such as 'are you still an Indian if you were forced to look and act white and all native traditions were lost?' 'Are you an Indian if you chose to live as a white settler out of desperation for survival?' 'Are you and Indian if you live in a suburban house and don't want to go back to living in a teepee or cabin in the woods?' 'What if you like TV, McDonalds, and the Super Bowl more than dried venison, trading beads, and powwows…are you still an Indian?' This debate is no less true at the individual level than at the tribal level. 'Are they really a tribe if they don't have a powwow?' 'They don't even speak their language anymore – how can they say they are a tribe?' 'They all show up for campouts in HOWs – what kind of Indian is that?!' (HOWs, I was informed by Cowlitz tribal members, are "houses on wheels" – in other words, a big fancy motorhome or trailer).

The Cowlitz tribe is very aware of this dichotomy, which became apparent on the second day of ethnographic research. As we were paddling the ceremonial canoe down the Cowlitz River for the First Salmon Ceremony, conversation turned to a vehicle a youth in the canoe had recently acquired – a Scout truck. For a full 10 minutes the jokes flew from one tribal member to another, such as "don't let anyone see you got that – they'll know you're an Indian for sure" and "now you're a real Indian – you got a rusty Scout sitting in your yard that doesn't run". These jokes point out the stereotypes through which Native Americans are often seen, not only by settlers but by other Native Americans. The tension between these stereotypes, what is considered traditional, and real life in a world where Native Americans are nurses, lawyers, school teachers, or whatever else they want to be and live in modern houses in suburban and urban America is a daily walk for Cowlitz. According to Fitzpatrick (2004), there has even historically been tension among members *within* the tribe regarding various levels of assimilation and whether those who have made a comfortable life among the settlers are truly Cowlitz.

In the 25 interviews conducted for this research and the year of attending tribal activities, there was no discernable friction between members of the tribe in this area. There was a desire on the part of some for others to learn more about the tribe's history and traditions, but there was no open animosity or any comments made about anyone not being 'Indian enough'. However, several interviewees, including Interviewee K,

noted that when the tribe first became recognized and started attending inter-tribal

activities, they themselves felt a kind of shortcoming in their knowledge and

'Indianness' that took them time to comes to terms with in their own minds. Whether

or not the other tribes perceived a lack of 'Indianness' is not known. It is enough for

this research to know that in the minds of many Cowlitz, there was a point at which the

tribe, and individual members of the tribe, had to make (and still work to make) peace

with themselves regarding what it means to be a Native American and a Cowlitz tribal

member when so many of the tribe could be considered fully assimilated into settler

culture.

Urbanization is a connected issue to assimilation as many Native Americans

today live in urban and suburban settings. In the 1950's the US government pursued a

policy of termination and urbanization of Native Americans, culminating in the Indian

Relocation Act of 1956. The Pacific Northwest is no exception to this. The Portland

Indian Leaders Roundtable (2016) reports that:

> "In the 2000 U.S Census, the Portland MSA – a census bureau defined
> metropolitan region that includes Multnomah County and parts of three other
> counties – reported that there were 19, 209 Native Americans of one race and 38,
> 926 multiracial Native Americans living in the Portland Metro area (U.S. Census
> 2000, SF3). Currently, Native people count disproportionately among the urban
> poor. We experience the highest rates of homelessness, poverty and
> unemployment of all ethnic groups; depression, addiction and diabetes impact
> us in numbers far exceeding the norm. We constitute 24% of all children in foster
> care in Multnomah County, and only 37% of our high school students living in
> Portland graduate on time (Portland Schools Foundation: 2006).

Even with our large population and the strong evidence of need, resources have not been equitably distributed to our community. There are false perceptions that we no longer exist and chronic undercounts, inaccurate data and stereotypes about what we look like perpetuate this misconception. It is commonly believed that our education, health care, and other social support systems are fully paid for by government funding or gaming/casino revenues. These misunderstandings lead to policies and decisions that limit our access to social services and other community resources in the city where we live.

Despite the barriers, we continue to foster our culture and celebrate our heritage."

As this quote shows, there are many issues urban native Americans face, many of them coming from settler society's misconceptions. However, when you add to these the internal issues of identity formation, it is no wonder that Native Americans often express anger with settler society and have a wide variety of coping strategies. These strategies include everything from ignoring Native American culture and identity all together, to fully embracing it as a way of life. The interviewee quoted above who became involved in Cowlitz culture through the native circle in prison said that he threw himself into it completely in order to save his life. He has built a new community, culture, and identity through immersion in Cowlitz and Pacific Northwest Native American ways while still being what most would deem an 'urbanized' or 'assimilated' Indian until his mid-20's. Other tribal members have gone the other direction, and I was occasionally told that a certain person could not be interviewed because they did not care to do anything Native American and didn't like to even have

it mentioned that they were Native American, for various personal reasons. Others

seem to walk a balance between the worlds, such as Interviewee K, who has a job in the

middle of a city, lives on the edge of the city on a few acres, with a range of animals,

and spends a large portion of their days off doing tribal activities and teaching their

children Cowlitz tribal ways.

Philosophical Issues of Identity

"We just knew we were Indian forever. It's just part of who we were."

(Interviewee F)

"That Cowlitz, the Cowlitz women, there's an element of power that Cowlitz women carry in the medicine and to know that you're a Cowlitz. And to really know that I'm not Nisqually, I'm not a Muckleshoot, I'm not any of those tribes doesn't mean that's any less, it's just that I know where I come from and I know where my power of my medicine comes from. To know that I walk every day in a way of 'am I doing things that honor my ancestors, my grandfather, -----. My grandmother his daughter. Am I honoring them and their memory? They're watching me. Am I doing things in a good way, in a Cowlitz way?'"

(Interviewee D)

"How do you ask a person when they knew they were Indian? …the tribe started talking about casinos. The casino and businesses. Like many people, suddenly they were Indian. I think it's still a good thing no matter what motivated them. For myself, I would rather be an Indian and if it took a while for

them to get there, then that's fine. I just wish they knew more about it in their soul rather than what's on the surface[27]." (Tanna Engdahl)

"I probably became more aware of it when my great grandfather, my Indian side great grandfather, and my mom - I was about 10 or 11 when he was just about ready to pass away- and so she says 'I want you to go spend some time with him and ask him questions, and interview him and get to know him'… We had been told that we were Cowlitz, native, but nothing more than that. We weren't involved when I was a child at all. It wasn't until I was in my early 20's that I got involved on my own - got pretty involved with the tribe."

(Interviewee "D")

"Interviewer: So what does it mean to you to be Cowlitz?

Lisa: You know it gives me pride that I am part Native American. I know I have a lot of other nationalities, but I feel that it gives me ties. You know, local roots that are very deep into a tradition that I really don't know a whole bunch about but I'm wanting to learn more about the Cowlitz legacy.

Interviewer: is there a difference to you between being Native American and being Cowlitz?

Lisa: yes, because growing up we didn't have recognition and other tribes did and we didn't. So it was just, so yes yes, because I feel like we are a new tribe. And we are, I mean we are a newly recognized tribe still. Just trying to gain the rights that were taken back from our ancestors." (Lisa Majewski)

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[27] "How do you ask a person when they knew they were Indian? Many in our tribe grew up within the knowledge and there was no time when they didn't know it. Others grew up outside the culture and were told they were Indian but didn't count that heritage important until they heard about a possible casino or business enterprise that made their heritage attractive. Suddenly they were Indian. For myself, I think it's a good thing when people come back to their heritage no matter what motivated them. I am hoping there is something about our cultural practices that will stir their Indian blood and they will become strong members of the tribe rather than someone who is looking for a handout". Tanna Engdahl – collaborative comment.

Maimon and Delueze believed that identity rested in the real differences between people rather than the Kantian philosophy that identity is found in the possibilities of thought. For Kant the possibilities create the identity while Maimon, and subsequently Deleuze, posited that identity is not based on the possibilities, but rather on the differences (in Smith and Protevi 2015). What makes me not you is the differences between us rather than the possibilities we each face. Although these philosophies are from westerners, this is an important discussion in identity theory for Native Americans. What makes one tribal identity vary from another? Why are they separate tribes? Why are tribes separated from any other group, such as settlers?

In order to answer this, one of the research questions in the interviews with Cowlitz tribal members was "what makes the Cowlitz different from other tribes in the area?" and "what does it mean to you to be Cowlitz?". These were followed with questions regarding customs and rituals, family, similarities and differences Cowlitz people perceived regarding themselves and others. The results were mixed to the point that it is impossible to say there is a clear philosophy of identity origin within the Cowlitz tribe. Some said there was not much different in culture, norms, traditions, and values. Most said there was not much difference in lifestyle for non-reservation tribes. Those who grew up on other reservations said there were reservation tribes (having had a reservation for at least 100 years and majority of the tribe having lived on the

reservation at one time) that did have a different way of living that was brought in part by the close proximity of their people. This was in contrast the Cowlitz who are spread out and have not lived in close proximity on a reservation[28]. Interviewees noted that tribes with reservations did have traditions that they practiced while the Cowlitz ceased to practice them. One tribal member, during a casual conversation, mentioned that she grew up on a neigbouring tribe's reservation and was repeatedly told she could watch the ceremonies but not participate because they weren't her traditions (meaning they weren't Cowlitz). This would seem to indicate a great difference between the tribes' traditions and ceremonies. However, when asked in what ways the traditions and ceremonies of the Cowlitz were different than other neigbouring tribes, the interviewees struggled to think of any specific differences, with the exception of the smelt ceremony. The Smelt ceremony was mentioned several times in interviews and casual conversations as being uniquely Cowlitz because the smelt run on the Cowlitz River is far larger than other rivers in the region. Thus, while other tribes had an equal share and therefore similar traditions regarding salmon, hunting, burial, and marriage, the Cowlitz had a monopoly on the smelt trade and as a result were singular in their development of the smelt ceremony.

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[28] The last known village or community setting where the majority of the people were Cowlitz, as far as this research could find, was Olequa on the Cowlitz River, which ceased to exist as a community around the 1970s.

The only other difference mentioned was when Interviewee H noted that some of the sacred songs of the Cowlitz people were unique, but that they were usually unique to a family within the tribe, not the tribe as a whole. This interviewee also mentioned that some of those sacred songs could be gifted to others, even in other tribes, and that was sometimes done as a mark of respect for the person the song was gifted to, or to preserve the song if there was no-one within the original family that could carry (take responsibility to learn and pass on) the song. In the latter case it was understood that there would come a time when the original family or tribe would be in a position to learn the song again in later generations. So while the song was an original cultural and/or ceremonial difference, it could be shifted from family to family and tribe to tribe, making the boundaries of difference less clear.

Rather than distinctions in culture and ceremony, by far the most important distinction interviewees made was the distinction of history – particularly the distinction of having refused to sign treaties with the US government and the ensuing struggles for justice and compensation. In all interviews and every social, ceremonial, and tribal gathering conversations inevitably turned at some point to the historical fact that the Cowlitz tribe did not sign the treaties even though they were specifically invited. Whether or not the person speaking of this historical event agreed with that decision or not was, surprisingly, not the center of the discussion. Instead, the central point of the story was that the long-term ramifications meant the Cowlitz were different

than other tribes who either hadn't been thought important enough to invite to treat, or who had been invited and signed the treaties. Clearly in the minds of the Cowlitz people today, this is an important difference between Cowlitz and other tribes with long-term implications for the tribe in terms of the 150 years following that decision and the struggle to be recognized and compensated for stolen land, as well as in terms of the emic identity of the tribe.

In statistical terms, 12 of the 25 interviewees responded that there really are no major differences between the tribes. Of the 11 who said there was a difference, 3 said the difference was simply knowing who you are – that you are Cowlitz and not some other group. One responded that the difference between the tribes today is what services they provide for their people, such as housing, medical, etc. Another responded that the difference was attitude and animosity – that many of the other tribes hold animosity toward the Cowlitz, while the Cowlitz generally are open to people of all tribes. Tanna Engdahl noted that the only cultural difference she could think of was that other tribes tend to have more regalia than the Cowlitz, and the smelt ceremony[29]. The most popular answer regarding difference that was discovered during ethnographic research, though only 4 people directly answered this way in interviews, was that there are little cultural and ceremonial differences between the tribes of the

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[29] Tanna later added that other tribes also have "more songs, more time in their cultural practices. The Cowlitz Tribe had to leave their own practices dormant in the desperate effort to survive." – collaborative comments.

Pacific Northwest. One person qualified this by noting that these differences were not just between tribes but different from village to village so that you have members of the same tribe doing things slightly different in each smaller community.

Many interviewees, from both the yes and no answers regarding difference, spoke as if just knowing you were Cowlitz was the important distinction. As Interviewee D stated in the answer recorded at the beginning of this section, it is knowing who you are that makes you what you are – knowing you are not Muckleshoot and you are Cowlitz is what makes you Cowlitz. Tanna Engdahl sees it a little differently. In her answer it is just as important to choose to follow the Cowlitz ways as it is important that you know you are Cowlitz. This is because many of the people Engdahl referred to have known for years that they have Cowlitz ancestry, such as Interviewee D who knew from an early age that she was ancestrally Cowlitz but decided later on her own to embrace the Cowlitz lifeway. In Tanna's view, it is deciding to embrace being Cowlitz as an identity that distinguishes you as Cowlitz[30].

Each of those people with Cowlitz ancestors have possibilities and differences, and the tribe itself has possibilities and differences. With the exception of the historical difference of being a tribe invited to treat with the US and refusing to sign those treaties, the similarities and differences are not as important as the knowledge and the choice to

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[30] "That is the time the heart and soul awakens to the call of the bloodline" Tanna engdahl – collaborative comment.

be Cowlitz. It would seem, then, that to most Cowlitz, it is not the possibilities or the differences that make an identity, but the knowing (whether it's passed down through story, or memory, or family, or learned as one pursues their identity) and the choice to embrace being Cowlitz and all that goes with it.

Conclusion:

As Garroutte (2003) points out in her book on Native American identity, each of these aspects of Native American identity has its positive and negative aspects. For example, blood quantum ignores cultural involvement, allowing people not involved in tribal life to benefit from programs designed for the tribe. Identity based solely on cultural involvement leaves out many descendants of Native Americans who have migrated away from the central location of the tribe as a means of survival, such as looking for work, or who were forced off traditional lands and practices through US government policies. Individual indigenous people, tribes as whole entities, the US and international governments, as well as settler cultures around the globe must wrestle with these identity issues.

The Cowlitz Tribe is no exception to the confusion these different identity markers can bring. Fitzpatrick (2004) does a remarkable job of describing these various tensions within the Cowlitz Tribe prior to 2000, but does so in the context of ethnicity

rather than nationhood. While it is not the intention of this research to delve deeply into these issue, it is necessary to understand them as a background to the research. This research, instead of focusing on the divisions caused by these various definitions of identity, focuses on the unity within the tribe and how tribal members see themselves within the context of community. In answering the question 'who is Cowlitz?' members of the Cowlitz themselves define this boundary through the course of the research and interviews.

While a minority of Cowlitz tribal descendants would like to reinstate blood quantum restrictions for enrollment, the majority have voted to use lineal descent instead. As a result, the tribe has a wide variety of phenotypes not typically associated with Native Americans. There are also a large number of people who attend cultural events sporadically, and/or live far from the central region of the tribe in Southwest Washington. The dominating concepts revealed through interviews regarding who is Cowlitz were the ideas of descent, involvement (quality, not quantity), and a felt connection with the tribe and their ancestors. From a philosophical perspective, it is the knowledge of being Cowlitz, the choice to embrace being Cowlitz, and the historical uniqueness of directly opposing the US at treaty gatherings that seem to be at the center of Cowlitz identity.

Chapter 2

Sovereignty and the Cowlitz Context

"People remember the old ways of their grandparents and we're bringing the culture back. It's coming back as we solve our tribal sovereignty."
                    (Roy Wilson – Honorary Chief of the Cowlitz Indian Tribe)

The focus of this research being the tribal identity of the Cowlitz, it may seem odd that sovereignty should be discussed at length. The quote from Roy Wilson at the beginning of this chapter shows how the issues of sovereignty are linked with the tribal identity. He continued by saying, "now what we have to do with our federal recognition of our sovereignty is we need to begin to plan and prepare to go back to the federal government, as a federally recognized tribe, and have our hunting and fishing rights restored back here on the Cowlitz River and the Cowlitz country". In Roy's words, "sovereignty has given us the opportunity to show our abilities". Juanita Clark, when asked if the Cowlitz were sovereign, said, "I always felt it, but we were powerless with it". At the same time, Interviewee M said, "getting our "sovereignty" as far as the government's concerned, getting it back was ok, you finally have given us something we never did lose – you just thought we did." These quotes also reveal some unanswered questions regarding sovereignty as a concept. For example, does sovereignty have to be recognized by others as Wilson's statement indicates? Or, as Clark and Interviewee M suggested, does it always exist - sometimes exercised and

sometimes not? The questions of sovereignty are universal questions among all peoples who form themselves into political and social groups. What does it mean to be sovereign? Which groups or entities can claim sovereignty and over what? Are there limits to sovereignty or is it 'all or nothing'?

It must be noted that there are Native American writers who decry sovereignty as a western concept and believe it should be removed from Native American discussions, government, and life all together (Alfred 2009). However, whether we like it or not, sovereignty is a concept that has become global in nature – nations, states, and groups worldwide, including Native Americans, use it to describe various rights, privileges, and limits. China was ruled by sovereigns for centuries, although admittedly not using the word "sovereignty", and the concept is used by China to defend its actions today. The Chinese Ambassador to the Philippines said in August 2015, "Freedom of navigation does not mean to allow other countries to intrude into the airspace or the sea which is sovereign" (Today Online) when discussing China's shipping restrictions in the South China Sea. Mike Iyall of the Cowlitz agreed with this, "I think it's the tools we have to live in the world. I can't tell you what we would have used 200 years ago. I think, I'm quite certain, that there was always some level of sovereignty. There was always a sense of place. It was your place. It was your tradition. Your culture. So all of those connect to sovereignty."

Sovereignty, therefore, is not a western concept, but each group may have nuances in defining sovereignty that vary from other groups. The conceptions of sovereignty in terms of Native Americans have their roots in western philosophy as a result of European settler domination for more than a century. For this reason, we will begin with a discussion of sovereignty from a United Nations perspective and narrow down to a Euro-American perspective, ending with an examination of current Cowlitz concepts of sovereignty.

Debates in Sovereignty

> "I don't think that any tribes have true sovereignty like another nation, like France has with the US. It's sort of a semi-sovereignty… what would a tribal status be with the federal government if it didn't have sovereignty. If it wasn't – I don't know- it's hard to think about because in some areas there is sovereignty and in some areas there is not. So I don't know what the definition of it boils down to being. The ideal would be that the federal government wouldn't interfere in a tribe's business. But yet here we are taking grants from the federal government all the time. We're not self-sufficient… But until now, not having a reservation, there hasn't been – because sovereignty in many ways is tied to having a reservation – so we haven't experienced a lot of sovereignty yet as a Cowlitz Tribe."   (Interviewee F)

> "Sovereignty is the power to exercise governance over your people. The modern version connects it to a defined land. I believe that historically there never was a defined land."   (Mike Iyall)

The paramount international instrument regarding Indigenous peoples and sovereignty is the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples

(UNDRIP). However, UNDRIP remains very vague in two critical areas, the definitions

of 'indigenous' and 'sovereignty'. As a result, it is unclear exactly who is indigenous, as

discussed in chapter one, and who or what is sovereign. For example, article 46, section

1 of UNDRIP regarding sovereignty says,

> "Nothing in this Declaration may be interpreted as implying for any State, people, group or person any right to engage in any activity or to perform any act contrary to the Charter of the United Nations or construed as authorizing or encouraging any action which would dismember or impair, totally or in part, the territorial integrity or political unity of sovereign and independent States."

The lack of a definition for sovereignty begs the question 'who is sovereign?' and to

whom does this statement apply and in what ways?

This stumbling block becomes obvious in UNDRIPs drafting in conversations

about the self-determination[31] of indigenous groups. Article 22 of the Covenant of the

League of Nations, one of the starting places for the working group's attempt to build a

definition, stated that indigenous people were groups "not yet able to stand by

themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world". By this definition,

indigenous peoples did not have self-determination. However, in the drafting process,

the Chairperson-Rapporteur noted that self-determination may mean effective voice

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[31] Merriam Webster's dictionary defines self –determination as "1) free choice of one's own acts or states without external compulsion, 2) determination by the people of a territorial unit of their own future political status".

and representation in the government of a democratic state in which the group resides, and not necessarily a system of separate self-government within or beside the state (Daes 1993: ¶21-23). The Belgian delegation supported this concept, but indigenous groups were less inclined to give up separate self-determination (Daes 1996: sections 1.C and 1.G), possibly fearing that not including separate self-determination would give governments power to revoke the separate self-determination for those indigenous groups who maintain it. Self-determination, therefore, is included or protected in the adopted declaration in almost every article and a compromise was given by adding article 46 to UNDRIP, which limits self-determination to any activity that doesn't threaten the "territorial integrity or political unity of sovereign and independent states" and is "subject only to such limitations as are determined by law". The outcome is a self-determination that is well supported in theory but subject to laws of another government in practice.

When it comes to land, UNDRIP is no less confusing. League of Nations article 22 defined indigenous not by peoples but rather by territories, while the Pan-American Union referred to groups who were the "first inhabitants" of the land but did not necessarily retain title of it (Daes 1996: Section 1.A.14 and 1.B.15-16). The UN Charter, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) conflict with each other in that the Charter uses "Non-Self-Governing Territory" while the covenants' article 1

refers only to peoples. Daes recognized that the International Court of Justice in the 1975 advisory opinion of *The Western Sahara*[32] removed '*terra nullius*' from legal discourse and that indigenous people have a deep cultural, religious, and sometimes territorial identity or claim to land (Daes 1993: ¶37). Bengoa cautioned against requiring historical continuity with land to be connected with indigenous land rights, due to historical policies of forced removal and assimilation, but at the same time recognized that some connection to the land was often a key component in identifying groups as indigenous (Daes 1996: Section 1.I.41). Special Rapporteur Martinez Cobo defined indigenous people "by their maintaining special relationships with their 'ancestral territories' and that this separated them from minorities", while the governments of states run by settlers were uncomfortable with the idea that settlers aren't native and don't maintain the same kind of relationship with the land (Daes 1996). The solution to this, according to Daes, was to side-step telling the governments that the land doesn't legally belong to them by not specifically stating what the land rights in UNDRIP actually include, then also adding protective measures in an attempt to safeguard indigenous land use. A more ambiguous state of affairs would be difficult to obtain.

Daes (1996) concludes with the statement that,

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[32] "With regard to Question I, 'Was Western Sahara (Rio de Oro and Sakiet El Hamra) at the time of colonization by Spain a territory belonging to no one (*terra nullius*)?,

- decided by 13 votes to 3 to comply with the request for an advisory opinion;
- was unanimously of opinion that Western Sahara (Rio de Oro and Sakiet El Hamra) at the time of colonization by Spain was not a territory belonging to no one *(terra nullius)*."

"any inconsistency or imprecision in previous efforts to clarify the concept of 'indigenous' was not a result of a lack of adequate scientific or legal analysis, but due to the efforts of some governments to limit its globality, and of other governments to build a high conceptual wall...All past attempts to achieve both clarity and restrictiveness in the same definition have in fact resulted in greater ambiguity"(section 2.B.73).

Defining these areas is a monumental task that no-one has been able to achieve to the satisfaction of all. As a result, there are numerous claims regarding where sovereignty derives its authority, how far that authority extends, and how sovereignty is limited.

The next question to be dealt with is 'who does sovereignty apply to?' Most people would automatically say that sovereignty applies to states, nations, or nation-states, with the caveat that these words are often used interchangeably. The legal definition of a state has four parts: (a) a permanent population; (b) a defined territory; (c) government; and (d) capacity to enter into relations with the other states (Montevideo Convention; 1933:Art.1). Although the legal definition was adopted in 1933, Art.3 of the Montevideo Convention recognizes that states may exist separate from and prior to legal recognition by other states. On the basis that Art.3 makes the definition of a state or nation retroactive, any entity meeting the criteria, no matter when they existed in such a manner, can be considered a sovereign state equal with all other sovereign states, including indigenous groups. However, this does not guarantee that a state will remain a state indefinitely. In terms of indigenous groups, that means that while indigenous groups may once have been a state, they may not meet those

criteria presently. This begs the question 'can a group maintain sovereignty if they no longer meet the definition of a state?' The answer depends of whether only states are sovereign or whether other groups may also retain sovereignty.

The Montevideo definition also brings up the questions of territory: Does a territory have to be solely under the control of a particular group in order for that group to be a state? Or can there be hierarchies of control beyond the level of state or nation? In practical application, the United Nations, European Union, Organization of American States, African Union, International Labor Organization, and many others have a level of control over states. It can be argued that these organizations are voluntarily joined, but the fact remains that others outside the state's territory or operating within a state's territory still have some measure of control and influence. If that is conveyed down the ranks of entities, can an indigenous tribe in a specific territory still be a state if that territory is also under control of a larger entity, such as the case with many indigenous tribes? Does having a defined territory require exclusive authority over that territory? If not, most indigenous groups have a defined territory, even if they don't have direct or exclusive control over it. Do they, then, qualify as a state?

In Canada and other countries, Native groups are often referred to as first nations. In our global society today we tend to use nation and state interchangeably, but are they the same thing? Is a first nation also a state? A significant western

definition of the distinctions between these can be found in Green's 1995 work on

Native American cultural identity. According to Green,

> "A random aggregate of individuals is different from a group of individuals who
> have organized themselves so as to self-consciously give expression to their
> conceptions of their distinctiveness. Both of these, in turn, are different from a
> group with common traits whose members are unaware of their common
> identity. The first is typically referred to as a population, while the second is
> described as a nation. When it has a territory and has evolved its own
> mechanism of sovereign self-government, it is referred to as a nation state.
> However, between the two extremes, there is the case of a group of individuals
> who share common traits and yet are unaware of themselves as having a
> common identity. These can be termed a people."(1995:3)

This definition can be used, according to Green, to label any entity throughout history.

In keeping with Green's definition, the Cowlitz during pre-contact and early contact

with Europeans were a sovereign nation-state having social identity, government, and

territory. If one considers territory to mean only legally autonomous territory, then it

might be possible to say that from 1863 to 2014, the tribe was a nation with a social

identity and government but lacking autonomous territory. From December 2014,

when the tribe was granted a reservation by the US Federal Courts, the tribe once again

became a sovereign nation-state. However, since the question of the extent of autonomy

required for a nation-state has not been answered, it is also possible to say that since a

reservation is land 'in trust' they are not a state even when they have an autonomous

territory because they do not have sole control over it.

There are other European definitions, like that of Durkheim, who believed that

the idea of a nation-state (or state) is a relatively new concept (in Thompson 1985:147).

Durkheim also wrote on the link between a state and a territory, believing that the

concept of state and territory as inseparably linked is the mark of the highest societies

and entities (in Thompson 1985:148). This evolutionary perspective changes the

definition of people, population, state, and nation and instead of linking sovereignty to

states only (because nation-states with territories are a new concept while sovereignty is

an old concept), this links sovereignty to peoples, and nations, as well as nation-states.

Under this definition, the Cowlitz have always been and continue to be a sovereign

entity regardless of their status as a people, nation, or state.

> The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy says,

> "First, a holder of sovereignty possesses authority. That is to say, the person or entity does not merely wield coercive power, defined as A's ability to cause B to do what he would otherwise not do. Authority is rather what philosopher R.P. Wolff proposed: 'the right to command and correlatively the right to be obeyed' (Wolff, 1990, 20). What is most important here is the term 'right,' connoting legitimacy. A holder of sovereignty derives authority from some mutually acknowledged source of legitimacy — natural law, a divine mandate, hereditary law, a constitution, even international law. In the contemporary era, some body of law is ubiquitously the source of sovereignty" (Philpott 2014).

While the Stanford encyclopedia notes that other elements are crucial to the concept of

sovereignty, it holds that authority is the foundation of the concept. This foundation of

authority is key in relation to indigenous and Native American sovereignty. The

question is, who has authority over what, and why?

European philosophies of 'why' sovereigns hold authority are varied. In his comments in part two of Leviathan, Hobbes (2012 [1651]) believed that sovereignty was based on either conquest or institution, the latter meaning the agreement to obey a common authority. Vitoria, on the other hand, believed in,

> "1) the idea of the sovereignty and legitimacy of non-European or non-Christian states, and their status as equals by nature whose sovereignty is to be acknowledged; 2) the notion that there are ethical limits to be placed on the use of force and on the recourse to war, as well as a denial of empire as a legitimate form of governance or communication between communities; and 3) the question of the order of justice, and principles that may be deduced from it, as the order that properly regulates relations between all communities" (in Valenzuela-Vermehren 2013:263).

In Vitoria's view sovereignty is legitimated through just governing based on the common good of the people (in Valenzuela-Vermehren, 2013:264) regardless of their religious or technological standing. While Vitoria did believe there were limits to what a sovereign nation could do and believed that Native Americans were sovereign nations, he also believed that once war was waged on the pretense of right of travel, propagation of Christianity, or rights of trade, a conqueror could justifiably subjugate the people and the new hegemonic power would be legitimate (Arneil 1996:77). This was Vitoria's defense of the Spanish legitimacy of conquest in the Americas through military power. While Spain sought to justify its military exploits, England, Holland, and others sought to use settlement through trade or labor as their legitimizing factor (Locke 1988[1689]; Arneil 1996). However, European nations also subscribed to the

'doctrine of discovery' established through Papal Bulls starting in 1452 (Paul 2007). The

doctrine of discovery legitimized colonizing and establishing Hobbesian type

sovereignty over non-Christian peoples under the guise of proselytizing non-believers

(Paul 2007). The US government, particularly US Chief Justice Marshall, relied heavily

on this doctrine in its pursuit of Native American lands (*Johnson v. M'Intosh* 1823). Thus,

US sovereignty was legitimated by conquest, and as the conquered, Native Americans

were and are unable to use Hobbesian concepts to legitimate their sovereignty. As a

result, they implicitly rely heavily on Vitoria's understanding of legitimacy through

natural law, justice, or equality with European states.

For example, in Gathering the Potawatomi Nation, Wetzel (2015) writes that,

"social, cultural, and ceremonial solidarity are at the center of Potawatomi nationalism"

(143). In this instance the Potawatomi nation is basing its nationalism on natural law –

they are a nation because they share a cultural, social, and ceremonial identity as

Potawatomi that is unique from others and which legitimates their nationhood.

"Invoking the nation", Wetzel states, "emphasizes Potawatomi sovereignty separate

from any state, provincial, or federal government" (2015:137). Vitoria, in his lecture

entitled 'De Indus' in 1537 affirmed that American Indians in the 1500's were sovereign

nations equal to any European nation because of the inherent dignity of human beings

who have cultural, social, and governmental institutions. The Potawatami do not wish

to establish nation-statehood (as westerners conceive of it), according to Wetzel, but

they do agree that social and cultural identity legitimate Potawatomi sovereignty.

History: American Indian and United States Sovereignty

"Sovereignty is a difficult thing in the United States. Although we're a part of the United States, and we're citizens of the United States - I served my country you know. To get the United States to understand that there's nations that are considered sovereign countries and can have sovereignty over them, meaning that they can make decisions, decide where the money goes, decide what they're going to do, have their own judicial system, their own courts, all elements of government. To allow them, to let us do that and take care of our own people. We're also a part of the United States, you know? It's a difficult thing. There's still ignorance in our government. When the Chinook lost their sovereignty Bill Clinton signed it in an act and George bush took it away and said 'ah, there's enough Indian clubs, go join one of the other ones'. He didn't understand that the tribes all have their own individuality. We're not a club, we're our own country, government, people. You get that attitude in your top hierarchy and you know it's happening from the top down. So sovereignty is a difficult one."   (Interviewee D)

"Interviewer: So would you consider the Cowlitz Tribe now to be sovereign?
Mike: Yes, as much as a tribe can be in this modern era.
Interviewer: What does that mean to you "as much as it can be?"
Mike: Well, we still live in the United States. We still pay taxes as Americans. We still serve in the military as Americans. My grandfather, Frank, helped write and pass the Indian Citizenship Act of 1924. Literally we are citizens of a greater nation."   (Mike Iyall)

Unlike the Spanish policies on American Indians, colonial England did not

simply tell American Indians that England owned the land. American Indians held a

defined territory, maintained their own cultures and systems of governance, and tribes

had distinct identities separate from each other and from the new colonial groups. In

principle then, the settlers recognized the tribes as sovereign entities. This is seen in the

fact that the Plymouth pilgrims knew on whose territory they had settled and made

treaties of friendship and land rental with the Wampanoag (Friendship Treaty 1621).

Not only did the pilgrims make treaties, but they made them with Chief Massasoit and

the Wampanoag placed the equivalent of an ambassador next to the Plymouth

settlement[33], which establishes that the American Indians had strong governmental

systems. Some accounts of the first years at Plymouth settlement claim that after the

treaty of 1621, the pilgrims made land use agreements for a 12,000 acre section of

Wampanoag land, but claim that the land still belonged to the tribe. Others claim that

the pilgrims traded goods with the Wampanoag for land ownership (Bushnell 1953).

This is where the first legal and policy ambiguities start. While there was clear

acknowledgment as to who owned the land to begin with, the unclear status of who

'sold' land to whom, and how, creates a murkiness of claim and counter-claim. It is true,

from the British perspective, that even before the pilgrims set foot on the land, they

were making agreements with their partners in England concerning how the land

should be used and divided, as if they already owned it (Andrews 1919:14), but that did

not negate the fact that when they arrived they made treaties to establish legitimacy of

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[33] The first of these was Tisquantum and the second named Hobbamok (Humins 1987).

ownership. It is clear that both nations, Wampanoag and England, recognized the

sovereignty of the other. What is unclear is where the territorial boundaries of one's

jurisdiction ended and the other's began once land had been exchanged.

In 1638, the few remaining Quinnipiac families (of the Dawnland Confederacy in

today's Connecticut) signed a treaty with Britain creating the first reservation, or land

specifically set aside for use by a tribe (Wilkins 2002). In this treaty, the Eastern side of

New Haven harbor was reserved for the Quinnipiac (about 1200 acres), while title to the

rest of the land (about 1800acres) was transferred to England. While the English

considered the land rights of the Quinnipiac to be a "pretended right" (Andrews, 1919)

and gave compensation for the land in the form of some cloth, spoons, knives, trading

trinkets and a pledge to protect the Quinnipiac from their neigbours the Pequot, the fact

that they made treaties or agreements at all legitimized the tribe's sovereignty. The

colonial suggestion that American Indian land rights were a 'pretended right' meant

that a few years later in 1700, when the settlers wanted the East side of the harbor, they

began pressuring the few remaining Quinnipiac to sell their land, and in 1731 tried to

move the tribe to Waterbury. By 1774, the Quinnipiac had lost or sold all their land in

'New Haven' and the remaining tribal members disappeared into the surrounding

tribes (Menta 1994).

The importance of this may seem incidental on the surface, but in reality it cuts to

the very heart of sovereignty in western legal terms. A sovereign nation requires a

defined territory, so by removing the Quinnipiac from their land, their sovereignty as a nation ended, and along with it, any rights and prerogatives such as self-defense and self-determination. It also meant that there were no longer any limits on the colonial governments regarding their relations with the Quinnipiac, such as non-intervention in internal affairs. Finally, since the Quinnipiac were not British citizens, and by loss of land were no longer a nation, they were not protected by any system of government or rights.

As history progressed, this became a major tactic for creating ambiguity that could be manipulated by the US in regard to tribal sovereignty over identity, self-determination, and land jurisdiction. For the sake of time, close scrutiny will be given to only a few historical events that typify how this ambiguity has been increased. In 1777, the "Articles of Confederation" organized the new government of the United States and assume authority over Indian affairs" (Wilkins 2002:xxi). At this time, all treaties held between England and the American Indians were transferred to the U.S. In 1831 the case of *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* came before the US Supreme Court. The Cherokee nation challenged the state of Georgia's extension of its authority into "Cherokee territory on the grounds that they were a 'foreign nation' according to the constitution" (Wilkins 2007:51). The Court ruled that

> "They have been uniformly treated as a state from the settlement of our country. The numerous treaties made with them by the United States recognize them as a people capable of maintaining the relations of peace and war, of being responsible in their political character for any violation of their engagements, or

for any aggression committed on the citizens of the United States by any individual of their community... The acts of our government plainly recognize the Cherokee nation as a state, and the courts are bound by those acts." (Marshall Opinion par.4)

The court here affirms the sovereignty of the Cherokee and, through jurisprudence, all American Indians as nations in every respect, satisfying all legal parameters for a nation with fully independent sovereign rights.

However, four paragraphs later, the same judgment regards that sovereignty as only puppet sovereignty with the statement, "They occupy a territory to which we assert a title independent of their will, which must take effect in point of possession when their right of possession ceases. Meanwhile, they are in a state of pupilage. Their relation to the United States resembles that of a ward to his guardian"(Marshall Opinion Par.6). With these statements, the United States puts the American Indian in a state of "sovereignty" that allows them no real self-determination, jurisdiction over their land, or even the choice of their own identity. The American Indian is left with only a limited form of what Krasner (1999) calls Domestic sovereignty; that is, internal self-government but only in an undefined way and not in areas where the US claims the right of interference. This allows the US to claim they are treating American Indians fairly as sovereign nations while not clearly defining the limits their sovereignty puts on the US for non-intervention.

In 1884, the Supreme Court further confirmed the 'alien nation' status of American Indians by ruling in the *Elk v. Wilkins (1884)* case that they are not citizens of the United States and have no legal protection under the US Constitution or Bill of Rights. Through this case, the US affirmed again the sovereign nation status of American Indians, stating that they have their own political systems wholly separated from the US system and not subject to US laws. Then, in 1924, the US congress passed the General Indian Citizenship Act, by which US citizenship was conferred on all American Indians whether they wanted it or not. This was an exercise in the US congress's plenary power over Native Americans in that although the American Indians were sovereign and outside the jurisdiction of US law, the US congress could make rulings and laws regarding them without their consent. The end result is a denial of the very sovereignty of identity and self-determination that the US publicly recognized as belonging to American Indians. The benefit was that individuals were protected under the constitution, while at the same time their tribes were not protected as extra-constitutional sovereignties.

Wilkins and Lomawaima (2001), in *Uneven Ground*, note that American Indian tribes each maintain a varying amount of self-government, depending on the treaties and history of the tribes' confrontations with the US, "The right to establish criteria for tribal membership, for example, or to elect governing councils, or to tax on-reservation businesses or persons. Some tribes have their own departments of education and run

their own schools." (2001:6) However, in order to gain the right to self-determination in these or any form, the tribes must be recognized by the US government as an American Indian tribe. For the last 100 years, the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the US congress have been challenging each other over which body gets to define an American Indian and what the definition is (Wilkins 2002). Wilkins notes that an important piece of sovereignty is the nation's ability to define itself and its citizens (Wilkins and Lomawaima 2001:4). By publicly recognizing American Indian sovereignty and then passing laws and undertaking a policy of legally defining American Indians without their input, the US further develops the condition of ambiguous sovereignty.

Sovereignty and Limits:

"We don't have access to all of our resources like we should, like other tribes do - that were taken away, like fishing, like hunting or gathering.
(Interviewee G)

"I don't think we should have to have a permit to go gather bear grass. Or I hide, my friend drops me off and I'll go hide and I'll cut and I'll put it in bags and then he'll come back and pick me up. We shouldn't have to do that."
(Interviewee H)

Even more controversial than the definition of a nation and sovereignty, is the debate concerning the prerogatives and *limits* of that nation's sovereignty, which is closely associated with the question of what legitimizes sovereignty. Krasner (1999)

separates sovereignty into four types: Domestic sovereignty, Interdependence

sovereignty, International legal sovereignty, and Westphalian sovereignty. Domestic

sovereignty, according to Krasner, is "the organization and effectiveness of political

authority" internally; Interdependence sovereignty is the ability to control "the flow of

goods, persons, pollutants, diseases, and ideas across territorial boundaries;

International legal sovereignty is the ability to interact with other nations, have

diplomatic immunity, sign treaties, join Inter-Governmental Organizations, etc; and

Westphalian sovereignty is based on two principles: "territoriality and the exclusion of

external actors from domestic authority structures" (Krasner 1999:690-2). These

categories provide distinct differences between types of sovereignty by denoting the

rights inherent in them, and the limits of other state's actions.

For example, Domestic sovereignty gives the state the right to govern its people

and territory with any effective political system and limits other nations by not allowing

them to intervene in that governance. According to Krasner, Domestic and

Westphalian sovereignty can only be legally reduced by invitation of the nation.

Examples of illegal intervention would be forcible seizure of territory, occupation, etc.

Accordingly, the sovereignty of the US over the Cowlitz would be illegitimate because

the US seized Cowlitz territory without the Cowlitz's consent in 1863.

Interdependence and International legal sovereignty, on the other hand, are

much more flexible as globalization widens, sometimes broadening and contracting

without the consent of the state. Indeed, these types of sovereignty are often dependent

on technology and choices made by other states, which cannot be legislated as legal or

illegal, nor judged as respecting or violating the rights of a state or its citizens. Ideas and

goods are more or less controlled but internet and black markets exist and undermine

these types of sovereignty on a daily basis. The result is a blurred understanding of the

prerogatives and limits of a state's sovereignty.

Others, such as Koskenniemi (1989), argue that sovereignty generally embodies

two types, external and internal sovereignty: external being independence from other

nations, and internal defined as self-determination (690). However, Koskenniemi takes

pains to note that such sovereignty implies freedom of action by a state and fails to

provide limits for those actions, allowing states impunity for acts that cause harm.

Steiner (1991) points out that this view also has the effect of making states wary of

human rights laws, which have the potential to diminish this type of sovereignty by

putting limits on the state's internal and external affairs (695). For this reason, states are

cautious about defining terms in human rights documents, not desiring to limit their

own sovereignty. This accounts for Judge Marshall's convoluted judgment that Indian

tribes are domestic dependent nations (*Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* 1831) and for the

ambiguity of UNDRIP.

Falk (1998) claims that sovereignty is a negative right, allowing states "a

prerogative to resist claims and encroachments coming from outside national

boundaries – the right to say no" (696). In this view, early Cowlitz sovereignty is supported by the fact that the Cowlitz leaders and people refused to sign treaties with the US government in 1855. In Falk's view, sovereignty requires a complete "inversion of colonialism. Instead of complete domination from outside the country, there was now to be unencumbered freedom to act inside borders" (1998:696). From this perspective, equally sovereign states must take up the limitation of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other states, as is supported in the Montevideo Convention articles 4, 8, and 11.

In the opinion of Keck and Sikkink (1998), this limit on intervention is a necessary tenant of sovereignty for those countries too small to defend against larger, more powerful states, and to maintain equality between states' rights to land use, development, and self-governance. It is also necessary for protection against forms of encroachment such as pollution, 'aid' or humanitarian assistance, and resource extraction. Under these limitations, what the Cowlitz Tribe experiences today is sovereignty in some areas and not in others. For example, the Cowlitz Tribe is exempt from state sales tax and members cannot be forced to pay taxes to Washington State if the sales transaction happens on the reservation. This is exercising the right to say no and the restraint of another sovereign, Washington State, in accepting that. On the other hand, as Interviewee D noted earlier, the US Federal government, while restraining

itself from meddling in some things, boldly meddles in others such as rules for use of health program funds.

While the terms and much of the thinking on sovereignty regarding Native Americans stems from European concepts, there are Native American concepts of sovereignty as well. Despite Alfred's (2009) assertions that there is a basic pan-Indian philosophy underlying all Native American thought, religion, and government there are actually many conflicting ideas regarding the term sovereignty among the various tribes of North America. Alfred himself believes that the idea of tribal sovereignty as a movement is "vacuous and devoid of indigenous culture or any spiritual connection to ancestral teachings" (2009:3). In other words, sovereignty is not a Native American concept and should never be used by Native Americans in their struggle to keep their way of life alive and flourishing. Alfred believes this settler term and philosophies of sovereignty should be eliminated from Native American governments completely. The reason for this is that,

> "Sovereignty is an exclusionary concept rooted in an adversarial and coercive Western notion of power. Indigenous peoples can never match the awesome coercive force of the state; so long as sovereignty remains the goal of indigenous politics. Therefore, Native communities will occupy a dependent and reactionary position relative to the state. Acceptance of Aboriginal rights and title in the context of state sovereignty represents the culmination of white society's efforts to assimilate indigenous peoples." (Alfred 2009:83)

There are many who agree with Alfred in this respect, including Jaimes (1995) who believes sovereignty is a "Eurocentric concept used to justify empire-building"

(288). Jaimes prefers for Native Americans to talk in terms of self-determination and self-sufficiency rather than sovereignty, because she believes those terms are more closely related to Native American philosophy.

In contrast to Alfred and Jaimes, others such as Vizenor (1994) embrace the concept of sovereignty for Native Americans and use it widely as a tool. "Tribal sovereignty is inherent, and that sense of independence and territorial power had been the defense of sovereignty on tribal land and reservations" (Vizenor, 1994:146). Garroutte (2003) writes that tribal sovereignty "refers to the rights of tribes, as semi-autonomous 'domestic dependent nations' existing within the boundaries of the United States, to exercise governmental authority over their internal affairs" (88). As such, she believes it is an indispensable piece of Native American society that keeps the settler hounds of expansion at bay. Anything that threatens sovereignty must be fought against, such as people self-identifying themselves as Native American without the permission of any Native American tribe.

Krupat (2000), who is not Native American but has written extensively on Native Americans and sovereignty, believes there are three distinct philosophies that Native Americans fall into regarding the concept of sovereignty. The first is what he calls 'nationalist' and is the belief that "Native 'nations and peoples' were and are sovereigns" (2000:214). A sovereign here is defined as follows: "within the understanding of International Law, it is the right of all sovereign nations and

sovereign peoples to enter into treaty relationships with other sovereign nations and

peoples. Conversely, only sovereign nations and people are entitled to enter into such

relationships." (Means and Churchill quoted in Krupat, 2000:214). From a nationalist

viewpoint, sovereignty is not a western concept but a natural right of any nation or

peoples.

The second of Krupat's categories is what he calls the "indigenist" perspective.

Indigenists are those who believe that the earth itself is the source of all philosophies

and values for Native Americans. In this case it doesn't matter if "one is or is not a

'citizen' of a particular native nation; whether one's people have the status of a

sovereign nation" (Krupat 2000:220). Adherents to this idea are generally supporters of

pan-Indianism, according to Krupat, and he points out that although some of this group

would say sovereignty is not an indigenous idea, the majority would instead emphasize

the variances between native and settler thought on sovereignty.

Krupat's third group is called "cosmopolitans" and refers to the collaborating of

the first two groups in daily life. These people believe they are both indigenous and

citizens of today's US society at the same time. This is the category Vizenor (1994),

Penn (1997), and Momaday (1997) would fall into. They stress the need to maintain

roots but also embrace the changing realities and good parts of western society today.

As part of this research, each interviewee was asked how they define sovereignty

and how they view various aspects of relationship with the US and citizenship. All 25

interviewees answered from Krupat's cosmopolitan stance. When asked whether the

Cowlitz Tribe should create its own nation state separate from the US, the response was

no. Many noted that while the tribe is capable of doing it, it would not be practical or

useful, at least at this point in time.

Juanita Clark and Interviewee M most succinctly noted the inherent sovereignty

of the Cowlitz as having always existed. At the same time, they and the other

interviewees expressed a deep appreciation for the United States and the benefits of

citizenship in the larger hegemonic state. As this short review shows, there is no general

pan-Indian philosophy or consensus regarding tribal sovereignty. Rather, there are a

range of views from those who totally reject sovereignty as a Native American

discourse to those who embrace it as one of the saving concepts Native Americans use

to protect themselves legally.

An echo of this can be seen through the ethnographic study, in which it became

obvious that tribal members for the most part are very proud to be part of the United

States. This could be seen in the respect given towards those who have served in the US

military, and the fact that almost every major gathering of the tribe included an

honoring of US military veterans. There is even an honorary group called the Cowlitz

Rangers (named after a group of Cowlitz who created a territorial militia and protected

villages and settlements in southwest Washington during the 1855 Stevens/Indian war)

to which every Cowlitz veteran belongs and which provides vests, hats, and other

honorary significations to its members (Harju Interview and Salmon Ceremony Dinner 2015). While there is definitely tension in the tribe, and among individuals between US and Cowlitz values and sovereignty, there is also a great pride in being US citizens.

In the case of the Cowlitz, and other tribes, the duality of sovereignty is a debate with real consequences for the tribe:

> "Our sovereignty in tribes it's – 'well that's where I'm going to go to get fireworks' - things like that. It's not all about that. It's something to be able to take care of your people, being *allowed* to take care of your people how you see fit. But it's weird … I'm not sure what would happen if we were completely sovereign because sometimes, at least from where I stand at this point, tribes can't take care of everything. We have to supplement. Like this country would give someone low income such as myself, and then you got a weird, I got a weird thing on both sides – 'why aren't you doing this through the tribe?' Well they can't do that for me right now…you kind of get pulled in two different directions there. Either you are part of a sovereign nation who's taking care of you or you're part of America. It's like, well why can't I be both. I am, that is both of my cultures, but 'no no no'. So it's hard."   (Interviewee E)

Interviewee E is expressing not only their own cosmopolitan view that sovereignty is a mixed bag of give and take for Native tribes, but also the view of many non-natives that Native Americans should be made to choose one or the other rather embrace dualistic realities or plural sovereignties. Even among Native Americans there are those who embrace the concept of levels of sovereignty or plural sovereignties, such as Interviewee E, and those who demand a choice between what they see as equal and competing sovereigns. For example, the Iroquois National Lacrosse team refused to use US passports even at the cost of being denied the chance to play their final match in the

World Lacrosse Championships in 2010 in England, because they do not see themselves

as US citizens. Their identity is as a separate nation that exists inside the boarders of US

and Canada but is not part of the US and Canada. England refused to acknowledge the

Iroquois national passports, opening up a flurry of debate regarding Native American

sovereignty, its reach, and its limits. In the Iroquois case, Native Americans themselves

supported both sides of the debate (Fonseca 2010).

Sovereignty and Legitimacy:

> "Interviewer: do you know of a Cowlitz concept or a Cowlitz word that mirrors
> the idea of sovereignty?
> Tanna: "I don't know a word. I've not heard of a word that mirrors. I think it,
> because our people are so spiritual, it would be freedom. And then the freedoms
> that we had, our greatest freedom of course was to pray to the creator at all of
> our ceremonies. And the freedom to try to understand how we fit into this world
> as an Indian in my village. As a Cowlitz person in my village, how do I
> contribute to the whole? To the whole of life. And we had something else called a
> vision quest. I don't know what it would have been called, what the Cowlitz
> words were, but we knew that we had to have some quiet time, some alone time.
> We had to have a time where we could get a little bit more in sync with the
> rhythm, the sun and the movement of the earth and the feeling of the night time.
> And we had to listen to the sounds of the day. We had to listen to the sounds of
> the night. What did we encounter on that journey, having that alone time? To me
> that would be the most sovereign thing there is, the freedom to understand who
> you are who I am and how do I fit with these people, my people? How can I
> further their lives? How can I continue this village? How can I make sure this
> village endures? To me that would be, whatever word would describe that, that
> would be sovereignty in my mind."   (Tanna Engdahl)

> "The things I've noticed most, and I'm not sure if this falls into the
> sovereignty line or not, is the ability to take care of some of our own people with

building the elder housing and having that program expand where we're taking care of people."   (Interviewee D)

"To me it's kind of like everybody working together as one and but when they put nations with it, it kind of blows it all off the window because every tribe is for themselves and I've really noticed that if you want to be segregated out, it would be the Indians themselves do it to themselves and I don't know why that it is.   (Interviewee J)

"It's like we're a sovereign nation because we're federally recognized, we make our own rules, so to speak. Well, yeah, you go by the reservation and buy a car, you don't have to pay taxes. But I know working in the ----- Tribe, there's a tribal laws and then there's non-tribal laws. And a lot of them are similar. But sometimes things are done a little differently in the tribal way. So I guess sovereignty to me is being able to, like our Cowlitz nation being able to have their own rules or roles."   (Interviewee C)

"We rule ourselves all for the betterment of the community."
                                            (Cathy Sellards)

In regard to the Cowlitz and the question of legitimating authority, both traditionally and today, there has not been a study that provides a consensus. In fact, while this research was not able to extensively examine this area, it does seem that there is no consensus. When reading Wilson's (1998) *Legends of the Cowlitz Indian Tribe*, it seems that legitimate authority comes from acting in a way that benefits the entire group, being given spiritual authority through *Tamanawas* (medicine spirits), and through improving your lot in society by hard work, deference to elders, and appropriate behavior. In terms of people groups, this would be correlated with the group who exemplifies these the most being the legitimate sovereign. This would agree with Vitoria's interpretation of legitimate sovereignty stemming from values, ethics,

and justice. However, as most of the legends in this book are interpreted by Roy Wilson, not the tribe as a group, it cannot be inferred that all Cowlitz would agree on the source or legitimacy of sovereignty.

In the absence of a common international definition of sovereignty, de facto legitimacy comes from the ability to assert and maintain one's sovereignty. For example, many nations do not recognize the sovereignty of Taiwan, yet Taiwan remains a de facto sovereign because it enforces a form of Krasner's interdependence sovereignty through its military and strict border controls. Legitimacy, then comes from one's own definition of sovereignty and one's ability to maintain that sovereignty. It is therefore important to understand how the Cowlitz define sovereignty and what they do to maintain or exercise that sovereignty.

In interviews, a common response to the question "what does it mean to be sovereign?" was the ability to do what they think best for their people, how they think best to do it. One tribal member noted that money from the US government for health and housing programs comes with rules about who, how, when, and where the money can be used, "even though we're sovereign we're still falling under these guidelines where we're getting the money from, so it's a difficult thing for us to step up and say 'we're sovereign. You're giving us this money to take care of our people. We'll choose how we take care of them'" (Interviewee 'D'). The interviewee noted that it is not sovereignty when there are rules regarding how the tribe can use the money. On the flip

side, one could argue that the choice to take the money and submit to those rules is an act of sovereignty. The irony is that this money cannot be obtained unless the tribe is federally recognized as a tribal sovereign entity by the US federal government.

Interviewee D stated that sovereignty was "nations that are considered sovereign countries and can have sovereignty over them, meaning that they can make decisions, decide where the money goes, decide what they're going to do, have their own judicial system, their own courts, all elements of government". This answer equated sovereignty with federal recognition because without federal recognition a Native American tribe does not have these formal features of sovereign legitimacy. Further, when asked in more detail about sovereignty, Interviewee D referred continually to the US government understanding the tribes' sovereign existence. In the interviewee's mind, sovereignty and recognition of that sovereignty by other sovereign entities are inseparable.

Others, when asked about sovereignty, maintained that the Cowlitz Tribe has always been sovereign.   Juanita Clark, when asked about sovereignty said, "I always felt it, but we were powerless with it". According to her, power to exercise sovereignty comes from others respecting the sovereignty that a group inherently has. The difference between the tribe's sovereignty when she was a child and today is that, "we've got some respect. Not enough, but some. From the federal government." In her

eyes, legitimacy of sovereignty comes from existence, but the power to exercise it comes

from respect of that sovereignty by others.

Sovereignty, Politics and Economics

> "So the fear of all these tribes were that, 'if we allow other tribes to be federally recognized, there's less of a part of, less of a slice of pie for us'. And so they would put the money in to fight our federal recognition and sovereignty. And to finally try to get across that it's not going to be smaller slices of pie, it's just going to be a bigger pie - the more we enroll, the more we unite and come together, the stronger we are as a people, native."   (Interviewee D)

Finally, when addressing the issue of sovereignty between Native Americans

and the US Government, it is necessary to touch on the political and economic aspects

of that sovereignty. For the sake of brevity this discussion will touch on only three

political and economic conflicts within the sovereignty debate for Native Americans:

first, who gets the benefits from Native American sovereignty; second, conflicts

between multiple sovereigns regarding economic profit; third, (and very much related

to the first two) territorial boundaries and their political and economic impacts. I will

use the situation of the Cowlitz as examples for each of these areas of conflict.

As seen in the earlier definitions of sovereignty, a crucial piece is whether or not

the group in question has a land base or territory that they assert control over. For the

Cowlitz, their pre-1864 land base was over 200 square miles in which their tribe had

authority and in 1830 is purported to have included control, or 'kingship' over all the

tribes west of the Cascade mountain range and south from the Columbia River all the way North to the Puget Sound (Wilson 2001:259). In 1863, the US Government seized all Cowlitz territory and assumed control over it. The Cowlitz petitioned the US government and received, in December 2014, a 155-acre piece of land in their original territory near current day La Center, Washington which is set aside as an autonomous reservation for the Cowlitz Tribe (*Grand Ronde v Jewell*). For the last 160 years, the center of tribal activity has been at Cowlitz Prairie near Toledo, WA and in Longview, WA where the Cowlitz tribal offices are currently located. The land base the tribe petitioned the US government for is located south of both these locations just north of Vancouver, WA. While still within the original territory of the tribe, this land would require a shift from more central locations for the tribe to the southern boundaries.

There are many questions that go along with this shift, including: will the tribal members be able to use the land and facilities if the facilities are farther from the majority of people enrolled in the tribe? There is a significant increase in the general population closer to Portland than where tribal meetings are currently held – will this affect the identity of the tribe from a more rural Native American group to a more urban group? If so, how will that affect tribal council choices and traditional beliefs and practices? Would this shift in location cause the tribe to have more or less impact on social, political, and economic issues affecting its people?

A further complication is that the neigbouring Grand Ronde Confederated Tribes of Northern Oregon countered the Cowlitz land trust petition, claiming that the reservation is too near to the Grand Ronde Tribes and not on aboriginal Cowlitz land (Rhodes 2011). Once again this shows that there is no real pan-Indian community of thought because rather than work together to a suitable solution for a common Native American group, the two tribes guard their geographical and cultural boundaries enthusiastically. But beyond this is a question of political and economic origin: which tribe has a right to the greater economic benefits of the Portland area? Do both tribes? Add to this the complication of state sovereignty - according to Wilkins, tribes and states are mutual but different sovereigns also competing for resources (2007:100). The purpose of this research was to find out how these decisions and debates are affecting the Cowlitz emic identity. How does this 'multiple sovereigns' conflict play out in the day to day internal identity of the tribe and its members?

The importance of this point can be directly seen in the Cowlitz's situation today. The goal of the Cowlitz is to establish a reservation with tribal council hall, tribal housing for elders, tribal cultural education facilities, and a casino. There are obvious reasons why closeness to Portland would be beneficial to the tribe. Portland is a center for medical care, career development, employment, education, and a population base from which the casino can draw profit to fund other Cowlitz pursuits. However, the more tribes seek to locate near the Portland area, the fiercer the competition for these

resources becomes. Which sovereign entity has the right to the economic, political and social benefits of Portland? Does the fact that other sovereign tribes have claim to both Seattle and Portland exclude the Cowlitz from benefitting from the resources of those cities? Again, the purpose of this research is not to determine an answer to that question, but to actively seek how the answers that are being given are affecting the internal identity of the Cowlitz. In the US court's decision to grant the reservation near La Center, the court answers these questions by clearly allowing the Cowlitz a piece of the Portland pie[34].

The same is true on an individual level. In 2000, the US Government officially recognized that the Cowlitz Tribe is a Native American tribe and they were granted access to various programs and funds that are available only to federally recognized tribes. Therefore, it is necessary for the Cowlitz tribe to enroll members of the tribe, effectively defining those who will qualify for the benefits gained through federal recognition. The more people the tribe chooses to enroll, the thinner the resources of the tribe are spread and the result might be a less prosperous tribe per capita. Limiting the enrollment also has negative consequences such as limiting the voting and numerical power of the tribe in a country where numerical democracy and public protest have a long history of fostering change. The Cowlitz, along with every other tribal group within US territorial limits, must face this dilemma and make decisions that

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[34] The Grande Ronde vigorously but (so far) unsuccessfully pursued an appeal to that decision.

they deem best for the tribe not only for today but for the generations to come. This

issue is directly linked to the issues of identity discussed in chapter one: how does the

tribe decide who is a Cowlitz and who is not? Identity, sovereignty, economics and

power are interrelated.

Cowlitz Sovereignty

At the current time, the Cowlitz Indian Tribe meets the definition of a state.

They have a defined territory: a legally autonomous area of 155 acres, or a 200 square

mile traditional territory, depending on who you ask. They also have a government, a

permanent population, and the capacity to enter into relations with other states and

their entities. For the latter, they have already exercised their capacity on numerous

occasions, including a gaming compact with the State of Washington and a policing

agreement with Clark County law enforcement entities. But has that sovereignty

always existed or did it only exist after federal recognition?

Wilson's quote from the beginning of this chapter, "federal recognition of our

sovereignty" reveals that he actually believes the tribe's sovereignty existed before

federal recognition; federal recognition is simply the US government recognizing a

sovereignty that already existed. According to Wilson, recognition of pre-existing

sovereignty opens doors for rejuvenation of culture and identity, but recognition is not the creator of sovereignty.

Wilson's opinion intersects with Juanita Clark's observation that the Cowlitz were always sovereign but did not have the power to exercise it. Clark and Wilson differ in that Wilson believes the Cowlitz have exercised their sovereignty over the years through their battles with the US government for rights, recognition, payment for stolen land, and meeting together semi-annually to discuss future directions for the tribe. Others in the tribe expressed that they exercised their Cowlitz sovereignty by hunting and fishing when and where they pleased regardless of US or Washington State laws.

Most interviewees, 17 out of 25, spoke of sovereignty as the ability to take care of their own people and to decide how best to do that. Along with this, several also mentioned that sovereignty meant the US could not or should not interfere with decisions made by the tribe. Although no-one thought that the tribe should succeed from the United States, many did believe that the power of the US over the tribe was limited. However, no-one was able to give a clear answer as to what those limits are, with the exception that the US should not have jurisdiction over Cowlitz hunting and fishing rights, enrollment, and land use. Some interviewees did not mention sovereignty directly but did mention rights of land use, hunting, fishing, self-determination, and a history of US abuse of power regarding the taking of Cowlitz land

for use to build dams and military bases. Two interviewees did not have any opinion regarding sovereignty and said they didn't know anything about it.

The interview questions regarding economics and sovereignty were generally answered with the opinion that there needs to be rules about who gets part of the pie, meaning who is enrolled or not, but that the rules needed to be more inclusive than they currently are. One interviewee said that certain past members of the council chose to limit enrollment as much as possible so as to create a bigger economic benefit for those enrolled. Others noted that economic factors are totally unimportant and that all that mattered was lineage and a felt connection. Phil Harju and several others noted that a change to enrollment criteria for youth, making it possible for youth to enroll themselves at the age of 18 was proposed and will be voted on by the general council in 2016. Interviewee D summed up the general impression received from all the interviewees: "to finally try to get across that it's not going to be smaller slices of pie, it's just going to be a bigger pie - the more we enroll, the more we unite and come together, the stronger we are as a people".

Conclusion

For this research it was decided that using the word sovereignty as an interchangeable linguistic tool to describe the boundaries, privileges, and limits of

autonomous groups was acceptable. The reason for this is that despite the conflicting

arguments concerning the nature of sovereignty, there are three points that are

universal in all of them. The first is that there is such a thing as sovereignty in today's

geopolitical world, which should be respected by all nations towards all nations. The

second is that sovereignty allows states and nations some prerogatives regarding their

internal and external activities. The third is that sovereignty is limited, whether in

theory or in practice, by human rights documents, treaties, globalization, legitimacy,

and several other factors. In using the word and concept of sovereignty, this

dissertation is asserting that Native Americans, whether they historically had a concept

of sovereignty or not, are today familiar enough with the concept for its general use in

this manner. Having said that, for this research it is less important what word is used

and more important what the concept behind the word is. Many members of the

Cowlitz have repeatedly used the word sovereignty and in keeping with the goal of

finding an emic identity of the tribe, this research does not define sovereignty and then

attempt to match Cowlitz ideas with that definition. The definition of sovereignty as

part of Cowlitz identity must come from the Cowlitz themselves.

As revealed through interviews and ethnographic study, Cowlitz concepts of

sovereignty include the following: 1) Cowlitz sovereignty pre-dates European

settlement and dominance within Cowlitz territory; 2) US federal recognition was a tool

providing more means to exercise their sovereignty, but recognition did not create their

sovereignty; 3) sovereignty can be unexercised or used in less powerful ways for a time but cannot be diminished; 4) Sovereignty is not the ability to bend others to your will, but the freedom to express and exercise your will as you choose; 5) sovereignty does not require complete separation from other or larger or more powerful entities, but does need to be respected by those entities.

Chapter 3

Cultural Revitalization in the Cowlitz Context

"Trying to get tribal members that were raised in a white world to understand that culture was an umbrella over everything was quite a difficult task. And so we try to get them to understand that everything and anything we do in any event has some kind of cultural basis to it."

(Interviewee D)

"In the Smelt Ceremony I'm trying to bring back… when we dip for smelt now, we do it in two stages. We didn't in the old days in my memory. But now we dip because there is a restriction on smelt how much you can take[35]. So we have a dipping that we are allowed now working out with the state fish and game or the federal fish and game, both probably. But we didn't have that before. When we had our villages and we could bring in the smelt - we brought them in with our own handmade tools - but in the same way we had what I'm calling now a living ceremony[36]. We would take seven smelt, and line it up on a cedar platter in the form of an arrow, or in one and then two and then three, four five six…there might be 5 smelt[37]. But there was two ways it could be done. That's why people should not get their pants in a knot about what is cultural and doing it a certain way. Because from village to village they did it slightly

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[35] "Smelt or the Eulachon are listed as a threatened species, actually due to a great deal of effort by the Cowlitz Tribe to protect the Eulachon runs." Tanna Engdahl – collaborative comment.

[36] "In the Smelt Ceremony I'm trying to bring back, there was a Living Ceremony that perhaps only my grandmother heard about as my contemporaries have not heard of it." Tanna Engdahl – collaborative comment.

[37] "Six smelt are taken from the water, lined up on a cedar plank in the form of an arrow, one smelt alone as the arrow head, two behind and then three for the tail of the arrow. Quick prayers are given and then the smelt are returned to the water alive to continue their journey. The smelt receive the Cowlitz people's thanks and gratitude for the sustenance at a time when it is most needed, at the end of winter when Cowlitz food stores are low. Drums and songs accompany the ceremony as part of the prayer dedication. If a smelt dies in the process, Indian people knew that the energy of that smelt travels with the ceremonial participant. The Creator's creation joins the participant. It is not a bad thing but I have seen one participant become stunned then irate. It is a teaching and a blessing lost to him because he did not understand the death process or the transference process. In the salmon ceremony, we eat of the salmon who died at the hands of the fisherman and we give thanks by consuming the salmon. It is all part of the life and transference process. In the Smelt Ceremony, we return the smelt to the water in the form of a living school of fish, thus the form of the arrow." Tanna Engdahl – collaborative comment.

different. It was ok…Some lined it up in the form of an arrow. Some lined it up just all one way side by side[38]. But anyway, the smelt would be alive. So you took them out, put them on a covering of cedar on a plank and you had a very quick prayer because you want to get them back in the water. So then of course it continued with the drums and prayers either before or after that taking, and then put them back in the water and finish off with drums and prayers. I'm trying to bring the living ceremony back, but it's hard when you're this old because it's hard to get down on your knees and up again. And if not me…we have people who come out and thank the smelt. It doesn't take 500 people doing the same thing to have a culture of a people."   (Tanna Engdahl)

"I realized [later] some things we did were very Cowlitz, like planting corn with fish heads…I think we are moving forward and teaching them dance, drumming, songs, etc. to strengthen their future".   (Lisa Majewski)

"When we're camping, and we're sitting around the campfire drumming and singing. Everyone else looks at it as entertainment, but it's not entertainment to us, it's a shared [experience]."

(Juanita Clark)

Revitalization Theories:

According to anthropologist Wallace (1956), a revitalization movement is

"deliberate, organized, conscious effort by members of a society to construct a more

satisfying culture" (265). Wallace believed that revitalization movements are a response

to overwhelming stress suffered by a group, who then try to make a new paradigm of

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[38] "We have to remember that the different villages that were involved in smelt dipping may have had variants in their smelt ceremony, which is why people should not become agitated if one ceremony is done differently than another. Merging ceremonies from different areas seem difficult for some, which is preposterous because ceremonial memories have come down from various people, some not even Cowlitz but from other coastal tribes. My grandmother's memory reflects the Schanewa village near Cowlitz Landing but may also reflect her own mother's memory, Mary Ferron who was also Cowlitz." Tanna Engdahl – collaborative comment.

culture to provide the social support the group needs to function in a satisfying manner.

This revitalization will impact every area of the culture in some way. Wallace specifies

five stages in a revitalization movement: "1. Steady State; 2. Period of Individual Stress;

3. Period of Cultural Distortion; 4. Period of Revitalization (in which occur the functions

of mazeway reformulation, communication, organization, adaptation, cultural

transformation, and routinization), and finally, 5. New Steady State" (1956:268).

Wallace also believed that societies facing overwhelming stress would splinter or be

absorbed into more stable groups if revitalization did not occur (Champagne 1983).

According to Wallace, there are different kinds of revitalization movements. He

proposed that some revitalization movements focus on revival of old traditions, while

others import new ways from another culture or community, and still others create a

new culture based on a utopian future the community is striving for (1956:275). Revival

style revitalization is focused on looking into the past and bringing back traditions

followed by ancestors. These traditions are usually not exactly the same as they were

originally because those interpreting them live in a different time and/or place, so while

the attempt is to get back to the purest form, the result is not always similar to the

original. Nativist revitalization movements emphasize eliminating any alien person,

values, customs, and materials from the identity of the group. Importation

revitalization involves abandoning all previous ways of doing and being in favor of a

new way brought in from some other culture. Cargo Cults[39] are an example of

importation, but rely on creating a culture around imported materials, not imported

cultures. It is also noteworthy that importation does not mean assimilation because the

imported culture may not be from the dominant society. For example, many tribes who

did not have powwows as a tradition have embraced them as part of their current

culture. Vitalistic revitalization movements are importation movements that bring in

other groups' values and culture, but not necessarily their material goods (Wallace

1956:267).

Utopian revitalization happens when old ways are abandoned and new ways

instituted that do not come from any other culture (Wallace 1956:267). These new ways

are based on a new vision of what a utopian future would look like. An Apocalyptic

utopian movement is one where the new ways are engineered by the supernatural in

accordance with a view of apocalypse, while Messianic revitalization movements rely

on a divine savior in human flesh to bring the revitalization (Wallace 1956:267).

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[39] "The term cargo cult describes any new religious movement that owes its initial impetus to the encounter between a tribal (often hunter-gatherer) society and Western civilization (broadly interpreted), though it is most frequently used in the context of New Guinea and Melanesia. In this context, "cargo" refers to Western manufactured goods, which seem (from the perspective of some hunter-gatherer people) to be constructed, ordered, and delivered via various magical processes. The adherents of cargo cults sometimes maintain that these articles have been created by divine spirits and are intended for the local indigenous people, but that Westerners have unfairly gained control of these objects. In other instances, such as on the island of Tanna in Vanuatu, cult members actively worship the Americans who first brought the cargo.[1] In both cases, many of the beliefs and practices particular to these cults focus on the ritualistic performance of "white behaviors," with the assumption that they will cause the gods or ancestors to at last recognize their own and send them cargo. In this way, a characteristic feature of cargo cults is the belief that spiritual agents will, at some future time, bless the believers with material prosperity (which, in turn, will usher in an era of peace and harmony)" - New World Encyclopedia contributors, "Cargo cult," *New World Encyclopedia,* accessed July 8, 2016, http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/p/index.php?title=Cargo_cult&oldid=968496

Wallace was very careful to point out that rarely do revitalization movements contain only one of these types. Instead they tend to be a mixture. He also noted that often the new ways are not really new but have some basis in past experiences and values of the community, while the imported culture is almost always skewed by those same past experiences and values. Thus, there is no such thing as a pure type of revitalization, but rather these types are guidelines on general trends of revitalization.

In contrast to Wallace's approach to revitalization, structural functionalists such as Parsons and Smelser (Parsons, 1956; Parsons and Smelser, 1959) believed that as a group faces crushing stress, it will subdivide or "differentiate" into specializations such as religion, politics, and economics. In each area, groups who specialize in those facets of the culture will create codes by which the society approaches those subjects, with the result of a more complex system emerging. This is their process of cultural revitalization. Worsley (1968) believed that the less structured and differentiated a society was pre-colonization, the more likely it was to react by creating a revitalization movement when pressed by the crushing stress of colonial domination, in an attempt to unify the community.

In his earlier writing, Champagne (1983) attempted to combine the theories of Wallace, Parsons, and Worsely into an amalgamated process where deprivation (what Wallace calls stress), differentiation, and the ability to absorb new innovations determine whether a community will undergo a cultural revitalization movement. But

by 2007, Champagne was dubious that deprivation alone was the overarching cause of revitalization movements. In *Social Change and Cultural Continuity Among Native Nations* Champagne (2007) suggested that the environment or circumstances surrounding a community can also be a causal factor for revitalization movements. He uses the example of the Delaware revitalization movement of the early 1760s, arguing that deprivation alone did not cause the movement, since the height of deprivation took place nearly 20 years earlier than the movement. Instead, he believes that deprivation followed by a geopolitical situation of British hegemony created the impetus for revitalization (2007:224). However, Champagne does still rely heavily on deprivation as part of the causal equation.

While it may seem intuitive that revitalization is only necessary if there is some form of deprivation or stress, not all revitalization theories rely on deprivation to explain the causation of revitalization movements. Many indigenous sociologists and anthropologists couch revitalization in terms of decolonization, adaptation, and survivance. Jacob (2013) writes that while colonization does cause pain and suffering, that pain and suffering is not the cause of revitalization. Indigenous communities who engage in revitalization are making a conscious choice to work towards decolonization and adaptation to circumstances. Jacob, who is a member of the Yakama Nation, calls this "decolonizing praxis" (2013:11) and among the Yakama this praxis has two goals: 1) recovering traditional cultural practices, and 2) dismantling oppressive systems. In her

view, the process of revitalization is one of "'making power' within our community" (2013:12) and filling educational gaps. An educational gap is when a youth makes fun of a ceremony because he is embarrassed that he doesn't know the dances, or a child who has never touched a salmon fresh from the river caught by an elder. These gaps are filled through revitalization which uses "new methodologies to carry on traditional practices" (2013:6). An example of new methodology and traditional practice is teaching indigenous language in school or an after school club to teach traditional dances. Schools and clubs are the new methods, while the language and the dances are the traditions.

Jacob believes that while pain is part of the revitalization equation, it is not the cause, and that knowledge holds an equal, if not more important function. This allows the revitalization process to be one of adaptation to change that allows for traditional values and culture to be maintained while adjusting to new paradigms and fighting back against colonial subordination and injustice. If we were to translate Jacob into Wallace's terms, the old mazeway does not disintegrate or get reborn into something new. Instead, it uses the old knowledge it has and the new methods it learns to adapt and fight back against oppression and injustice. In this view, revitalization is not a victim process as it appears to be with Wallace, Parsons, and their later counterparts, but a survivor/fighter process.

It could be said that Champagne comes close to Jacob's view with his emphasis on hegemony. However, Champagne still relies on the disruption and stress of hegemony causing loss of culture rather than an effort to combat hegemony through use of traditional cultural knowledge and new methodology. Wallace and friends also push the idea that revitalization is an act designed to reduce the stress a person or group feels. Jacob's version of revitalization can actually increase stress by creating a 'fight back' mentality as it undertakes to reduce the hegemony and injustice of colonizing powers.

Connected to this discussion, Vizenor (2008) believed that Native American peoples, in the decolonization process or "postindian" era, should be talking about survivance. Survivance is the combination of survival and resistance, which demonstrates the presence of Native Americans in resistance to the absence of their reality and the victimry which is so common in today's depictions of Native Americans. Vizenor writes that depictions of Indians today do not accurately reflect the true life of Native Americans, therefore the real Native American is absent from hegemonic ideas of Indianness. Revitalization efforts can either fall into the category of simulations of Indian life that are not real, or they can be intentional uses of simulations to draw attention to the realities. These latter versions of revitalization, similar to Jacob's (2013) understanding of revitalization, are a combination of survival and resistance – survivance. According to Vizenor (2008), survivance is most visible in the narrative

stories of Native Americans, which is why interviews of Cowlitz people are in integral

part of mapping their revitalization. To truly see the revitalization, it must be seen

through the lived narratives of the people involved.

Revitalization, Identity, and Sovereignty

Since the overarching question of this research is 'how are the changes in

sovereignty affecting the Cowlitz emic identity?' it is necessary to explore the

connection between identity, sovereignty, and revitalization.   One connection takes us

back to Wallace's (1956) theory of revitalization. In his process of revitalization, Wallace

talks about "mazeway reformulation" (1956:266). A mazeway is "nature, society,

culture, personality, and body image, as seen by one person" (1956:266). In other

words, the way in which a person perceives themselves and all that connects to them,

and how to manipulate those aspects of self, others, and environment is a mazeway.

Many definitions of identity contain the ideas of historical, contemporary and future

self-conception, self-expression, and group affiliation (Weinreich and Saunders, 2002).

The idea of mazeway and identity are similar enough that scholars in sociology and

anthropology tend to use them to define each other or particular parts of each concept.

The connection between the two is so great that The Mazeway Project, an online life

mapping project, uses mazeway mapping to help individuals understand their identity

(mazeway.org). Wallace asserted that the effort to make a person's mazeway consistent with the reality around them is the process of revitalization (1956:267). By working to change the mazeway in a manner that reduces the stress caused by their reality, a person undergoes revitalization. When that revitalization is taken to a group or community level it becomes a revitalization movement – a process of changing both emic and etic identity as a whole through changing the mazeway.

Using Jacob's (2013) view of revitalization, we find that identity is one of the key goals in Yakama revitalization, or decolonization praxis. She notes the strength of identity members of the Wapato Indian Club gained as they participated in revitalization programs. "A strong sense of identity within a supportive environment" (Jacob 2013:36) allowed students in the club to stand up for their heritage and fight back against the stereotypes of settler society. In this case, identity is a direct result of revitalization. Therefore, an understanding of revitalization processes in a group will help reveal the identity of the group.

Jacob does not stop there, but goes on to connect identity and revitalization to sovereignty as well. Jacob interviewed a woman on the forefront of revitalization in the Yakama community and in regard to the interview wrote, "One of the major stakes of decolonizing work is to protect the identities of indigenous youth. She [an interviewee] links our people's collective well-being ("community wellness" and "sovereignty" in her words) with children's ability to have healthy indigenous identities" (2013:50

parenthesis original, brackets added for clarification). By including this quote in her

book, Jacob affirms the connection the interviewee is making between sovereignty,

identity, and revitalization. The interviewee connects revitalization programs such as

language and traditional dance with creating a strong identity that allows members of

the group to boldly embrace and fight for their rights of sovereignty. At the heart of

this is the idea that sovereignty and revitalization are inseparable because without the

strength of identity provided by revitalization, people will not be able to effectively

exercise their sovereignty, and without sovereignty people will not be free to exercise

their identity.

In a similar way, Neuman (2010) connects revitalization and sovereignty in

several areas. First, she recognizes the use of revitalization programs, such as basket

weaving, as symbolic of the sovereignty of a tribe. "Baskets are deeply connected to

issues of cultural revitalization and decolonization: '[Baskets] have remained at the

center of cultural exchanges between Wabanaki people and Americans of non-native

descent up to the present day, serving to solidify cultural identity, perpetuate

intergenerational continuity, and symbolize political sovereignty for Wabanaki tribal

members through the centuries'" (Neuman 2010:99). The very ability to engage in a

tribal cultural activity freely is an exercise of sovereignty. This is especially true if one

considers that under colonization many tribes were forbidden by law from practicing

their cultural activities. Unrestricted exercise of culture is symbolic of the freedom

tribes have as sovereign nations.

However, it is more than just a symbol. Unrestricted exercise of culture is also an

exercise in sovereignty itself. As a sovereign entity, a tribe no longer needs to hide its

culture or obey laws regulating their culture that are imposed on them by outsiders. By

maintaining and expanding a separate culture through revitalization, a tribe recognizes,

embraces, implements, and maintains its sovereignty. Neuman takes this a step further

by agreeing with Johansen (2007) that sovereignty today is becoming more and more

connected with economic autonomy while tribal economics is being seen as a way to

preserve culture. The result is a cyclical relationship where culture effects sovereignty

which effects economics which effects culture. Johansen quotes Little Bear of the

Cheyenne (2004) saying that, "'language is the basis of sovereignty' as well as the vessel

of culture"(567). In this quote we see the relationship between revitalization efforts,

including language revitalization, and sovereignty as well as the connection with

culture. Little Bear, according to Johansen, believed that language held all the other

cultural components together so that if language were lost, the other components of a

tribe would begin to disintegrate (2004). Without all those components, there would

not be a sovereign nation to exert itself. Revitalization, particularly of language in this

view, is the key to sovereignty. By maintaining and expanding a culture, a tribe

continues its existence, which allows for the reality of sovereignty.

The problem with this, for the current context of many tribes including the Cowlitz, is that language has been 'lost' to the tribe. Languages, especially native languages, are fundamentally associated with a people's understandings and connection with lands they live on. When a tribe is removed by force or circumstance from their land, the language diminishes. In the case of the Cowlitz, there are currently no living fluent speakers of Lower Cowlitz. There is one man, Michael Hubbs, who comes close in that he has studied recordings and a dictionary of the language, but he would say that he is not fluent because the recordings, and dictionary made from the recordings, are not a complete record of the language. The recordings, made in the 1970's contain only 57 hours of language interviews from two female Cowlitz elders. The tribe holds language classes for two hours once a month, in which Hubbs teaches basic alphabet and simple words for animals and colours. Language classes are usually attended by 2-8 adults, and a few children. The children were taught a prayer by rote memory at youth camp, and that was the extent of Cowlitz language use at the time of this research.

Some tribes teach their language more extensively than the Cowlitz in classrooms or other engineered settings disconnected from the land and context of the language itself. The effects of the language in terms of sovereignty, when it is taught in a non-contextual setting can be hard to pinpoint. Some, like Samson (2003) who has been working among the Innu for several decades, have noticed that language taught in

a classroom out of context from the experiential world in which it historically was

taught can actually produce ways of thinking that are antithetical to those that had held

the group together for centuries. The question would be, does that make the language

less an exercise and vessel of sovereignty? Or does the fact that language and cultures

are fluid mean that these changes in language are simply the evolutions of a language

in survivance – the very use of the language contains and expresses sovereignty against

a hegemonic settler society?

These questions are part of what spurs this research, in chapter six, to reverse

engineer some of the revitalization movement within the Cowlitz as part of

understanding their current emic identity and many of the changes that have occurred

in it over the last several decades. But first, let's clear up some common misconceptions

regarding revitalization movements.

Frozen in Tradition

> "I think there's been a lot of growth culturally. I'm not sure. I guess that's one of biggest things that I see and people seem to be getting more interested. I mean it's not as widespread as I would like to see it, but there is a lot of growth there. The youth ---I mean it's just like --- they have the kids' camp this weekend at St. Mary's. When I first went to kids' camp, there were 10-12 kids. I bet there are 100 kids there this weekend."   (Interviewee B)

> "The biggest change I see from when I grew up to the kids that are growing up now are the opportunities for the youth. We didn't have anything when I was

growing up and now the kids are going to camp. I volunteered at one of the kids camps and saw what they were doing. They have huckleberry camp. They have an opportunity to learn the language that I never had when I was younger and I really wish I would have. And they have an opportunity to do more art and the dance."   (Interviewee A)

"But Cowlitz is just learning tribal. Finding their own songs and path and traditions. And I think I'm there trying to learn the Native American way… every tribe has their own tradition and their own ways. As I'm going 'ok, so which one's right? Or maybe everyone has their own traditions so everybody's right'. It's everybody's own opinion."   (Interviewee C)

"I feel that we're seeking who we are as a people still. People say that we've lost our culture and our traditions, but I don't feel like they're lost. I feel like they're dormant, and I think people are seeking."   (Interviewee D)

One thing scholars do agree on is that cultures normally undergo change. The difference between normal cultural change and revitalization is the intentional nature of that change as it is shaped by the community for a specific purpose – either Wallace's purpose of stress reduction, or Jacob's purpose of decolonization praxis. However, in Native American circles as well as the dominant settler society, cultural revitalization and stability is often confused with simply doing things the same way for the last 500+ years. The perception being that Native Americans are only Native Americans if they have not changed how they do things from pre-contact with Euro-Americans. This is sometimes referred to as static culture, stereotyping, or frozen culture (Miller 2003) and is different from a stable culture which changes but remains intact. Wallace's definition

of revitalization agrees with that assessment and reveals the true nature of revitalization – a change that is not merely reacting to time and circumstance, but is shaping time and circumstance as it moves forward with intent and purpose. In accordance with this, Jacob's revitalization also allows for the stability of a culture that is fluid and not stuck in time, because it allows new methods to combine with old traditions.

Miller is not the only author who believes Native Americans have been frozen in time by the dominant settler culture. *Custer Died for Your Sins*, the famous book by Deloria Jr. (1969), contains essays in which he notes the many myths settler societies have about Native Americans, most of these myths being distortions of past cultures of individual tribes. For example, he explains that anthropologists have created a, "a food-gathering, berry-picking, semi-nomadic, fire-worshipping, high-plains-and-mountain-dwelling, horse-riding, canoe-toting, bead-using, pottery-making, ribbon-coveting, wickiup-sheltered people" that "not even Indians can relate themselves to" (1969:81-82).

Alfred (2009), in *Peace, Power, Righteousness* says that he is working from a traditional Native American framework in his manifesto, but is careful to recognize "the fact that cultures change and that any particular notion of what constitutes tradition will be contested" (16). Tradition, it seems, is a very sticky word when it comes to Native communities. How far back must a practice go before it can be labelled a tradition? Must it come from a pre-colonial era? Should it extend back 100 years? Is five years enough to create a tradition?

The answer could very well be that it depends on the group who is propagating the tradition. For example, when two people marry, there are questions of whose family tradition will be followed by the newly created nuclear family regarding holidays? Will gifts be given on the day or the evening before? Will dinner be eaten at 2pm or at 6pm? Which in-laws will be visited on which days? These are traditions that may only extend back two or three years for a young married couple, but may extend 50 years for an elderly couple. The same pattern can be seen in larger groups as people join, leave, gain influence and lose influence. Groups that have been around for a hundred years may say tradition must go back to the founding members, but new 'traditions' can be started and take only one or two years to gain status as 'tradition'.

In Native communities, the same can be said. There are new traditions and old traditions. Some go back hundreds of years, like the Sun Dance originating in the plains tribes of the US. Others are new traditions going back to the 1970s such as the annual Canoe Journey of the Pacific Northwest tribes. Both have their roots in history, and both are considered tradition. In the case of the Pacific Northwest Canoe Journeys, the historical underpinning is the river and ocean life of tribal ancestors who canoed from one place to another as a major means of distance transportation. However, the Journeys have many elements that are from today, such as guidelines against drugs and alcohol, life jackets, gas cook stoves, and caravans of support vehicles from motor homes to motor boats. Do these modern additions mean that the Journeys are not

traditional? Is it the idea and spirit behind the event or the event itself? Jacob (2013) gives us one practical answer in her work on decolonization praxis when she notes that revitalization involves using old traditions and new methods. The tradition in the case of Canoe Journey would be the canoeing itself, while the support vehicles, gas stoves, and life jackets are the new methods.

On a recent visit to Alaska, I heard a tourist ask a native woman, "Do you still hunt in the ocean by canoe?" the Native woman answered, "Yes, but instead of paddles we have a motor on the back of the canoe". The flabbergasted tourist asked "Why?" And the native woman replied, "Why wouldn't we? If you can do in a day with a motor what took a week of paddling before, why wouldn't you?" In the view of this native woman, how the hunters got to the hunting ground was not the tradition, the hunt itself was the tradition. Others, however, might argue that a true traditional hunt would be done with paddles, sinew lines instead of polymer fishing line, whale bone hook or harpoon instead of metal, and traditionally built canoes instead of the metal and fiberglass canoes many tribes used today. In the end, most of what is considered traditional is based not on a definition, but on whether the group ascribes it the status of traditional.

In the case of Pacific Northwest Canoe Journeys, many would say the event itself is tradition now, although whether that is because it's big enough to sustain itself (thousands of people from hundreds of tribes participate in the yearly event), or

because it's been going for over 50 years, or some other reason is still a matter for debate. Others would say the Canoe Journey is simply the most modern manifestation of the spirit behind the Journeys, and that spirit is the tradition, not the Journey itself. For example, when asked what their favorite tribal activity was, many of the Cowlitz answered with "Canoe Journey". When asked why, they referred to the spirit they feel on Journey and the closeness and connection to their ancestors who travelled the same waters in the same way (Clark interview). Others said that it was connection with others in the tribe, the teamwork, and representing your tribe among all the other tribes going back hundreds of years (Interviewee G). In this case, the tradition of Journey is the spirit that underlies the Journey. This may be caused by the fact that the Cowlitz have only been participating in the Canoe Journey since 2006, so in that sense, it is a new tradition for the tribe, but one with ancient roots. According to interviewees, Canoe Journey is traditional because it has underlying traditional (historical) roots, but also roots within traditional values that are being taught to those who participate such as teamwork, hard work, rising above challenges, taking care of their people, and honoring their ancestors. Thus, revitalization for the Cowlitz involves Canoe Journey where tradition is brought back in several forms including historical knowledge and community values. However, the Canoe Journey is not a 'frozen' or static activity. Paddles are crafted with modern tools and designs improved by their individual creators. Canoes are usually fiberglass polymers for safety reasons, not dugouts

(although canoe carving still takes place and ceremonial carved canoes can still occasionally be seen). Customs such as greetings and protocol dances vary among the tribes, motor boats accompany the canoes for safety, and life jackets are used so as to preserve the next generation and those who are responsible to teach them. This is one way it is possible to be a traditional culture without being a static culture.

Revitalization or Imposition?

"The Cowlitz pow-wow in September is a symbol to me of the cultural revival of our people that allows the larger community to interact with us on our terms."   (Interviewee F)

"Becoming recognized has brought a lot more people back to acknowledging their Cowlitz-ness. It's not that they denied it, but there wasn't as much organization, there weren't as many ways for them to come and be involved if they wanted to be. And most of those ways, honestly, I think are cultural. Not, political… But culturally we didn't have the drum group, singing group, things like that before we were recognized. We didn't have as many ceremonial things as we have now that people can come to." (Interviewee F)

"I think our economics, though, should follow the culture."
                                                  (Don Van Mechelen)

"Economics helps us fund the cultural events and the government behind that helps all of it happen."   (Christine Hawkins)

One of the main questions in cultural revitalization is which changes have been coerced or forced upon Native American groups by the dominant settler society, and

which are brought about by the Native communities themselves. According to

Wallace's definition, only those changes that are "self-directed change that finds its

support within the consensual support of the indigenous community" (Champagne;

2007:4) can truly be called revitalization.

At the Cowlitz Powwow in Toledo, WA we can clearly see this question

manifested. Which of the practices being used are imposed by other tribes or settler

culture, and which are real revitalization? The answer is not clear cut. To start with,

the powwow itself is not a Cowlitz tradition that goes back to their ancestors, but a

tradition imported from the plains tribes of the US. There are those, such as

Interviewee M who wish the tribe to only follow Coast Salish and Cowlitz traditions.

While Interviewee M does attend the Cowlitz Powwow, the interviewee does not

believe it is truly a tradition of the tribe. Others see it as a Cowlitz tradition because

Cowlitz people started doing it of their own free will and it is Cowlitz people who

organize and lead it. No-one forced them to do powwows, therefore it is a legitimate

tradition and part of revitalization. Add to this the fact that while a powwow is not a

historically Cowlitz form, the Cowlitz did meet regularly throughout the year for big

parties that included horse racing, gambling, drumming, dancing, and singing. While

the word 'powwow' and the order of events may be imported, the idea of an all tribe or

inter-tribal gathering for the purpose of a big party, reconnecting with distant relatives,

spiritual connection, ceremony, and celebration is not a foreign tradition. Here again

are underlying values and traditions that have taken on a new method or form

according to the change in time and circumstance of the tribe. And in this case, it is the

tribe choosing the new method and form, not an imposition from outside.

New and Old: Left - coffee can used to provide shell for traditional woven cedar berry basket. Right - using a leather lace cutter from the local craft store to cut cedar strips for weaving.

Even less clear cut are the traditions of tribal politics. Most tribes today use a

democratic system of voting, tribal councils, and chairmen. These are not necessarily

traditional roles within a tribe. During the course of federal recognition of a tribe, the

BIA 'helps' a tribe through a process of creating a leadership structure. Being heavily

influenced by the BIA and by the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, many tribes took

on European forms of government such as majority elections and constitutions.

Historically, many tribes used consensual decision making and there were no constitutions (Wilkins 2007). Those who wish to do away with colonial influence on their tribes also wish to do away with these European forms of government, seeing them as imposed on the tribes by colonial hegemony (Alfred 2009). Others, such as the Cowlitz, seem happy to be using these forms, although some did note that the forms were not traditional Cowlitz forms. In interviews with tribal council members the most common thread voiced by all of them was that they work for their people who elected them. Theses tribal leaders are in some ways embracing the settler culture of the US, seeing elected officials as public servants. According to Irwin (2014), historically there were no elected officials in the Cowlitz Tribe. Instead, leaders grew to prominence by how much wealth they could give away, by their wisdom – which was recognized not by election but by the number of people who listened to their advice – and by their ability to control and effectively lead those around them. Irwin (2014) noted there were also hereditary positions among the leaders, but a hereditary leader could lose his position or not be recognized if he failed to lead well. Mike Iyall, a Cowlitz council member, also stated that the current form of government used by the Cowlitz is not the way it was done pre-contact, but that there are families who have traditions of leadership which carry on even when the forms of leadership change.

So while many Cowlitz interviewees see their tribal council and leadership as a function of revitalization and the practice of sovereignty, there are others who would

argue that the very structure of their political organization shows their lack of true

sovereignty because they no-longer practice their own cultural forms of leadership but

are using an assimilated form of political leadership forced on them by the dominant

settler culture (Interviewees K and L). This latter group of Cowlitz believe that the new

system allows people to abuse their power by using it for their own or their family's

gain because it is only necessary to outnumber the opposition in voting, not create

unified consensus. Those who wish to follow historical tribal leadership patterns

would have leaders chosen by their wisdom in a consensus of the tribe rather than a

numerical outnumbering in a vote.

The catch, however, is that both sides of this discussion can be seen as

revitalization rather than imposition, depending on the point of view. Those wishing to

go back to consensus draw their argument from historical forms of Cowlitz leadership

and governance. Those who embrace the new forms can argue that while the form or

government is borrowed from Euro-American society, the tradition of serving and

putting the tribe before oneself and family is still at work through the new forms

because if it weren't, they would not get elected. Again, the purpose of this is not to

determine who is right, but to map and reveal the difficult nature of the arguments

regarding identity through revitalization in the tribe.

This difficult conversation goes even deeper when considering the amount of

money recognized tribes receive from the US government. This money is used for

health care, housing, language, education, economic development, and much more.
However, tribes cannot receive these funds unless they are federally recognized, which
begs the question did the tribes adopt the new forms because of pressure to adopt them
in order to gain recognition and therefore access to funds? Or did the tribes adopt them
because they truly believed of their own free will that these forms were the best way
forward for the tribe?

Moreover, many of these programs, which are seen as positive among the tribal
community, come with strings attached to the money. An example is tribal housing.
The tribe receives money from the US government for housing through HUD (US
Department of Housing and Urban Development). In turn, all money used by the tribe
from HUD must be used in specified ways and following HUD regulations. The tribe is
not free to use the fund in any way it chooses. The result is that a tribe may proudly say
they have elder housing facilities to take care of their aging people. However, they are
not allowed to build traditional longhouses for elder housing, but instead must build
state-of-the-art settler style apartment units. It also means that those living in the
housing have recourse to US laws and regulations on housing that are outside the tribal
jurisdiction, such as protections from evictions and so forth, reducing tribal sovereignty
and imposing outside forms on the tribe. On the one hand, the tribe is practicing its
sovereignty by providing housing for its people and respecting and caring for their
elders. Revitalization can be happening as a result of elders being together in a place

central to the tribe where youth may seek them out. Is this truly revitalization? Or is it

merely another form of colonial imposition? The Cowlitz people themselves are not

clear on this. Interviewee D's comments regarding this state of affairs echo the

sentiments of all those interviewed:

> "Then it's hard because although we're considered sovereign, the thing is that we have to fall under certain federal guidelines. Being in the medical field I have things where I see people that do much better on our traditional plants and medicine verses the chemically made prescription drugs so, like right now we have people that are on medical marijuana. They can't get assistance from the tribe because of the federal programing. So you can't get mortgage assistance, you can't get rental assistance, you can't live in the senior apartments or any of the apartment because you have medical marijuana - because it's a federal program. Federal program won't acknowledge that. So even though we're sovereign we're still falling under these guidelines where we're getting the money from, so it's a difficult thing for us to step up and say 'we're sovereign. You're giving us this money to take care of our people. We'll choose how we take care of them' ... So it's hard because you're still not totally sovereign. You're still falling under the guidelines of whoever's giving us the money to help take care of our people."

The question of revitalization in a tribe that is expanding its programs is, can it truly be

revitalization if it comes with imposed methods and forms from outsiders?

According to Wallace (1956), it is not important where the cultural practice

comes from. What is important is if the group freely chooses to embrace it. Wallace

didn't believe revitalization movements were about fighting colonialism, but rather

about reducing stress on the group and individual mazeways. Wallace recognized that

a revitalization movement may incorporate aspects of the settler culture without

ruining a revitalization effort. In fact, the importing of outside cultural ways was one of

his main types of revitalization. In his revitalization paradigm the key is whether the

group embraces it as part of their own culture. A particular practice may be imposed,

but if it is also embraced by those imposed upon, then it is part of the culture as much

as anything else. However, acceptance itself can be vague since most tribes, including

the Cowlitz have moved from a consensus governmental system to a majority vote

system.

Under majority vote systems, acceptance on a tribal level may not result in

acceptance for a large portion of the tribe. Likewise, acceptance for a large number

among tribal members may not equate with acceptance on a tribal level. In the Cowlitz

Tribe this is conundrum is summed up in the words of Interviewee D:

> "It has always been interesting to me is that even without our tribe,
> meaning the government entity of our tribe, Cowlitz people have come together
> and done things on their own without tribal [backing]. The powwow started, it
> was not tribally sponsored. Fish, our fish program was not tribally sponsored.
> Our canoe journey was not tribally sponsored. What happens is that we as a
> people, Cowlitz families, have the power and the ability to make things happen
> on our own, and when it became successful, when the powwow became
> successful, it now became a Cowlitz tribal-sponsored event. When the fisheries
> became positive… tribe took over that. When canoe journey became positive they
> took that over. So it took the families to do the work first, to show the tribe what
> could be done."

Jacob (2013), with her belief in revitalization as decolonization might be less apt

to accept some impositions as part of a revitalizing effort. However, there is room for

them in her theory regarding old traditions and new methods. School on the Yakama

reservation was originally an imposed method of teaching that involved a school house

and stated times of learning. In contrast, traditional education involved family teaching

a youth in the course of living each day on the hunt, gathering food, preparing tools,

and performing ceremonies. In her research, Jacob recognized that school is the new

method that is embraced by the people of the tribe as an appropriate way to teach

children. Clubs and classes are new methods through which old traditions and values

are taught. The imposed culture of school has become the new method of revitalization

in many places like Yakama. The Yakama Nation is not the only one to have embraced

this imposed culture of school. Most tribes in the US today have education scholarships

and opportunities to help their youth gain an education in the settler culture. The

expectation is often that the youth, once educated through that format, will return to

their people and use their education to benefit their people and further revitalize the

community.

Cowlitz Revitalization in Theory

Cowlitz revitalization efforts are a testament to the idea of cultures being fluid.

Ceremonies are being conducted, some of them for the first time in over a century, that

loosely follow old patterns told to today's tribal members by grandmothers and aunts,

but with a modern twist and new ideas from those performing them. Vision quests, fishing, and gathering traditions are 'revived' from the old days but modified to fit modern means and spaces using state of the art equipment. In addition to this, entirely new traditions are being created, such as Canoe Journey and youth camps.

It is possible to interpret Cowlitz revitalization through the lens of Wallace, Parsons, Champagne, and Jacobs. Non-consensual land loss, loss of sovereignty and a felt loss of traditions, in the case of the Cowlitz, would match Wallace's causal framework of stress felt by the tribe. US government and settler society hegemony noted by many of the interviewees, would seem to play a role in revitalization within the tribe and accord with Champagne's geopolitical causal analysis. At the same time, Jacob's theory of decolonization praxis as the root of revitalization can also be seen in the Cowlitz.

In their interviews, the Cowlitz people mentioned various levels of what Wallace called stress, and Champagne calls deprivation. They range from not knowing their culture because parents were afraid to teach it, to forced removal of children, forced relocation of entire villages, and murder of family members by white soldiers. Interviewees K and L specifically recall homes and land that have been flooded by hydro-electric dams and demolished to make way for freeways and military bases. By their accounts, their families were not given a choice in the matter. Interviewee F recalled that despite hearings and myriad testimonies regarding the sacred nature of

places the hydroelectric dams would flood, the dams were built anyway. Interviewee F

noted the loss of not only entire villages that were forced to move, but also of traditional

subsistence fishing sites, burial grounds, ceremonial places, and ancient hieroglyphs

that were destroyed by the dams on the Cowlitz River. Interviewee K recalls the

generational poverty that these deprivations spiraled the families into, including

alcoholism and abuse. In Wallace's terms these were stress factors that caused the tribe

to seek to alter their mazeway in an attempt to reduce the stress these changes were

putting on them.

One of the revitalization efforts centered on the hydroelectric dams and the

burial sites of the Cowlitz people along the river. As the building of the dams became

imminent the tribe took two actions. According to Interviewee F, the tribal Chairman at

the time, John Barnett, ended a council meeting early and the tribe caravanned out to

the dam site and began working to delay the project. Interviewee F said that the tribe

threatened to sue the power company if compensation for the land and destruction of

ceremonial sites were not provided. The company, rather than fight in court, agreed to

provide a replacement parcel of land, approximately 10 acres, for the tribe to use for

burial relocation and other purposes. According to Interviewee F, this was the first

parcel of land corporately owned by the tribe since the US government extinguished

Cowlitz title in the 1860s.

The second revitalization effort that took place around this incident involved the need to do appropriate ceremonies for moving the burial grounds and de-sanctifying the old burial site. Since by this time no-one in the tribe knew the old ceremonies for such things, or even if there had been such ceremonies, it fell upon the tribal spiritual leader to figure out what should be done. Roy Wilson, the tribal spiritual leader, recalls that when he was asked what they should do, he was not sure because he had never seen such a ceremony performed. In response, he spent days in prayer and seeking the spirits for an answer. He came back afterward and performed a ceremony he had seen in a vision. Others ceremonies now performed by the tribe have similar roots in stress or need.

When salmon runs in the Columbia, Cowlitz and other rivers and streams within the Cowlitz territory began to fail, the tribe again took two steps in revitalization to confront the problem. One tactic they chose was to hire ecologists for the tribe to work with state, federal, and local authorities to increase the salmon run. Caring for the environment which sustains the tribe has been a longstanding tradition of survival in the Cowlitz tribe (Irwin 2014). Using specialists trained in US universities to create programs that shape the very course of rivers and streams was a new tactic with old roots. According to tribal histories, the Cowlitz used logs, woven walls and other constructions to shape the streams and rivers for better fishing opportunities (Irwin 2014). The hiring of ecologists was a step to maintain traditional care for the

environment using new methods. This is a mixture of importing cultural ecology

practices from others and reviving old practices from the past.

The tribe also held ceremonies in ancient times that sought to show respect to the

salmon and smelt people who fed the tribe with their flesh, in hopes that the salmon

and smelt would respond by continuing to provide for the Cowlitz people. Many of

these ceremonies faded out in the late 1800s as Cowlitz people began to work in

canneries (Rushforth 2014) and as settlers increasingly pressured Native Americans to

give up their ceremonies (Irwin 2014 and Interview with Tanna Engdahl). In response

to diminishing salmon runs in the late 1900's, the tribe began to revive the old

ceremonies. Today, each year the tribe meets on the banks of the Cowlitz River, once for

the First Salmon Ceremony and again for the Smelt Ceremony. Tanna Engdahl, the

female spiritual leader of the tribe, recalled in her interview how these ceremonies have

been revived and how they become part of the culture again:

> "In the Smelt Ceremony I'm trying to bring back… when we dip for smelt now,
> we do it in two stages. We didn't in the old days in my memory. But now we dip
> because there is a restriction on smelt how much you can take. So we have a
> dipping that we are allowed now working out with the state fish and game or the
> federal fish and game, both probably. But we didn't have that before. When we
> had our villages and we could bring in the smelt - we brought them in with our
> own handmade tools - but in the same way we had what I'm calling now a living
> ceremony. We would take seven smelt, and line it up on a cedar platter in the
> form of an arrow, or in one and then two and then three, four five six…there
> might be 5 smelt. But there was two ways it could be done. That's why people
> should not get their pants in a knot about what is cultural and doing it a certain
> way. Because from village to village they did it slightly different. It was
> ok…Some lined it up in the form of an arrow. Some lined it up just all one way,

side by side. But anyway, the smelt would be alive. So you took them out, put them on a covering of cedar on a plank and you had a very quick prayer because you want to get them back in the water. So then of course it continued with the drums and prayers either before or after that taking, and then put them back in the water and finish off with drums and prayers. I'm trying to bring the living ceremony back, but it's hard when you're this old because it's hard to get down on your knees and up again. And if not me…we have people who come out and thank the smelt. It doesn't take 500 people doing the same thing to have a culture of a people."

In this way, the Cowlitz Tribe is responding to the stress from loss of lifeways by reviving old ceremonies, even as new tools and methods are used. In observation of the ceremony itself, there was not much in the way of regalia, as Tanna pointed out. The timing of the Smelt Ceremony was less than ideal because it was at the end of the run when the banks of the river were covered in dead, rotting fish and the smell was not enjoyable. The reason for this being that the time had been worked out in cooperation with the US fish and game authorities rather than in the old ways of knowledge and timing. However, the crowd gathered was 100 strong and everyone participated with enthusiasm and respect. In recent years the smelt and salmon runs have recovered to record levels since the 1990s. Settler fish and wildlife managers attribute much of the recovery to Native tribal involvement in ecological programs for the salmon (Columbia Basin Fish and Wildlife New Bulletin 2015).

Champagne would agree that some part of the formation of revitalization movements depends on stress, or what he calls deprivation, and certainly much of

Cowlitz revitalization directly stems from felt deprivations, as seen above. However,

Champagne would also point out that part of the focus of revitalization has to do with

how the group responds to hegemony of an outside power. In the case of the Cowlitz

this could be argued vigorously using many of the historical writings of tribal members

such as Irwin. In her book *The Dispossessed* (2014), Irwin relates much of the current

situation of the Cowlitz to the rise of early US dominance over the Cowlitz between

1840 and 1900. As a history of the tribe, it is written from the perspective of tribal

members as they see their land and lifeways eroded by US hegemony. Prior to US

colonization, the French fur traders of the Pacific Fur Company intermarried and

integrated their beliefs with those of the tribes around them. Most of the fur traders

chose to live on farms as Europeans, but they took Native wives and did not demand

that Natives change their ways. The exception to this being the missionaries.

However, once the US/British boundary was established to divide Canadian and

US lands, the US began a systematic drive toward dominance, and even genocide in

some cases, of Native peoples. Irwin's history includes accounts of Cowlitz people who

took specific actions in an attempt keep the old traditions going despite US laws and

settler actions designed to create hegemony. One of these was the Shaker Church,

which started just south of Puget Sound, Washington and among which were several

prominent Cowlitz church leaders (Irwin 2014:311; Rushforth 2014; and Harmon 1971).

The Shaker church combined catholic symbolism such as the cross with bell ringing,

dancing, and singing, which Rushforth argues was a replacement of the drums and

singing that used to govern Cowlitz spiritual life. Since drumming and traditional

singing and dancing were outlawed during the height of the Shaker religion, his theory

is not implausible. The Shaker Church was a way of continuing traditional spiritual

methods and ideas despite the laws and suppression designed to eliminate them.

Rushforth (2014) notes in his paper on changes in Cowlitz spiritual practices that as US

hegemony grew, Cowlitz spiritual practices such as hoisting the dead up above ground

in a canoe changed to burial underground. He also noted other changes in Cowlitz

lifeways such as working for wages rather than depending on hunting and gathering as

white settlers cut off traditional migration routes for those activities. These

interruptions changed the nature of the tribe's economy and political power – no longer

were the best hunters and fishers the leaders of the tribe and there was no longer a need

(or an ability) to control vast territories of land for traditional hunting and gathering

practices.

Today those traditional hunting and gathering practices are being taken up

again, partly as a spiritual and cultural practice, but also as a political statement.

Interviewee K spoke in detail about how every time someone in the tribe gathers

huckleberries, fishes for salmon, and hunts a deer they are making a statement that

Cowlitz ways are still alive and Cowlitz people will not be stopped by US laws and

hegemony. Many interviewees spoke of relatives who disregard state and federal fish

and game regulations, depending instead on traditional knowledge and hunting patterns to determine when and where they hunt and fish. Some also stated now that the tribe is recognized and has a reservation, the next step is to reassert hunting and fishing rights within traditional Cowlitz territory, agreeing with Roy Wilson that, "Federal recognition, land claims settlement, these all combined together and brought about an enthusiasm that has reawakened the old ways and it's been a very powerful time. I look forward to further changes. We still live for the time that we will pursue our tribal hunting and fishing rights in our own area". For Wilson and others, there is no need to hunt and fish for economic stability. Both Wilson and the tribal sub-chair Phil Harju confirm that tribal census information shows the Cowlitz to be one of the best educated and highest income earning tribes per capita in the US. Instead, the push for hunting and fishing rights within Cowlitz territory is a political statement of power and independence from the hegemonic US government. Interviewee K supported this view when discussing Huckleberry Camp by relating that the camp and the gathering of berries is partly a time to be with the extended tribal family, partly to connect with the past and spiritual practices of the tribe, including traditional ceremonies, but also a political statement regarding the use of land within their traditional territory.

This theme was also voiced at various ceremony sites and canoe sites during Journeys through discussions on whether or not to pay fees for park use and boat landings. Some tribal members believe that all the land and rivers in the territory were

stolen and as a political statement they refuse to pay any fees. To be sure, there are

others who believe that as citizens of the US who are using the facilities, they ought to

be helping to maintain them by paying the fees. But for those who refuse to pay fees,

the issue is not one of use, but of power and rights. By asserting their right to use their

land as they see fit without paying fees, they are practicing sovereign power that is

rightfully theirs as first inhabitants who never chose to relinquish their lands and rights

to the dominant US society. .

It could be argued that the stand taken against paying fees is similar to Jacob's

decolonization praxis. However, decolonization praxis, while including such stands,

goes beyond political statements and exercising or breaching of colonially sanctioned

rights and laws, to the very core values passed to others with intent of deconstructing

colonial hegemony. An example of this comes in the stories told by the Cowlitz at their

gatherings, and to individuals by the elders. At every tribal gathering attended during

the ethnographic phase of this research, at least one story of the tribe was related by a

tribal leader to the group at large. After the 2015 Salmon Ceremony, for example, tribal

Chairman Bill Iyall related to those assembled the story of how the tribe fought for over

150 years to gain the reservation which was made official in December 2014. The story

noted the first meetings of the tribe regarding land and followed the principle workers

who were instrumental in bringing about the reservation, focusing on the last 30 years.

The telling of this story is one of fight and struggle against a seemingly overwhelming

colonial system, and of ultimate triumph over that system. The story related the work of the last 30 years to the work of their ancestors for hundreds of years in protecting and claiming their territory, creating a continuity between the ancient past and the present that diminished the colonial power of the US and settler society.

Similarly, in her interview Tanna Engdahl related the story of a trip to a restaurant with her grandmother when she was a little girl:

> "we were in a restaurant one time when we went in to eat and we were not seated. We stood there. Other people came in the door and they were seated around us and we stood there. My grandmother stood there. And she held my hand as I started to fidget and her hand signaled me quiet. She could do that. And pretty soon all the seats were taken and people's orders were filled and she still stood there. Straight. Staring straight ahead. Very tremendous poise. And people became uncomfortable and pretty soon they kind of just stopped eating. Because she stood there. And they put their forks down and when it was so quiet, she reached down and whispered in a whisper that could be heard everywhere, "feel sorry for these people, Tanna. They are *not* Cowlitz!" It was a great preparation for me because what it was telling me, I was Cowlitz! And I was going to be able to get through everything and anything. And it was good because I had a lot to go through yet. But that fire and passion of her identity she passed on when I was very young."

Tanna related how strong she felt and how that knowledge gave her strength throughout her life. The original incident as well as the repetition of the story over the years served as a value marker as well as an overarching mandate of difference, equality, and strength that superseded the messages of the colonial settler society which surrounded her. It is a fight against colonial power, but more than that, it is a way of

casting aside any power the settler society may have and placing power in the hands of

the tribe, which is the heart of decolonization praxis (Jacob 2013:5-6).

Conclusion

It is important to remember that the goal of this research is to see Cowlitz

identity through their own eyes. While comparing Cowlitz words and actions to

existing theories can give us some understanding, the movement itself is Cowlitz and

should be understood on their terms. The very fact of what the Cowlitz reveal about

themselves and their revitalization efforts, and what they do not reveal speaks volumes.

While there was much discussion of governments in the interviews, there was very little

discussion of settler people beyond a general acknowledgement of their existence, and

one anecdote from Tanna regarding her experience with her grandmother at a

restaurant. Most tribal members expressed an equal pride in both their Cowlitz and

their settler ancestors, although most admitted they did not know as much about the

settler side as the Cowlitz side. While talking with tribal members during Canoe

Journey, one tribal member expressed an understanding of why settlers came to the

Pacific Northwest. In his mind, he could understand the crushing poverty of life in

Europe and the allure of a 'new land' full of opportunities for poor people to have a

better life. He did not express anger or resentment, but seemed to be stating a fact, as a

way of acknowledging the forces that brought individuals, including their own ancestors, while maintaining an aggrieved status with the governments who stole the land and promoted a lie of land open for settlement.   This mixed approach allows the tribe to freely engage in revitalization that includes historically traditional lifeways, settler paradigms, and modern methods.

In a year cycle, the tribe engaged in the following events and activities: Canoe Journey – Columbia River from Stevenson to Ft. Vancouver – with landing ceremony and feast at Ft. Vancouver; Encampment; Salmon Ceremony; Smelt Ceremony; Cowlitz Language Class; Youth Christmas Party; Elder's Lunches; Elder's Outings; Children's Powwow, Cowlitz Powwow; Cowlitz Health Walk; Domestic Violence Banquet; Back to School Day; Spring Break Youth Camp; Summer Youth Camp; Cedar Weaving classes; Ceremonial River Float; Drum Group Presentations for State, City, and Private organizations; Canoe family practices/meetings; Huckleberry Camp; Scholarships and National trips for youth and adults to Native American gatherings; Health Clinics running in 3 cities; Elder housing; Tribal Housing for low income; Tribal Carving; General Tribal meetings; and Tribal Council meetings; and an extensive ecology program. Each of these activities contain elements of intentional revitalization as the tribe seeks to grow and improve its ability to care for its own people and to teach their ways among themselves and to outsiders.

When this is compared to descriptions tribal members gave of the old days where the tribe met in the grange hall twice a year, there is clearly a revitalization movement among the Cowlitz. The roots of that movement, as the interviews and ethnographic research show, contain elements of reaction to stress and the loss of land and lifeways, reaction to hegemonic forces of the dominant settler society; and a desire to fight against forces of colonization that are still at work while seeking a careful balance between ancient and modern lifeways. However, the most important thing about the revitalization movement among the Cowlitz may not be its root causes or how it compares with other movements, but its very existence.

Chapter 4

Assemblage Theory

De Landa's theory of assemblages is detailed in *A New Philosophy of Society: Assemblage Theory and Social Complexity* (2006), a work in which he provides a fairly comprehensive theory of assemblages as a social ontology. De Landa states that the origin of his philosophy is the work of Deleuze and Guattarri. However he takes several points of departure from their work in his philosophy. To understand De Landa's theory and its application to this research, it will be necessary to first understand the basics of Deleuze and Guattarri's philosophy of assemblages. Other philosophers such as Latour, Smith and Jenks, Hegel, and Durkheim were influential but not critical to understanding the theory, so they will only be mentioned in passing as points of reference. While Deleuze and Guattarri popularized the word 'assemblages' as a term, over the years several terms have been used to help us understand the nature of an assemblage including 'entity', 'multiplicity', and 'whole'. In this research these words will be used interchangeably.

Once a background for assemblage theory has been established, the chapter will take a look at De Landa's specific theory. Different aspects of the theory will be discussed, followed by a critique of its solvable and as yet unsolved dilemmas. Once

the difficulties have been dealt with, this chapter will move on to the strengths and

weaknessed of the theory in regard to Native American studies and this research in

particular.

Assemblage Theory Background

In the beginning of assemblage theory there was Hegel (1816), who posited a

notion of totalities where entities have a substance or essence that makes them uniquely

them. Under this theory, if any part were removed or added, that totality would cease

to exist and a new entity would come into being, as Hegel suggested in The Science of

Logic (1999 [1816]). This was a form of essentialism. The problem with this was that if

you remove an arm from Jack, does he remains Jack, but without an arm? Does Jack

cease to exist when the arm is lost? What about a Native American tribe that has

changed with the times and technology? Has it lost that which essentially made it

Native American because tribal members now prefer McDonalds, as discussed in

Chapter 1? The complexity of this question brings us to Durkheim (translated by

Thompson, 1985), who recognized social complexity and the endless variables that

make up the world around us. According to Cherkaoui (2008), Durkheim believed it

was impossible to explain "the emergence of norms, and more generally, of institutions,

on the basis of hypothesis about individuals, without also taking into consideration

their interactions over time" (9). Thus, a system of accounting for those complexities

led eventually to Deueze and Guatarri in the 1980s.

Delueze and Guattarri began their theory as a contrast to Organismic theory in

which a complex entity is analyzed on the basis of its interior parts interacting with

each other (Little 2012). Deleuze and Guatarri were looking for an ontology that

allowed for change of component parts while still maintaining the existence and

identity of the whole rather than looking at entities through a Hegelian essentialist

perspective. Delueze and Guatarri therefore created a theory of assemblages in which

each component part plays a role in the existence and identity of the whole, but is not

essential to its existence because all component parts were capable of change (Smith and

Protevi 2015). The result was a complex system of assemblages (groups of component

parts) interacting with each other. The measurement or observation of those interactions

allow the entity to have a fluid but stable existence and identity.

The basic structure of a Deleuzian assemblage is a rhizome with no beginning or

end (Deleuze and Guattarri 1987:27-28). These rhizomes have a defined territory, lines

of flight (the trajectory of the assemblage as it interacts with its surroundings), and are

only important as they interact with other assemblages (1987:4). In other words, all

assemblages, whether social or biological (such as a cell or a society), can only be

regarded as entities as they interact with other entities. Thus no entity is completely

independent of other entities. However, other entities do not define an assemblage, they

merely make the identity of the assemblage visible through their interactions. Delueze

and Guattarri's assemblages have several characteristics in their interactions with

others. The first being 'lines of flight' which are the trajectory of the assemblage at any

given point in its external interactions (1987:4). In molecular terms, when one molecule,

which is an assemblage of component parts, bumps into another, it is interacting with it.

After bumping into another molecule it continues on in a new direction that is

determined by the interaction it had with the molecule it bumped into. The molecule

may ricochet any number of directions, speed up, slow down, join together, spin, twist,

or any number of combinations and variations, known as Brownian motion. The same

can be said for social entities.

Next, and connected to lines of flight, are 'planes of exteriority' which involve

lived events, historical determinations, concepts, individuals, and social formations.

These are the areas in which an assemblage interacts with outside assemblages and

creates territorialization, or the boundaries, of an assemblage (1987:10). Deleuze

believed that each contact with an outside entity increases, "the dimensions of a

multiplicity that necessarily changes in nature as it expands its connections" (1987:9). In

sum, a Deleuzian assemblage has no beginning or end, changes with each encounter

with another assemblage, and its territory is defined not by theoretical interactions but

by real interactions with other entities (1987:16). These interactions become lived events

that affect or become part of the history, concepts, social formations, and individual components of an assemblage, which in turn affects contact with outside entities.

It can be difficult to understand how something that has definite boundaries does not have a beginning or end. The solution, according to Deleuze and Guattarri, was the interaction between assemblages which creates more possible trajectories (1987:13). Thus an assemblage has myriad possibilities with no beginning or end, yet at the same time at any given moment has a boundary between what has been and what is not yet. The not yet is part of the identity but not part of the components, and this creates a real boundary. As we will see later, De Landa expanded on this part of the theory to make it easier to understand the separate roles of boundaries and potential in an assemblage.

Another key concept in Deleuzian assemblage theory is that each assemblage is "detachable, reversible, susceptible to constant modification" and "open and connectable in all of its dimensions" (1987:13). The result of this openness and connectability is an almost limitless range of possibilities for an assemblage. And as possibilities become realities, the nature or identity of the assemblage changes at the same time that new possibilities become available. This creates a complex system of interdependence because interaction is required in order to set the boundaries of identity. Entities can also be interdependent when one assemblage interacts with another assemblage and the two join together, becoming component parts of a third

assemblage. As interdependent with each other, a natural Euro-American assumption is a hierarchical system, however Deleuze and Guattarri were very specific that rhizomes, and therefore assemblages, are not hierarchical (1987:22).

The Detachability and reversibility of an assemblage also means that if you unplug the assemblage from the surrounding system of assemblages, that assemblage remains the same. It can then be plugged into a different system of assemblages and its identity is still maintained. However, the moment it interacts with the new assemblages, new lines of flight, planes of exteriority, and territories become component parts of the original assemblage. It is therefore the same assemblage but with new contacts and new possibilities. The old assemblage does not cease to exist but incorporates the new from the second system just as it incorporated the new from the first system.

Deleuze believes that identity formation is a creative production based on the synthesis of experiences each assemblage has (Deleuze and Guattarri 1987:4). Each part of an assemblage either clashes or resonates with that experience, and no experience happens in isolation, so a series of experiences compound on each other to form a synthesis of constantly updated reality that produces self-awareness or identity (Smith and Protevi 2015). For Deleuze, there is no theoretical identity, there is only actuated or produced identity, meaning that identity is the real product of real interaction, not the imagined or wished for product of theoretical interactions. This is similar to Durkheim

who said that component parts, "thus form, through their synthesis, a reality of an entirely new sort, which is living reality" (Thompson 1985:22). A totally simplified and cliché version of this philosophy is 'what you see is what you get'. Identity is what can be observed through interactions, not what we hope we are like when we imagine an interaction. This is why relations of exteriority are so important for Deleuze. This ontology means that a being, or assemblage, exists when it acts, and therefore interacts with others. This is an empirical ontology based on what is seen and observed. It is also an ontology that does not allow an assemblage to be static or self-absorbed because there are constant interactions that pull it outside itself, stretching and changing its identity in a nearly continuous process of identity production.

An obvious flaw to Deleuze's assemblage theory is that an assemblage comes into existence when it interacts with another assemblage, therefore it has a beginning, even while Deleuze insists that it has no beginning or end. Deleuze deals with this by specifying that 'new' assemblages are actually composites of old assemblages (Deleuze and Guattarri 1987). In this way it can be said that the new assemblage existed prior to its existence, but as component parts (smaller assemblages) rather than being formed out of nothing. In the same way an assemblage has no end, but becomes a component part of another assemblage. However, there is no mention in Deleuzian theory of what happens when all component parts of an assemblage deterritorialize and decode (for Deleuze, coding is the ordering of matter as it becomes part of an assemblage and

deterritorialization is the process of destabilizing or decreasing internal homogeneity (1987:12)) to the extent that they have no interaction with other assemblages, or when all component parts are removed so that the assemblage seems to cease existing. Again one could argue that it doesn't cease to exist but merely becomes part of something else. This is, however, a very semantic argument and not practical since in all actuality the entity no longer exists as a functioning entity[40].

From Deleuze and Guattarri, several branches of assemblage and complexity theories have emerged. Latour added to the assemblage discussion by rejecting linear causality and singular agents (Latour 2005; MacDonald 2013:9), a step Deleuze and Guattarri hinted at but had not overtly stated. However, rejection of possible singular agents and linear causality, while seemingly in line with non-western and non-linear cultures, also limits the possibilities and imposes a non-linear worldview on causal analysis. The strength of DeLanda, as will be shown later is that while it does not impose linear restraints on causal analysis, making it open to non-western analytical use, neither does it deny the possibility of direct linear causality. In Short, while Latour limits and imposes a non-linear worldview, DeLanda leaves open both possibilities, making his theory less rigid and allowing the entity in question and the data to

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[40] For a complete work on Deleuzian assemblage theory, see De Landa, Manuel; *Intensive Science and Virtual Philosophy*; London; Continuum; 2002.

determine an emic understanding of cause and effect, whether that be linear or non-

linear.

In 2006, Smith and Jenks wrote extensively on what they call "Qualitative

Complexity theories, the tenets of this ontological philosophy are 1) Complex system

must have equilibrium, 2) complex systems have no external designer, but instead have

"strange actors" which are undefinable and unaccountable (12). While these various

theories have their merits, they posed some serious problems in terms of emic research

that caused me to look elsewhere, and eventually settle on DeLanda's theory. For

example, these complexity theories are predicated on the non-existence of an outside

actor, such as a creator or God. When working with non-atheistic cultures, as the

Cowlitz clearly are, this posed a serious problem. Throughout the research, Cowlitz

members attributed much in the way of cause and effect to a creator, God, or otherwise

titled outside influence. While it could be said that these can be classified as 'strange

actors', the very idea of an external designer is antithetical to complexity theory, making

it useless for emic research with a group that clearly believes in an external designer.

Also, for proponents of complexity theory, language is the primary or only means of

access to other attractors – meaning one can only base analysis of cause and effect on

what is said. For cultures who believe that what is unsaid is just as important as what is

said, or that maintain intricate body language norms and communication, these causal

factors would get left out of the analysis entirely, making it unsuitable as an analytical

tool. Cultures that rely on regalia, dance, music, and normative traditions to help code

their identity could easily be misinterpreted if language was the only analytical

medium. For these reasons and more, other forms of assemblage and complexity

theory were rejected for this research, and DeLanda's theory, which allows for emic

cause and effect analysis, emic philosophical constructs, and emic categorizing was

chosen.

De Landa's Theory

While Deleuze sketched a schizophrenic and rhizomal conceptualization of

assemblages with significant details missing, De Landa attempts to outline a consistent,

although non-linear, ontology and fills in many areas where the Deleuzian ontology

falls short. De Landa's theory of Assemblages can be summed up as a social realist

theory where all social entities are assembled through historical processes in which the

"*synthesis* of the properties of a whole [are] not reducible to its parts" (2006:4 emphasis

original). De Landa defines the realist approach as one that understands that the

theories, models, conceptions, and classifications we use to study social entities may be

wrong (2006:1). If the theories or classifications affect the social entity being studied,

this causes the problem of distorting reality. De Landa follows a realist approach to

assemblages, believing that it allows for objective observation to reveal reality without distortion.

According to De Landa, an assemblage is a combination of components that makes a single entity, while each component is itself a heterogeneous assemblage (2006:10-11). Unlike Hegelian wholes, an assemblage is not "linked by relations of interiority (that is, relations which constitute the very identity of the parts) assemblages are made up of parts which are self-subsistent and articulated by relations of exteriority, so that a part may be detached and made a component of another assemblage" (De Landa 2006:18). These assemblages are products of historical processes. Each assemblage has emergent properties (resulting from the combination of the parts and not reducible to any part) and synthetic properties (merged components inseparable and, once combined, entirely new) which make it a new entity never before in existence. These properties make it impossible to reduce the assemblage to its parts because it is the synthesis of those parts that creates the assemblage, not the parts alone. Here the influence of Durkheim can be seen. Durkheim wrote that conscious social parts "reveal, through their interrelationships, a new life very different from that which would have developed had they remained uncombined" (Thompson 1985:22). This is a distinction from Deleuze who simply said interaction creates existence. De Landa is theorizing *how* that interaction creates – by making new emergent and synthetic properties that were not possible prior to the interaction of the assemblages (De Landa 2006:4). In De

Landa's words, an assemblage is not seen as, "a mere aggregate, that is, as a whole without properties that are more than the sum of its parts" (2006:5). De Landa argues this does not preclude these wholes from being analyzed, as Hegel believed.

De Landa directly mentions Hegel's totalities and notes that while Hegel did not believe one could analyze the parts of a whole, assemblage theory does just that (2006:4). Each assemblage, while not reducible to its parts, may still be analyzed by its parts. The parts themselves have size, capacity, intensity, synthetic, and emergent properties of their own that make them assemblages in their own right. Since component parts are actually assemblages in their own right, synthetic and emergent properties, as well as component parts, can be either expressive or material, meaning they can either express the identity of the assemblage, or they are material properties, such as buildings, canoes, etc. Some properties play both a material and an expressive role for the assemblage. Assemblage theory provides a common framework that allows for individual entity differences, particularly in these areas. Each assemblage has special features that create this framework such as geographic size, place, and density (sometimes referred to by De Landa as 'intensity'). These can also be used to measure and analyze the assemblage.

The capacities of a given assemblage are, "what they are capable of doing when they interact with other social entities" (2006:7). According to De Landa, "these capacities do depend on a component's properties but cannot be reduced to them since

they involve reference to other properties of other interacting entities" (2006:11). An

example is that the Cowlitz tribal legal arm has certain capacities, but they are not

reducible simply to the abilities of any one lawyer because capacity is measured by

interaction between each of the lawyers (as assemblages in themselves) and with

outside entities such as the US court system and US law regarding Native Americans.

These relations with exterior entities are the hallmark of assemblage theory. By relating

with other assemblages, each assemblage creates capacities that help to define the

assemblage. However, it is important to remember that while all capacities are part of

the assemblage, it is only exercised capacities that define it. Non-exercised capacities

are important but do not define the entity.

De Landa explains the possibility of analysis in the following way: Properties of

an assemblage can be listed in a denumerable way, but the capacities are innumerable.

Capacities can therefore be exercised or unexercised, but an unexercised capacity does

not affect the identity of the component. Therefore, the identity remains the same even

if a component part is removed. This is because while a capacity does depend on a

component part, it cannot be reduced to that single component part as it also relies on

the interaction of other component parts (2006:11). For example, a hospital has

capacities, but if you take one doctor out of the hospital, the hospital remains a hospital

even though a component part was removed. Also, there is no essence of a hospital

directly tied to its parts because a hospital is not its nurses, or its doctors, or its cleaning

staff, or the drugs in the pharmacy. Rather all those things interacting with each other make the hospital a hospital. Remove a part and it can maintain its identity as a hospital, even with a different set of capacities, since the untapped capacities don't affect the identity.

This begs the question: What if you remove several parts at one time to the point where the exercised capacities permanently alter the identity of the assemblage? What if all the nurses, doctors, and cleaning staff left so all you had was a pharmacy? A pharmacy is different than a hospital, isn't it? De Landa deals with this through what he calls "contingently obligatory" relations (2006:11). A contingently obligatory relationship is one that has developed out of the historical evolution of that assemblage and does not necessarily have to be. Thus, in a hospital we find that the historical development of hospitals puts doctors, nurses, cleaners, and a pharmacy together. However, that may not be the only configuration that can be called a hospital, nor does the lack of any or all of those components mean that something cannot be a hospital. In this way, the historical processes of an assemblage explain its enduring identity without resorting to essentialism. There is no essential definition of a hospital, no piece that it must contain, in order to maintain a consistent, yet fluid, identity. A second solution De Landa offers is that an assemblage may transform into an altogether different assemblage rather than ceasing to exist (2006:12).

De Landa's assemblages divide along two dimensions. The first dimension is that of material roles and expressive roles. An example of a material role are roads in a city – they offer a material way to get from point A to point B. An expressive role is the way inhabitants of the city talk about their city. A component can play both material and expressive roles at the same time. The road system may get people from point A to point B, but if the roads are laid out in a specific pattern, that expresses part of the identity of the assemblage known as a city. Does it go in a circle like a wagon wheel or in straight lines like a grid? A wagon wheel road formation may express the historical origins of the city dating back the 1200s when the town was small and grew up around a central square, or a significant geographic feature such as a lake, and a grid pattern may express a history of city planning dating back to the 1800s. The road system, then, plays both a material and expressive role in the assemblage.

From this it becomes obvious that by expressive role, De Landa does not mean merely linguistic expression. Expression can be verbal, written, and body language, as well as behavioral. De Landa uses the solidarity among members of a group by helping each other as an example of behavioral expression. The act of helping expresses the solidarity of the group.

The second dimension is that of territorialization and deterritorialization. Territorialization is the processes that "stabilize the identity of an assemblage, by increasing its degree of internal homogeneity, or by the degree of sharpness of its

boundaries" (De Landa, 2006:12). Deterritorialization, in turn, are the processes which destabilize by decreasing homogeneity or the sharpness of boundaries. As with material and expressive roles, territorialization and its opposite can be working within the same assemblage at the same time.

Territorialization has literal, figurative, spacial, and temporal elements. A literal element is the use of a particular place for a meeting, the defined geographic boundaries of a city or state, etc. These define a territory in regard to spacial boundaries. The same can be said for social groups that operate in a specific location such as a meeting hall and gather people from a defined geographical area such as neigbourhood associations, which define their boundaries as a particular neigbourhood. The non-spacial element of territorialization is anything that increases homogeneity, such as rules that define who may be part of a group or not. This can range from things like segregation, which increases homogeneity in a neigbourhood, to tattoos on gang members or a newsletter to members of the group. The temporal aspect of territorialization include rates of change, response times, and other time-sensitive influences (2006:83). Faster response times to a disaster or the capacity to absorb changes quickly can territorialize.

Deterritorialization is the opposite; anything that increases heterogeneity or makes the boundaries of an assemblage less defined. Again, as with material and expressive roles, one component can be both territorializing and deterritorializing. The internet is a good example of this. It plays both a material and expressive role by being

a physical computer and networking system, and by allowing members of a group to express themselves on Facebook. At the same time, it can territorialize by allowing information to flow to all group members so everyone knows when and where activities will take place and people attend more regularly (which will increase homogeneity). It can deterritorialize by providing other opportunities to group members, distracting them during meetings, or breaking down boundaries by allowing members to access websites and gain knowledge about the group without having to attend meetings. In temporal terms, slow responses to change or disaster and higher growth rates can potentially deterritorialize.

The identity of an assemblage is determined by the, "more or less permanent articulations produced by this process" of synthesizing these aspects of material, expressive, and territorial roles (De Landa 2006:14). This initial identity is then strengthened and further stabilized through a third dimension called coding and decoding. Coding and decoding processes are those, "which consolidate and rigidify the identity of the assemblage or, on the contrary, allow the assemblage a certain latitude for more flexible operation while benefiting from genetic or linguistic resources" (2006:19). From this quote it would seem that De Landa's version of coding and decoding is limited to genetic and linguistic manifestations. However, he later includes behavior as coding or decoding, such as rules for turn taking, by limiting his examples to turn taking in a conversation or unwritten codes regarding topics of

conversation. He does this for two reasons. The first is because other forms of

expression are covered by the expressive dimension of analysis. The second is that De

Landa hopes to remove language as the central focus of identity, which he claims is an

erroneous state of social research for the last several decades, and instead place it on

equal footing with other component parts that also work to create identity through

territorialization, material, and expressive roles (2006:16). Regarding this trend in

language and identity studies, De Landa notes that there is a danger of taking coding as

a relationship of interiority – as creating an essential definition or identity. Instead, each

component, such as a word, conversation, or DNA strands, are simply assemblages

interacting externally with other assemblages' material and expressive roles.

Micro and Macro

De Landa's (2006) theory also attempts to bridge the divide commonly found in

social science between the micro and the macro. De Landa states that social scientists

(although not all social science work) tend to divide between micro-level individualism

and macro-level social order. Those who are not at these extremes either work outside

the frame of micro-macro altogether or try to find a middle road which is commonly

referred to as praxis (2006:5). De Landa instead aims to work at all levels from micro to

macro by introducing a scale of assemblages from the cellular level to global society in

which all levels are important and create synthetic and emergent properties for the next level on the scale. Any assemblage at any point on the scale can be modelled and analyzed as an assemblage, making them all equally important. De Landa provides examples of his scaled assemblages:

> "interpersonal networks and institutional organizations are assemblages of people; social justice movements are assemblages of several networked communities; central governments are assemblages of several organizations; cities are assemblages of people, networks, organizations, as well as of a variety of infrastructural components, from buildings and streets to conduits for matter and energy flows; nation states are assemblages of cities, the geographic regions organized by cities, and the provinces that several regions form."(2006:5-6)

Using the ontological framework of assemblages, the multiplicity and complexity of society can be modeled at every level. This creates a hierarchy of assemblages, which is in direct contrast to Deleuzian philosophy. De Landa does caution against assuming a hierarchy of importance however. Hierarchy here is not meant to establish importance, as all parts are important to the identity of the whole.

Rather, he explains that "larger scale" means how extensive an assemblage is in terms such as the number of components, their capacities, connections, or amounts of energy rather than simple geographic size. Also, bigger in terms of numbers and capacities does not automatically mean more important because without some of the lower-level components, the upper level assemblages would not be. Thus all

components at all levels have potential to be of high importance, depending on the

measure used to determine importance, because each assemblage at every level

synthesizes with other assemblages though their relations of exteriority to create

synthetic and emergent properties. Also, each level can be seen as either micro or

macro when compared to other levels. A local market would be micro when compared

with a regional market, but a regional market would be micro when compared with an

international market.

De Landa clarifies that the physical, social, and biological processes through

which an assemblage comes into existence are, "processes that must be conceptualized

as *recurrent.* This implies that assemblages always exist in populations, however small,

the populations generated by the repeated occurrence of the same processes"(2006:16).

Each of these populations, through their exterior relations and exercising their

capacities can create properties of their own (emergent properties) such as, "rate of

growth or certain average distributions of assemblage properties"(2006:17). Also, these

assemblage populations can interact in a way that creates larger assemblages because,

"the interactions between members of a collectivity may lead to the formation of more

or less permanent articulations between them, yielding a macro-assemblage with

properties and capacities of its own" (2006:17). This approach to assemblages, situating

them within the concept of population and external relations, allows for analysis of the

micro as well as the macro.

This dichotomy of micro-macro also permits freedom from microeconomic individualism because as individuals partake in larger assemblages the interaction with those larger assemblages recursively reacts on the identity of the individual (2006:32). As a person participates in a larger assemblage such as a community group or performs a job at work, it becomes a part of their identity and reveals the impact the whole has on the component as well as the component on the whole. Here again, De Landa (2006) cautions against purely linear thinking in the process of working between micro and macro, because assemblages can be component parts of many other assemblages, not just one directly above it. One person, as an assemblage, may be part of many assemblages such as a religious group, a state, a tribe, a job, a family, etc. This increases the complexity of the micro-macro contrast.

Assemblages and History

The process of an assemblage coming into existence, as De Landa's believes they do, reveals another departure from Deleuzian assemblages – that assemblages have a beginning. In order to find the beginning, one must find the boundaries, or identity, of a whole as follows: first distinguish the material roles from the expressive roles, then distinguish the destabilizing and stabilizing processes (De Landa 2006:49). A component that plays a material role is one that has physical impacts on the entity, such

as the physical organs of a human body, or the geographic area controlled by a tribe that includes specific and physical resources. Material mechanisms can include energy or labor invested in an entity. Expressive roles give voice to ideas and are derived from passionate impressions, such as language, ceremony, and art. According to De Landa (2006:50), the main stabilizing processes are those of habitual repetition, while destabilizing processes are any that disrupt the routines of the entity. What may seem a positive process, such as learning to swim, can be destabilizing because it allows for new possible directions of emergence that were not possible before, such as swimming in the ocean. Destabilization is not necessarily a negative process – it can allow for the growth of the entity just as much as the diminishing of an entity.

In order to create patterns through repetition, it is implied that assemblages sit within a history. While De Landa is careful to keep away from the concept of history as linear, he does provide some description of what history includes. De Landa defines historical not only as human history, but also cosmological and evolutionary history (2006:3).   Major events such as earthquakes or floods that reshape the land, changes in weather patterns, and the like all play a part in the development of assemblages. Trace the development through an assemblage's interactions with history, and the interactions of its component assemblages, and you can find the beginning. However, as much of history has not been recorded, it may be impossible at this time to trace back to the origin of an assemblage.

History also plays a part through the process of recurrence. De Landa believes that processes of territorialization, coding, and expression are all recurrent processes. According to De Landa, assemblages have a point of coming into existence through those historical and recurrent processes. Because those processes are recurrent, "their variable repetition synthesizes entire populations of assemblages" (2006:19). From these populations and reproductions through history, larger and larger scale assemblages form, of which "some members of the original population become component parts" (2006:19). As an example, historically human beings as an assemblage began to exist. Through recurrent processes more begin to exist, each with its own variations but like enough to be a population. As history continues, those people and populations interact with each other and new emergent properties form, becoming, for example, a community. As history progresses, and as cosmic and evolutionary history interact with these assemblages, new assemblages form. Therefore, an assemblage has a beginning point, and this history becomes part of its identity.

Since De Landa's assemblages have a beginning, do they also have an end? The answer is yes. De Landa (2006) explains that there must be a balance in analysis between the processes that create the "historical birth of a particular assemblage" and those that "maintain this identity between its birth and its death" (38). Thus we have entities with a beginning, middle, and end. This would seem to contradict the non-linear nature of assemblages. However, De Landa answers this problem by placing

history as an outside actor and a concept of time, not a component part. It is important

to remember that history need not be linear as westerners see it. History, and time, in

many cultures is seen as fluid, circular, or reciprocal in that later actions can affect

earlier events and their interpretations, which can change the capacities, boundaries,

and properties of an entity long after the event itself. This means that the influences of

history do not act in a necessarily linear fashion, which brings us to the issue of cause

and effect in assemblage theory.

Cause, Reason, and Motive in Assemblages

When an assemblage comes into existence, there is a cause – something that

brought about that assemblage. De Landa (2006:19) observes that for organic and

inorganic assemblages, there is a mechanism of cause, such as flower produces seed,

seed falls to ground, rain falls, sun shines, seed sprouts. Each of these processes has a

mechanism of cause and the effect is the existence of a new assemblage. These

mechanisms of cause are not necessarily linear. In cases such as the seed, it is not

necessarily true that landing on dirt, rain falling, and sun shining will produce a new

flower of the same type it fell from. Myriad possibilities can occur from the seed rotting

and becoming a component part of the dirt, to being eaten by a bird, to having a genetic

variation that produces a new strain of flower not known before.

In the case of social entities, reason and motive (which are non-linear mechanisms) play a role in the production of assemblages. Non-linear cause and effect can also be seen when the internal organization of an entity encounters a major external event. "This internal organization may, for example, determine that an external cause of large intensity will produce a low-intensity effect (or no effect at all) and vice versa, that small causes may have large effects" (De Landa 2006:20). The threshold below which an event fails to cause an effect determines the capacities of the entity. Therefore, the capacities of an entity become exercised only at a certain point of cause, and it is not always possible to determine what effect the cause will have and which capacities will be exercised. As a result, cause and effect in assemblages are not linear.

At best, De Landa believes we can only discuss statistical causality, meaning that in a given population of assemblages, the most often occurring effect from cause A is effect B. He gives the case of smoking and cancer, where given 100 genetically identical people there are outside factors and variation that can change the statistical effect of 'smoking causes cancer'. Diet, exercise, location, job, and stress are outside forces which might alter the effects of smoking. These external causes become what De Landa refers to as catalysts and cannot be predicted.

All causes play a material role in an assemblage, while catalysts typically perform an expressive role (2006:22). This expressive role of causal mechanism is where reason and motive come into play. "While reasons may be exemplified by traditional

values or personal emotions, motives are a special kind of reason involving explicit

choices and goals" (2006:22). In the case of a social action movement, the cause could be

mechanical and material, reason based, or motive based. A blacksmith shaping a tool

out of metal would be a mechanical cause with a material role. A revolt against a

religious regime because of opposing religious views would be a reason cause with an

expressive role. A revolt against a hegemonic power because of a goal to be in power

oneself would be a motive cause with an expressive role. While these examples have

their limits and could be argued as containing all three elements, they suffice to explain

the delineations De Landa makes in his theory. In fact, De Landa agrees with Weber

that causes often involve a combination of all three elements and cautions against

simplistic analyses of cause. In rooting out the correct causal elements he states that

Weber (1964) was correct when he wrote, "a correct causal interpretation of a concrete

course of action is arrived at when the overt action and the motives have been correctly

apprehended and at the same time their relation has become meaningfully

comprehensible" (99). Thus, for any assemblage, the correct causal analysis will

consider material, reason, and motive influences and only draw a conclusion when

these relations have become meaningfully linked. De Landa cautions that what may be

a catalyst for one assemblage may not be for another assemblage of the same

population, so even meaningful links between numerous assemblages in a population

will only result in a statistical probability of cause. In addition to this, he states that

some effects may have many causes at multiple levels all influencing each other

(2006:37). He terms this redundant causality[41].

De Landa also differentiates between effects that are the "unintentional

consequences of intentional action" and "those which are the result of deliberate

planning" (2006:41). The first, unintentional effects, are the result of "slow cumulative

processes of the products of repeated interactions"(2006:41) such as changes in the way

organizations work over 100 years. An organization's daily bureaucratic routine today

is quite different from that of 200 years ago but there was no intentional design to

overhaul the system. Rather, as De Landa points out, over the years, one organization

changed for some reason, members of that organization interacted with others, others

copied or changed their own patterns, more interaction with other entities happened,

and over time a general change was inevitable but unintentional. This is the type of

change that will be noted in the Cowlitz Tribe regarding the tribal structure – a slow

change over a period of time that is the unintended result of other choices made by the

tribe, so that today's tribal structure closely resembles that of pre-contact times after

having gone away from that structure as a result of interactions with Euro-American

settlers.

Questions and Potential Problems with De Landa's Theory

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[41] Redundant here not meaning useless or superfluous, but rather superabundant or in addition to.

De Landa (2006) relies heavily on the theory of evolution in his work. He believes that each assemblage is an individual singularity created through a process of historical differentiation which he believes to be evolution (3). Many Native American and non-Euro-American traditions do not subscribe to evolutionary philosophies. Does assemblage theory fall apart if evolution is not subscribed to? Can assemblage theory exist outside of evolution? The purpose of De Landa's reliance on evolution seems to be the hope of escaping essentialism and reification. By replacing a reified concept of an assemblage with an actual assemblage that is unique as a result of historical differentiation (evolution), and then breaking it down into component assemblages that are also concrete and unique, not reifications, De Landa seeks to eliminate essentialism. However, any philosophy that provides for individuation and differentiation might do equally well for De Landa's purpose (Karaman 2008), and actually, no separate philosophy is necessary at all. The very process De Landa proposes for the creation of an assemblage will dictate that every assemblage is different and no two assemblages will ever be the same. The combination of materials, capacities, properties, and exterior interactions will assure differentiation without the need for relying on evolution. Thus, when De Landa refers to evolutionary and cosmic history, it might be more accurate to say ecological and cosmic history. An evolutionary understanding of progress in the human population is not necessary to the efficacy of assemblage theory, and may

actually be detrimental if used to hem in certain bound ideas that contradict analysis of the data.

It can be argued that the assemblage theory De Landa proposes is too materialistic because the strictly empirical and realist nature of the theory does not allow for the non-empirical, spiritual, or invisible aspects of an assemblage that many people, including most Native Americans, believe exists. This however, is not true. De Landa includes in his framework of an assemblage the possibility that norms, traditions, beliefs, and values all affect the interactions an assemblage has. In fact, that is the key element in distinguishing material causes from reason and motive. Reason and motive depend on non-physical choices based on intangibles such as values, beliefs, and norms rather than on straight material and empirical data. These intangibles are also an element of historical analysis, expression, and coding. Each of these has the possibility to also have material elements, but they themselves are not material in nature. In this way De Landa creates the necessary balance between the material/empirical and the intangible/subjective. His philosophy depends on emergent properties that are more than the sum of their parts, and these emergent properties are often intangible, such as values and traditions.

However, De Landa (2006:31) takes this a step further by adding to his theory a non-material plain of cause and effect that he calls the virtual. In this realm of virtual sits something he terms quasi-causal constraints which structure the possibilities of

cause and effect that make assemblages mechanism-independent (meaning any number

of mechanisms could cause an effect because an effect is not tied to any one specific

causal mechanism). The inclusion of the virtual may help De Landa explain

unexplainable phenomena and redundant causes, but as Harman (2008) points out, "it

would have been more consistent if he had simply risked the step of replacing causation

with catalysis entirely" (377). The reason for this is that De Landa first states that

analysis must root out all actual causal mechanisms operating at a given spacial scale,

and at the start of his philosophy he has relations of exteriority as the basis for all

existence and reality. By later adding this virtual layer, De Landa confuses the situation

by creating a layer of existence where exterior relations are not necessary and where

unexercised capacities exist and hang out, waiting to be exercised and realized. Either

nothing exists until it interacts with other assemblages, or there is an existence beyond

the realized. This research will ignore the unknown layer of virtuality, because it cannot

properly be investigated, and will rely solely on the relations of exteriority that can be

seen and examined.   In this way, the material nature of De Landa's theory is actually a

help, not a hindrance, for it is only the real, and not the virtual, that is investigable. This

is not to say that De Landa's virtual does not exist, but only to say that it is

uninvestigable and that empirical research cannot prove or disprove or even discover

anything of the virtual, thus the researcher is limited to the material visible relations of

exteriority.

Another problem is that De Landa (2006) states all conflict is resource driven, and not at all semantic or ideological (62). He states that the goal of conflicts, such as social movements or war, is to change real access to resources, not change ideologies or terminologies. This is an insurmountable failing of assemblage theory, as far as theory goes, for there are myriad conflicts and wars from the personal individual level to the national level that involve both material and ideological or semantic causes. However, in practical analysis, this is not an insurmountable problem because the researcher may simply disregard that philosophical stance and look for expressions of values and norms that play a causal role in the conflict. To assume beforehand that any conflict is purely ideological or purely material would manipulate the results of any research. The wise researcher will therefore disregard De Landa's opinion on the solely material causes of conflict and look to the actual data and analysis to see if there are indeed any semantic or ideological causes.

Another potential problem with De Landa's theory, at least in regard to Native American and Indigenous studies, is that it relies heavily on rational legal theory, among other Euro-American philosophies. De Landa would have us believe that a social assemblage is not an actor in reality until it separates its resources from charismatic or traditional leadership to that of a bureaucratic rational-legal system where resources are linked to an office rather than a person (2006:76). This is because from upper levels on the scale of assemblages, the component parts are not visible –

only their emergent and synthetic properties and capacities are visible. He relates this to

Weber's rational-legal model (1958) where only the office is seen, such as a president,

not the incumbent currently in that office. In solving this problem there are two options.

The first is that there is no need for the component parts to remain invisible. As

assemblages in their own right, they may remain visible as the assemblage connects and

becomes component parts of other assemblages higher on the scale. However, the

important thing is not whether the component parts are visible, but how their exterior

relations effect the assemblage. As long as there are exterior relations, it is possible to

have visible or invisible components. Since De Landa's theory states that assemblages

happen in populations, there will always be external relations, so a rational-legal

assumption of invisible component parts is unnecessary.

The second approach is that initially De Landa stated that an assemblage

becomes existent when it interacts with other assemblages. So does it exist when it

interacts, no matter how its resources are linked or does it exist when its resources are

linked through an emergent property such as a position, not a component part such as a

person? This is connected with De Landa's insistence on evolution whereby

organizational structures evolve from Weber's traditional structure (where authority is

based in a person who is believed to have a divine right or other imperative to be in

authority) to a rational-legal model (where authority is vested in an office or a position

rather than a person). By requiring all material resources to be linked to rational-legal

models, De Landa does himself and non-rational-legal modeled societies a disservice, implying that they are inferior and lack control over resources. Perhaps a better supposition is that resources can be linked to anything, and that resources themselves are assemblages so they can be linked to or controlled by nothing and still be an assemblage because they interact with other assemblages.

In one aspect of this, De Landa (2006) is correct: while resources need not be linked to rational-legal models, resources and legitimacy often play an enormous role in the interactions between social assemblages (77). To ignore this would be to ignore a large portion of interactions between assemblages such as states, nations, continents, and indigenous groups. The resources of steel production and gunpowder allowed the Euro-Americans to overpower Native Americans in a quest for dominion over the resources of the Americas (Diamond 1999). However, it is important not to limit the analysis to that material resources exclusively, as discussed earlier. Ironically, ideologies of evolutionary superiority played an immense role in the subjugation of Native Americans, and to ignore this would undermine any serious research analysis on that subject.

Connected with this is the question of assemblages and legitimacy. De Landa admits in the beginning of his book that he has made no attempt to be multi-cultural, and the result of that can be seen in his understanding of what gives a nation-state legitimacy. Rather than using his own theory and doing an analysis of every state in

the world as an individual and unique entity, he assumes that all states have followed a

Weberian system of evolving from traditional to rational-legal systems (2006:92). He

uses the separate examples of Charles Tilly, England, and Germany to justify his

assumptions regarding the legitimate course of the rise of a nation-state, and assumes

that rational-legal forms of government provide the legitimacy of statehood. As noted

in chapter two, there is no universal understanding of what a nation state is, much less

what its source of legitimacy is. De Landa further complicates matters by insisting that

solidarity underpins legitimacy, with the highest mark of solidarity being willingness to

die for one's nation-state. However, De Landa fails to take into account the many

nations who, over the centuries, have been ruled by autocrats or minority groups

controlling resources and conscripting or coercing people into dying for them. Also,

does it make a state less legitimate if, in response to conflict, the people within the state

choose a non-violent stance? Is a state less legitimate if its people are committed to

pacifism as a way of life? Clearly, De Landa's reliance on western philosophies of state

legitimacy and solidarity weaken his argument for assemblage theory. However, it need

not be so. In fact, one could disregard everything De Landa says about states and

legitimacy and still use his theory as an analytical tool. This is possible because each

nation-state can be analyzed according to its own relations of exteriority to establish

cause and effect as well as the source of its legitimacy. There need not be any

underlying theory that the results must match with. Discarding theories of cause and

effect may improve assemblage theory by allowing the relations of exteriority to speak for themselves rather than attempting to fit them into a mold prescribed by Euro-American philosophers.

If we remove from our minds the philosophies of others and the idea that there are no 'laws of nature', how do we predict anything? De Landa's theory answers this with statistical causality. What about the stars, moon, and sun? Gravity? Relativity? All these act in a uniform way over and over again, which allows life to be sustainable on Earth, and the statistical probability that something may change is the subject of many sci-fi movies. De Landa believes that such a catastrophe is always possible, but until it happens as a result of interaction with other assemblages in the universe, it remains in the realm of capacities and virtuality, not in the real identity of the assemblages of sun, moon, and stars. Those identities of action and movement remain stable until such time as a material interaction with other assemblages or a reason or motive acts as a catalyst to change the effects of current patterns of interaction between the sun, moon, stars, and Earth.

If identity is only the observable interactions and capacities, what about the very idea of *emic* identity? Isn't it impossible? The answer is no, because emic identity is how the component parts of an assemblage observe their interactions with the other component assemblages. It is still observation of interaction, but it is on the micro-assemblage level rather than the macro-assemblage level. While a cell may not have the

faculty for self-observation and therefore all identity is etic, a person or a group of

people do have the faculty for self-observation and therefore can have an emic identity

because of how they observe their own interactions with other assemblages such as

family members, tribal members, and outsiders. An etic identity would be how others

observe their interactions. Therefore, emic identity is the result of the unique emergent

property of self-awareness that some assemblages have.

The next problem deals with history being outside assemblages. History, in De

Landa's theory, is an outside actor and a concept of time, not a component part.

However, it is important to remember that history need not be linear as westerners see

it. History, and time, in many cultures is seen as fluid, circular, or reciprocal. Another

way to look at history in assemblage theory is to say that history is the accumulated

effects of relations of exteriority over the time span of the universe. From the instance

of the first assemblages interacting in relations of exteriority to the present day,

interactions are creating effects that are accumulating over time. De Landa states that it

may be impossible to trace those cumulative effects for every assemblage back to the

beginning. Thus, analysis may be only partially possible. However, he adds that there

may come a point in the historical analysis that the effects cease to have a relevant

causal effect on the present. This understanding of distance lessening cause and effect

is an evolutionary, linear view of history, by placing cause so far distant on a linear path

that its effects are not relevant to the present. Here De Landa's reliance on evolution again puts him at odds with his own philosophy.

If history is non-linear, and assemblage cause and effects are non-linear, then a cause from 6,000 year ago may have very direct relevance to an effect today. This would be the case in most Native American societies where narrative history in the form of story are continually passed down by generations so that a story of 2,000 years ago can have a direct cause-and-effect relationship today. Not only Native American, but also Middle Eastern societies follow this non-linear pattern. Take for example, the Tanack[42]. The Tanack is a collection of historical writings that are studied today by millions around the world with the express purpose of influencing decisions from how to eat to what response a nation should make against an aggressor. Although more than 2,000 years old, the events in those histories have a direct cause and effect relationship to major events today. Thus, the assemblage is the Tanack, but the cause and effect of decisions based on interpretations of the Tanack are a historical accumulation that works in non-linear ways. This example again shows the relevancy of De Landa's theory of non-linear external relationship between assemblages and the role of history on one hand, and on the other hand effectively shows how his reliance on evolution is unnecessary.

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[42] Traditional Hebrew historical and religious texts also known as the Hebrew or Jewish Bible.

While the above-mentioned problems can be solved relatively easily, there are two unsolved issues in assemblage theory that remain a weakness as far as an otology for this research is concerned. First, there is the question of beginning and ending. As noted earlier in this chapter, De Landa clearly believes that assemblages have a beginning and end. While he seems a little confused about when an assemblage becomes an assemblage, for the purpose of research and since we have discounted the virtual in empirical research as uninvestigable, it is natural that we should assume the starting place to be that which De Landa initially stated – that an assemblage exists when it interacts with another assemblage in relations of exteriority. Finding the end of an assemblage is less straight-forward. De Landa mentions at several points in his book that assemblages end, but does not give a clear definition of when an assemblage ends. One could assume that ending is the opposite of beginning – that when as assemblage ceases to have relations of exteriority it ceases to exist in reality. However, it may be a little more complicated than this. For example, is there a point at which a destabilized entity no longer has the capacity to restabilize? What if at that point it is still interacting with other assemblages? Do we say that the component parts are interacting as separate assemblages at that point and that the actual destabilized assemblage no longer exists? And what about the fluid identity of an assemblage – is there a point where an identity is too fluid to have a stable identity and therefore the assemblage with no identity does not exist even though it has a capacity to interact still? What about physical death or the

loss of self-awareness? Does that end an assemblage by disconnecting component parts to the extent that it cannot be considered the same assemblage? One could say yes to this suggestion by citing the example of the human body. The human, in De Landa's theory, would exist as an assemblage the moment the sperm hits the egg and begins to have emergent properties and relations of exteriority with the mother. The human goes through identity changes from fetus to birth and baby but remains the same assemblage with ever increasing capacities as it interacts with other assemblages and grows. After the course of its life it dies and ceases to exist when the component parts are no longer held together in relations of exteriority as it decomposes. It would be difficult to say at what point exactly the assemblage ceased to be an assemblage because even as the emergent properties of consciousness, awareness, heartbeat and breathing cease, the component parts of physical nature continue to hold together in the form of a body that slowly decomposes over time. At what point has the body sufficiently decomposed and become part of other assemblages, such as dirt or a tree, do we say that the assemblage no longer exists? A further complication is the belief many hold that while physical life ceases, the assemblage of the human continues to exist in spirit form. The Cowlitz believe that their ancestors may be physically 'dead' but their spirit has "crossed over" and continues to play a role in the world through interaction with other spirits and with those still physically alive. Since many Cowlitz believe all assemblages have a spirit,

from rocks to fish to clouds and people, it would seem that no assemblage ever truly

ceases.

There are several choices to answering this conundrum, and none of them so far

have been universally acceptable. The first is to say that once there is no longer a

physical interaction observable by other assemblages or by the self, the assemblage

ceases to exist. This does not take into account nonphysical assemblages that may still

have cause-and-effect abilities, such as what many people call the spirit or soul of a

person. Ontologically this would make assemblage theory unacceptable to those who

believe in the spirit or soul as an emergent property of assemblages, and we must throw

it out.

On the other hand, one could solve this problem by saying that a soul is not a

compulsory emergent property of an assemblage. For example, some assemblages like a

building may be made of up of component parts with a spirit, such as limbs that were

once part of trees, but that the building itself does not necessarily have a soul or spirit.

This allows for the possibility that some assemblages never cease to exist – such as a

person or tree with a spirit, while others can cease, such as a house that is torn down

and its components distributed among other assemblages. Some would argue this runs

the risk of getting into essences. This problem of essences could be solved one of two

ways, both of which rely on the spirit being an emergent property of the assemblage.

First, as an emergent property it is possible for it to cease to exist at some point even if

we don't know what that point is. Second, that it is possible an emergent property could be eternal in nature and never cease to exist. This second does not require an essence because the eternal nature of it does not make it what it is to the exclusion of all other parts. It is the interactions of the parts that created the eternal property, not the other way around.

Another possible solution to the question of when does an assemblage cease to exist is, perhaps, the reason De Landa decided to insert the virtual realm into his theory. If one assumes there is a virtual realm in which such things as time, space, and genus, statistical probabilities and possibilities exist, then this would also be the place where we could put assemblages whose relations of exteriority are no longer visible and analyzable. In other words, the researcher ignores that which is in the realm of virtual and sticks to what is in the realm of investigable for purposes of empirical study, and leaves the philosophizing regarding the virtual to others. The drawback of this is that there may indeed be effects in the tangible caused by the virtual. But since those cannot be examined it is left in the background to explain the unexplainable while the researcher does their best to ferret out those cause and effect relationships that are knowable. The reality is that this is a portion of assemblage theory that is weak and not yet thought through to its conclusion.

The second unsolved issue is related to beginning and ending, but takes it a step beyond what has already been discussed. That is, the question of God and where did

the component parts of the first assemblage come from? As there are millions of

people, including many Cowlitz, who believe in an ontological existence of a creator or

being outside time who has a cause and effect relationship, what does assemblage

theory have to say about it? Some people might put a creator or God outside the realm

of actual and in the realm of the virtual. Others would say that God is, like history, not

a component part of assemblages but an overarching plane of cause and effect. Some

would say that God is outside all assemblage, time, and space and set into existence the

first assemblages. Some would say that God or creator does not exist at all and that

matter simply exists and interacts and assemblage theory is a way to map and

understand those interactions. The truth is that there is no universally accepted answer

to this conundrum. And as it is not in the scope of this paper come up with solutions to

such problems, but merely to acknowledge their existence as part of determining the

usefulness of the theory for analytical research, it shall be left unanswered. It is

important for this research, however, to determine if those weaknesses create an

insurmountable dilemma at the analytical level. As will be seen in the following

chapters, this was not the case chiefly for two reasons. First, if the researcher is aware

of these shortcomings at the ontological level, it is possible to mediate a sort of stopgap

in the research to compensate. At the very least, awareness of the problem should keep

the researcher from glossing over any missing details that result from the limitations of

the theory. At best, the researcher can look for alternative ways to ensure no angle of

analysis is missed in those weak areas, and possibly come up with a solution. Related

to this last is the second reason these weaknesses do not appear to be a problem for the

research. Within the analytical structure of assemblage theory is room for such things

as traditions, beliefs, and norms or social groups. Since there are intangible aspects of

the assemblage ontology that can't be tested empirically, it seems prudent to instead

analyze those through the lens of what we can see. We can see the norms, beliefs and

traditions of groups, and how those relate by cause and effect to the assemblages within

the group and its interactions as an entity with other assemblages. In this way, beliefs in

deities, creation stories, and philosophies of origins can be analyzed for their impact on

the assemblages involved without an ontological underpinning for the theory itself.

Thus, the everyday effects of belief or lack of belief in a creator can be analyzed without

making an unequivocal statement on the existence of a deity ontologically.

Finally, the sheer size of an ontology, which deals with all aspects of the

universe, makes ontologies in general unwieldy for analytical purposes. One simply

cannot analyze all aspects of a universe in the course of a paper, or even a human

lifetime, or a thousand lifetimes, no matter what theory is used. De Landa's theory is

no exception. This reduces the researcher to picking and choosing those aspects of

assemblage theory that are most critical to the question posed by the research, as the

reseacher's reason and motive determine. In doing so, the researcher runs the risk of

missing some important relationship between assemblages. However, until the human

mind reaches a state of omniscience, this is a fault of all theories and research. The best

any researcher can do is to control for as many variables as possible, according to their

own capacities as an assemblage, picking and choosing those which seem to be most

important as supported by the data.

In this research the result of this last problem is that only certain assemblages

have been included in the analysis due to material, temporal, mental, and physical

limits of all the assemblages involved (researcher, the institution and academic

assemblages, tribe, people, etc) and the material, reason, and motive cause and effect of

each assemblage as they interact with each other. I have chosen certain assemblages to

analyze, and no doubt questions will arise as to why those and not others. The answers,

just as complex to analyze as any other interactions between assemblages, may not be

satisfactory to everyone. The same can be said for what aspects of the assemblages

were given most analytical scrutiny. Again, the long answer is complex and involves

myriad assemblages, capacities, and motives. But the simple answer is limitations or

what capacities can realistically be exercised as this research process creates an

assemblage of its own known as a dissertation. Choices are made and effect results,

which again may not satisfy all entities interacting with it, but which are never the less

the boundaries and identity of the dissertation assemblage. The same can be said for

any research.

Strengths of De Landa's Theory For This Research

Produced identity through interaction of assemblages is important for this

research because as an outside researcher the only information one can infer from is

observable interactions. An outsider is reduced to observing interactions between the

assemblage they desire to know about and other assemblages it interacts with. It could

be argued that even an insider is reduced to this type of research because although they

are a component of the larger assemblage, they are also an assemblage interacting with

the other component assemblages in the larger assemblage. Thus all information is the

result of observing interactions and making an analysis.

The continuous process of identity production is also a strength when it comes to

Native American studies. When one considers the problem stated in chapter three of

true Native American culture being seen as static, the importance of this identity

philosophy can be understood. Assemblage theory, as outlined by De Landa, does not

allow for static cultures and identities, but instead acknowledges that assemblages are

highly adaptive and fluid. The very nature of existence is change and interaction with

forces outside the assemblage. From this ontological perspective, one must expect

change and difference even while the existence of the assemblage remains stable.

The constant updating of reality resulting from interactions with other

assemblages allows an assemblage to maintain a stable identity while at the same time

changing its identity with each interaction. This is similar to Jacob's (2013) method of

cultural revitalization in chapter three of this dissertation. A tribe, as an assemblage,

does not cease to exist when a new system of government establishes hegemony.

Instead, the tribe's identity remains stable even as it begins to interact with the

hegemonic society around it and those interactions become a part of the identity of the

tribe. In the context of Native American cultural revitalization, Jacob calls this

adaptation (2013:8). Based on previous interactions that make up its identity, the tribe

may choose decolonization praxis – keeping the traditional while using new methods

learned during the interaction. Keeping the traditional reflects the fact that the identity

of the assemblage is stable and the historical components are continuing to interact with

the current identity and the external assemblages of the hegemonic society.

A tribe continues to exist even as it goes through the process of change through

interaction with outside forces such as the US government and settler culture. A tribe

or tribal member may interact with settler culture, and even connect with it in many

ways without losing the distinct identity of its self. A tribe may become a component

part of the larger (physically) United States without losing its existence as a tribe that

has its own unique component parts and exercised capacities. A tribal member may

interact with settler culture, such as going to university, being a lawyer or welder,

having a house in suburbia, and any other interaction possible while at the same time

maintaining an identity distinctly tribal. Due to the myriad possible interactions and

responses, no two assemblages will look exactly the same, thus each tribe and tribal member will interact in different ways with different results.

Identity can change but remain stable, or change and destabilize, while the assemblage itself remains intact. In this way, a tribe encountering a hegemonic society may find its identity destabilized without the tribe ceasing to exit. It may find its boundaries shifting but it does not cease existing. It may even lose some of its component parts, such as rituals, norms, and beliefs, but still it continues to exist. Each interaction with an outside entity, and each interaction its component assemblages have will either serve to restabilize or destabilize further, reterritorialize or deterritorialize further, all the while maintaining an existence. This is a key argument for tribes seeking to be recognized by the US government or other hegemonic powers. An indigenous group will often affirm that changes in their group lifeways, size, dominance, and/or territory do not mean that their existence has ceased or that they are no longer an indigenous group with the rights belonging to such groups.

The non-linear aspects of identity formation are also a strength of assemblage theory for Native American studies. Most Native American groups that retain some of their traditional lifeways do not see linear cause and effect in the same way as many western philosophies. Instead, they see that causes can be effects and effects can be causes that have reciprocal relationships. MacDonald (2013) recognized this in her book *Memorylands*, where she noted that the stories told by elders were not expected to be

static stories of linear cause and effect. Rather, the stories were to be interpreted

through the past and reinterpreted through the present. The result was a reciprocal

relationship in which the story caused an effect which caused an effect on the story in

its telling. Stories could in this way be retold and changed according to events in the

now just as the now events create a new relationship with the past in the story. This is a

picture of the rhizomal and non-linear form of assemblages. A current event in the life

of an assemblage will have an effect on the history, through interpretation, adjustment

of facts, and new understandings that will affect the assemblage in new ways. Thus,

each interaction will have an impact not only on the future of the assemblage, but on

the past as well, having ramifications in all directions for the assemblage.

This inclusion of history, combined with the ability to use assemblage theory to

measure emic identity through relations of exteriority of the assemblages that make up

the Cowlitz Tribe and the relations of exteriority of the tribe with other assemblages,

also allows for a high degree of cultural validity in the research. As far as the term

'culture' is concerned, while there are many definitions and aspects of culture, this

research is not concerned with defining it or locating the definition of culture for the

Cowlitz. Instead, the research will inevitably include cultural understandings

according to many definitions of the word by virtue of its all-encompassing evaluation

of the tribe. De Landa's theory does not set culture as a synthetic or emergent property,

but instead uses broader categories of territory, history, intensity, coding, norms,

capacities, materials, and expressions, all of which dynamically work together and within which culture is contained. Therefore, culture by many definitions will out itself and the readers are left to make their own determinations about what is culture and what is not. This has the advantage of allowing the voice of the people involved with the research to speak their own minds regarding culture, and allows the readers to draw their own conclusions, without the researcher's potential biases on culture impeding the process. Since there have already been so many impacts on Native tribes and their cultures through interaction with colonial assemblages throughout history, this is a desirable aspect of assemblage theory.

Not only does assemblage theory take into consideration the voice of those involved in an assemblage such as a tribe, but it also allows for the inclusion of other aspects without biasing causation to a single dominant factor. As Price-Robertson and Duff (2016) point out, any theory that reduces activities to single or even multiple actors while excluding other actors in an assemblage, "fails to capture enough the these [actors or] dynamics to account for the variety of entities that are actually involved" (71 brackets added for clarification). In other words, reducing a Native American tribe's current state of being and identity to the single interaction with colonial society fails to recognize all the actors and all the forces working to bring about the emergent reality of the tribe and its identity.

When looking at a specific tribe, the historical context of interaction is not simply the meeting of settlers and Indians within what is currently US territory[43], but also the environmental and natural (or ecological) aspects, as well as the capacities of component parts. In the case of the Cowlitz this includes early migration patterns and settlement in what is today known as the Pacific Northwest of the US. It also includes disease, animal movements and lifecycles prior to and after contact with whites, water and food security changes, weather changes, natural and manmade geographic changes such as Mount St Helens' eruption in 1980 or the building of dams on the Columbia and Cowlitz Rivers, and relations with other tribes. These historical contexts have shaped the life of the Cowlitz for centuries, and while the appearance of Euro-Americans in the Pacific Northwest did change life for the Cowlitz people, much of the *interaction* between these groups was also shaped by other historical contexts. This will become more evident as we sift through the interviews, paying attention to the way these historical contexts surface again and again throughout the interviews and ethnographic observations. This one example, then will suffice for now: The Cowlitz in 1855, refused to sign a treaty with the US government. One of the factors in this decision by the tribe was they felt the US was undervaluing their land. however, another major cause of this decision was the relationship the Cowlitz had with the neighboring Quinault tribe.

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[43] As discussed later in the paper, the Cowlitz Tribe does not dispute current US claims, and see themselves fully as US citizens.

Had the treaty not included a move to the Quinault reservation, there is no telling whether the Cowlitz would have signed or not. There were more external relations effecting the Cowlitz than simple interaction with settler society.

De Landa's view of analyzing cause also works well for Native American studies because it covers material causes (such as changes in available resources), reasons (such as tribal beliefs and traditions), and motives (such as cultural revitalization or undermining hegemonic power). Even then, there are always outliers of people and groups with different reasons, and motives, or material factors that can be accounted for. By using statistical probability instead of linear causality, De Landa allows for different causes having the same results and similar or same causes having different results. In the world of Native American studies where assemblages of tribes can be similar and different at the same time, and where forces acting on the assemblages can be similar yet different, the flexibility afforded by De Landa's causal analysis can make it messier but more accurate.

Another advantage of the theory is that De Landa believes, "even hydrogen atoms are unique persons with specific historical trajectories" (Harman 2008:377). This fits well with the Cowlitz understanding of the created universe where all material elements such as rocks, plants, animals, and humans are 'people' (Wilson, 2001). The legends of the Cowlitz are replete with fish as people, birds as people, mountains as people, and many more. De Landa's preferred word for this is "individuals" (2006:28)

and he believes that no two individuals (assemblages) are the same or act the same in response to material causes and catalysts. This meshes well with the Cowlitz understanding of the world as a place of people of all types who must all be respected for their roles and their effects on others as they all interact. The difference is that while the tribal legends refer to sticks, trees, and fish as making conscious choices in a causal narrative, De Landa separates the causal mechanisms into material (without conscious thought), reason (conscious thought based on beliefs and values), and motive (goal-oriented choice) in cause-and-effect relationships. For De Landa, the cause-and-effect relationships of pieces of wood are *material* - thoughtless processes of various reactions and potential capacities as a result of myriad interactions with other assemblages over its history - because it is a piece of wood with no conscious thought process. The tribal legends, on the other hand, ascribe every object motive in order to account for variations in the behaviors (or effects) of one piece of wood compared to another piece of wood. A stick may float, according to legend, as a motive choice of the stick in order to lure someone into the water. A stick may float, according to De Landa, as a result of material interactions with other assemblages, such as water, and the density of the assemblages that make up the stick such as cells of wood. The fact that the floating stick lures some person into the water is based on the motive choice of the person, not the stick.

However, this distinction, while not minor, is more related to coding than to an actual belief or non-belief in a stick's desire to float. Interviewee H, a respected Cowlitz elder with intimate knowledge of Cowlitz beliefs and traditions, when asked about this floating-stick scenario first said, "I think because it is not solid...less dense", referring to the cellular and material nature of the stick. However, this was followed by, "That depends on individual beliefs…some say all things are living beings. I was taught to respect all things plants...animals, rocks they all have a soul…they take care of us as we should take care of them...GOD created all so they all have a reason for existing". Another elder said,

> "A stick floats because it is lighter than the volume of water it is floating on. The fibrousness of the wooden stick contains air; and acts as miniature air bags when thrown into a stream. Likewise logs. When a stick or log soaks up water over time and becomes "waterlogged," it may sit lower in the water and may eventually sink because it is no longer lighter than the volume of water it floats on. A stone thrown into the water is so dense that it drops down into the water and to water's floor, because it is heavier than the volume of water it was thrown into, likewise a grain of sand.
>
> Density is the key to displacing water volume.
>
> The girl can be happy that the water bears the weight of the stick to bring it to her at the right time for the right reason. Water often serves us as carriers of cargo needed for an exchange of resources. The girl should know to offer Water a gift for the exchange. A leaf would do nicely, or a pretty stone to cast into the water. We always show gratitude for a gift."   (Tanna Engdahl)

In this case, it's clear that while the belief is one of density and cells, the spoken word and values are those of personal character traits. This is the coding the tribe uses to describe its values and norms as it interacts with other assemblages such as water, sticks, and the ecosystem around them.

This bring the conversation to the topic of coding and decoding. Genetically, coding and decoding correlate with historical and current Native American identity markers such as blood quantum and phenotype. Blood quantum requirements, and other identity markers discussed in chapter one, are a coding process by which identity and inclusion boundaries are maintained. For example, phenotype traces the acts and expressions of belonging through physical appearance from genetic material. Linguistically, coding and decoding can be seen in terms of historical language use, disuse, or loss. It can also be used in terms of everyday language of the tribe and meanings assigned to words that further solidify of de-solidify the identity of the group. Coding assigns cause and effect in early Cowlitz legends and continues to do so today. For example, current Cowlitz comments on past interactions with Euro-American settlers are coded in a language of dominion, survivance, and perseverance, assigning motive cause to the effects of interactions between the two assemblages. Others, such as Echo-Hawk (2013), code these interactions in terms of human rights. Coding is a very useful way to analyze expressive elements of assemblages and allows for variations in coding among assemblages and for patterns of coding in interactions between

assemblages. Coding allows the researcher to view a broad spectrum of behaviors and interactions through the lens of expressing identity.

A further advantage of assemblage theory is that, in the spacial hierarchy of assemblages, each assemblage exercises capacities to enable and limit their component parts. In a factory, production capacity is limited by social constraints such as expected workday lengths or by material factors such as supplies. Work hours are limited by policies regarding breaks and use of time. Those, in turn, can be limited by a larger assemblage such as a state with regulatory laws on working hours, wages, etc. On the other hand, production can be enabled by larger network assemblages such as business conglomerations or partnerships which can provide more resources and laborers.

The same limiting and enabling capacities can be used in respect to sovereignty. By analyzing the limiting and enabling capacities of each assemblage, it can give a clearer picture of what sovereignty looks like for each one. This does not solve the problem of defining sovereignty but it does allow for an analysis of sovereignty and comparisons of sovereignty between assemblages of different scales. It can also be used to compare limiting and enabling capacities from different points in time for a historical comparison. This dichotomy of limiting and enabling can also help explain the relationships between assemblages as they interact.

Finally, a hierarchy without establishing importance is a critical strength of De Landa's theory for Native American studies. Each of the smaller assemblages can be analyzed, such as individuals, family units and clans, while at the same time they can be a component part of a larger assemblage which can also be analyzed, such as a tribe. Likewise, a tribe can be analyzed while at the same time being part of a larger entity known as the United States, which in turn is part of a larger UN and global society, without assigning importance since one is an integral component part of the other.

In Native American studies, where US hegemonic power, importance, and other colonial left-overs are playthings of the devil intended to destroy Native Americans, it is crucial not to place emphasis on importance. A key factor in doing research that does not exploit or debase Native Americans is not to encourage or reconstruct the idea that because the US is bigger spacially or the hegemonic assemblage, that it is also therefore the most important assemblage and that all component assemblages are subservient to it. Indeed, combatting the arrogance of colonial thinking is the current trend in Native American studies (with good reason) and De Landa's form of hierarchy without ascribing importance or power is helpful in ridding the researcher and the reader of those vestiges of colonial arrogance that may linger.

Conclusion

Assemblage theory, while not an entirely new philosophy as the title of his book claims, is for the first time systematically elucidated by De Landa in *A New Philosophy of Society* (2006). Assemblages are individuals made of component parts that are themselves assemblages. Each assemblage interacts in relations of exteriority with other assemblages. From those interactions, new assemblages are made that may be larger in spacial terms, capacities, populations, etc. As assemblages interact, new emergent properties and capacities result, and the causes of various interactions and results are either material-based, reason-based, or motive-based. Assemblages have three dimensions: territorialization, expressive/material roles, and coding. These three dimensions work together to create an identity unique from other assemblages so that no two assemblages are exactly the same. These three dimensions also work together to create boundaries that allow for measurement and comparison with other assemblages.

De Landa's theory as written in his book does contain some problems, such as his reliance on evolution, rational-legal theory, and his insistence on resource-driven conflicts. However, these problems can be easily remedied for research purposes by disregarding De Landa's assumptions and sticking to empirical analysis of the external relations and exercised capacities. Regarding the ontological problems related to God/Creator beliefs, beginning, ending, and the problem of something out of nothing, while they remain a gap in the ontological underpinning of the theory, they do not

seem to materially affect the results of analysis, so long as the researcher is aware of them and compensates accordingly.

In relation to strengths of the theory, there are many, including the process of identity production, continuity and fluidity, spacial hierarchies without importance, non-linear causality and history, inclusion of ecological and cosmic history, and connections between limiting, enabling, and sovereignty. These strengths are particularly important in a multicultural setting such as Native American studies. It remains now to see how this works out in a practical analysis with the Cowlitz Indian Tribe.

Chapter 5

The Historical Cowlitz Tribe: An Assemblage Analysis

In order to successfully accomplish the research goals, it was necessary to actually use De Landa's (2006) theory in the real context of the Cowlitz Indian Tribe. As noted in chapter four, De Landa's theory, while extensive and useful as a philosophical concept, is large and unwieldy as an analytical tool. De Landa excuses himself from having to figure out how to actually use it in research by saying that while social scientists cannot do their work without a philosophy of ontological proportions, philosophers should not attempt to do the work of social scientists (2006:7). He does give examples of his theory's usefulness and even analyzes a few component parts of various assemblages, but he does not attempt anything like a comprehensive analysis of any single assemblage. Instead, De Landa leaves it up to others to figure out how to use his ontological conception for real-life analysis.

De Landa (2006:12) also referred to the "axis" of territorialization, material, and expressive roles on respectively opposite ends. However, in reality posing these properties in terms of an axis is not possible because one property may be all of the above or somewhere on a sliding scale, not one or the other. In fact, that is the very reason for the rhizome structure – a structure of interwoven and connected parts, not a graph or three-dimensional axis. An accurate picture would take years of mapping

interconnections that would never be fully completed. Instead, for this research two

matrices were created composed of the elements De Landa proposed as critical to the

analysis of an assemblage. These integrated the three dimensions of

territorialization/deterritorialization, material/expressive roles, and coding/decoding

with the emergent and synthetic properties, capacities, norms, traditions, beliefs, and

history of each assemblage. The first Comparative Hierarchical Matrix analyzed the

assemblages in terms of hierarchical levels – village, Upper/Lower Cowlitz, the overall

tribe, Washington State, and the US Native American legal assemblage - and compared

them in all three dimensions as the matrix below shows. This allowed the interactions

between the component assemblages to become apparent.

Comparative Hierarchical Matrix

Assemblage Name	Emergent	Synthetic	Capacities	Norms	Traditions	Beliefs	History
Territorialization							
Deterritorialization							
Material Role							
Expressive Role							
Coding							
Decoding							

The second Internal Roles Matrix organized data on the events and activities of the assemblages in terms of what roles they exercise in the assemblage. This not only organized the data in terms of exercised roles, but allowed for those roles to be compared with other activities and roles of the same assemblage, and with other assemblages. An example of this would be to compare two similar activities, such as Huckleberry Camp in the contemporary tribe with the seasonal rotation of huckleberry gathering in the historical tribe, looking for similarities and differences in the roles that each play. This allowed for organization of data that facilitated analysis of component assemblages within a larger assemblage.

Internal Roles Matrix

Activity Name	Emergent Properties exercised	Synthetic Properties exercised	Capacities exercised	Norms Exercised	Traditions Exercised	Beliefs Exercised	Role of history on this activity	Connections with other assemblages
Territorialization								
Deterritorialization								
Material Role								
Expressive Role								
Coding								
Decoding								

Due to the amount of data collected and the enormity of the spreadsheets created, the individual matrices for each assemblage are not included in the dissertation. Instead, the information has been condensed into narrative form in this and the next chapter. It must also be noted that a researcher could spend years filling out nearly infinite capacities, properties, etc. So for the sake of brevity, this research focuses on those the researcher believed to be most pertinent based on the information collected in the research. This information, it was felt, was enough to draw conclusions with some level of integrity without bogging the research down in minutia of only distant or minor relations. The danger in this approach was the possibility of missing something or dismissing as inconsequential that which was actually very important, or of entirely undermining the strength of assemblage theory in taking into account all actors. To help circumvent this possibility, during the research members of the tribe were regularly asked their opinions as to the effects this or that actor had on the tribe, and those that were deemed by members to not have an impact or only a marginal impact were left out. The results of the research were then reviewed by members of the tribe and their input regarding what was important and what was not has been taken into account.

Also, while it is important to get an accurate reflection of an assemblage and all its component assemblages in order to gauge cause and effect correctly, it is by no means true that because a component assemblage exists, that it was an actor in any

particular situation. For example, a carburetor is important to the working of a car assemblage, but the existence of a carburetor and its role in the assemblage may not be a causal actor in the breaking of an axle or a deflated tire. Thus, while mapping an entity may require acknowledging the existence of all pieces, causality does not require that all pieces be involved in a given action or emergent property. This is what makes it possible to leave some components out of a matrix without endangering the results of analysis.

Once the basic components were recognized through the matrix-building process, the next step was to flesh out the details of those component assemblages and roles noted in the matrix. The connections visible at the matrix level were researched in greater detail, resulting in an in-depth analysis of relations of exteriority, boundaries, and therefore, identity.

This chapter will look at the assemblage of the historical Cowlitz Tribe from its inception through the 1900s. This time period was chosen because throughout that time there was a fairly stable identity with only minor fluctuations in the territorial, expressive, material, and coding roles of components as the tribe interacted with other assemblages. The 1900's and contact with Euro-Americans became a catalyst for change that, as Irwin (2014) notes, was effective in changing patterns and identity of the tribe, to such an extent that further analysis would be of little use in understanding pre-contact tribal identity.

The historical assemblage of the Cowlitz is only partially known due to lack of written records prior to Euro-American settlement. Therefore, the research relies on the legends of the tribe and verbal accounts of history handed down through generations of Cowlitz people, and a history that has only recently been recorded. The legends used in the research come from a compilation of legends published in 1998 by Wilson, that were originally oral tribal history. In addition to this there are hundreds of single sentences or short paragraph description of the Cowlitz in early settler journals and letters. Although tracking these down is possible and was done to a great extent in this research to check the authenticity of primary sources, Irwin (2014) did a masterful job of compiling these in her book. Many of the manuscripts Irwin used require personal visits by appointment only to libraries, data archives, and homes of tribal members (many now deceased) across the Pacific Northwest. Therefore, unless the reference is easily found through online data archives or libraries, this research will default to Irwin's book as the reference source.

The legends of the historical Cowlitz are emergent components that express their origins and their lifeways, including taboos, rituals, beliefs, values, and morals. Each of these legends and stories are assemblages themselves, and part of the larger Cowlitz Assemblage. These stories were taught by elders to youth in ceremonies, in lodges during the winter, and in ceremonial and medicinal sweats (Irwin 2014:2,145). They provided coding of their way of life, and played a material role by effecting the actions

and choices of the Cowlitz people, creating a motive or reason cause-and-effect relationship with individual component assemblages in the tribe and with outside assemblages. Although it is dangerous to presume a direct cause-and-effect relationship where not overtly stated and where interacting assemblages cannot be observed or questioned, it is possible to see connections throughout the exterior relations of the assemblages that make up the Cowlitz Tribe.

Assemblage: Historical Cowlitz Tribe

A natural place to start is at the beginning when, according to Cowlitz legend, the Cowlitz were a part of all creation which was made by *Hyas Saghalie Tyee*, the Great-Chief-of-the-Above, prior to the great flood of the Earth. The establishment of the Cowlitz Tribe itself is linked to a family saved during the flood. These accounts vary from *Hyas Saghalie Tyee* saving the family according to their prayers, to a canoe being built to ride out the flood, to Muskrat building a mound of earth for the family to be safe on after the waters covered the earth. When the waters receded, the survivors were in Cowlitz territory surrounding *Lawe'latla* (Mt. St. Helens). From that time until the arrival of Euro-Americans in the 1900s, the tribe grew in population and created an intricate system of family, village, group, and intertribal relations.

At the smallest group level in the tribe was the family. Family groups could be up to 200 people and lived in a single longhouse. They were made up of all the immediate and extended family in one village (Wilson Interview). In Lower Cowlitz regions, each family in the village had a longhouse, and villages were made up of 2 or more longhouses. In the upper regions the family units were smaller, sometimes as small as the nuclear family, and longhouses were sometimes replaced with huts made of whatever materials were handy, but the same basic unit of family was maintained. Longhouses were used mostly during the winter, and as spring approached, families would pack up and head out on seasonal rounds to follow food sources and visit extended family. The family would move in small groups according to family relation, sometimes traveling with others small family groups heading the same direction, to their family's usual camas[44] digging, berry picking, hunting, and fishing sites (Irwin, 2014). Right of use to fishing, gathering, hunting and grazing locations was accessed through family and marriages. Each family had its favorite locations, sometimes kept secret from others and sometimes commonly known among everyone (Blee 2009; Wilson Interview; Interviewee I). By marrying into a family, extended family members could gain right of access to prime locations or resources not commonly available to all. This system worked both inside the Cowlitz Tribe and as tribal members interacted

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[44] Camas is a native tuber that grows in swampy locations in the Pacific Northwest and was a staple of the Cowlitz diet pre-contact with Euro-Americans.

with other tribes. A marriage between two families would link the resources of those

two families, and a marriage with someone from another tribe, such as the Yakama,

brought access to, and sharing of resources on, both sides (Irwin 2014). The emergent

family and marriage alliance system therefore played an important material role in the

tribe.

The same can be said for songs, traditions, and ceremonies. Healing ceremonies,

special family variations of stories and ceremonies, and vital knowledge were passed

through families and taught to consecutive generations (Interviewee H). This

information ranged from where to find food resources to what powers each

Tamanawas[45] held and how they helped the family. Songs of family history or medicine

songs, specific knowledge on how to weave the family design into baskets, horse

training methods, or where the best materials for tools or medicines could be found

were all family held information. The emergent system of family and marriage therefore

had an expressive role through its stories and locations, as well as a material role.

It was common Cowlitz practice to stay with the wife's family in the summer and

the husband's family in the winter (Irwin 2014:15). In this way resource access was

distributed between the two sides of a family. This also resulted in significant amounts

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[45] *Tamanawas* are spirits that can be sought out as guides or helpers by individuals. Both men and women in the Cowlitz Tribe have *Tamanawas*, and usually the person must seek out their *Tamanawas* in order to discover what people (such as salmon, coyote, meadow *lark*, or lightning) is their guide power. Today these times of seeking *Tamanawas* are called vision quests, which is the term that will be used here for both the historical and contemporary assemblages.

of travel between seasons and gathering places, particularly if marriages were between

people from distant locations. The wedding traditions themselves were a source of

resource exchange in that, "there were always 'give aways' at weddings and at the birth

of the first child…'relatives will always be giving things to one another'" (Irwin

2014:15). Not only did marriage serve to enhance access to resources, but it also was

used to establish and maintain good relations between families and tribes. The family

component, then, played material, territorial, and expressive roles in the tribe.

Materially, families allowed for movement of goods and access to resources, resource

pooling, as well as providing physical safety when travelling in groups. Expressively,

the family component provided the means of communicating important information

coded into stories and ceremonies, which helped the family maintain its identity and

cohesion as an assemblage. At the same time, the physical location of the family and

where they travelled expressed their belonging to the family holding right of use to

those locations. This also doubled as a territorialization role by regularly defining,

through use and access, what the physical boundaries of the family groups were.

Family was the cornerstone emergent component of Cowlitz life, to the extent

that family was coded into everyday language. All elders were called grandma and

grandpa, including strangers. "Younger familiars were 'auntie' and 'uncle', 'sister' and

'brother' or 'sister-in-law' and 'brother-in-law'. Youngsters were 'grandson' and

'granddaughter' to elders" (Irwin 2014). If a stranger came to a family's territory, they

were greeted as family, and if they acted friendly, were generally allowed access to

some of the family's territory for hunting, fishing, and other resources (Irwin 2014).

This is an instance of the emergent property of family both territorializing and

deterritorializing the assemblage. First, family created the territorialization and coding

that bound the group together in resource use and access, as well as knowledge of their

territory. By allowing strangers to enter into a small part of this family, a process of

deterritoialization takes place as more people are allowed access and resources who

would normally be outside the family assemblage. In order to counter the decoding

resulting from allowing access to outsiders, stories and certain resources were kept

secret to only true family members (Interviewee H). This coding reterritorialized and

stabilized the family unit in the face of interactions with outsiders.

Villages, the next level of assemblage after family, were autonomous from each

other in many ways, and were the base political unit of the tribe. Villages were often

made up of extended, "families who had made friends and alliances with one another –

a small band united by thought" (Umtuch in Irwin 2014). To identify oneself, a Cowlitz

person would introduce themselves as being from a certain village. This expression of

identity let others know what resources were available to them because of their location

and the resources of interconnected families at that village (Irwin, 2014). This emergent

village unit controlled winter access to resources in their area such as fishing rights.

Control was achieved through an emergent system of village consensus as the group

came together, creating coding regarding and through resource use and access. Winter villages were the primary 'home' of an individual, but during the year people roamed across territory according to extended family, marriage, friendships, and alliances. This larger roaming access is what Riley (in Irwin 2014:86) called 'tribal' association, and took place over a larger area than the winter village. The territorialization effect of this winter village centralized system combined with seasonal rounds of free travel, shared resource use, and visiting, was very clearly defined at the center of the tribal area, while at the edges the boundaries were less clearly defined (Irwin 2014).

"Although the villages had autonomy in local affairs, they were located so close together, especially in the Lower Cowlitz area, that there was no effective village separation and leadership usually came from the subdivision chief or tribal chief" (Docket 218 1973:9). The "subdivision chief" mentioned in this quote is a reference to the next level of assemblages within the historical tribe, which loosely split into 3 groups. The Taidnapam lived in the northern ranges of Cowlitz territory on the upper reaches of the Cowlitz River and on the south side of *Takhoma* (Mt. Rainier) and east of *Lawe'latla* (St. Helens). The Lower Cowlitz had two groups, one centered around the Cowlitz and Toutle River areas, and another focused around the Lewis River and *Lawe'latla*. Villages could be any size, from a simple forest encampment of 2 families (more common to the Taidnapam) to 80 or more longhouses holding upwards of 100 people (more common along the lower river reaches and intersections of the Columbia

and its tributaries). By 1850 the 3 main groups of Cowlitz were joined by a fourth, the

Mountain Cowlitz or Kwalhioqua from the Willapa Hills region. The Mountain Cowlitz

were an Athabascan-speaking group that came to the tribe after the decimation of

diseases[46] and start of the Euro-American invasion when village life and traditional

tribal structures were beginning to break down. They intentionally intermarried and

absorbed into the other Cowlitz groups, losing their language and distinct identity

rather quickly.

The Sahaptin-speaking Cowlitz, known as Taidnapam, were those who resided

mostly in the northern and eastern ranges of Cowlitz territory. These had different

material resources available to them including less fish and more game. As a result, the

Tiadnapam were hunting reliant instead of fishing reliant. This difference is coded into

a tribal legend common to both groups of Cowlitz: Xwa'ni (Coyote) goes through

Cowlitz territory and says, "The people on this part of the river will speak a different

language; they will speak the Taidnapam language" and, "the people from here down

will speak Cowlitz", "all these fish are in the Cowlitz River", "All the game animals that

we eat" in another place, and so on (Wilson 1998:65-77). One might think that these

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[46] In the early 1800s a series of illnesses killed thousands of Native Americans in the Lower Columbia region. Variably called Intermittent Fever, Gray Fever, and Ague, it is not known what the exact disease was (malaria, influenza, and yellow fever are among the conjectures of today's academics). It is generally agreed that the illnesses were brought by Euro-American ships. Estimates of Native American death rates vary from 50% to 98%, depending on the village and location. Records and journals of settlers give accounts of native villages once vibrant with hundreds of people becoming silent with the dead scattered about and no-one left to bury them. The most affected tribes were those living along the Lower Columbia itself and in adjacent wetlands, such as the Cowlitz. (Taylor and Hoaglin 1962; Boyd 1975; Irwin 2004 and 2014).

differences would be occasion for deterritorialization and decoding in the tribe, but the difference in the languages, resources, and their uses are coded into the legends while the legends express the unity of the larger combined group. They are all Cowlitz even if they talk differently and eat differently.

The Tiadnapam did have a few different coding components in their stories. Wilson notes, in the introduction of his book on the legends of the Cowlitz, several stories that had Taidnapam origins or contained information regarding the Taidnapam. These include legends regarding how Moon and Sun came to be, the five "king countries" of the region, and the differences between Taidnapam and Lower Cowlitz. The differences had mostly to do with coding the material resource and language differences between the groups (as mentioned above), but also include the etiquette differences (such as the lower Cowlitz taboo against removing bones from smelt before eating them or eating the tail). These legends work to code into Cowlitz life the values and reasons for each social norm and the differences between the two groups while also expressing their social and tribal unity.

Smelt (*qwalesti*) were a material resource unique to the Lower Cowlitz, especially on the lower reaches of the Cowlitz river. In that area smelt played such an important material role that the Lower Cowlitz created a ceremony specific to their sub-group known as the Smelt Ceremony. The smelt ceremony could be done 2 ways – alive or dead. In the live version the smelt were caught, laid out in a specific pattern on a cedar

plank, prayed over, and released back into the water; all of which had to be done before the smelt died so that they could rejoin their people and assure them that the Cowlitz respected them and cared for them. The dead version was not so rushed, and followed a similar pattern, with the change of cooking and eating the smelt in a specific manner, being careful to eat all the bones but not the tale. Coding in legends solidified a taboo against picking out the bones and against eating the tale for Lower Cowlitz - a taboo the Taidnapam were not required to observe (Wilson 1998:256).

Materially, the smelt were incredibly useful. One tablespoon of traditional smelt grease provided one half of an adult's daily energy intake needs. They were also rich in vitamins K, A, and E (MacKinnon 2015). In addition to this, they could be preserved through smoking and traded with other tribes who did not have access to smelt. Smelt were also used as candles. The smelt fish was so oily that once they had been dried they could be lit, and burned slowly like a candle – a very useful resource on long, cold winter nights in the Pacific Northwest. Smelt's value as a commodity to humans, and their preference for the Cowlitz River created an emergent value of respect for the smelt which translated into emergent ceremonial practices. This served as an identity marker for the Lower Cowlitz and was coded in their legends and language.

Interestingly, there were also two different norms among the Cowlitz regarding marriage and gender. In the Lower Cowlitz group, daughters were not allowed to choose their husband and marriages were arranged by parents or relatives. In the

Taidnapam group, daughters were free to choose whom they married (Irwin 2014:12).

The research did not reveal any coding or explanation of this dual dynamic in tribal

legends or in histories of the tribe. It seems that these norms distinguish the two groups

from each other, while both maintain an identity as Cowlitz. This is an instance of

deterritorialization and decoding where stability and cohesion was not maintained

through enforcement of a code of conduct regarding marriage.

Another difference between Lower Cowlitz and Taidnapam was the

accumulation of wealth and slaves. While both groups did practice slavery and wealth

accumulation, the Taidnapam accumulated wealth in the form of horses (mobile

wealth) and lived more independently with less need for slaves who had to be fed and

provided for. The Lower Cowlitz lived closer to each other and accumulated wealth in

terms of trade goods (a less mobile form of wealth) and displayed wealth in the form of

slaves. The differences can be accounted for materially as the Upper Cowlitz lived in a

tougher climate with less food resources ready to hand, depending more on hunting

than fishing. The Lower Cowlitz had more stationary food sources such as fish and

camas fields, and had a more interdependent system of trade and competition between

villages and with other tribes around them, such as the Chinook (Irwin 2014). Each

group, as a result, developed their own emergent norms regarding symbols and

expressions of wealth.

Throughout all the groups, overall tribal structure looked similar, despite the size differences between villages and groups. This brings us to the next level of assemblage, the overall Cowlitz Tribe. The Docket 218 decision of 1973, in its determination findings, notes that the separate groups of Cowlitz known as Upper and Lower had a, "shared mutual social and economic dependency" (6-7) and "as a tribe, they possessed a common identity, shared a common culture, intermarried, cooperatively utilized the resources of their entire territory, and united under a single tribal leader in disputes with other tribes, while maintaining unity and peace among them" (4). As an assemblage, the grouping together of Cowlitz people played a synthetic material role because they pooled resources for food, safety, defense against other tribes, and to maintain territorial boundaries. The emergent customs, traditions, and structures mentioned above provided a means to express ways of doing things, place knowledge, belonging, and resource access rights, all of which are coded into a system of legends.

Legends provided the historical tribe with territorialization in the form of territorial boundaries by specifically describing the boundaries of Cowlitz country. These boundaries are described both generally as between the three mountains *Patu'*, *Takhoma*, and *Lawe'latla*, and specifically down to the bends of creeks, particular berry fields, and specific landmarks. The legends also provide legitimacy of place and authority for the Cowlitz by establishing that the creator put them in this precise spot

with detailed boundaries and they have been there ever since. Thus, it would be impossible for someone else to claim legitimate authority or say 'this land is ours' because they would not have been given it by Hyas Saghalie Tyee or taught how to use its resources by his son Coyote (Wilson 1998:69-77).

The legends also place importance on water, fish, canoes, and cooperation with and dependence on other 'people' such as animal people and plant people. These legends play both material and expressive roles by providing information that enhanced material wellbeing and access to resources while allowing the culture and identity of the tribe to be expressed. For example, in the story Cougar and His Younger Brother, there is a wealth of information about locations of streams, routes to the eastern side of Washington where other tribes and animals live, dangers of the passage, what can be eaten and what can't, who to be careful of, and how to track injured animals; all of which provide material help to the hearer. At the same time, it expresses the beliefs in strengths and weaknesses of various *Tamanawas*, cultural taboos such as eating cougar liver, the belief that life can be restored to a dead person, the dangers of inviting the wrong people into your home, the dangers of trusting someone else to provide for you or not taking care of yourself, and being your own responsible person. Each of these emergent expressions of identity demarcate who is included in the group and who is not, as well as what behaviors are expected of group members.

From the time of the introduction of the "new people" (humans) to the earth, and

the flood, every animal, plant, mountain, and human, work together and take care of

each other (Irwin 2014:9; Wilson 1998:69). However, changes in these other

assemblages of people necessitated changes in the Cowlitz assemblage. The mountain

people occasionally got angry and erupted, according to tribal legend (Wilson 1998:25-

28), which had an impact on the tribe as they adapted to changed environments and

seasonal resources. This resulted in material, territorial, expressive, and coding

changes. Territorial and material changes came as eruptions changed the landscape

and ecosystems. Expressive and coding changes happened as stories were created and

meaning given to the eruptions. An example are the legends of The Mountains,

explaining that the 3 volcanoes in Cowlitz territory are all married to each other and the

eruptions are arguments between them (1998:26-27). The stories act as coding for

Cowlitz society in many ways, remarking that arguing between husband and wives

hurts those around them. Or, since there is always one husband and two wives, it is a

coded warning about jealousy or fighting possible between wives of the same husband.

Another coded message, or interpretation, in the story would be that it is simply a

normal part of life that husbands and wives quarrel. It is important to notice that while

legends do provide coding of systems and ways to live, each legend and tribal story can

be interpreted many ways, with many possible lessons. Wilson (1989) says in his

introduction that, "as you read these ancient stories you might possibly recognize

yourself as Coyote, Bear, Cougar, Beaver, or some other type of animal person. Your community is the legend and the legend is your community…it will be at this point that the legends will become more than just stories. They will become a guide to the way you live your life" (13). Thus, each story was to be interpreted by the hearer in regard to their life, and lessons learned will be slightly different, but generally the coding of similar lessons coalesce over time. This is one reason why Wilson's book contains multiple versions of each story.

As for husbands and wives, the coding here is unclear. Many of the legends note that men have multiple wives as they grow wealthier and wiser. Women, on the other do not gain multiple husbands but can trade or be traded or exchange one for another, such as did coyote and his son in

Also, the Cowlitz legends, while more often mentioning men as hunting and women and fishing and gathering, do not mention these as exclusive gender roles. In fact, the story of the Two Old Women (Wilson, 2001:29) reveals that all jobs can be done by all people when it says, "they went together to hunt, to pick berries, to gather roots for baskets", indicating that hunting could also be the normal activity of a woman. Rather than coding a gender based division of labor, the legends seem to codify a need and ability based division of labor. In this story each of the women has specific tasks they regularly do – gathering water for one and cutting bark for the other. One day they decide to switch jobs and the result for both is death because they did not know what

they were doing, creating a coding not of specific gender roles but of roles in the community by ability and knowledge[47].

The exception to this is the role of chief. There is no mention on the legends of female chiefs. There are wise women and resourceful women, but none specifically named as "chief". It is impossible to extrapolate from the limited data whether this coding is truly a coding of the historical Cowlitz beliefs and community system, or if it is a result of translation of the stories into English and western culture where chief is the traditional name for a male politically recognized leader and shaman is the traditional name for religious leader, either male or female. In fact, the legends do not use the word "Shaman" or an equivalent at all. Instead, they speak of both men and women with wisdom, special skills, and special *tamanawas* (certain beings in the legends and in Cowlitz beliefs have powers connected to them that humans can tap into as guides), while only men are ever given the title of Chief.

Tamanawas are another example of historical coding for the Cowlitz. Through *tamanawas*, rules were established among Cowlitz in order to protect relationships with other beings such as salmon, bear, and smelt. Coyote was particularly endowed with powers of trickster nature for good and bad, and there were "dangerous beings" (such as whirlpools in the river, that harm or swallow other people). Knowledge of these bad

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[47] For an interesting perspective on gender equality and roles in Native American culture, see Leacock's (1981) *Myths of Male Dominance: Collected Articles on Women Cross-Culturally.*

spirits, or dangerous beings, were passed from family to family and village to village in each area. These dangerous beings were also an explanation of evil, and many of the stories contain lessons and traditions for the Cowlitz on how to deal with evil or avoid evil in daily life.

The *Tamanawas* provided both material and non-physical help according to legends, sometimes offering information, strength for a task, or tools needed. The roles of *Tamanawas* were therefore both material and expressive. It allowed for a coding language that accounted for the various gifts and abilities of tribal members, their wisdom, their wealth, and/or their failures. Bad spirits, dangerous beings, and trickster Coyote were coding for inabilities, weaknesses, unexplainable phenomena, and accidents or misfortune. These play an expressive role as well as coding because they allow for the telling of the legends through generations to pass on information about evil or dangerous places, desirable and undesirable character traits, and the process of finding your *Tamanawas*, all according to Cowlitz ways and traditions. These also express place in society, locations of villages, reasons for doing certain activities, and much more. Each *Tamanawas* also expressed certain powers or characteristics which were explained and reinforced through the legends, which created greater cohesion among the group. Although telling others the name of your personal *Tamanawas* could diminish your power in those areas, the coding of *Tamanawas* powers within legends

allowed the group to maintain unity through assigning specific gifts and abilities to particular *Tamanawas*.

Aside from the expressive roles and the material help *Tamanawas* could provide directly, the giving a certain gifts, abilities, and knowledge by *Tamanawas* could materially improve the life of individuals, villages, and the tribe. The stronger the *Tamanawas*, the more material gains one had. Since leadership in the tribe was based on the distribution of material wealth and wisdom, and as these things were based on *Tamanawas* power, *Tamanawas* play a material role in the tribe.

A second material role *Tamanawas* play is through the giving of gifts. In exchange for anything received, either from another human or from other people such as the river, mountain, or animal people, a gift should be given in return (Engdahl Interview). Sometimes these gifts were small tokens such as tossing a beautiful pebble in a stream in return for basket weaving materials taken from the stream banks. Sometimes these gifts were extravagant such as valuable baskets. In this way, wealth and material possessions were moved around the tribe among both the human and non-human populations. In the same way, Coyote, dangerous beings, and evil spirits play a material role by influencing the use of materials and places within the tribe. For example, a particularly dangerous section of the Cowlitz might become the legend of a dangerous being and generations of Cowlitz would avoid that place if possible, providing group safety, organization, cohesion, and identity all at the same time.

Other synthetic and emergent properties of the historical Cowlitz include canoe travel and trade, cedar weaving and clothing technology, tools and fishing technology, and a shared knowledge of Cowlitz territories and landscapes. These play material roles for the historical tribe as well as expressive roles such as defining family and tribal belonging through style and craftsmanship, types of materials used, and decorations. For example, while gathering materials or resources for clothing depended on synthetic pooling of knowledge and was used by individuals, it is emergent in terms of the tribe because styles and resources were combined to create what we now term "traditional" cultural attire. The hats worn by Cowlitz for centuries were woven of cedar. A cedar tree by itself does not exhibit the capacity to weave a hat. When interacting with another entity such as a human, the capacity to weave a hat appears. When that human is Cowlitz, a particular style of hat weaving emerges, and this plays a material, expressive, and coding role in the tribe. Another example is canoe warfare. A cedar tree does not have the capacity to become a canoe by itself. When the tree interacts with a human who has knowledge of carving and canoe making (an emergent property passed from generation to generation), the capacity to make a canoe exists. The canoe is an emergent property; the combining of human and cedar to create a real canoe that neither human nor cedar tree could produce alone. Then that canoe is stylized and engineered to a specification that is unique to the Cowlitz based on Cowlitz knowledge of water and river systems, which is itself an emergent property resulting from the

interaction of humans with the river assemblage, creating another emergent property with material and expressive roles. At another level, a synthetic property would be the use of the canoe by Cowlitz in war – the combination of component parts, canoe and human, to participate in war. The emergent property would be the use of canoes and the creation of tactics in war to dominate other tribes, expand territory, and fight against neighbours for resources. Even a philosophy of expansion, ownership or power over a certain territory, or the concept of keeping others out of a specified territory is an emergent property that was not possible or exhibited prior to the joining together of the individual components of people, cedar tree or other components for making weapons, as well as war and defense tactics. The same can be said for nearly any creation of the tribe such as weaving patterns and goods traded with other tribes who didn't have access to the same resources. The pooling of knowledge and resources, in and of itself, is a synthetic property of the historical Cowlitz. Properties such as tactics, developments in technology, and coding systems such as legends, are all emergent properties resulting from the interactions of each assemblage with the others.

A difficulty here is trying to understand the nature of the non-human as part of the tribal assemblage, and yet not part of the tribe. In assemblage terms, they are populations of their own and outside assemblages interacting with the Cowlitz human assemblage. A cedar tree, and populations of cedar trees are assemblages of their own. In other ways, both materially and in coding through the legends, they are a fully

integrated component of the tribe, without which the human Cowlitz would be far less

powerful. Both of these views can be correct in De Landa's theory. As each component

part is an assemblage of its own, and yet part of a larger scale assemblage it is possible

to say that the Cowlitz human population is an assemblage. Also, the animal, mountain,

plant and other 'people'[48] populations are assemblages. Together they make up a

combined assemblage that is also Cowlitz by name. Both are correct, and as a result,

both can be analyzed in terms of their relations of exteriority, which is the strength of

the rhizomal structure of assemblage theory – there need not be a choice between these

two views. In the above paragraphs and the legends, it is possible to see the material,

territorial, and coding roles of the interactions between the human Cowlitz and the non-

human Cowlitz such as animals and trees.

However, an emergent tradition and norm of the tribe dealing solely with people

components of the tribe was the value of revenge. Irwin (2014) states that revenge

among the Cowlitz was a social expedient in a community without police, courts, or

jails. In her words, "revenge demonstrated that the perpetrators of crimes could expect

to compensate in goods or be punished in kind" (72). This value is coded in many of

the Cowlitz legends and those who exact revenge for a wrong are considered brave and

cunning. For example, in the story of how Bluejay got his blue coat, Bluejay outsmarts

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[48] According to Irwin (2014) and Wilson (1998), 'people' can include rocks, trees, mountains, rivers, salmon, deer…anything in existence is a 'people'. For example, Salmon Ceremony is a ceremony of thanks and honor for the salmon people who return every year to the river and allow the Cowlitz to eat some of them.

and exacts revenge on a dangerous being[49] married to his daughter, and comes away

wealthy, which wealth he promptly gives away except for his blue coat (Wilson

1998:101-109). In the story of Cougar and His Younger Brother [Wild Cat], told by

Sophie Smith (Wilson 1998:137), Cougar gets revenge on Wild Cat's wife's family for

trying to kill Wild Cat and Cougar. Cougar does this by outsmarting the father-in-law

and using his *tamanawas* to kill the father-in-law and all his family. These legends not

only are coding for a punitive system of revenge designed to keep peace and unity, but

also a coding of interrelations through marriage and behaviors that deserve punishment

or revenge. These emergent values came as a result of interactions between component

assemblages of the tribe.

As for interactions between the Cowlitz tribal assemblage and other tribal

assemblages, other tribes lived around the Cowlitz and are mentioned in the legends as

people they visited, traded with, outwitted, or that were powerful and to be dealt with

carefully. Long trips to visit relatives living with other tribes are mentioned in the

legends as well as in the memories told by Cowlitz elders, so we know that inter-tribal

marriage was an emergent and longstanding custom of the Cowlitz. Most of these

stories also mention the resources that were available and traded, describe the hazards

of the journey to visit others, or the relationship the Cowlitz had with those tribes.

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[49] The use of "being" here is intentional. The story tellers in the Legends of the Cowlitz Tribe specifically translated this word as "being" and not creatures, monsters, or some other noun (Wilson 1998).

These stories establish a history of intermarriage that both territorializes and deterritorializes. Gains in territory, trading, and resource use rights were achieved through intermarriage and travel. At the same time, the spread of the Cowlitz people into other territories, the 'loss' of people through marriage to outside tribes, and the inclusion of outsiders who marry in all worked to deterritorialize. The result was a tribe with very firm boundaries of unity upheld by coding in legends and expressed through material control, while also being porous in terms of travel, resource use, trade, and information exchange. These travels and intermarriages also played a material role by providing for the exchange of goods, new technologies, and information.

Within the coding of the tribal legends is the story of Me-ow-wa (Wilson, 1998:257), in which five king countries are mentioned: the Yakama, Okanagans, Cowlitz, Spokane, and Wishrams. In the story of Moon and Sun (Wilson, 1998:260-264) the five King countries are listed as Taidnapam, Cowlitz, Upper Chehalis, Wishram, and Yakama. These stories reveal an emergent property of the Cowlitz which could be termed 'leadership among tribes' or 'regional tribal influence'. While the Moon and Sun story is of Cowlitz origin, according to Wilson, the Me-ow-wa is a story of Yakama origin told among the Cowlitz. This leads to the conclusion that not only did the Cowlitz see themselves as influential and code it into their legends, but that other tribes in the area recognized the influence of the Cowlitz in the region. This influence would have material roles such as benefitting the Cowlitz in marriages and alliances and

thereby allowing them preferential access to resources. It would also strengthen the territorialization of the tribe by increasing their power. At the same time, it would open them up to travel and extending their influence which would act to deterritorialize by familiarizing them with other tribes and bringing in new ideas. Coding the status of the tribe as a king country within their legends served to solidify the identity of the tribe, while at the same time open the tribe up to possible decoding by introducing other languages, stories, and beliefs into the Cowlitz repertoire as they interacted with other tribes around them. This process of decoding is visible in the fact that while the Lower Cowlitz, who had less interaction with round-headed Yakama and more interaction with other head-flattening tribes along the rivers, were more staunchly attached to head flattening as a status symbol than the Taidnapam. The Taidnapam, in turn, had more contact with the Yakama and less with the Salish-speaking head-flattening peoples of the south and west.

This head flattening, and the class system it indicated, are also emergent properties of the Cowlitz. We do not know the original cause of the trend of head flattening, and it is a shared trait with tribes south and west of the Cowlitz. Head flattening played a part in boundary setting and territoralization as well as in coding and expressing the structure of society. A Lower Cowlitz with a flat head was a free person in the tribe, creating a uniting code of status as free. Round heads were slaves. In the Upper Taidnapam groups head flattening was not as strongly coded, partly

because Taidnapam intermarried with Yakama and other round-headed tribes more frequently. However, it still served as a general indicator and expression of status and belonging. It also served to let others know the territorial boundaries of the Cowlitz. If one were traveling from east to west, you would know you were leaving Yakama territory and entering Cowlitz territory when you began to see flat foreheads instead of round. To the west and south of Cowlitz, head flattening did not demarcate territorial boundaries so much as it expressed belonging to the Salish-speaking groups of tribes common to the region who also practiced head flattening. Although traditions and culture varied from tribe to tribe among the Salish-speaking peoples, most Salish-speaking tribes had some common traits such as head flattening, fishing, canoes, and *Tamanawas*. However, the Cowlitz were unique in that their tribal identity included not just the Salish-speaking traditions of the south and west, but also the Sahaptin-speaking traditions from north and east of them. This gave the Cowlitz unique expressive and coding properties from their Salish neigbours.

In general, the leaders of the tribe were village headmen, shaman, and the wealthy. This top tier was referred to as the 'high-class' (Fitzpatrick 2004; Irwin 2014). Below them were the 'low-class', made up of free born Cowlitz who were not wealthy or who did not exhibit high class character. Below the 'low-class' were the slaves. Slaves could be people from other tribes stolen or taken in war, but they could also be traded in exchange for goods, won in contests, or given as gifts. Slaves were generally

from other tribes and were not allowed to flatten their heads as the free people did.

However, these class distinctions were not completely rigid, and a low class free

Cowlitz could become a high class chief or shaman, and vice versa. Slaves could also be

freed or marry their owner and become free family members instead of a slave, and

their children would be allowed to have flat foreheads (Irwin 2014). Behaviors such as

greed, selfishness, troublemaking, and laziness were generally attributed to low-class

and slave people, while generosity, wisdom, power, and peacemaking were attributed

to high-class people (Fitzpatrick 2004). A person born low-class who exhibited high-

class attributes could move up socially and vice versa. Stories and legends of the tribe

describe various ways to achieve this movement and provide coding that brought a

unified system of class and social movement to the tribe.

Cowlitz coding in the legends also explains why, even before intermarriage with

fur traders, the Lower Cowlitz especially, were lighter skinned than most of the tribes

around them. In the legend "Coyote and His Son" there is a moment when Coyote sees

the legs of two of his son's wives and they are white instead of dark because they are

mouse people. Coyote prefers these two wives over his son's dark-legged wives. Later

in the story he is creating things and from two white rings of a male salmon he creates

two beautiful fair skinned girls with reddish hair. These are the ancestors of the

Cowlitz. This is an important legend that codes phenotype into the Cowlitz life and

culture. The phenotype of the Cowlitz, according to legend, has always been lighter

skin and hair than the surrounding tribes. There are several versions of this story, and

later stories refer back to this moment, so the idea of distinguishing Cowlitz identity in

part through phenotype is a longstanding emergent property of the Cowlitz. However,

over the years, the phenotype of the tribe, though coded in legend, became looser. This

was more so among the Taidnapam, who tended toward a slightly darker complexion

due to intermarriage with darker peoples from the east such as the Yakama and

Klickitat people (Irwin 2014:91).

The historical Cowlitz also had a reputation for being excellent horse people,

which was an emergent property of the tribe that became an identity marker. Their

horses were highly prized and races took place regularly across Cowlitz territory and in

neigbouring tribal territories (Irwin 2014). The reputation was an emergent property

because it required the combined use of lands and knowledge to create the horses and

horsemanship needed for the reputation. The horses themselves played a material role

in terms of wealth in the tribe, which could be measured by the number of horse, slaves,

and/or wives one had. They also played a material role through racing and gambling.

Minor contests were regular affairs in local villages and wealth could be gained or lost

and spread around a village constantly in this manner.

There were also major contests at semi-annual gatherings of the Cowlitz tribe,

and other tribes often welcome (Irwin 2014:104-106). In these gatherings wealth could

be shifted from village to village or tribe to tribe through betting on races and other

games of skill or luck. The gatherings also had an expressive role by ensuring that the reputation of the Cowlitz as excellent horse breeders, trainers and riders continued year after year by winning against challengers.

Although both Lower Cowlitz and Taidnapam were known for their horsemanship, the Taidnapam were more dependent on horses because they lacked the navigable waterways used by the Lower Cowlitz (Irwin 2014). In their overland treks to visit relatives on the east side among the Klickitat and Yakama, Taidnapam used horses, while the Lower Cowlitz could canoe up the Columbia. A Taidnapam legend called "The Horse Race" tells of how a Cowlitz boy who had never seen a horse before meets one in the forest while hunting. The horse teaches the boy how to ride and race him, after which the boy travels to a distant place where he has heard of a chief who has 5 race horses. The boy races and wins all 5 horses and becomes a great and wealthy chief. This is the only known Cowlitz legend about horses and is a coded story relaying the origin of horses in the tribe, their uses, and their material and expressive role as wealth and power. Having gained this power from the horses themselves, not from other tribes or people, the cohesive identity of horsemanship was coded into this legend.

Horsemanship also aided the territorialization of the tribe by allowing them to move the length and breadth of their territory with relative ease and speed, ensuring their dominance over the area, and allowing the Cowlitz to be seen as fierce warriors

with exceptional horsemanship (Irwin 2014:89-92,127). Continually expressing their

dominance and prowess would cause neigbouring tribes to tread cautiously when in

Cowlitz territory and think twice before trying to diminish Cowlitz territory in any

way. However, the opposite can also be said – having horses opened up more territory

to the Cowlitz as longer distances could be traveled faster. Thus longer trips outside

their traditional territory were more likely, bringing the possibilities of intermarriage,

expansion, and contact with new peoples.

Besides horse racing, the Semi-annual gatherings consisted of games, other races,

contests, gambling, eating, trading, ceremonies, and information exchange. These

gatherings played a material role through wealth distribution as people traded,

gambled, and generally sought to increase their wealth (Irwin 2014:104). As wealth was

accumulated throughout the year and brought to these gatherings, they also became a

place where status was expressed and changes in leadership became generally known

and took place within the tribe. Expression of wisdom by leaders, expression of ability

in games, races, and comparison of handiwork all combined to establish the emergent

social order of the tribe, which was in continual flux according to wealth and abilities.

As other tribes visited the gatherings, it also fulfilled the role of expressing belonging

and non-belonging through the enactment of storytelling and ceremonies particular to

the Cowlitz. These gatherings also established more uniform coding of legends, songs,

dances, and ceremonies across the tribe by allowing versions of stories to be relayed to

larger audiences and generalized for the tribe at large. The gatherings helped create the

emergent property of identity and cohesion through intentional contact between the

component parts of the tribe who would not have contact with each other during the

rest of the year. This same emergent cohesion was solidified throughout the year

through marriages, seasonal visits between family members, give-a-ways, familial

resource use, trade, and travel.

Important to this cohesion was the emergent system of give-a-ways, or potlatch.

Irwin states that gift giving and potlatches, "raised a family's status. Reciprocity of gifts,

like insurance, offered a hedge on the future when those to whom he had given

returned the gift's value" (2014:73). The tribe, in their interactions with one another,

had created a system of gift giving that assured not only status for generous and

wealthy persons, but also insurance against future want by creating a system of

expected reciprocity. Tanna Engdahl noted this system of reciprocity by pointing out

that a Cowlitz who received a gift from a river, such as material for a basket, was

expected to also give a gift such as a pinch of tobacco, a pretty stone, or something

showing value and respect. In this way, anyone who gave a gift, could later expect a

gift in return, and by giving away gifts of great value, one could ensure that in the

future, if there was need or want, those who had received from that person could be

importuned to return a like-valued gift. In this way, the emergent system of reciprocity

and insurance supported and enhanced the emergent property of cohesion and

community. This was true to such an extent that Verne Ray noted there was no record of there ever having been a war among the different groups of the Cowlitz (Irwin 2014:113).

Along with horsemanship and semi-annual gatherings, expanding territory, seasonal rotations, and village movements played both a territorialization and deterritorialization role. In the Cowlitz Tribe pre-contact, authority over who could use land was determined by land-use rights along familial lines. Although the idea of permanent ownership was not a concept in use, land-use rights were based on historical usage. Usage could be traded, lost, or gained. Land use asserted authority over an area, such that land used habitually by Cowlitz could be said to be Cowlitz territory. Land use in terms of hunting and gathering territorialized the Cowlitz, and neigbouring tribes understood this use-based authority even if the use was only seasonal or one week in a year (Irwin 2014: 121,293). At the time the Euro-Americans arrived in the 1790's, the Cowlitz were maintaining this territory with exclusive power through seasonal use and occasional habitation.

The majority of the Cowlitz lived up the smaller tributary rivers off the Columbia rather than directly on the Columbia, which according to Lewis (1906), made them distinctly different from other Salish and Chinook tribes along the Columbia. For example, while the other tribes had contact with Euro-Americans beginning in 1790's, it was not until after 1810 that the Cowlitz made first recorded contact with Euro-

Americans[50] (Irwin 2014:25-35). Other emergent components of the Cowlitz, according

to Lewis (in Irwin 2014), included their greater prowess in hunting and horsemanship

than the coastal and Columbian tribes and a greater political and cultural cohesion.

This cohesion was maintained on many levels throughout the tribe. Political

cohesion can be seen in historical documents of the Northwest Fur Company, which

name How-How (most likely a version of Wahawa) and Scanewa as chiefs of the

Cowlitz at the time of contact, and the use of marriages between the chiefs' daughters

and men of the fur company to secure good relations for trade. Wahawa was chief of

the Lower Cowlitz and Scanewa was chief of all the Cowlitz (Irwin 2014:29-35).

Marriage of their daughters to fur traders increased their wealth and influence both in

the tribe and the surrounding area and averted a war between the Cowlitz and the fur

company over the rape and murder of Cowlitz people in 1818 (Irwin 2014:30). While

the marriage of Wahawa's daughter took a bad turn when the Cowlitz wedding party

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[50] According to Irwin who references several sources, first contact was made by fur traders in 1810. However, Irwin notes that tribal tradition dates first contact to 1906. During ethnographic research, Roy Wilson told a story of the first Cowlitz meeting with Euro-Americans in which a canoe of Cowlitz met with the Lewis and Clark expedition at the mouth of the Cowlitz in 1906. The Lewis and Clark journals mention the first knowledge of the Cowlitz on their return trip in 1806. They recorded the Cowlitz as the "Hull-loo-et-tell" living on the "Cow-e-lis-kee" River. It is not impossible that their knowledge of the Cowlitz was the result of meeting some Cowlitz, as Lewis and Clark stayed overnight less than a mile from a large Cowlitz village called Ti'ahanakshih in which there were said to be 50 lodges and about 2500 people (Lewis and Clark, 1806). It would have been strange indeed to be camped a mile from 2500 people, moving about on canoes to fish and trade, and not come in contact with them. Wilson's account mentions that one of those in the canoe was a very young girl who remembered being there with her father. This girl lived to be over 100 years old and told this story of meeting Lewis and Clark to many people over the course of her life. As a result, Cowlitz traditional first contact with Euro-Americans was with Lewis and Clark in 1906. However, this was a brief meeting with no long-term effects. The first extended contact with long-term consequences was with fur traders in 1810.

was ambushed and nearly ended cooperation between the Cowlitz and the fur

company, the subsequent marriage of Scanewa's Daughter, Veronica, to Simon

Plamondon shored up those relations and reopened access to all Cowlitz territory for

the fur company. This ability for one marriage to open up land-use rights to the entire

region and to patch up the relations between Cowlitz and the fur company shows that

politically the tribe was a very cohesive unit. Leadership made decision that affected the

entire tribe and region. While Irwin (2014:11) recorded that village headmen were

simply first among equals, it is also noteworthy that tribal chiefs had significant

influence. From this it is possible to see the cohesive political structure of family head,

village head, local/area head, upper and lower chiefs, and one leader whose influence

affects the whole tribe – what we call today a 'tribal chief'. Among the Cowlitz, this top

leader was not a solo actor or dictator, and was expected to consult with others, but had

sufficient clout that decisions made by him affected the entire tribe. Members of the

tribe were free to disagree and opt out (Irwin, 2014), but choices made by the leader still

influenced the tribe as a whole. This example also reinforces the use of marriage as

expression and material reinforcement of the alliances and cohesion of the tribe.

Here again a gender role distinction can be seen in the historical Cowlitz

community. While the men were the 'chiefs' making the decisions (at least from what

we can see in the journals of settlers, whose understanding of the situation may have

been influenced by their own patriarchal culture) , inclusion into the family could be

transferred through the women in a matriarchal system of kinship. There is no evidence in the legends or the historical data available as to whether the practiced strict matriarchy or patriarchy. However, from the interaction between the tribe and settlers, an emergent pattern of combined matriarchal lineage and patriarchal political leadership seems to be a property of the historical tribe. Indeed many of the male chiefs are named, while their descendants named and recorded in the tribal records and settler journals are almost entirely female. From the historical records one might think the Cowlitz families had very few sons, when in fact there is no reason to assume that the birth rate of males to females was anything other than equal on the average. And again, the use of "chief" as a signifier of leadership and being only attributed to men may be a result of settler conventions and interpretations rather than emic to the historical tribe.

For example, Strong, a settler who spent considerable time among the Cowlitz in the 1800s, wrote that chiefs were mainly only 'chiefs' during war time, and at other times they carried only what influence their wealth and character could gain them (1906:64). Here we see an emic emergent political and social system of merit-based leadership and what may or may not be assumption of male leadership by Strong in his patriarchal understanding of his interactions with the tribe. Irwin, in her research, and Mike Iyall in his interview, both supported this documented system of meritocracy and male political leadership. They said that while a headman's son was expected to take a leadership role, if he did not meet the standards of the people or did not have the

character and leadership qualities necessary, another could be appointed in his place who was not a blood relation.

Neither the Upper or Lower Cowlitz organized themselves into clans with emblematic symbols as some Native tribes do. Instead, rank and belonging were determined first by family association and second by ability (for both men and women). According to Irwin, leaders were usually chosen for a specific task such as a hunt or settling a dispute, and success in these tasks would gain one a reputation so that more leadership tasks were offered and eventually one could reach status of chief if one could show ability as well as wealth. In Irwin's words, this showed an emergent value of, "authority rather than power"(2014:35). Authority here being coded as able to persuade others through, "determination, wisdom, benevolence, generosity, and/or courage" (Irwin 2014:35). Irwin also noted that within villages, kin groups, "designated the best qualified as leaders and replaced 'chiefs' when the need arose" (2014:35).

This shows a combination of hereditary leadership tempered by meritocracy and democratic consent of the governed. Parker (1841) first traveled in the area between 1835-1837 and wrote in his accounts of the Cowlitz that a chief was leader only by the influence he had over the people, and that chiefs were continually giving away their wealth so that they remained poor. Irwin concurs with this assessment and states that this give-away norm in the tribe was a risk-mediating measure much like social security is today. The poorest were helped, the wealthy gained influence and followers, villages

never had to worry about someone not being taken care of, and a state of general well-

being settled over the tribe. Parker wrote, "the day may be rued, when their order and

harmony shall be interrupted by any instrument whatever" (1841:248). These emergent

properties of hereditary leadership, meritocracy, dissent, and common consent created

a stable identity and existence for a cohesive Cowlitz Tribe.

Unfortunately, that interruption to Cowlitz harmony came all too swiftly in the

form of disease. In 1805, Lewis and Clark passed the Cowlitz nation on their way down

and then back up the Columbia River. Their journals record thousands of natives living

on the Columbia and "Cow-e-lis-kee" rivers (2002 [1806] Fort Clatsop Part I). Governor

George Simpson reported that along the Lower Columbia (the region of the Cowlitz

and several other tribes) the shores were literally lined with Indian lodges. However, in

1830 an epidemic known as 'grey fever' or 'intermittent fever' struck the Lower

Columbia region and devastated the tribes. Some villages were completely wiped out,

and many accounts of the time mention huge villages where thousands had lived being

totally deserted with the dead littering the ground because there was no-one left to bury

the bodies (Irwin 2014; Ruby Brown, Collins 2010; Munnick 1972). This severely

deterritorialized the Cowlitz. Some estimates range from 1/5 of the population (Taylor,

Herbert, Boaglin 1962) to 90% of the population (Mike Iyall Interview) died during the

recurring epidemics, and the Lower Cowlitz were one of the tribes hardest hit by the

plagues (Ruby 1976:194). This made it hard to defend territory, prove right of usage of

land, and continue on seasonal rounds. At the same time, traditional medicinal

practices were not working to cure the disease, and changes in perceptions of

traditional ways, including those who believed the Great Spirit was punishing the

people for wickedness, began to change the norms and traditions of the tribe (Irwin

2014:61).

Despite this loss of cohesion, examples of the emergent property of cohesion

across the tribe can also be found post-contact. In the 1850s when the Cowlitz,

excluding a few Taidnapam and Lower Cowlitz who chose to join the fight (as dissent

was allowed within the tribe), chose to stay out of the war between the US and Native

Americans to the east of Fort Vancouver and the Cascade Mountains[51]. As a group, the

tribe set up watches over the mountain passes, protected both Natives and settlers

within Cowlitz territory, and refrained from joining their relatives to the east in the war

(Irwin 2014). Had the tribe been separate, non-cohesive units of villages and families,

this would not have been possible. However, as a group, the villages and families

worked together towards the goals of the tribe, showing remarkable cohesion and

structure of leadership ranging from whole tribe down to family and village leaders.

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[51] There is no agreed upon name for these wars. These wars are alternately referred to as the Oregon Indian wars, the Stevens wars, the Yakama wars, the Washington Indian wars, the Columbia Plateau wars, the Indian Wars of 1855-56, and several other references.

It is important also to note a boundary established as an emergent property of the tribe. With all the cohesion building, alliances, trade benefits, and other roles that marriages played, it seems one role it did not play was to bind tribes to each other as war allies. It is said that a few Cowlitz did choose to join the fight with their eastern relatives, but the majority of the Cowlitz chose to stay out of the war (Irwin 2014:235). While marriages and extended family from other tribes could gain access to material goods and resources through marriage, it seems from this example of Cowlitz political organization in the wars of the 1850s, that there were limits to ties created through marriage.

One incident in particular during this time expresses the emergent property of cohesion and the emergent stable political structure of the tribe. During the winter of 1855-56, a group of Cowlitz were gathered near Fort Vancouver. The local settlers were rampant with rumours of a horde of Indians that had come to massacre them when in reality there were only about 300 Cowlitz (approximately 4 families) including women, children, and livestock. The chief of the group was Umtuch and the sub-chief was Yakatowit. Two fighters from the east side of the Cascades snuck into the camp and convinced Umtuch to join the fight in the east, but Yakatowit refused to go. The camp divided into two groups, one going and one staying. Umtuch set out with his group and was followed by Captain Strong who convinced Umtuch to come back and not join the fight. Before he was able to return, and after the soldiers had left, Umtuch was killed

under suspicious circumstances. However, the people that had been with Umtuch did

return without joining the fight (Irwin 2014:238-244). This story reveals several

emergent properties.

First, the cohesion of the Cowlitz is expressed in the joining of these families

together in the first place. They were travelling together as a unit 300 strong; a mobile

village, with a chief and sub-chief. This structure reveals another emergent property in

the structure of the tribe both politically and socially. There existed various levels of

leadership and groups such as these across tribe. Small, village sized groups travelling

together, pooling resources, and working together toward common goals. These

assemblages occasionally split for various reasons – in this case a disagreement about

joining the war east of the Cascades. The structure of the tribe was such that

disagreement was possible and even a regular occurrence, and might for a time separate

groups within the tribe, but did not exclude those groups from the tribe. They came

back together and resumed functioning as a larger group at a later time. In this incident

we see the freedom of choice each individual had within the tribe of whom to follow,

while at the same time we see the role of leaders in decision making and we see the

limits of kinship through marriage. Although Umtuch and his band originally wished

to join their relatives fighting in the east, when they became convinced it was in their

best interest to return without joining the fight, they did so.

Irwin (2014:261) wrote that the Cowlitz, led in the lower regions by Atwin

Stockum, son of Scanewa, chose not to engage in the war in the hopes of receiving a

reservation as thanks. The political and social property of cohesion allowed the tribe to

work towards goals, such as gaining a reservation and other material concessions from

the US. At the same time this emergent cohesion worked to territorialize the Cowlitz by

establishing boundaries for those tribes fighting the US when the Cowlitz set up

perimeter patrols and protected both Natives and settlers within their territory.

These patrols and other acts of cooperation with the US also played an

expressive role for the tribe by signaling to the US government and the settlers the

tribe's intent to live peacefully, the power of the tribe over their territory, and the values

of the tribe. Through these acts, the tribe expressed their values of cooperation, mutual

benefit, and peace. Although the Cowlitz had a reputation as fierce fighters (Irwin

2014:245) they also valued peace and cooperation, believing that working together

could mutually benefit all those involved, that peace brought prosperity, and that it was

better to outsmart those seeking to hurt you (Irwin 2014; Wilson 1998). These values

were coded in the tribe's legends, and the tribe's actions during the wars of 1850s

expressed these values and attitudes to the settlers around them.

On the other hand, while these actions helped territorialize the tribe and express

their values, they also worked to deterritorialize the tribe through their involvement

with the US and settlers during the war. Many of the patrols the Cowlitz undertook

were at the behest of the US officers who at one point even made the Cowlitz into a standing militia known as the Cowlitz Rangers (Irwin 2014:). While the organization of the Rangers unit was not strictly militaristic with drills and marching in the way of the US Army, it did serve to deterritorialize the Cowlitz by introducing a new system of warfare. It also deterritorialized by including the Cowlitz in a larger US effort to create hegemonic power in the region. Cooperation with the US was the first clear signal of change within the tribe that a new paradigm was at work and that new relations of exteriority and new capacities for belonging were being exercised. Irwin (2014) states that the Cowlitz found themselves caught, "between two negatives. Not trusted by even their friends among the settlers" (240) and faced with concentration-camp-like living, or permanently leaving their homes and joining their relatives on the east side of the Cascades in the war. The Cowlitz were no longer purely members of a tribal assemblage and the region's assemblage of all Native Americans, but they were also now component parts in the larger US assemblage waging war. Until this point, the tribe and the US had remained two separate assemblages that had relations of exteriority only. By working with the US as a neutral party, then an ally, and then as a US militia unit, the tribe became a component part of a larger assemblage – the United States. At the time it may not have seemed as such, and the Cowlitz people may have thought that they would separate again from the US after the war was over, but history shows that complete political and social separation was never achieved after this time.

It may simply have looked like the expedient and smart way to protect their homes and

increase their influence with the US in hopes of material and social gains in their

relations with the newcomers by creating a temporary alliance. And indeed, at the time

it served to reinforce Cowlitz territorial boundaries. It also revealed the weakness of

the settlers and the strength still contained in the Cowlitz assemblage as a political and

war capable unit. However, in hindsight it is possible to see how this was a stepping

stone in a process of deterritorialization that later resulted in the loss of territorial

integrity for the Cowlitz as Native 'rebellion' came to an end and settlers felt safe

enough to expand into ever more Native territory.

When Euro-American settlers arrived, they brought with them their own

emergent system of ownership rights which were established through farming, fences,

and cultivation rather than season usage (Arneil 1996). These settlers failed to recognize

seasonal usage as an expression of ownership or authority over land, and saw the

uncultivated land as open and available to take (Irwin 2014:293-309). The result was the

rapid deterritorialization of the Cowlitz throughout the late 1800s. In this case, the

emergent component of expressed territorial authority for the Cowlitz differed from

Euro-Americans, and while early in their history those emergent expressions of

authority worked to territorialize the tribe, when contact with a new assemblage of

Euro-American settlers using different expressions of territorial authority came, the

Cowlitz expressions left the tribe vulnerable to deterritorialization.

When settlers came, they and Governor Isaac Stevens[52] undertook a policy meant to completely deterritorialize Native Americans. This policy included convincing the tribes to sign treaties that would restrict the tribes to small designated lands called reservations where they were to be taught farming and all manner of 'civilized' living. This was a deliberate attempt to remove the Natives from their land and from their lifeways - a complete deterritorialization - and then to reterritorialize them with new ideas of place, land boundaries, and lifeways that were more palatable to the Euro-American mind.

The Cowlitz were not offered a reservation on or near their traditional lands but were expected by the settlers to move to the enemy territory of the Quinault. Naturally this did not appeal to the Cowlitz, and their leadership walked out of treaty negotiations having never signed (Irwin 2014:222-228). From this interaction of exteriority myriad new lines of flight began to shape the Cowlitz. With no legal standing, settlers simply moved into Cowlitz territory. The Cowlitz proudly continued their seasonal rounds and lifeways despite the diminishing spaces and material resources available to them (Rushforth 2002). Their religious practices were seen by Euro-Americans as heathen or satanic at worst and uncivilized at best, and they faced

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[52] Isaac Stevens was appointed governor of Washington Territory in 1853 by President Peirce. His policies towards Native Americans were highly controversial; and his expedience in securing land for the US from tribes resulted in the Indian wars of the 1850s involving several tribes against US troops and settlements (Richards 1979; Irwin 2014; Meany 1915; Stevens 1900).

continual pressure to abandon them (Irwin 2014; Townsend 1839). The general goal of

the settlers was to reterritorialize the Cowlitz to farming subsistence in place of

gathering the bounty of the land, and to create a new set of values that included

stockpiling for the future (Parker 1941). The goal was a complete decoding of Cowlitz

society that would destabilize it enough to allow for new emergent properties and new

coding. The Cowlitz slowly began to assimilate into the budding hegemonic culture of

the US settlers. As was their way, the Cowlitz adapted to changes as a matter of course

for survival. Instead of making seasonal rounds and gathering life's necessities, the

Cowlitz slowly began to work as laborers on farms or in canneries (Rushforth 2002;

Irwin 2014:177), or became farmers themselves (Ruby, Brown, Collins 2010:110-112).

This marked a change from the previous emergent social system that took care of

everyone, to a new emergent system that was more individualistic and emphasized

individual competition rather than village, group, or tribal cohesion (Irwin 2014:201).

Several interviewees noted that their families, having generally lighter skin and often

married to early fur traders, assumed the role of settler farmer or laborers and simply

let everyone believe they were Euro-Americans. Since it was difficult for Native

Americans to retain land, not letting anyone know they were Cowlitz became a survival

tactic (Interviewees K and F). However, even as deterritorialization of the tribe took

place, to the point where in 1893 the Puyallup Indian Agent reported that all Cowlitz

had either been absorbed into the white community or were scattered about on farms

(Ruby, Brown, Collins 2010), the tribe was beginning to re-stabilize under a new hegemonic paradigm.

In the US Federal court ruling on the Cowlitz land trust (*Grand Ronde v Jewell* 2014), the government found that despite adopting many new lifeways and values as they maneuvered the new social-scape they found themselves in, the Cowlitz remained a cohesive social entity. They did this by continuing rounds of visiting between family and tribal members, continuing subsistence hunting and gathering where possible (such as huckleberries, salmon, and smelt), teaching their children the old ways, and telling them stories and family history (all interviews). Irwin (2014:299) notes that in 1870 the secretary of the interior reported how industrious Cowlitz were by taking out homestead patents, raising crops, paying taxes, educating their children, all while continuing their traditional occupations such as canoe lines (navigation businesses) on the rivers. Thus, the Cowlitz were simultaneously being deterritorialized by land hungry settlers, reterritorilizing their tribe through adoption of settler practices, maintaining their territory through homestead patents, and maintaining tribal stability and cohesion through traditional activities.

According to *Grand Ronde v Jewell*, the Cowlitz had indeed maintained an identity that, "comprise a distinct community" and, "existed as a community from historical times until the present", as well as evidence, "that the Cowlitz Tribe was a continuous political entity throughout the 20th century" (*Jewell* 2014:29). In 1868, the US

government tried to distribute goods to the Cowlitz (*Jewell* 2014:23) but as a group the Cowlitz refused to take anything, fearing it would be construed as having taken payment for land which the Cowlitz had not ceded (Irwin, 2014:296).   This may have materially impacted the tribe, but it was also an expression of enduring cohesion and solidarity, revealing the unified nature of the tribe, its stability, and its identity as a free and sovereign nation even while struggling against hegemonic colonialism throughout the remainder of the 19th century.

Conclusion

The historical Cowlitz assemblage may not contain much in the way of documented history, but it is possible to see from early contact documents and legends of the tribe some of the early tribe's synthetic and emergent properties. While synthetic properties included pooling of resources and knowledge, emergent properties included a system of reciprocity and social welfare, river travel, horsemanship, leadership among other tribes, values, social orders, ceremonies, marriages, and alliances. One such emergent property was a political structure of semi-independent families, villages, and the Lower Cowlitz and Taidnapam sub-groups. Another emergent property of the historical tribe was a social order ranging from slave to chief and shaman. Each

emergent property had material, expressive, and territorial roles, and was an assemblage in itself and a component part of the larger Cowlitz assemblage.

The legends of the tribe provided a coding for the tribe that conveyed and expressed lifeways, norms, traditions, expected roles, belonging, and much more. The legends served to increase cohesion and community within the tribe, strengthening its identity. Many of the emergent properties of the tribe are contained within these legends, and their material and territorial roles explained by them.

The actions of the tribe at the time of contact with Euro-Americans also reveal emergent values, as well as the limits of, various norms and traditions. These included peaceful conflict resolution, outsmarting enemies, the extent and limits of marriage alliances, and freedom of choice. One of the most interesting and difficult to understand emergent property is the existence of two very different sub-groups, the Taidnapam and Lower Cowlitz, existing together as Cowlitz while speaking different languages and having many differences in their material, expressive, territorial, and coding roles. However, these sub-groups worked together and created an emergent cohesion and community through intermarriage, tribal gathering, land use and resource access alliances, ceremonies, and yearly seasonal rounds of visiting, hunting, and gathering. However, the appearance of Euro-Americans and resultant interactions between the settler assemblage and the Cowlitz assemblage began a rapid process (in

comparison with hundreds of years of stable emerged and coded properties prior to the

1900s) of deterritorialization and decoding.

Having allowed a gap of 100 years, in the next chapter, the contemporary

Cowlitz tribe will be examined in like manner. The difference between this chapter and

the next will be that the contemporary tribe is in the process of purposely recoding and

reterritorializing. In Native American studies this process is often referred to as cultural

rejuvenation or revitalization. In terms of assemblage theory, this process is one of

integrating historical and contemporary components into an already existing

assemblage and analyzing the interactions between these components and outside

components. This analysis will reveal not only new emergent properties and the

connectivity of history to the present assemblage through similarities, but also the

fluidity of identity as it changes over time even while maintaining its integrity as an

assemblage.

Chapter 6

The Contemporary Cowlitz Tribe

This chapter will focus on the contemporary Cowlitz Tribe, meaning

approximately 1990s to the present. This is because the years between 1900 and 1990

have been fairly extensively mapped by the BIA, US federal courts, and the books

written by Fitzpatrick (2004) and Dupres (2014). There are interactions with other

assemblages predating the 1990s that have important bearing on the identity of the

tribe, as well as some important historical activities between 1900 and 1990, and those

will be addressed as needed. As the contemporary tribe is analyzed, comparison and

connections to the historical tribal assemblage will be made regarding structure,

components, and roles of the Cowlitz community system.

In the contemporary Cowlitz analysis, it will be much easier to see patterns of

cause and effect than with the historical assemblage. This is in part because they are

being witnessed by the tribe and the researcher, and can therefore be stated as cause

and effect with confidence. It is also easier because the researcher was able to interview

tribal members who were components in the interactions and ask questions of them

that help reveal reason, motive, and material causes. The result of this ability to ferret

out the cause-and-effect relationships led to an interesting discovery that the

resemblance of the contemporary tribe to the historical tribe, while a desirable effect of

reason and motive in other choices, was not itself the result of a direct motive to

recreate the historical tribal structure. Instead, the similarity between the historical tribe

and the contemporary tribe results from choices made at many levels on the assemblage

scale with regard to immediate circumstances. The unintended emergent property is a

tribal community system that looks very similar to the tribal community of the

historical Cowlitz.

Sources for this chapter include ethnographic research, interviews, writings and

books published by the tribe or tribal members, such as Dupres' (2014) *Being Cowlitz*. I

have chosen not to use Fitzpatrick's (2004) *We Are Cowlitz* as a major source for several

reasons. First, although published in 2004, the research was done in the 1980s and is a

study of Cowlitz identity in that time period. There is no desire in this research to be

redundant. Second, many of the facts she uses and descriptions of the tribe are out of

date and inaccurate to the present tribe in 2016. For example, the last sentence of her

book says that, "in 1993 the Cowlitz Tribe of Indians were federally acknowledged"

(2004:232). In actual fact, the tribe was not acknowledged until 2000, and even then

some give the date as 2002 when the acknowledgment received its final confirmation.

Also, Fitzpatrick is not a tribal member. While that does not disqualify her research or

make her analysis fundamentally flawed, her research presupposed an etic

understanding of tribal identity as ethnicity rather than an emic tribal identity. Given

these circumstances, it was decided that this book should only be used as a minor reference point and not to depend on its *interpretations* of interviews and data as a primary source.

   As always, an attempt has been made to allow the Cowlitz to speak for themselves throughout this research, and this chapter is no exception. If there seem to be inconsistencies in the data, or conclusions that seem obvious yet have not been made, this is generally a result of there not being a voice from the Cowlitz making that connection, or not enough primary data to support what may be a seemingly obvious connection. Every attempt has been made not to assume what is not voiced by the tribe, and not to project the researcher's opinions and assumptions without first verifying them through interviews and ethnographic data. The hope is that rather than make grandiose claims of expertise and understanding, it is left it to tribal members to analyze cause and effect, or to confirm and comment on connections made by the researcher during analysis. Therefore, it does happen that there are conflicting opinions from tribal members. This is because each tribal member is their own assemblage interacting with the other tribal member assemblages while maintaining their own interpretations and understandings. These jointly make up the greater Cowlitz tribal assemblage and are equally valuable components, thus none can be ignored or spoken of as wrong. While they may not agree, they are all part of the assemblage, and identity

comes out of the interactions they have with each other. Therefore, no voice, however

unpopular inside or outside the tribe, has been left out of the research and analysis.

Individual Level

Since there was not enough historical data to create an identity sketch of any

particular individual within the historical tribe, the analysis in the last chapter began

with the next assemblage unit up – the family. However, in the contemporary tribe,

individual-level analysis is possible, as individual members of the tribe are either alive,

well documented, or were well known by those who are alive. It is not possible in the

limits of this dissertation to do an individual analysis of every member of the tribe. Nor

is it possible to choose one, two or even five people who have been so influential that

they should be analyzed while others are given less preference. For this reason, it was

determined that individual-level analysis should instead look at general common traits

of individuals within the tribe, as well as some general differences. These common

traits and differences play a role in the tribe's identity and how individuals interact

with each other.

The first trait noticed from the interviews and ethnographic research was

whether or not individuals spent time with the Cowlitz Tribe while they were children.

By 'spending time' I mean that the child attended more than one official gathering of

the tribe or was included in extended Cowlitz family activities where Cowlitz identity

was expressed. Sixteen interviewees said they spent time with the tribe as children

while nine did not. Of the 16 who spent time with the tribe as children, 10 have held

leadership positions within the tribe as adults. Of the nine who did not spend time

with the tribe as children, 6 have held leadership positions as adults. In percentages,

those who did have contact as children have a 62% leadership rate and those who did

not have contact as children have a 66% leadership rate[53]. Leadership here includes not

only holding a tribal office, but also those having unofficial leadership roles such as

canoe skipper, spiritual leader, *Kay'a* (tribal *Kay'a* or "grandmother" is a special role

designated for women elders who show particular leadership in training up younger

members of the tribe), and other non-council and unpaid roles in the tribe. In this

comparison, it would seem that the two groups are similar.   However, during

interviews and ethnographic study, it became apparent that these two groups, those

who spent time with the tribe as children and those who did not, were quite different in

other ways.

For example, of the group who did not spend time with the tribe, their greatest

longing regarding the tribe was a better understanding of tribal history and customs.

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[53] Due to the snowball method of finding willing interview participants, this rate of leadership between the groups may not reflect the leadership tendencies of these groups across the whole tribe in the same way that a random sample would. In general, leaders were more willing to participate and attended more tribal events, but this fact does not materially alter the conclusions of the research regarding emic identity which is revealed by these facts.

This was universal among all who had come to the tribe after childhood, whether they were involved in leadership roles or not. Among those who had spent time with the tribe as children, the most often expressed desire of those serving in leadership was that more people would come back to their tribal heritage and learn about it - roughly the same expressed desire as those who came to the tribe later in life. Those who spent time with the tribe as a child and who had not been in leadership positions never mentioned a hope for more people to come back to their tribal heritage or for people to learn more about their cultural ways. This shows a fundamental difference in thinking between those who have held leadership positions from both groups, and those who grew up with the tribe but did not hold leadership positions. This reveals a shared emergent value among leaders and those who did not have contact with the tribe as children but came to it later; the value of bringing people back into the tribe and propagating the Cowlitz way of life to as many as possible. This is not, however, an emergent value among non-leaders who have been connected with the tribe since childhood.

The result has been disagreement between these two groups on many issues, such as distribution of Docket 218 funds and casino revenues, fish distribution, and even rules for enrollment as a tribal member. For example, Interviewee L spent time with the tribe as a child, kept in touch with the tribe throughout their adult life, and did not hold a leadership position in the tribe. When asked how future casino revenues should be spent, their answer was, "Once it got built, got paid off and started making

money for the tribe, if they were to use part of it for the schools and stuff and part for the members themselves, each one getting a little, I could see." Interviewee L is advocating for per capita checks for every member of the tribe out of casino revenues. Interviewee R, who was in contact with the tribe as a child and has held many leadership roles, believes that rather than per capita checks, the revenues should be used to benefit tribal members in non-taxable forms so that tribal members living on the edge of poverty would not lose their existing benefits such as housing or medical assistance.

These differences however, are not indicative of a "selfish" or "unselfish" outlook for either group. In the case of all interviewees, when their positions on per capita were explained, the same underlying emergent value appeared. That emergent value was "revenues should benefit everyone" (Interviewee L) and improve the tribe's cultural, political, and social life in general. The underlying value of improving the tribe and benefitting everyone remained the same no matter which group they were from. What was at issue was how best to achieve those goals and values. While the majority of leadership and late comers to the tribe believed the best way to achieve this value is through investing the revenues in programs, grants, scholarships, and other non-monetary benefits for tribal members, those who have been connected to the tribe since childhood but did not hold leadership positions generally believe the best way to achieve equal benefit to all members is a combination of tribal programs and per capita

distribution. Both sides of the argument have valid reasons that stem from the common values of equality and mutual benefit of the tribe. In keeping with this, all those interviewed and all those spoken with during ethnographic study agreed that for the foreseeable future the revenues should be focused on paying off loans and building up tribal educational programs. Per capita options only came into the picture after those two needs had been met. The important difference to note here is not who thinks what is best, but rather how the background of the members of the tribe influences their opinions and interactions with other tribal members, while the underlying emergent values of equality and mutual benefit were the same for all groups within the tribe. In terms of assemblages, the underlying values are an emergent property, and the choices of how to express those values affects the capacities that are exercised by the tribe. The capacity options in this case are a range of combinations from per capita payments to non-monetary and indirect benefits. The emergent values and the exercised capacities will affect the emic identity of the tribe, just as the emic identity is affecting the exercise of capacities.

While the specific cause-and-effect relationship of each individual's choice to participate in leadership of the tribe, early childhood involvement, and expressions of tribal values cannot be fully explored here, it is obvious that there is a connection that affects the emergent properties, the use of tribal capacities, and therefore the identity, of the Cowlitz Tribe. The emic identity of the tribe seen in this brief encounter with

individuals reveals emergent values of equality and mutual benefit that are very similar to the historical tribe. In the historical tribe, leadership of the tribe was accorded to those who showed that although they could accumulate wealth, they willingly gave away that wealth for the mutual benefit of the group. In the contemporary tribe, that underlying value of mutual benefit instead of unequal gain continues and is expressed in concerns of the tribal members over how tribal revenues should be used. In both the historical and contemporary tribe, the emergent value of mutual benefit determines, in part, the exercise of capacities. In the contemporary tribe the capacity effected is the use of casino and Docket 218 funds, while in the historical tribe the capacities exercised were access to material goods at the give-aways; both of which form a type of social insurance for tribal members. This reveals a continuity of emic identity in the values, norms, and exercised capacities of the tribe, both past and present.

Besides childhood contact with the tribe and leadership roles, individual-level contact with other movements and assemblages such as US laws, protest movements, US legislature, state and local governments, fishing rights, dams, Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), and other tribes were all fundamental interactions that cropped up in the research repeatedly. While there is not enough time to establish the cause and effects of each one of these interactions, it can be said that these are some of the main external interactions the tribe uses to define itself. The first reason this can be said is that not a

single interview or tribal activity happened in which these external relations were not mentioned by tribal members.

The second reason is that in the 2002 final judgement of federal recognition, the judge cited the Bureau of Indian Affairs' Anthropological Technical Report of the Cowlitz Indian Tribe, in which these external relations were used by the BIA to establish the community identity of the Cowlitz as a tribe. While the research was done by BIA supported anthropologists, the task they undertook was to research the emic community identity of the Cowlitz from Approximately 1914 to 2000. Their research uses interviews with 33 tribal members in the 1990s, as well as internal tribal meeting minutes, to establish this emic community identity. The Anthropological Report's finding was that each of these external interactions with the BIA, Washington State, protest movements, and other entities revealed an emergent property of community and cohesion among disparate individuals and families, which all together establish the Cowlitz Tribe as a community. Although some of these interactions eventually grew to tribal-level interactions, each of these interactions began at an individual level with one or a few members of the tribe (Anthropological Report 2002:6-9). Thus, these exterior relations work to build the continuity of identity of the tribe through emergent social norms and the exercising of capacities as individuals and as a tribe.

Many of the interviews from this research support this directly, and interviewees often spoke of these external interactions as key to their understanding of the Cowlitz.

For example, Interviewee B noted that for over a century the Cowlitz as individuals and a people have been interacting with the federal, state, and local governments over land, fishing, hunting, and other rights. When asked to give five words that describe the Cowlitz Tribe, Interviewee B's 4th word was "patient". When asked why, the interviewee stated that the tribe was not naturally patient, but that when working with external assemblages such as the BIA, US and state legislatures, and state and US legal apparatus, "it does take patience". Thus, individual and tribal level interactions with the outside assemblages of US law, protest movements, US legislature, state and local government, fishing rights, dams, Bureau of Indian Affairs, and other tribes, according to Interviewee B, resulted in an emergent property of patience within the tribal identity.

Another example of individual interactions with external assemblages affecting perceptions of tribal identity comes from Tanna Engdahl. In her interview she repeatedly mentioned her time working for the BIA and the influence of other tribes she has spent time with on her own perceptions of what it means to be Cowlitz. Engdahl also mentioned that on a personal level, the American Indian Religious Freedom Act of 1978 (AIRFA) played a major role in her life and understanding of herself and the Cowlitz because it allowed her to experience religious ceremonies from several other tribes[54]. Many of the spiritual practices she is involved with and teaches now, both

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[54] "Tribes emerged from their secret practices to share with other Indian people." Tanna Engdahl – collaborative comment.

Cowlitz and non-Cowlitz, are a result of her interest sparked by this act. Engdahl said

in her interview that, "I put that together [the connection between AIRFA and her view

of Cowlitz] as I started teaching our young people in the last couple of years."

Two examples of how Engdahl has developed new boundaries and perceptions

regarding her Cowlitz identity are: 1) the Smelt Ceremony, and 2) her own role as a

spiritual leader in the Cowlitz. The Smelt Ceremony has been revived over the last few

years on a tribal level, but as a result of her interactions with the Hopi people of

Arizona, she believes and teaches the Cowlitz that it is not important how many people

attend a tribal ceremony such as the Smelt Ceremony (although she hopes more

Cowlitz will learn their heritage). Instead, an activity is Cowlitz if one Cowlitz does it in

the spirit of Cowlitz ways and in a way that honors the Cowlitz and their ancestors.

This creates an emergent property of the tribe, since Engdahl is a spiritual leader and is

teaching Cowlitz people about Cowlitz identity boundaries and what is a Cowlitz

activity or ceremony.

The cause-and-effect relationship between Engdahl's view of what is Cowlitz,

and what is not, can be directly linked to her external relations with US legislation,

specifically AIRFA, and other tribes, and this in turn is becoming an emergent property

within the tribe through her teaching and influence as a Cowlitz spiritual leader. The

proof of this emergent property is the fact that although there are currently almost 4000

people enrolled in the tribe, the researcher never saw more than 200 at a ceremony.

That is not to say that there aren't ceremonies or years where more people come, but is to point out that the tribe does not view something as Cowlitz only when a majority of the tribe participates in it. Rather, the boundary of what is Cowlitz to people in the tribe, as evidenced in interviews, is whether it is done by Cowlitz people in a way that honors the Cowlitz and their ancestors.

Individual-level interactions with the outside assemblages of US law, protest movements, US legislature, state and local government, fishing rights, dams, Bureau of Indian Affairs, and other tribes influencing the emic perception of the tribe can also be seen in ethnographic examples, which were further explained by Interviewee B. During the time spent with the tribe, it was often necessary to use public docks and boat ramps to put the canoe in a river or lake, or a park with fees was used for a gathering. Opinions varied among tribal members as to whether dock fees or park fees should be paid. Some believed that all the land within Cowlitz original aboriginal territory was theirs to use for anything that was a traditional tribal practice. Berry picking, park use for gatherings, canoeing, hunting, cedar harvesting, and more are all considered by Cowlitz to be traditional. Some people believed that if you were Cowlitz you never had to pay a fee even if what you were doing was not an official gathering. Similar to Engdahl's perceptions about ceremonies, these people often expressed that it didn't matter if it was one Cowlitz or the whole tribe doing the activity, it was still a Cowlitz activity and fees should not be paid. This was reinforced among tribal members during

ethnographic study by comments from tribal members expressing that fees should not

be paid because, "this is our land – we shouldn't have to pay to use our land"

(Interviewee K).

Others in the tribe noted that, "You need to pay them…the boat ramps weren't

there before, you know, we didn't put them there, God didn't put them there, the state

put them there or something" (Interviewee S). Still others noted that while it may be

their right not to pay fees, if they do, "it just makes life easier. I don't want to be that,

the challenger" (Interviewee U), or they don't want to be seen as, "the rebel rouser"

(Interviewee T).

These differences in opinion understandably come from personal desires and

personalities, but they are also a result of individual interactions with outside

assemblages such as US, state, and local laws, as well as government workers and the

BIA. Mike Iyall's interview shows how this interaction at an individual level has

influenced what has emerged as a standard operating procedure for large tribal

gatherings and for some individual families and people.

> Interviewer: "So what do you do when, for example, the tribe is going to put in the canoe at a public dock and there is a fee for using the dock and some people in the tribe are saying this is our land we don't have to pay the fee, and some people are saying we're US citizens and we didn't put in the dock, we need to pay the fee. How do you fall along that?"
>
> Mike: "Actually, I'm the guy that went to the state parks and DNR and the game department and got them access to that. And I used

the concept, the traditional concept that we are the aboriginal people of this area. Plus, there's a little-known Supreme Court decision called *Taylor v US*[55] that evolved out of the 1800 fishing rights. And *Taylor V US* says that tribal people in the pursuit of treaty rights to gather, hunt, and fish are given a primary easement to all lands. And that means that before it's public, before it's private land, before it's government land, the tribes have that easement. So if you've purchased land, my easement is on your land. *Taylor V US* was followed by another court case called *Williams*. And *Williams* affirmed *Taylor* and clarified it a little bit more. When I come to your land to do my traditional gathering or hunting or fishing I have the right to stay on your property, erect temporary shelter, erect drying racks to process my…the fruits of my labor, and I can erect scaffolding to catch my fish. So it's two very, very clear Supreme Court cases. And I used those for leverage to get us those accesses."

Interviewer: "what if you are not hunting or fishing? What if you are just canoeing or doing the river float or something?"

Mike: "I think that it remains with the tribe to determine what a traditional use is. Because I believe that those are training tools so that both adults and youth are learning from the experience and so it's improving their spiritual connection but also training them to one day perhaps gather or honor fish.

Interviewer: "What do you think the role of hunting and fishing and gathering is in the tribe now?"

Mike: "I think it would be far more for a spiritual connection. To return to an original way of life. I mean to have a connection, not to get clear back to where you live that way, but to understand your origins. "

Mike Iyall's responses show that his personal interactions with the laws of the

US and the Supreme Court rulings were used to establish a status quo for the tribe that

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[55] The case referred to as 'Williams' is actually *United States v. Winans*, 198 U.S. 371 (1905) in which hunting fishing and other food gathering rights reserved by treaty preclude private property rights. 'Taylor' is possibly a reference to *Antoine v. Washington*, 420 U.S. 194 (1975) which determined that states cannot regulate reserved rights of Indians, such as hunting and fishing, even in ceded territory.

paying fees, or even asking permission to use private property is not necessary for tribal

members if they are engaging in tribal activities. They also show the same emergent

norm mentioned earlier, that these activities need not be in large groups, but can be

done by lone individuals and still be Cowlitz activities. In Mike's words, emergent

norms of land use, rights, as well as what makes an activity 'Cowlitz' are revealed. This

corresponds with the earlier examples to establish a cause-and-effect relationship

between individual interactions with outside assemblages and what it means to be

Cowlitz.

Family Level

Family-level assemblages within the contemporary Cowlitz Tribe start at the

household level. Cowlitz households are spread throughout the US, although mostly

concentrated in the Pacific Northwest (Washington, Oregon, and Idaho) and California.

Rather than living in villages together in one longhouse with 200 extended relatives as

in the historical tribe, families are interspersed among the general population of the

United States in smaller single-family units. Today, the household family may or may

not include parents and children, but also grandparents, brothers and sisters, or be a

single person. The dispersal of family type and household family units are comparable

to that of the general Washington State population, as are median income and employment (US Census Bureau 2010).

While the number of people in a household, employment, and general standard of living are obviously different from the historical Lower Cowlitz group of the tribe, this system of close immediate family in a single household also has historical roots in the tribe. The Taidnapam group of Cowlitz in the historical tribe generally had smaller immediate-family households rather than the large longhouses full of extended family common to the Lower Cowlitz. The Tiadnapam lived in smaller, more nuclear groups as a result of the resources available and the type the lifestyle they lived, which was more independent than that of Lower Cowlitz (Irwin 2014). Each of the Taidnapam immediate-family groups had their own resource locations and specialty knowledge which were closely guarded family secrets (Blee 2009). This is not so different from the contemporary tribe where immediate families live in a single household on a plot of land that is their own and work jobs based on their special knowledge and abilities. They are exercising capacities of material resource use and knowledge to prosper the immediate family. The historical Taidnapam way of life helped the Cowlitz, as they learned the value of their land and knowledge according to the settler culture (Irwin, 2014; Blee, 2009) and was adapted to meet the needs of changing times. Historically, this prosperity was then shared with others at give-aways, gatherings, celebrations, and larger extended family, group, and tribal events.

Contemporary Cowlitz operate in much the same way, using personal resources and knowledge to support and prosper their immediate families, which then benefits the tribe as a whole by broadening the material resources and capacities of the tribe. In the contemporary tribe, resources can be understood to be jobs, health care, and other necessities of living in the modern world. In order to access these, smaller family units have moved to locations where they can get jobs, buy houses, and live more independently according to where resources are located, much in the same way the Taidnapam did over 100 years ago. This emergent living style resulting from resource locations and access is a continuation of Taidnapam Cowlitz lifeways rather than a new emergent system wholly divorced from tradition.

It could be argued that this interpretation of the historical Taidnapam community is simply a rereading of the past in terms of today's norms for US society. However, the data for how Taidnapam Cowlitz lived pre-contact and in the early 1800's did not come from current research. Instead, it came from the journals of settlers and the memories of tribal members who grew up with their parents and grandparents who told them how the Taidnapam lived. The fact that they lived in a similar community system of immediate-family units and that their locations and movements were based on resource availability and adapting to changing environmental situation to survive is a historical fact, not a modern revision of the past. The fact that something from the past is similar to something today does not make it historical revisionism, it simply

means that humanity may not be as different from our predecessors as we sometimes think.

The contemporary extended family system is an emergent property of the tribe that, while different from historic systems, also contains many similarities to the historical tribe at both the extended family level and the village level. As noted in chapter five, the emergent family system was used in the historical tribe to grant resource access and indicate that access to others, express belonging, and pool and share resources. In the contemporary tribe, extended family is still of great importance in similar ways.

While yearly rounds of family visiting no longer requires an entire season of travel, yearly gatherings by family still take place. Nine interviewees and many tribal members at tribal events spoke of extended family gatherings they attend on a regular basis. These gatherings include members of the family who can trace their lineage back to a historical member of the tribe such as an Iyall, Scanewa, or Cottoniore. Those who did not have regular family-specific gatherings or reunions generally used tribal events and gatherings to meet with their extended family. For example, Interviewee E said that the most important tribal event for their family was the Cowlitz Powwow because it was the one tribal event that almost all their extended family attended.

Interestingly, while the Scanewa, Cottoniore and several other large family groups tended to trace their lineage, involvement in the tribe, and leadership in the tribe through their maternal ancestors in interviews and conversations, the Iyall family members tended to trace their leadership and involvement through patriarchal lines. While one Iyall family member noted the leadership positions in the historical tribe were traditionally handed down to sons, he made no such distinction about Iyalls in leadership in the contemporary tribe, citing both men and women in leadership roles. Instead, the general focus of his comments were on the tradition of leadership in the Iyall line rather than focusing on the gender of the leaders that had come from the Iyall family. Since there is no consensus on the matriarchal or patriarchal leanings of leadership, if cannot be said from the data how gender affects leadership in the contemporary tribe. Instead the focus of contemporary tribe in this research was on the level of involvement rather than the gender of the leaders.

Many tribal members stated that when they first began to get involved in the tribe, others would ask them who their parents and grandparents were in order to establish what family they came from and who they were related to. Once family relation was established by a new attendee, regardless of whether it came through male or female lineage, if the family engaged in regular gatherings, they were invited to come. Without exception tribal members stated that once their extended family connections were established, they were welcomed in and accepted as if they had

always been there and never felt like an outsider. While this is a heartwarming

circumstance, it also establishes the emergent property of family belonging and access

to family resources in the contemporary tribe that mirrors that of the historical tribe.

The differences come in what type of resources are shared and how.

Resource sharing looks different in the contemporary tribe because the resources

being shared are different. While one can rarely share one's job with another, one can

share job opportunities between family members. One can also share knowledge of

where and how to get modern resources such as tribal health care, scholarships,

program funding, access to government programs, and more. The pooling and sharing

of knowledge regarding resources is a fundamental synthetic and emergent property of

both the historical and contemporary Cowlitz.

Right of access to some resources seems to also be carried through to today's

tribe. For example, Interviewees P and L discussed how they and other members of the

tribe used family connections to secure needed help, while Interviewee I and Mike Iyall

both discussed hereditary family leadership and the expectations of sharing and caring

for others in the family that came with those roles. Interviewee F talked of family

belonging and sharing as an expected norm. Christine Hawkins and Interviewee K

spoke of the connection of family and access to tribal resources that spouses gained

through marriage to tribal members.

While these instances create an obvious connection and similarity between past and present emergent tribal norms and systems, there are some differences. For example, in the historical system, tribal members would introduce themselves by name and then village (Irwin 2014:85). Since villages contained large numbers of extended family, the association of family belonging was implied to some extent in the statement of village belonging. In the contemporary system, formal and informal introductions follow the pattern of name, family, historical tribal ancestor of note if possible, and then tribal affiliation. There are two obvious reasons for this change in norm, neither of which was overtly stated by a tribal member but which became apparent through the ethnographic research. The first is the deterritorialization of the tribe in terms of villages. Since the tribe no longer lives in the close-knit historical village system of extended families, there cannot be a village associated with resource access, land use rights, and family group. Instead, resources, from jobs to health care and hunting rights, land use rights, and family connection, are all stated in terms of family and tribal belonging in the contemporary tribe. Thus, the modern introduction of name, tribal family ancestor of import, and tribal affiliation.

The second reason has to do with interactions with other tribes. As the contemporary tribe has come in contact with other tribal traditions through internet, intra-tribal gatherings, relocation, and joint efforts for recognition and rights in the US and internationally, the tribe has been influenced by non-Cowlitz traditions. Examples

of these interactions include powwows, Canoe Journey and its attendant protocols, intertribal protest movements for fishing and hunting rights, and attendance of Cowlitz leaders at major Native American legislative signings. These interactions have acquainted the Cowlitz with new and different protocols and with the need for introductions that include clan/family affiliation and tribal affiliation. For the historical Cowlitz, travelling to distant tribes who did not know local place-names and family relations was rare, so no norms of international introduction were developed. Modern travel to distant countries and interactions with hundreds of tribes who do not know local Cowlitz place-names requires the broader introduction of tribal affiliation, and sometimes place such as "Cowlitz of Southwest Washington State".

Also, in the wider arena of national and international assemblages, there is a felt need to express tribal and ancestral affiliation. These serve to express an individual's general place in the historical colonial context, post-colonial context, in the context of standing with or against hegemonic powers depending on the situation, and of orienting oneself and one's tribe in terms of international human rights and obligations. As a result, introductions in the contemporary tribe are different than those used by the historical Cowlitz. However, the purposes of the introduction to establish belonging, place, rights, and internal and external boundaries of identity as the tribe exercises its capacities on a national and international scale remain the same.

Just as the purposes behind introductions remain the same, even as the form changes, so too with family activities on a local family scale. Berry picking as a family activity prior to federal recognition in 2000 was done on a family basis. As the BIA Anthropological report on the Cowlitz from 1950 to 1980 shows,

> "Upper Cowlitz, Cascade, and some Lower Salish families related to Yakima families reported picking berries in the Sawtooth. Sawtooth is a site in the Cascade Mountains between Yakima and the Cowlitz Valley. The Upper Cowlitz, metis, Cascade, and Lower Cowlitz Salish families reported picking berries in areas near their home areas for subsistence and local sale. Because of contact with the Yakima, Upper Cowlitz and Cascade families reported picking with the Yakimas. Others picked in other areas easily accessible to them. Berry picking was a group activity coordinated primarily within the family, although various families also coordinated with each other" (BIA Anthropological Report of the Cowlitz Indian Tribe, 2002:6).

Berry picking was a family affair all through the 1900s. Like Juanita Clark's statement at the beginning of this thesis, they did it because their mother or a family member did it for subsistence purposes or to supplement incomes. It was not taught as an "Indian" thing to do. However, the contemporary tribe now has an annual Huckleberry picking event that takes place at the end of August or beginning of September. This activity was initiated by the Sellers family as a tribal event and was based on early memories of berry picking with family in the Sawtooth Range with other Indian families (Interviewee K). In recent years Huckleberry Camp has become a tradition of the tribe where all tribal members are welcome. Although there are

sometimes two groups of Cowlitz (one that stays on tribal property 30 minutes from the berry fields with their 'houses on wheels' and amenities, and one that prefers to "rough it" in tents out in the berry fields) the groups join together during the day for picking and in the evening for drumming, singing, and eating. Huckleberry Camp has several roles in the tribe. The primary role is to bring the tribe together in a traditional activity. Secondary purposes include: teaching new attendees and youth traditional ways, exercising rights reserved in treaties, connecting with ancestors and the creator, and use of aboriginal territory.

These purposes encompass many roles in the contemporary tribal assemblage. Territorialization occurs through seasonal use of berry fields on the boundaries of Cowlitz aboriginal territory. It also occurs through purchase and use of the Cowlitz' tribally owned land where the tribe meets and camps. Materially, the camp serves the purpose of providing some berries (although these are more for pleasure and connections to past as it is difficult to gather a substantial amount in two days) and in providing a connecting point where members of the tribe can share information that may provide valuable material help to each other. The camp also allows for the traditions and values of the tribe to be expressed through the songs, prayers, lessons, and time spent together in the berry fields.

Canoe Journey is another event that started at the family level in 2006 and eventually became a tribal event. Members of one Cowlitz family interacted with

neighbouring tribes that were joining the annual Pacific Northwest Tribal Canoe

Journey. This family became heavily involved in the Journey and began to get others in

the tribe involved until eventually it was accepted by the tribe as a tribal event. Now

the tribe maintains what it calls the "Canoe Family" which organizes its own Cowlitz

Tribal Journey and Canoe Landing each year, and then coordinates with and

participates in the inter-tribal Journey as well. Canoe Family and the Cowlitz Journey

serve to territorialize the tribe by using traditional waterways within aboriginal

territory for the yearly Cowlitz Journey and Landing. This internal Cowlitz Journey

allows the tribe to teach its youth and newcomers how to pull together in the canoe and

on land, as well as teach values, songs, ways and customs of the tribe. This affords the

tribe an opportunity to establish coding within the tribe by providing a place where

tribal values and norms are passed on to newcomers, which will later be expressed to

other tribes and white settlers during the Inter-Tribal Journey. It also reinforces tribal

coding for tribal members who live within the settler hegemonic society and still desire

to maintain tribal ways. In addition, it is used to teach historical knowledge of water

systems, navigation, and ecology to tribal members in much the same way the old

family stories and ceremonies at gatherings passed on shared knowledge of the

ecosystem and resources.

Inter-Tribal Journey can also play a deterritorializing role by exposing Cowlitz

people to other tribal cultures and traditions. An example of this is "protocol" in which

each tribe in attendance has the opportunity to lead the other tribes in their own songs and dances, give gifts to the other tribes, and generally represent their tribe among the other tribes. While this affords the Cowlitz an opportunity to express their identity and territorialize their existence, it also means that the Cowlitz are learning and adapting to other tribal ways, which are sometimes brought home. As noted earlier, the modern form of introduction which includes name, family, tribe, and home territorial location is an example of a non-Cowlitz tradition that has been adapted from other tribes to fit the present era and circumstances.

Despite these differences from deterritorialization, however, there are many similarities. Huckleberry Camp, Canoe Journey, and other component assemblages of the contemporary Cowlitz, which do not gather the entire tribe but are attended over the years by people from all of the families within the tribe, work in much the same way as the historical tribe's annual migration and family visiting patterns. They serve the same territorializing, coding, and expressive roles within the tribe. Although today they are tribal events, they are still generally led by one or a group of families who see that as one of their places to serve the tribe. Each of these activities started at the smaller, family level, and, according to interviewees, still maintain a family atmosphere. Family affiliation within the tribe keeps these activities familial in nature while allowing for newcomers to have a place within the group. As Interviewee C said,

"I came here not knowing anybody. It was really a little awkward at first, but then they were drumming and I thought that was really cool… you come to an activity and everybody's like, "hi how are you". Hugs and, "how you been"… people cared. ------, actually she and I were kind of new. She had been at it longer than me but she was my first canoe [partner] – we sat together in the canoe – and so she would kind of tell me what to do. And that same weekend we had a sweat in the sweat lodge back there in the woods… it feels like family".

Here again is the role of coding and identity expression in one member sharing with another at a Canoe Family event. Also, this internal sense of family as part of a tribal members' identity is seen in this interview, and was repeated often in other interviews and ethnographic research.

Another way the internal sense of family is expressed is through tribal members frequently calling unrelated tribal members brother, sister, mother, grandmother, and other familial nouns. This idea of family and the importance of non-related family is an emergent property of the contemporary tribe that is similar to the historical tribe. In chapter five it was noted that historically the Cowlitz placed such emphasis on family that even strangers were called 'grandfather' 'uncle' and 'grandmother'. Family was coded into language and behavior in such a way as to establish it as a marker of identity for the tribe. In the contemporary tribe, although the language of common use has changed to English and the settler society makes clear distinctions between family, friends, and strangers, the Cowlitz maintain a coding and language of family for both related and unrelated people who are welcome at tribal gatherings. At several points

during the research, as a person involved in and participating in the activities, I was referred to as family and many made a point of saying that I was part of the Canoe Family – a non-Cowlitz part of the Canoe Family. While a clear distinction was made between myself, as the researcher and non-Cowlitz, and those who were actually Cowlitz, the idea of family as an important part of tribal identity was inescapable. It was coded into language and actions, served to territorialize the tribe, and established and expressed belonging and identity. This was especially visible in larger group activities and was summed up by Interviewee D who said that,

> "It has always been interesting to me is that even without our tribe, meaning the government entity of our tribe, Cowlitz people have come together and done things on their own without tribal [sponsorship]…when the powwow started it was not tribally sponsored. Fish - our fish program was not tribally sponsored. Our Canoe Journey was not tribally sponsored. What happens is that we as a people, Cowlitz families, have the power and the ability to make things happen on our own. And when it became successful, when the powwow became successful, it now became a Cowlitz tribal sponsored event. When the fisheries became positive… [the] tribe took over that. When Canoe Journey became positive they took that over. So it took the families to do the work first, to show the tribe what could be done".

As this quote shows, the family level of assemblages in the tribe, both household and extended, are component assemblages of larger groups within the tribe such as Canoe Family, Powwow, Drum Group, tribal boards, and committees. This brings us to the next level of assemblages.

Groups, Boards, and Committees

Canoe Family is an emergent property of the contemporary Cowlitz, and as

mentioned earlier, initially in 2006 a single family joined the annual Pacific Northwest

Inter-Tribal Canoe Journey. As more Cowlitz people joined the Journey, the group

amalgamated into an assemblage known within the tribe as 'Canoe Family'. This

emergent assemblage meets on a regular basis to paddle, or 'pull', in a traditional canoe

on lakes and rivers in Cowlitz territory. The tribal canoe is made of fiberglass, a

contemporary material, but its design and shape are the same as those of the Cowlitz

historical tribe. The canoe seats 13 adults – one skipper whose job is to read the water,

steer the canoe, and direct the others, and 6 sets of 2 pullers (paddlers). The canoe has a

high point in the stern and a long narrow bow. In the center of the canoe is a removable

keel for high wind, strong current, and ocean maneuvers. It is black, red, and blue, with

the Cowlitz tribal seal on the outside of the bow. The canoe itself plays a material role

as a watercraft, and an expressive role as a symbol of tribal identity and continuity with

the past.

Cowlitz Canoe Family "doing the work" of landing the canoe

The canoe plays an expressive role because of its traditional Cowlitz shape and the tribal seal painted on the bow, as well as carrying the official tribal flag. It also plays an expressive role for the tribe because it attracts attention everywhere it goes and allows tribal members to answer questions and inform the broader settler and Native communities about the Cowlitz people and Cowlitz ways. There are no early accounts of the historical tribe having any kind of overarching symbol such as a seal or a flag, so these are emergent properties of the contemporary tribe that result from deterrritorialization through the influence of a wider globalized society. However, since the historical expressions of head flattening and distinctive weaving, carving, and

resource use in clothing, tools, and housing have disappeared, the tribal seal, flag, and other modern symbols often play equivalent roles in expressing tribal belonging and identity. In addition to this, the contemporary tribe maintains a carved cedar ceremonial canoe that is not actually used, but is preserved in a museum in Kalama, WA. The fiberglass canoe is a modern representation and expression of the traditional carved canoe.

Much of the expressive, material, coding, and territorial roles of the Canoe Family have been explained in the family section earlier and will not be repeated here. However, the Canoe Family does more than the journeys in the summer. The Canoe Family meets all year long to pull together in the canoe on rivers and lakes. These pulls are used to teach and express tribal values and norms, provide coding for what it means to be Cowlitz, and territorialize the tribe.

While on a canoe pull or other tribal group outing, the tribal members are constantly using phrases like, "do the work", "pulling together", and, "we're Cowlitz". These are phrases that carry special meaning to the Cowlitz people, and it is at activities such as Canoe Family and Drum Group that the meaning of these words and phrases, the coding of the tribe, is conveyed to tribal members. For example, according to interviewees, "do the work" means:

> "Standing up at 3:00 in the morning representing your nation in front of 50,60,70 different nations."   (Interviewee G)

"Volunteering and participating and putting the tribe above what some of your needs and wants are. And we were really taught a long time ago… -----, have really taught about humbling yourself to do the work. Those are words that I heard a lot, 'humble yourself to put others above yourself'…you're going on a different schedule and your tired and your just really struggling to hunker down and think about others instead of yourself. Others. The goal is to continue on and you get tired and you get hungry and it can get really hard…that we selflessly give."   (Interviewee K)

"It's doing the work within your own tribe, not just coming on tribal council. You've got to come on other days. You've got to volunteer for other stuff, not just when it's convenient."   (Interviewee H)

Another frequently heard refrain on the canoe is "pull together". This is used by the skipper and pullers, along with drums and pulling songs, to create cohesion and synergy through timing the strokes to reach maximum effect for each pull – to maximize use of pulling capacity. This is the simple coding of the phrase. However, there is a deeper meaning of the phrase to the extent that the Canoe Family put the phrase "pulling together" on the back of their shirts for the 2015 journey. The idea of pulling together (*Wə́xa Sxʷuqʷálustn*), is one of creating cohesion and synergy among the Cowlitz people to reach maximum potential. In assemblage terms, to exercise capacities to their maximum effect.

"We're Cowlitz" is another often heard phrase at group-level gatherings. Since there is no doubt at a group level gathering that the gathering and people at it are

Cowlitz or belong there, it would seem unnecessary to point out every couple of minutes that the people in the gathering are Cowlitz. However, the phrase 'we're Cowlitz' is more than just a marker of who is in attendance. This phrase was used any time the people at a gathering were doing something counter to the hegemonic settler culture in which the tribe is situated. The phrase was also used when nothing went according to plan and the schedule was continually altered or the lunch cooler forgotten on an all-day pull and everyone had to put up with hunger and share their meager personal snacks. It was used when the group chose not to pay fees at parks and boat launches. It was used when children were told to respect their elders. It was used when tribal members made jokes about themselves. It was used when tribal members talked of fishing and hunting outside federal and state regulations. It was used when prayers, drumming, and tribal activities might disturb settler neigbours. It was used when any good, beneficial, and unexpected thing happened. And it was used to explain the mix of settler and traditional ways that have become the norm in the tribe, such as: a fiberglass canoe built in the old style, a motor boat towing the canoe and pullers through rough waters, and Santa visiting the children's winter gathering at St. Mary's.

'Do the work', 'pull together', and "we're Cowlitz" are just a few example of how the tribe has coded their values, norms, and identity at group gatherings and activities. They serve to shape the standards by which Cowlitz people are expected to behave, recognize the differences and boundaries of what is considered Cowlitz and

what is not, and continually remind the people that being Cowlitz is something to be proud of and talked about, not kept silent and hidden.

This last is an important emergent property of the tribe within the last 30 years. Prior to this, many (but not all) interviewees and attendees at group activities noted that their parents and grandparents were not vocal about their Cowlitz identity. Some, such as Interviewee B, mentioned that their parents and grandparents did not like to talk about their Cowlitz heritage because discrimination was more common prior to the 1980s. Three people, when asked if their parents would mind being interviewed for this research, commented that their parents did not discuss their Cowlitz heritage much and were reluctant to discuss it with non-Cowlitz people because when they were growing up there was a stigma that came with being Native American.

In contrast to this, the emergent property of phrases and language used by the contemporary Cowlitz encourage their people to take pride in their Cowlitz identity and have made it a coded identity marker to be vocal about their heritage. The coding role of these phrases in the contemporary tribe are similar to the coding role of the tribal legends in the historical tribe. The legends were used to express ways of doing and being that were Cowlitz, which is the same function the phrases of the tribe perform today. Both the old legends and new phrases were shared in extended family and larger group tribal settings, and served to create common boundaries of identity and behavior within the group.

Canoe Family also serves to territorialize the tribe by having tribal members making use of lands and waters in aboriginal tribal territory all year long. Moreover, territorialization happens every time the canoe is seen by the surrounding settlers and they are reminded of the Cowlitz people who have lived on this land for centuries. This also plays as expressive role as the tribe purposely makes use of the canoe to draw the attention of settlers and remind them on who's land their ancestors settled. It is used to express pride in belonging to the Cowlitz, territorial 'ownership' or legal standing, and to educate non-Cowlitz about the tribe. Finally, territorialization and expression of identity happen when the Canoe Family takes the canoe outside their territory because the unique Cowlitz style, colouring, symbols, songs, and chants indicate to others who the Cowlitz are and create distinctive boundaries between the Cowlitz, other tribes, and settlers.

An interesting coding of gender and identity does take place in the canoe family and has slowly been spreading in its acceptance throughout the tribe. This coding is in the form of Canoe Princesses. I was unable to find any historical reference to princesses in the Cowlitz tribe, so the label is certainly new and possibly an adaptation of etic settler views of Native Americans[57] or perhaps just a contemporary way for the tribe to say "future leaders and valued children of the female type". Either way, what is certain

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[57] Vine Deloria Jr. notes in his book *Custer Died For Your Sins*, that if there were truly as many native American princesses as settler culture claims, then tribes must have been comprised of nothing but princesses – a ridiculous impossibility.

is that there is no equivalent label for boys. The girls have a contest every year, which include crafts, dancing, singing, and a host of other activities and knowledge quizzes, to win prizes and positions among the girls in the tribe. The boys, on the other hand, are left to drum and sing with the adults while not receiving any particular praise and not being required to do more or less than any other member of the tribe. The princesses, however, were unique as a tool to codify behavior among girls in the tribe (any girl who participates in the contest becomes a princess – distinctions in place are made with titles such as head princess). Princesses also codify to outsiders a uniquely Cowlitz identity as people who paddle canoes (all the princesses dance a ceremonial paddling dance) and as a people who have what was frequently describes by tribal members as "blueblood". This is a phrase many Cowlitz are enormously proud of and I was told is a quote from a white settler who described the Cowlitz as the true bluebloods of the Pacific Northwest Native Americans. By using the term 'princesses' and creating a special matrilineal place for all girls within the tribe, the tribe codifies its aristocratic view of itself, and promotes this view to outsiders when the princesses dance at ceremonies, tribal, and intertribal events. The closest historical example of such coding is in the legends mentioned earlier regarding the "Five king Countries" (Wilson, 1998:257,260-264) where the historical tribe coded their class distinction in a way similar to the English saying "bluebloods".

Drum Group works in much the same way as Canoe Family regarding territorialization, expression, and coding. The difference is that instead of using a canoe, the Drum Group uses drumming and singing of Cowlitz songs, and a distinct Cowlitz regalia.   The Cowlitz regalia, while used in Canoe Family among the children and at official ceremonies by spiritual leaders, is not generally worn by pullers in the Canoe Family for safety and comfort reasons. Therefore, the most common place to see everyone dressed in regalia is when Drum Group performs. Drum Group is open to all Cowlitz and meets regularly to practice and learn songs. The drums used are traditional wood framed, hide covered, hand held drums ranging in size from six to 20+ inches across. They are held in one hand and are beat with a leather covered drum stick. Each person stylizes their drum with paintings, feathers, or other symbols personally important to them. Cowlitz regalia includes blue or black felt vests and dresses, trimmed with blue and/or red piping, and white pearly buttons. Some also are decorated with dentalia[58]. Bead and dentalia necklaces, earing and hair pieces are added according to the individual's preference. Many regalia vests and dresses have a Cowlitz symbol on the back, such as the tribal seal, a stylized eagle or salmon, or the words "Cowlitz" and/or "Elder".

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[58] Dentalia is a clam shell found in deep waters off Vancouver Island and prized as money by precolonial Native Americans.

The group drums in unison while singing Cowlitz songs. Usually Drum Group performances are accompanied by a spiritual leader, or at least a prayer, and take place at a range of activities from tribal ceremonies to honoring visiting dignitaries to educational programs in the settler community. As the drums are easier to carry than the canoe, the Drum Group often goes farther afield than the Canoe Family and has been known to send representatives of the tribe to ceremonies and gatherings across the US. Drum Group works to territorialize and deterritorialize at the same time by establishing Cowlitz territorial and identity boundaries while also exposing them to various other tribal and non-tribal cultures and territories. The songs and regalia serve to express identity, and the same phrases heard at Canoe Family and other group level gatherings, such as 'do the work', can be heard frequently among the Drum Group.

Still at the group level but only once a year, the annual fall Cowlitz Powwow has grown in size and popularity since it began in 1999. Outsiders are welcomed and invited to join in regardless of tribal or settler affiliation. Powwow is not a traditionally Cowlitz activity in the sense that Cowlitz did not have 'powwows' prior to contact with Euro-Americans. However, this non-Cowlitz ceremony has become an accepted activity with an expressive role for the tribe, and also has become the word used by some tribal members to describe the semi-annual gatherings of the historical tribe (Irwin, 2014:105). While outsiders are welcome, today's Cowlitz Powwow has a distinctly Cowlitz flavor and identity. Regalia for the tribe is prominent, head dancers

are Cowlitz, and Cowlitz values and norms are the expected code of behavior. While

doing ethnographic research, Cowlitz tribal members spoke of visitors from other tribes

who had broken behavioral norms of the Cowlitz and had been asked to leave. The

dinner served at the Powwow is distinctly Cowlitz in that salmon, a prolific and

important Cowlitz symbol and commodity, is served in such quantity that no-one goes

away hungry except by choice. The role of the Powwow in the Cowlitz community

does mirrors the historical event of annual Cowlitz gatherings in many ways. In the

same ways as those early gatherings, the annual Powwow territorializes the Cowlitz

because Powwow is always held in Cowlitz territory and affords the tribe an

opportunity to show outsiders how Cowlitz do things. Powwow also deterritorializes

by letting in other tribes, dances, ideas, and cultures. The annual spring Children's

Powwow held by the Cowlitz at Kelso High School plays similar roles, except that more

non-Indians attend, giving it a double role in expressing tribal values regarding the

importance of children, health, and emergent anti-Domestic Violence norms within the

tribe and to settlers alike.

At the same level as group activities, but on a different line of trajectory and with

different combinations of component assemblages, are the various boards, committees,

and administrative groups of the tribal governmental structure. These emergent

properties and assemblages include, but are not limited to, Youth Board, Culture Board,

Economic Development, Natural Resources, Housing Board, Admin, Health Board, and

Education Committee. This governmental structure is an emergent property of the contemporary tribe that, on the surface, looks quite different from the historical tribe. In the 1950s, the Cowlitz tribal government formally reorganized in a Western style constitutional form with elected leaders, committees, and boards.   While the constitution has been amended since that time, and the tribal population grown, the basic pattern of democratic election of leaders, a constitution, and committees or groups empowered to administrate decisions of the tribe has remained intact. According to an anonymous source from the tribe, this emergent property of the tribe is in direct cause-and-effect relationship with the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934[59] and the tribe's pursuit of compensation for unilateral extinguishment of land title in aboriginal territory. As the tribe interacted in external relations with the US government to gain compensation, the tribe made a motive decision that reorganization of the tribal governmental structure would improve the tribe's ability to negotiate with the US.

Because it uses a western based system, a constitution, and meetings following Roberts Rules of Order, it can seem deceptively different from the historical tribal assemblage's governmental structure. However, there are also a great many similarities between the two emergent structures. This was often pointed out by tribal members during ethnographic research. The favorite connection drawn between contemporary

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[59] The Indian Reorganization Act allowed for and encouraged tribes to create constitutions modeled after Euro-American constitutions, elections, and political structures (Sect.16).

and historical tribal governance was the democratic (meaning 'based on popular vote') and merit based system of leadership. In nearly every conversation about tribal government, tribal members brought up the fact that leadership is elected based on leadership qualities, majority approval of the leader, and how well the leader was doing in their job. According to tribal members, this is comparable to pre-contact governance of the tribe, where leadership was gained through a proven ability to lead and influence the tribe.

There were three exceptions to this view of contemporary tribal government. These were Interviewees L and P, and one conversation with a tribal member during a tribal event who was not able to be interviewed at a later date. These three exceptions all noted, instead, that voting by the majority fell along family lines, meaning that the larger and more influential a family was, the more likely their family members were to be elected to leadership positions. Several interviewees and tribal members remarked that families worked to have all their people at the voting when a family member stood for election, but were not seen at meetings again until the next time a family member needed electing. Here, the similarity of the system with the historical system where influential, wealthy families passed on leadership to sons who were then expected to maintain their leadership through merit must be noted. Rather than a departure from historical tribal structure, the contemporary tribe is similarly structured in regard to its

leadership. Thus, an influential family might be in leadership for several generations in the historical tribe as well as the contemporary tribe, based on both influence and merit.

A significant difference between emergent historical governance and contemporary governance for the Cowlitz is the lack of an 'opt out' for those who disagree with tribal decisions. As noted in chapter five, the historical tribe gave leadership the ability to make decisions for the tribe, but if tribal members dissented, they were free to opt out of whatever the decision was. The division between Chief Umtuch and Yakatowit during the Indian Wars of 1955-56 was an example of this opt out scenario. The contemporary Cowlitz Tribe does not have an opt out system. Instead they allow grievances or dissent to be expressed through council members who represent them, during open mic times at meetings and through election opposition. If a tribal member does not like the decisions of the leaders, instead of opting out, their recourse is to try and change the decisions through influence and lobbying, or working to changing the people in leadership at election time. Yet even this clearly different system bares some similarity to the historical government system in that it does allow for dissent and alternative voices. Interviewees were unanimous that if they had a problem with something the tribe was doing they would go to the tribal council member they felt best represented them and discuss the issue. Tribal council members who were interviewed unanimously voiced that if a tribal member had a concern it was the council member's duty to listen and consider it, recognizing that the council's job is

to work for the people who elected them. In the historical context, a dissenting voice could be heard and they could work throughout the tribe to influence decisions to their way of thinking through discussion and 'lobbying'. Similarly, a contemporary tribal member may seek to open discussion in the tribe on a subject and influence tribal members to vote a certain way on tribal decisions, or influence a council member to their way of thinking. While the formal system differs in its protocols and forms, the underlying emergent norm of free dissent and influence building exists in both the historical and contemporary tribal systems.

Interviews revealed another emergent norm of the contemporary tribe; the idea that the leaders of the tribe work for the people of the tribe. The underlying value is that of prosperity for the tribe at large rather than individual power grabbing or benefitting one's own interests through tribal leadership. That is not to say that a tribal leader may not benefit from leadership, but that their reason for leading should not *only* be to benefit themselves, but to also do what is best for the tribe. This bares a remarkable resemblance to the 'give-away' system of the historical tribe. The norm and values behind the give-away, or *potlatch*, was that a leader shared their wealth with others in the tribe so that the whole tribe benefitted. A leader was expected to gain from their position, but that gain was for the betterment of the tribe as a whole, not just the leader. The leader was expected to share benefits with others and be concerned with

the welfare of all as well as their own family. The values behind these emergent norms

of leadership show a continuity between historical and contemporary tribal values.

Groups, committees, and boards, while expressing emergent norms and values

of the tribe, also play material roles within the tribe. These are the groups responsible

for administrating the decisions of the general tribal membership and the council for the

benefit of the overall tribe. Committees and boards make decisions about how money is

spent at the program level, set budgets, use resources, hire employees, and generally

manage the material assets of the tribe. In terms of the historical tribe, these

committees, boards, and groups take on much the same role as villages. Historical

villages managed the resources, set rules and taboos for their area regarding resource

use and management, and were responsible to the people for making best use of the

village and tribal assets. Through the use of technology such as cell phones and

internet, geographical location is no longer the boundary between these groups as in the

old village system, but the comparison between the role of the village and the role of

boards and committees can still be made. In the contemporary tribal structure, those

managing resources are bound by categories such as 'culture', 'economic development',

and 'youth'. Instead of having group say over a particular location and all its resources

and needs, committees and boards have control over a category with its attendant

resources and needs. Historically, villages cooperatively set standards, resource

allocation, and use regulations much in the same way that boards and committees do in

the contemporary tribe. The material and expressive roles are the same for the contemporary and historical assemblages even though the coding, or system which legitimizes the material and expressive roles, stems from location and resource availability for the historical tribe and from a constitution and bylaws in the contemporary tribe.

The elder housing program is an example of this. When the tribe bought St. Mary's[60] in 2002, they created elder housing. There is a board, now known as the housing board, which is responsible to set rules, set budgets, allocate funds, make decisions, hire employees, and generally control the ebb and flow of material resources involved in tribal housing. While there is a separate program director for elder programs and not all elder programs are run through tribal housing, the majority of them are at least linked to housing because many of the tribal elders live in elder housing at St. Mary's. Elder lunches, outings, and activities often take place at St. Mary's or are organized in cooperation with elder housing at St. Mary's. In this way, the housing board has become one of the gatekeepers to the resources of the tribe allocated for elders and housing. There is housing available for younger tribal members, for which the board also acts as gatekeeper, but the housing board does not

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[60] St. Mary's was the Catholic Mission build at Cowlitz Prairie near present day Toledo, WA in the heart of Cowlitz aboriginal territory. Initially established by the Catholic church in the 1840s, St. Mary's has played an integral role in the history of the tribe since that time. In 2002, the Cowlitz Tribe bought St. Mary's and developed it into elder housing and a central location for meetings, gatherings, camps, and other cultural activities.

have as much control over the lives of the younger tribal members who make use of

housing resources.

The historical village system directly affected the local population materially and

expressively while indirectly affecting the tribe at large by making the village into

resource gatekeepers. Similarly, the board/committee system is designed to directly

impact the category over which they have control while at the same time, the tribe at

large is impacted by establishing the boards and committees as gatekeepers for tribal

resources. This broader tribal impact brings us to the next and last level of assemblages

within the tribe that will be examined in this research: the tribe as a whole in the form of

general council and the Tribal Council.

General and Tribal Council

When work on this research started in 2013, Cowlitz leaders made it clear that

ethnographic research could be done at any tribal activity or ceremony except the

formal meetings of the general tribe and Tribal Council because those meetings were

closed to non-members. As a result, this section of the research relies heavily on

conversations that took place during ethnographic study before and after the meetings,

and on records of meetings published in BIA reports, as well as books published by

tribal members who were allowed in the meetings.

All tribal members of voting age make up what is known as the general council. The general council meets twice a year, currently at St. Mary's in Toledo, WA. These meetings consist of reports from tribal leaders, a spiritual address from the spiritual leaders, and a business meeting in which voting, debate, and decisions on a tribal level take place following Roberts Rules of Order. The general council votes for leaders who form the Tribal Council. This includes a Chairman, Vice-Chairman, Secretary, Treasurer, and 18 members at large, for a total of 22 Tribal Council members. These leaders are then placed onto many of the lower level boards mentioned in the preceding section and are generally responsible to keep a pulse on the tribe, make sure all tribal members are considered and have opportunities to receive benefits as tribal members, as well as make decisions for the tribe as the governing body.

Outside of the governing body of the Tribal Council, there are other influential roles, the strongest of which are the spiritual leaders of the tribe. The spiritual leaders are called upon at all meetings and ceremonies to present prayers, make speeches, recite tribal stories and legends, and teach the people Cowlitz ways. There are currently two spiritual leaders, a male and female. Their material role, at first glance, seems limited to teaching uses of traditional healing and ceremonial plants and objects. However, as those who teach tribal ways, they hold influential positions that affect decisions the tribe makes regarding use of all its material resources. They also have ample expressive

and coding roles within the tribe. They convey the identity of the tribe and the boundaries of Cowlitz ways to tribal members on an almost continuous basis.

The Chairman also holds a special place in the tribe as the designated leader who steers the tribe according to his vision of what is best for the tribe in the immediate and long-term future. The Chairman holds a place of honor at all gatherings, and is often asked to say a few words at official gatherings and ceremonies. In addition to this he is the visual representative of the tribe to outside governments. He is given a prominent place on the front page of the tribal newsletter to express his views or comment on current topics within the tribe, makes occasional but prominent posts on the tribal websites, and during the ethnographic research was often seen serving food and greeting individual tribal members at various tribal meals. With such a conspicuous place in the tribe, the Chairman has a dominant expressive and coding role. His words are recorded during meetings and repeated afterwards among the general tribe. His writings and posts express his own thoughts and opinions, but as Chairman are also attributed to the tribe at large. This expresses tribal identity to tribal members and outsiders alike. At a tribal dinner following Salmon Ceremony in 2015, the expressive and coding roles of the spiritual leaders and Chairman were obvious as they took turns speaking for 45 minutes on events within the tribe.

In December 2014, the tribe held a celebration on the land to commemorate the US Supreme Court's decision to put the La Center land into trust. Only a few months

later, with the victory still fresh and the excitement tangible, the yearly Salmon Ceremony took place, followed by a dinner at St. Mary's. It was in this setting that the spiritual leaders and Chairman spoke, and their words were a calculated performance of memory, identity expression, and coding for the tribal members present.

After drumming and singing led by the Drum Group, the tribe took a moment to honor the tribal *Kay'as* (grandmothers) and the Chairman for their dedicated service to the tribe. After this, spiritual leader and Honorary Chief Roy Wilson spoke of the history of the tribe being a history of prevailing in struggle for recognition. Several times Wilson expressed the current need and the historical existence of an attitude in the tribe that says, "we shall prevail". This was followed by spiritual leader Tanna Engdahl who started with Robblin's Role, the historical marker of tribal membership, and combined her remembrance of recent tribal ancestors with US settler Memorial Day which had just passed. Engdahl spoke of ancient burial sites known to various tribal members and encouraged the people to go back to the graves and honor their ancestors. They were instructed to tell their ancestors, "how the tribe is doing today".

The spiritual leaders, after expressing the identity of the tribe in terms of ancestors and prevailing against struggles, then turned the microphone over to the Chairman, Bill Iyall. The Chairman began by reciting the date and circumstances of the ruling regarding the reservation and passed out 'reservation day' medallions of commemoration to all tribal members who had not yet received one. After this, Bill Iyall

introduced the Chairman of the Mohegan Tribe, Kevin Brown, and presented him with

gifts from the Cowlitz in recognition and thanks for the Mohegan Tribe's help in the

process of establishing land in trust and a gaming compact with the State of

Washington. From there, Chairman Iyall began to narrate the process of establishing

federal recognition of the tribe and the land trust. He spoke of each individual who put

"countless hours" of research and effort into the struggle. He spoke the names of tribal

members and outsiders who were integral in the process or made major contributions

going all the way back to the Vancouver Treaty negotiations with Governor Stevens in

the 1850s. He acknowledged the role the local BIA had played, mainly Stan Speaks, in

supporting the tribe's endeavors and signing the trust paperwork. Then he

congratulated the tribe on their victory against the powerful and hegemonic US system,

emphasizing the identity of Cowlitz as overcomers. At that point in the speech,

Chairman Iyall switched to a recognition of all Cowlitz tribal members in attendance

who were US veterans. He connected the current veterans to the historical Cowlitz

Rangers[61]. Hats with "Cowlitz Rangers" were passed out to all veterans and they were

told that as veterans they were automatically considered part of the Cowlitz Rangers, a

reserve unit still on the army lists in Washington State.

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[61] The Cowlitz Rangers were a militia of Cowlitz who served the Cowlitz Tribe and the US by providing protection for the Cowlitz and settlers during the 1855-56 wars between Governor Stevens and other Native Americans.

While this switch to honoring veterans may seem incongruous, it was a calculated maneuver to create an identity of fighter, warrior, strength, and prevailing against struggle. Chairman Iyall was connecting the past and the ancestors to the present in a tangible way. This became apparent when, after the presentation of the hats, he moved back into his summary of the historical struggle for recognition and a land trust by honoring more visitors and tribal members who had helped the tribe in this struggle, reciting the work each had done. He finished with questions for the tribe to emphasize his point and lead them to a place of taking up the identity he had just outlined. He asked those present to celebrate new members, pay attention and learn all they can, and posed the following questions: Who will pass on the traditions? How will we thank the ancestors? How will we teach the tribe, half of which are under the age of 18? How do we teach them? Chairman Iyall ended with a statement on the positive outlook of the tribe and its future, accompanied by many challenges. This was followed by Wilson and Engdahl blessing the meal in a combination of English and Chinook Jargon[62].

In the interplay between the spiritual leaders and the Chairman, it became obvious the roles they each carry in expressing the identity of the tribe. Each one specifically set out identity markers spanning the tribe from historical to contemporary

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[62] Chinook Jargon is the trade language used by Pacific Northwest tribes as they interacted with each other. It is a mixture of Athabaskan, Sahaptin, Salish, (and later) French, and English.

times. Each one connected identity to the past and present, creating a continuous

identity of strength in struggle and ultimate victory. In addition to this, specific

behaviors and norms were coded into the message. Behaviors such as 'doing the work'

in the long hours given to benefit the tribe, visiting, remembering and honoring

ancestors, and teaching this identity and tribal norms to future generations.

According to Interviewee F, "storytelling is how Cowlitz convey who they are as

a tribe and as individuals. Family and story were the glue that held us together for so

long before we were recognized and embarked on creating programs that are a more

visible framework". In addition to narrative storytelling, Chairman Iyall took the step

of openly asking the members present at the dinner to embrace the identity that had just

been outlined and teach it to new and young tribal members. In doing this he was

simultaneously outlining identity, creating identity boundaries (those who do not fit

this description might not be 'one of us'), and coding membership norms and values

into the minds and hearts of the listeners through a connection to the past.

Similar speeches and identity markers are given at nearly all Cowlitz gatherings,

and the proof of their expressive and coding roles in the tribe can be perceived in the

interviews conducted for this research. Each interviewee was asked to give five words

that describe the Cowlitz Tribe to them.   The largest number of answers were

synonyms and words related to this idea of persevering through struggle and winning,

such as, "determined", "stubborn", "tenacious", "persistent", "not going to give up",

and "People who always prevail". The next most popular set of words were

"enduring", "proud", and "strong"[63]. Clearly the expressions and coding of identity

given at gatherings regarding the tribe are an internalized emic reality for the Cowlitz

people that is broadly embraced. Even the five people who did not give single word

descriptions and chose to give a lengthy reply gave examples of persevering through

hardship, working towards goals and achieving them, and a general portrait of the tribe

as hard working and not giving in to hegemonic systems of power.

This was reinforced again in expression and coding during Roy Wilson's

interview which morphed into a history lesson of the struggles faced by the tribe in the

last 200 years, and the tribe's responses of refusing to give in to pressure from settler

culture and government until they ultimately prevail in their goals.   Wilson had asked

at the beginning of the interview what the research was about, and I told him that the

goal was to find out how the tribe perceives itself. From this point, Roy began his

history lesson, couched in terms of his personal experiences, memories of his family and

friends, and his hopes for the future of the tribe. Clearly this identity of struggling,

persevering, and prevailing is a strong internal identity of the tribe.

While the coding and expressing of that identity serve to keep it foremost in the

minds and actions of the Cowlitz people, the expressive performance also serves to

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[63] For full list and number of occurrences of descriptive words, see Appendix A.

territorialize the tribe. Remember that territorialization is defined as processes that

increase the internal homogeneity of the assemblage. Territorialization can act as

physical boundaries of territory, but also as emotional, psychological, social and

identity boundaries for an assemblage. In the case of identity performance and

expression, the nearly continuous repetition of these identity boundaries works to

territorialize emotionally, socially, and physically.

Emotionally, the process creates what Interviewee E called the, "shared

experience and the shared heritage" which created feelings of togetherness and

closeness. The common identity coding, for this interviewee, creates an emotional bond

with other members of the tribe that she does not have with non-Cowlitz people, not

even those who are blood relatives. Ten other interviewees (C,U,G,K,V,F,W,D,S, and T)

expressed a degree of emotional bond stemming from the shared identity of struggle,

perseverance, and prevailing against hegemonic power.

Interviewee E later described the social impact of this shared heritage when she

said,

> "Knowing where you're from. Knowing your own traditions. I know there's things that we hold that somebody, a tribe on the East Coast, isn't going to feel that way ... I place a lot of importance on participating because if you're not doing anything to keep your heritage going, to educate, the participate at all, then you're just native. Or you're not even acknowledging it anyway. Being Cowlitz, I'm here with my people, with others who appreciate this tribe and my people and this particular set of values and particular heritage that we have."

Interviewee E clearly stated that if one was not socially participating in the shared heritage of the Cowlitz people, one was just Native American, not Cowlitz. Interviewee E made a distinction between those who were not able to participate and those who were able but chose not to, saying, "Maybe that's kind of harsh, I don't know if they are maybe not able to live down there, what have you". These answers were given in response to the question "is there a difference between being Native American and being Cowlitz?" Interviewee E made the case that social activity within the tribe based on knowledge of a common heritage, the identity of the Cowlitz people as they live, struggle, and overcome in their particular setting and time, is what makes one Cowlitz.

In addition to the common identity of struggle and overcoming creating social and emotional territorialization, it also creates physical territorialization. In every repeated story of struggle against settler and hegemonic power, place and time are given to anchor the listener in a specific physical territory. Dupres (2014) notes this when she says, "temporal specificity create[s] a specific time, place, and event" that mark out Cowlitz territory as opposed to more vague references that are outside Cowlitz territory such as somewhere, "up on the Pacific Coast" (85-86). In Chairman Iyall's address at the Salmon Dinner, he repeatedly mentions "Chelatchi Prairie" and the phrase found in the Vancouver Treaty Notes by Boyd that said the Cowlitz, "value it most and would part with it last". This was a direct reference to the land trust struggle and the placement of the new reservation just outside La Center, WA. The

performance of expressions such as these serve to physically territorialize the tribe within a specific area which then becomes ingrained in the minds of the Cowlitz people as aboriginal territory. Proof of this physical territorializing role came when interviewees were asked what the physical boundaries of Cowlitz territory were. The place names and boundaries given matched those mentioned most frequently in expressions of identity from tribal leaders.   Most often, physical boundaries were given in conjunction with events related in history through phrases like 'beyond that spot where this thing happened, that's not Cowlitz'.   Since Dupres published an in depth analysis of contemporary Cowlitz identity expression through these leadership narratives in 2014, to repeat the analysis here would be redundant. Instead, Dupres' analysis can be seen as a confirmation of the expressive, coding, and territorializing roles these publicly and privately performed narratives play in tribal identity.

In terms of comparison between the historical tribe and the contemporary tribe in the analysis of identity expressions from tribal leadership, similarities can be drawn with the legends of the historical Cowlitz. Dupres found two key Cowlitz identity markers in her research that were directly related to the role leadership played in expression of identity through narrative. The first, and most important for this research, was that, "for the Cowlitz the most important concepts that help solidify their tribal identity are those of land, corporate anger (anger of the people, the corpus), group persistence against all odds, and familial survival" (10). Dupres takes the step of calling

these contemporary repeated narratives the new "legends" of the tribe. This is where

we see similarity with the legends of the historical Cowlitz. As shown in chapter five,

the historical legends served the roles of expressing identity, solidifying and limiting

identity through territorialization, and stabilizing identity through coding. The same

roles have just been revealed regarding the process of leadership narrative at

contemporary Cowlitz gatherings, and is confirmed in the research published by

Dupres. Rather than replacing the old legends with new, the Cowlitz tribe has

maintained a continuity of legend making and legend use that serves the same

purposes it served in the historical tribe. That purpose being the pulling together, or

consolidation, of Cowlitz emic identity.

While identity performance is an important role leaders are expected to fulfill, it

is no longer a major point of contention whether a person has detailed knowledge of the

tribe's customs and history in order to be considered a leader[64]. Instead, leadership is

socially based on how much work the person does in regard to the tribe. Many of

today's leaders of programs and activities, as well as council members do not have a

long knowledge of the tribe (although they are expected to have some knowledge of

recent tribal affairs such as the recognition process). For example, Juanita Clark is a

tribally acknowledge *Kay'a*, a leader of the tribe, and role model for younger women in

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[64] Fitzpatrick (2004), believed these were necessary for leadership prior to 1990.

the tribe based on her desire to help them grow in the knowledge of what it means to be Cowlitz. In the last 20 years she has learned recent Cowlitz history but her background and youth were spent with other non-Cowlitz Indians. In her interview, she frequently expressed a wish that she did know more of the Cowlitz traditions and ways (and is actively increasing her knowledge) but she would not be considered a "traditional" Cowlitz by many standards because she is not well versed in Cowlitz historical practices, language, and beliefs. Despite this, over the year this research was conducted she was several times honored as a leader for her work investing in youth and teaching the values and identity of the tribe to younger tribal members.

Those who 'do the work' and help the tribe 'pull together' were generally those honored at ceremonies and gatherings, pointed out to me by tribal members as truly Cowlitz, and seemed to have the greatest influence over tribal affairs. Those who have greater material, expressive, and coding effects on the tribe seem more likely to be in leadership roles than those who had extensive historical knowledge of the tribe. This relationship, however, is reciprocal because the more leadership positions one has, the more material, expressive and coding roles one has as well. The important result of the research here is not which came first, the leadership role or the influence, but the fact that knowledge of traditions is no longer a significant factor in whether one has influence over the tribe.

While it is not known whether knowledge of traditions or competence in doing the work was more important in the historical tribe, it is known that incompetence could get a person removed from leadership no matter how much traditional knowledge they had. This would seem to indicate a similar pattern for both historical and contemporary leadership in the tribe. In addition to this, leadership in the historical tribe came with the expectation of using material, expressive, and coding roles to benefit and lead the tribe, much as the contemporary tribe is doing today. To be sure, there are differences between the headmen and shaman of the past and today's tribal council and spiritual leaders. But the work of the council and leaders, while altered according to the current situation of the tribe and technology, is not all that different from the work of leaders over 150 years ago.

There are other changes in the overall tribe in recent years besides the values underpinning leadership roles in the tribe. Some of these changes are material. When interviewees were asked what the single biggest change in the tribe over the last 50 years was, the unanimous answer was "recognition". When US federal recognition of the Cowlitz Tribe became final on December 31, 2001, millions of dollars in federal funding and programs became available to the tribe. The obvious connection between recognition, the new funds and programs, and changes in the tribe was confirmed by all interviewees. The most obvious changes were material: elder housing and the purchase of St. Mary's in Toledo, WA; the purchase a large number of other parcels of land by the

tribe; health programs and medical facilities; natural resources and cultural departments; paid employees; a tribal legal department rather than outside firms hired; the creation of camps, cultural programs, and scholarships; and greater participation in US and international indigenous programs. These material changes also have territorializing and deterritorializing effects on the tribe. By creating programs, buying land, and using the new material resources for cultural and physical improvement of the tribe, the tribe is able to broaden the reach of its coding roles by gathering more people more often. This territotializes the tribe, stabilizing identity within the tribe. Many of the programs also contain elements designed to code Cowlitz identity for the group, such as cedar weaving, language classes, journeys, camps, and other programs that teach historical and modern knowledge, history, values, and norms of the tribe.
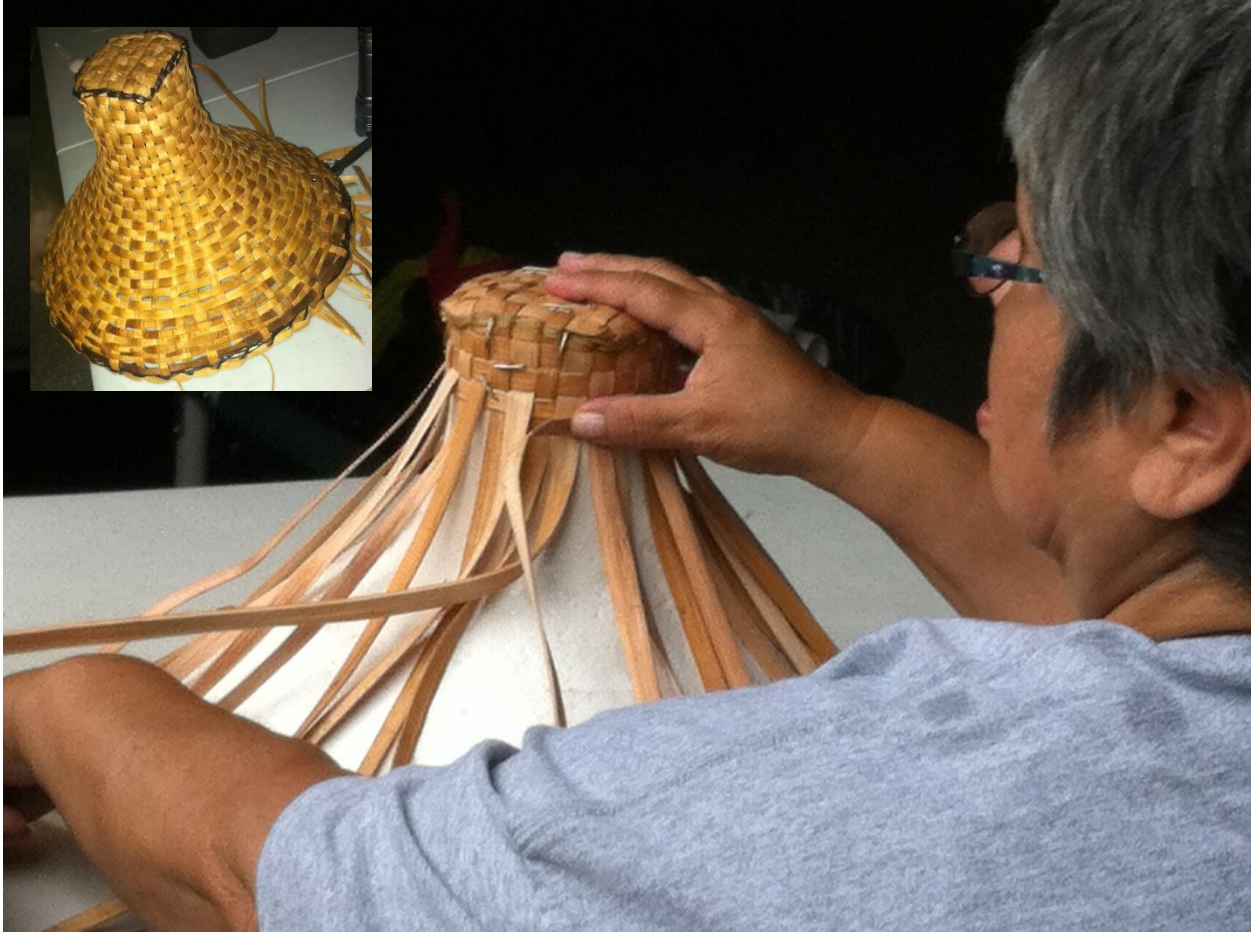
Patty Kinsaw-Geiser weaving a traditional cedar bark hat

At the same time, increased participation of all ages in all gatherings, and at US and international indigenous conferences, gatherings, and programs deterritorializes the tribe by allowing outside influences to penetrate the tribe. During the research, several youth were sent to Arizona for a pan-native youth conference where they were exposed to the traditions and ways of many US based Native American groups. Scholarship funds were given to college students who attended mainstream universities in the hegemonic settler system, while others attended colleges and training programs

on the reservations of other tribes. These occasions allow for the identity of Cowlitz

tribal members to be influenced by outside groups and can change identity boundaries

within the tribe as these individuals bring back and share what they have experienced

with other tribal members.

Less materially oriented, and more expressive and coding in nature, are changes

such as the new tribal seal, the tribal flag, and new songs created by the Drum Group.

Prior to recognition, the tribal seal contained non-Cowlitz symbols such as a tipi. After

recognition, a contest was held to design a new tribal seal that better represented the

identity and values of the tribe. The wining submission, and the seal now used by the

tribe, contains only contemporary Cowlitz cultural and place symbols: a salmon,

Lawe'latla (Mt. St. Helens) post 1980 eruption, a river, and clouds. When interviewees

were asked what symbols of the tribe or things immediately made them think, "this is

Cowlitz" the following responses were made:

> "the salmon became very much, was a very important part of our tribal
> way of life. It was like bread to the tribe. It was something you had all year long.
> In the winter it had been stored and dried from, cured from back in the fishing
> season, so it was a daily part of your diet. The salmon became not only important
> as a food, but then as I listened to the elders talk and tell the old stories, it
> became like a teacher. It was taught we're salmon people. Like the salmon. It
> fights its way back up against a very strong current. It leaps over tremendous
> waterfalls. It continues up stream against all obstacles to get back to its spawning
> grounds. We as Cowlitz people are swimming upstream against state, federal
> government, and all. Just be like the salmon, ready to fight the rough currents of
> the river of life. Leaving the falls, you'll get to the spawning grounds. And the
> salmon was the real part of our lessons."   (Roy Wilson)

"Fish in general. Usually, I love to see the big Kings (salmon) when they come up. They're beautiful and I get quite a few through the tribe and I smoke them and bring a lot of fresh fish and I keep my kids and grandkids supplied with not all they want, but so they always know what it is." (Interviewee J)

"Trees have always been very important. Cedar has always been very important. Huckleberries probably."   (Phil Harju)

"Really the biggest thing that I see that says Cowlitz Tribe is the salmon logo that is on all the headings and all the webpages… it's all of it. It's that water. It's the river. When you see Cowlitz River you just think, I think automatically, I'm in the area. And with this area just automatically comes mountains and salmon."   (Lisa Majewski)

"The Cowlitz river; the mountains, the berry fields."   (Interviewee B)

These symbols clearly have an expressive role for the tribe, and the fact that the

most often mentioned symbols are represented in the new seal is not a coincidence. The

salmon and the river, the two most prominent features of the seal, were the two

symbols most often mentioned. The next most often mentioned symbols were berries,

Mt. St. Helens, and cedar. While St. Helens is also prominent in the seal, the view of St.

Helens includes the foothills where berries and cedar are traditionally harvested. Two

people directly mentioned the seal itself as the ultimate symbol of the tribe and Cowlitz

identity. This seal was chosen by the general tribe to represent the tribe both internally

and externally. It is now used on websites, official tribal documents and publications, is

at the center of an otherwise barren white flag (white being a traditional colour worn by

Cowlitz women according to an anonymous tribal member), and is painted on vans,

canoes, buildings, and road signs throughout the tribe as an expression of a specifically

Cowlitz identity.

Cowlitz Tribal Seal

Part of the contemporary identity the seal and flag serve to express is the sovereignty of

the Cowlitz Tribe. For example, the flag is hung with other tribes that have sovereign

nation status in the Washington State capital. Other expressions of sovereignty as part

of Cowlitz identity include: making agreements with surrounding settler governments;

use of land and treaty rights; and tax free status on the new reservation at La Center.

While the flag and seal are primarily symbolic expressions of sovereignty, the other

expressions of sovereignty also play very material roles in the tribe.

"I think that the tribe is trying to work with its neigbours. A lot of those - I think they are necessary. So everybody is clear on what we are doing and what we're attempting to do… I think that if you didn't have the sovereignty, you wouldn't be making those agreements." In this quote, Interviewee B is referring to the many agreements the tribe has made within the last 10 years as planning and preparation for economic development on the new reservation progressed. These agreements, according to several interviewees, are a direct expression of the sovereignty of the tribe because if the tribe were not sovereign, it could not make these agreements. However, each agreement provides a material role for the tribe as well, securing police and law enforcement on tribal land, waste disposal, emergency response, financial distribution to surrounding communities impacted by tribal activities, and much more.

The use of natural resources and the exercise of hunting and fishing rights within aboriginal territory also has dual sovereignty purposes within the tribe. By using land, lakes, and other natural resources, the tribe physically expresses its sovereign rights as outlined in treaties, as well as expressing its sovereign territorial boundaries. Sovereign territorial boundaries are hard to define among the Cowlitz. Some interviewees believed all former aboriginal territory was their sovereign territory while others recognized a more legal sovereignty limited to tribally owned land and the new reservation. Two interviewees and several tribal members during ethnographic study mentioned that the next step after establishing the reservation was to fight for treaty

hunting and fishing rights in Cowlitz historical territory. "Now what we have to do with our federal recognition of our sovereignty is we need to begin to plan and prepare to go back to the federal government as a federally recognized tribe and have our hunting and fishing rights restored back here on the Cowlitz River and the Cowlitz country" (Roy Wilson). There is a feeling within the tribe that while hunting and fishing is done throughout historical territory on Cowlitz terms instead of according to US and Washington State regulations, it is still seen by the Cowlitz as an unrecognized right and by the hegemonic authorities as illegal. This creates a kind of dual sovereignty which makes many Cowlitz feel they are not being respected as a sovereign nation, either historically or currently. As Juanita Clark expressed about Cowlitz sovereignty, "I always felt it, but we were powerless with it… [Now] I think we've got some respect. Not enough, but some, from the federal government".

Sovereignty is less limited on the reservation near La Center than on surrounding aboriginal territory, although still limited by the ultimate plenary authority of the US Congress. On the reservation the tribe may build as they wish and make agreements to follow local and state building codes if they wish, but are not required to do so. Also, Washington state sales tax does not apply to reservation land. If, as the tribe explains on their websites, a Cowlitz tribal member buys a car and the transfer of ownership takes place on the new reservation land, no sales tax is assessed. While no Cowlitz official document states that this is an expression of sovereign

identity, it was one of the first pieces of information published after the reservation was officially established. Exemption from sales tax is a right reserved only to recognized tribes with a sovereign reservation, also known as "Indian Country", and residents of other sovereign states such as Oregon. The use of tax exemption status is a direct and expressive exercise of the capacity of sovereignty with very material results for the tribe.

While chapter two and this chapter reveal the opinions and differences of the Cowlitz interviewees regarding sovereignty, their interviews also reveal some underlying principles of sovereignty they agree on. When asked to define sovereignty or describe Cowlitz sovereignty, interviewees gave a range of answers that reveal a less cohesive emic identity in the area of sovereignty:

>"I don't think that any tribes have true sovereignty like another nation, like France has with the US. It's sort of a semi-sovereignty. I'm having a hard time thinking about that because being coloured by this [reference removed] thing. Because the -------- tribe is sovereign, ---------- don't have any appeal beyond that, which I think is wrong. I think they should. But on the other hand, what would a tribal status be with the federal government if it didn't have sovereignty. If it wasn't – I don't know- it's hard to think about because in some areas there is sovereignty and in some areas there is not. So I don't know what the definition of it boils down to being. The ideal would be that the federal government wouldn't interfere in a tribe's business. But yet here we are taking grants from the federal government all the time. We're not self-sufficient…And even, let's say the Puyallup Tribe that has a very successful casino, or the Tulalip Tribe that has a very successful casino, I'm sure that they still get Indian Health Service money. They still take whatever grants they can qualify for, you know? It kind of makes sense to do that. It's kind of like, let's have the best of both worlds. But until now, not having a reservation, there hasn't been – cause sovereignty in

many ways is tied to having a reservation – so we haven't experienced a lot of sovereignty yet as a Cowlitz Tribe."   (Interviewee F)

"It's like we're a sovereign nation because we're federally recognized, we make our own rules, so to speak. Well, yeah, you go by the reservation and buy a car, you don't have to pay taxes. But I know working in the ------ Tribe, there's tribal laws and then there's non-tribal laws. And a lot of them are similar, but sometimes things are done a little differently in the tribal way. So I guess sovereignty to me is being able to, like our Cowlitz nation, being able to have their own rules or roles."   (Interviewee C)

Interviewees F and C believe that while the tribe does have a measure of sovereignty, it is not a complete sovereignty. They also believe that it is unclear where sovereignty begins and ends, and what role it plays in the tribe. Tribal members like these two often connect sovereignty not only with existence but also with recognition and various circumstances of relationship with the US hegemonic government.

"That we've always been here and never gave up the rights to our land. We are still exercising our rights to live in our land".   (Interviewee A)

"Sovereignty as far as the tribe's sovereignty…we are our own government… That we govern ourselves…And I guess also we have the right or the ability to govern our own people. But since we are in the United States, we still have to abide by some of those laws…Well, how do I handle it? I guess it's - I don't know really how to explain how I handle it. I mean we are US citizens but - I'm really not quite sure how to answer that. I don't feel that we have - let me step back. We have certain rights, I guess, that non-Indians don't… at least in some people's eyes. Myself, I don't know that I necessarily agree with that but - I don't know."   (Interviewee B)

"Sovereignty is something we've strived for for years. It was taken away from us, and then trying to get it back. One of the things that amazed me was when I was told that there's no Cowlitz nation. 'Yes there's a Cowlitz nation'. 'No there's not, you don't have a tribe'. 'Yes we have a tribe'. You may not think we have a tribe, but we have been here since eons. I can show you my lineage back to the early 1700s. And yes there's Cowlitz people. Whether you believe it or not there's Cowlitz people. So getting our "sovereignty" as far as the government's concerned, getting it back was 'ok, you finally have given us something we never did lose – you just thought we did'." (Interviewee M)

In contrast to Interviewees F and C, Interviewees A and B believe that the Cowlitz are and always have been sovereign and are clearly exercising their sovereignty simply by existing and working together as a tribe, recognized or not.

"sovereignty is the power to exercise governance over your people. The modern version connects it to a defined land. I believe that historically there never was a defined land but not a specific point. Yes, [the Cowlitz Tribe now is sovereign] as much as a tribe can be in this modern era… we still live in the United States. We still pay taxes as Americans. We still serve in the military as Americans. --------------, helped write and pass the Indian Citizenship Act of 1924. Literally we are citizens of a greater nation. I think [sovereignty]'s the tools we have to live in the world. I can't tell you what we would have used 200 years ago. I think, I'm quite certain that there was always some level of sovereignty. There was always a sense of place. It was your place. It was your tradition. Your culture. So all of those connect to sovereignty."   (Interviewee R)

"The whole series of recognition, the settlement of the land claims, and now land into trust and trying to provide economic development for the tribe, I just look at that as a continuum of the same, what I would call the recognition of our Cowlitz sovereignty, which I think is the most important. And that is not a one event happening. That took 160 years to get land into trust from the federal government. So it's the persistent Cowlitz and I think the whole thing of trying to do what's best for people and recognize us as a sovereign nation…it's hard to define sovereignty, but my definition is that we are a – the Cowlitz have been here in Southwest WA since time immemorial. We had our, what you Americans

call sovereignty, and did things, for since time – before recorded history and before Euro-American contact. The Cowlitz and the tribes in western WA took care of their people and provided for what in modern times you'd call government, and representative government and protection. So all of that, the sovereignty is the recognizing that the tribe's always had certain rights and still do. And how valuable the land is and how valuable our people are. And of course our most precious resource is our people. And part of sovereignty would be that we could protect our own people and provide for our wellness and common good and to protect our traditions, history, and culture…You could come up with a legal definition of sovereignty about federal recognition and all that, but I think sovereignty is a bigger picture than that for the tribe…sovereignty would not have been a word that tribes would have used 200 years ago. They would have, they wanted to be. A lot of the Euro-American legal concepts of property ownership, government, and some of those things were probably foreign to tribes because tribes that had been in an area for thousands of years understood what their area was and how they governed their people and how they got along. They needed food, they needed shelter, they needed protection and all of those things. So sovereignty is a Euro-American concept that we, sort of now with tribes and with the recognition of tribes and the US constitution, is a concept that is important to the tribes but was not a tribal, originally, a tribal word that would have been used. But to try to deny that sovereignty is important now is, would probably be, to the detriment of recognized tribes and their people."   (Interviewee Q)

Cowlitz tribal members like Interviewee Q believe that some form of sovereignty

always existed, even if it wasn't called that or defined in the same ways. But they also

agree that modern sovereignty is a concept used by tribes to encompass an entire range

of ideas from exercising rights and being recognized as a distinct group to living and

caring for people in the way a tribe thinks best, and not according to an outside

hegemonic power system. Still others have broader definitions that identify

sovereignty as a human condition or indigenous condition rather than a Cowlitz right

or legal concept:

> "to me it's kind of like everybody working together as one and but when they put nations with it, it kind of blows it all out the window because every tribe is for themselves and I've really noticed that if you want to be segregated out, it would be the Indians themselves do it to themselves and I don't know why that is." (Interviewee J)

> "Sovereign nation? Not necessarily we are a sovereign nation. When they speak of sovereign nation, I wouldn't say the Cowlitz is a sovereign nation…I would say that our entire Native American people are included in sovereign nation. It's not just us… the Cowlitz Tribe has had to fight for recognition just as some other tribes haven't been recognized yet, and I think that is totally wrong. They made everybody go through -- we had to prove that through history we were Cowlitz. But I just think that we were kind of left by the way side."
>
> (Grace Simmons)

> "I think it, because our people are so spiritual, it would be freedom. And then the freedoms that we had, our greatest freedom of course was to pray to the creator at all of our ceremonies. And the freedom to try to understand how we fit into this world as an Indian in my village. As a Cowlitz person in my village, how do I contribute to the whole? To the whole of life. And we had something else called a vision quest. I don't know what it would have been called, what the Cowlitz words were, but we knew that we had to have some quiet time, some alone time. We had to have a time where we could get a little bit more in sync with the rhythm, the sun and the movement of the earth and the feeling of the night time. And we had to listen to the sounds of the day. We had to listen to the sounds of the night. What did we encounter on that journey, having that alone time? To me that would be the most sovereign thing there is, the freedom to understand who you are who I am and how do I fit with these people, my people? How can I further their lives? How can I continue this village? How can I make sure this village endures? To me that would be, whatever word would describe that, that would be sovereignty in my mind." (Tanna Engdahl)

Engdahl's form of sovereignty, while grounded in spirituality, also has expressive and material roles for the tribe, such as the freedom to determine what is best and right for now and the future. In all cases, the material roles and expressive roles of sovereignty are clear, but what is not clear is a Cowlitz specific coding. This state of being is reminiscent of the descriptions interviewees gave of pre-contact sovereignty which western legal concepts do not accurately fit.

When asked if they knew of a Cowlitz word or phrase for the ideas embodied in sovereignty, however they defined it, the universal response was no. From the interviews, and to the extent this research was able to delve, there seems to be a lack of cohesive identity coding around the concept of sovereignty save for these broad generalizations: 1) sovereignty is inherent, 2) Cowlitz were sovereign prior to Euro-American contact, although that may have looked very different than today's concepts of sovereignty, 3) Cowlitz have either 'gained back', begun to exercise, or have had acknowledged in some way, their sovereignty. Materially and expressively, the concept of sovereignty has a considerable role in the contemporary tribe despite not having a cohesive understanding and coding of sovereignty among its members.

Since there is no record of a historical idea of sovereignty, it is difficult to make comparisons between past and present for the Cowlitz. The best that can be said is that, just as the contemporary tribe does not have a cohesive concept of sovereignty, the historical Cowlitz may not have had one either. There are references in the legends to

other groups as outsiders and to territory that is specifically Cowlitz, which is similar to

Cowlitz today. There are also concepts such as shared responsibility and making

choices with others in mind and the mutual good of all, which are similar to values

underlying concepts of sovereignty in today's Cowlitz people. In historical settler

records we find examples of Cowlitz working together to defeat enemies, protect

resources, make alliances at a tribal level, and working independently as a group

distinct from other tribal groups in negotiations. No doubt these settler records are

tinged with western ideas of sovereignty and interpretation of these actions could have

been construed as the workings of sovereignty. Perhaps if we could have known the

minds of the Cowlitz at the time, they might not have fit western concepts, and the

interpretations of the settlers could have been wrong. However, whatever the original

intent, it is certain that a sense of self-determination and group autonomy which was

both expressed and had material roles in the tribe did exist, which is roughly the same

loose concept and roles at work in the tribe today in the concept of sovereignty.

The contemporary Cowlitz strive to maintain a continuity of thought and

concept with the past for everything from sovereignty to land use to social norms. One

of the most universal phrases used in the tribe to do this is "time immemorial". This

phrase is a legal concept used in US Native American legal assemblages to establish the

pre-constitutional existence and rights of Native peoples, their connections to land,

traditions, and norms, as well as self-governance; all of which are terms used currently

to describe sovereignty on an international level. The use of the phrase by Cowlitz represents an interesting adaptation of a US hegemonic legal phrase to establish sovereignty, and in turn, identity. The repetitive use of the phrase is itself an expression of sovereignty and makes sovereignty an important, if undefined, value of the tribe.

The value of sovereignty today comes with a bundle of material benefits and drawbacks for all nations. A benefit is the right to choose how resources will be used, while a drawback may be the lack of appeal to a higher jurisdiction when someone feels the material benefits are not being shared equitably. These benefits and drawbacks are true for the Cowlitz even though there is no consensus in the tribe on what the limits and boundaries of their sovereignty are. The result is a reflexive cause and effect relationship on tribal identity where sovereignty as a value is expressed, material benefits or drawbacks ensue, which in turn effect tribal concepts of identity which remain ambiguous. Some of the above quotes show this cause and effect relationship, such as Interviewee J, whose initial concept of sovereignty was everyone taking care of everyone. This was followed by the statement that in their experience tribes are often the first ones to segregate who is in and who is out when it comes to sovereign rights, benefits, and responsibilities. This experience of tribes exercising capacities of sovereignty in ways that seemed at odds with his initial definition made him recant his first definition of sovereignty and replace it with "I don't know". These kinds of issues have an effect on choices the tribe makes, which effects the material and expressive

aspects of the tribe, which effects the identity and coding of the tribe. Thus, use of "time immemorial" and many other expressions of sovereignty and identity have far reaching consequences, especially when coupled with the fact that it is a US settler legal term used to express an identity marker with unclear boundaries.

Conclusion

This Chapter reveals a portion of the complex identity of the contemporary Cowlitz Indian Tribe at multiple levels of assemblage. The roles of each aspect of identity analyzed here have a circular or reflexive effect on the tribe as they interact with the tribes exercised capacities. These roles and capacities have many similarities with the historical Cowlitz, such as the role of family in resource use and leadership, or the role of identity expression in stories and legends at tribal gatherings. As with the historical Cowlitz, the contemporary Cowlitz maintain identity symbols, expressions, and roles of component assemblages that show a continuity of identity across a 100-year span of reorganization. These roles reveal that the Cowlitz of today is remarkably similar in values, mores, expressions, and structure to the tribe pre-contact.

Conclusions

Reason and Motive in Contemporary Cowlitz Community Structure

Beginning with Cowlitz thoughts on identity, this research gave an overview of identity issues as they are experienced and used in both the academic and day to day life of Native Americans in the US. Concepts such as blood quantum, phenotype, US legal and tribal rules, land, and culture all flow together in an ever changing sea of material, expressive, coded and territorializing identity. Cowlitz tribal members today struggle with these concepts and the complexities of Native American identity no less than any other tribe or nation. Added to this are the intricate relationships and definitions of sovereignty and cultural revitalization in contemporary Native American life. While neither revitalization nor sovereignty have concrete definitions and boundaries, they are prevalently use by Native Americans and settlers, to the extent that they have become catchwords for both communities as they relate to each other. Thus, when searching for the emic identity of the contemporary Cowlitz, I found that these concepts could not be ignored, and indeed were key to understanding how Cowlitz think about themselves and their tribe.

Because the Cowlitz value and see themselves at least in some measure as sovereign, they are making choices today about what traditional practices will become the norm in the contemporary tribe and what methods to use in practicing them.

Current activities available include Canoe Family, Drum Group, language classes, cedar weaving, children's camps, huckleberry camp, river float trips to historical village sights, carving, health, housing, ecology, and many other programs. Each of these play an expressive and material role, and they all stem from sovereignty in some way. The traditional activities like carving, cedar weaving, and canoeing are expressions directly connected to pre-contact times and sovereignty from 'time immemorial'. Health, housing, and ecology programs in their present forms are less directly linked to the past and more directly linked to recognition and legal sovereignty as they make use of western bureaucratic social welfare structures. Each decision the tribe makes, as it exercises its sovereignty, effects how tribal members view their sovereignty and ultimately define sovereignty and themselves as a tribe. This, in turn, effects future decisions, expressions, and coding of identity.

Cultural revitalization, depending on the definition one uses, could mean developing only those expressions of tribal identity that are directly connected to the past, such as cedar weaving. On the other hand, revitalization could be considered any program that gives the Cowlitz freedom to take care of its people free of the dominant colonial settler systems, such as getting land in trust or bringing back Cowlitz languages. Yet again, revitalization may mean any program that expands the influence and capacities of the tribe and its sovereignty, such as health care and housing programs.

As discussed in chapter three, revitalization in the academic lingo is the intentional change in a community mazeway to either combat hegemony or to reduce the stress of hegemony. It is difficult to find direct evidence in the interviews or ethnographic study for any one view of revitalization in the contemporary Cowlitz. Instead, two findings revealed themselves. First, that each revitalization activity was undertaken by a group of tribal members whose ultimate goal, whether a traditional activity or a contemporary program, was revitalizing the tribe in the dictionary sense of the word "to imbue with new life and vitality". Second, that each of these programs was started with a vision of the tribe, as a whole, benefitting from the activity or program and/or as a boon against hegemonic forces, but not with the specific purpose of recreating the historical Cowlitz system of community.

An example of this is Canoe Family. The family that started doing journeys, which resulted in Canoe Family, did not start the program intentionally thinking 'we're going to do this with the purpose of creating the old village and family structures, relationships, activities and roles in a new program called 'Canoe Family'. Instead, as was explained by participants of Canoe Family during ethnographic research, the motive was to re-engage with traditional canoeing and knowledge of water systems, as well as to reconnect with their ancestors who used canoes as the dominant form of transportation. Canoe Family has been successful in that goal. However, the repercussions of starting Canoe Family are much deeper. As shown in chapter six,

Canoe Family now serves some of the same purposes that family and villages served in the historical tribe in material, expressive and coding roles.

In terms of DeLanda and assemblage theory, this secondary cause and effect relationship is reason based, not motive based. Remember that for any assemblage, the correct causal analysis will consider material, reason, and motive influences and only draw a conclusion when these relations have become meaningfully linked. Regarding the Cowlitz, while there was a motive involved, the motive was for something else and the secondary, or indirect, effect was a result of reasoned judgments based on traditional values, personal emotions, and preferences of individuals. During the research, I was not able to find any evidence that a group of people, or even one person, orchestrated the entire structure of the contemporary tribe with the singular motive goal of recreating the community system and roles of the historical tribe.

Instead, from comments made at gatherings and interviews, it was clear that the catalyst for each program had its origins in some other motive such as taking care of elders, curbing addictions, ending domestic violence, providing affordable health care, and other admirable goals. The closest any program or activity got to purposely recreating historical structures and roles was to say that they intended to 'reconnect with the past and their ancestors through a specific activity' or 'to take care of our people as we see best like the old days'. However, that is an extension of traditional values and personal emotions. It is not a tribal assemblage level goal or choice to

'recreate the community system and roles of the historical tribe in today's tribe'. While some individual programs may have had some historical concepts and relationships involved in their formation and structure, there was no tribal wide movement or plan acting as a catalyst to recreate the historical community system across the entire tribe.

In addition to this, there were material causes involved in the recreation of the old tribal community system such as federal recognition, the influx of funds from docket 218 and recognition, and the rapid population growth of the tribe (which has more than double since recognition). Each of these material effects and reason based personal choices, along with the historical reality of the tribe, acted in relations of exteriority with other assemblages inside and outside the tribe to create a community system that closely resembles that of the pre-contact Cowlitz. This community system is one of the exercised capacities of the tribe that reveal their emic identity.

While it is unknown if blood quantum was ever a concept of the historical Cowlitz, kinship relationships, lineal descent, location, tribal acceptance as a member, and distinction from surrounding tribes all played a part in emic identity of the historical Cowlitz and continues to do so today. Historically, physical location and the resources that went with it through family lines and geographic control were expressed in coding through legends and stories in similar ways as the contemporary tribal narratives. Territorializing takes place on a regular basis through these same narrative patterns in both the historical and contemporary Cowlitz. Distinguishing membership

through expression of lineal descent and the rights, privileges, and responsibilities

accorded through descent, all work together to maintain tribal leadership structures

and roles in both historical and contemporary settings of the Cowlitz. Cultural patterns

of identity expression such canoeing, symbolic weaving, and regalia distinguish the

contemporary Cowlitz from settlers and outside tribes in much the same way weaving

patterns, canoe designs, and distinctive clothing based on resource availability coded

and expressed belonging for historical Cowlitz.

While there are obvious differences, such as Lower Cowlitz no longer living in

family groups of 200 in a single longhouse, many of the current differences are due to

technological changes or adaptation of old patterns to new circumstances rather than

wholesale departure from traditional Cowlitz ways. The move to a more Taidnapam

style of small family unit living is an example of Cowlitz tradition that adapted to meet

the changing circumstances of US hegemonic realities rather than a group decision to

depart from Lower Cowlitz ways. At the same time, contemporary extended family

ties, their expressive and material roles, as well as their importance in the tribe have not

changed. In addition, the values and underlying structure of the tribe, while adapting

to hegemonic US realities, are inherently the same as the historical tribe, being rooted in

the ideas of mutual benefit, taking care of each other, and doing the work needed to

maintain the Cowlitz Tribe. This extends to the very way in which the Cowlitz today

define sovereignty. While there may not be a consensus on the exact definition of

sovereignty, taking care of each other the way the tribe sees best is a core tenet that all interviewees agreed upon and which affects the tribe today in every decision they make.

It could be said that the similarities argued for in this paper are simply semantics or a rereading of the past in light of today's reality, especially when compared with such obvious concrete differences as tribal members camping in huge trailers that cost a small fortune, cell phones, and motor boats as emergency backup for the Canoe Family. While it is true that technology has changed and the results are new ways of doing old things, I am reminded of the story shared in chapter three where an Alaskan Native American was asked by a tourist why her people used motors on their ocean going canoes instead of paddles. The Alaskan Native answered "Why wouldn't we? If you can do in a day with a motor what took a week of paddling before, why wouldn't you?" The point is that although methods and means have changed, the underlying identity, while also fluid and changing, has a concrete real world continuity with the past. Values, norms, traditions, beliefs, and a host of other 'intangibles' that together make up identity have roles within an assemblage that have real effects, which this dissertation calls emergent and synthetic properties and capacities. These properties and capacities also have material, expressive, territorial, and coding roles in the assemblage. Together these roles, tangibles, and intangibles unite to create a nearly infinite set of capacities, and also have a cause-and-effect relationship with the capacities being exercised. This,

in turn, works reflexively on the tangibles and intangibles in both roles and substance, creating a continuous and fluid state of being for the assemblage that is at once traditional and new. The community system with its roles, properties, and coding, mirror the past while some of the material aspects and methods change. To discount these intangibles and only perceive the Cowlitz in terms of material and method changes is to discount the underlying values, norms, and beliefs that determine how those material aspects and capacities are exercised. In short, to ignore the non-material and only judge the tribe by the material and visible would be to misjudge and misunderstand the Cowlitz, and would only serve to perpetuate erroneous settler assumptions of Native Americans.

Tanna Engdahl mentioned in her interview that, "Culture, or to do something in a certain way, is only going to stick if the rhythm of the people, if the feelings of the people - if it resonates in the people that they are going to do it that way. And then you have a cultural practice.[65]" Without setting out to do it, the Cowlitz Tribe has, in these new programs and activities, created a community system and roles similar to that of the historical tribe. In different ways, the household, extended family, groups, boards, tribal council, and general council each reflect similarities in capacities and roles as their historical counterparts: family, village, Taidnapam and Lower Cowlitz sub-groups, and

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[65] It will "succeed of it resonates with…their collective conscience and acceptance" Tanna Engdahl – collaborative comment.

the tribe at large. The programs and activities which have developed in the contemporary tribe have obviously stuck, and it can therefore be assumed that they resonate with the Cowlitz people in some way. Call it revitalization, rejuvenation, historical continuity, reasoned cause and effect, or luck, the fact remains that the contemporary and historical tribe have much in common.

Assemblage theory in Analysis

As seen in this research, many past academic distinctions and definitions of phenotype, tradition, belonging, identity, sovereignty, culture and revitalization, while part of the equation, do not accurately portray reality among the Cowlitz. An assemblage analysis reveals that while Cowlitz means and methods have changed, the underlying identity and roles of assemblage components create a fluid but stable reality that allows them to exercise capacities as a tribe far beyond their individual component capacities. DeLanda's theory, therefore, has significant merit and was a useful analytical tool that allowed component parts of the Cowlitz to be analyzed in their own right without losing the connection to the broader tribe. It also prevented the opposite, which is washing out the individual in the face of a greater tribal essence. The use of assemblage theory in the analysis helped keep the component assemblages and their roles visible while maintaining the broader assemblage perspective of tribe that

connects all these components into an emic identity that is fluid yet continuously rooted in the history of the assemblage in a reflexive relationship.

The cause-and-effect analysis allowing for distinction between material causes, reason, and motive also allowed for a level of investigation beyond simplistic generalities. This allowed the reflexive cause-and-effect relationships of a non-linear Native American culture to be analyzed without being bogged down in time sequence conundrums. The result was an ability to see how the past and the present work together to create a fluid yet stable identity for the Cowlitz that affects the future, which in turn effects the present decisions and actions of the tribe through the existence of capacities.

While DeLanda's theory proved a useful tool, it also proved cumbersome. The matrices used to map the endless roles and capacities of an assemblage require enormous amounts of time and can never fully be completed in a system that is constantly changing even while stable. However, understanding the limits of matrices, mapping tools, and the human mind, DeLanda's theory still revealed some interesting realities about the Cowlitz Tribe, its identity, and its exercised capacities. A researcher who wished to use DeLanda's theory, even if they don't use a matrix or mapping tool, would be well advised to limit the parameters of their research as narrowly as possible in order to avoid drowning in data and the potential capacities of the research itself.

Another possible solution, and the one used in this paper, is to stay quite general in the nature of the research, and to use the assemblage itself to assist in deciding which data to focus on and which data to set aside. However, this is only possible when working with certain types of assemblages, such as groups of people, and runs the risk of minimizing something that may later turn out to be crucial.

Future Research Directions

This research revealed the interesting fact that while no plan was made to recreate the historical Cowlitz community system in terms of roles, values, and tribal identity, such a re-creation has taken place. An interesting research question for the future would be to ask how the links between historical and contemporary realities were maintained throughout a 150-year era of hegemonic pressure in the opposite direction. Some links have already been suggested in this paper, such as family connection, and Dupres (2014) has explored the connection between narrative and sustained identity. However, other factors may also have played significant roles, such as tribal meetings or direct involvement in protest, land claims, and the recognition process. Also, the cause-and-effect relationship on the tribal assemblage of current capacities being exercised, such as the tribe's ecology, health, culture, and economic programs, has yet to be revealed for the Cowlitz, and future research might concentrate

in those areas. Decision are being made in the months and years to come that may or

may not fundamentally alter the emic identity of the tribe.

At the same time that federal recognition has brought many changes to the tribe,

many changes in the perceptions of outsiders regarding the tribe have also taken place.

These perceptions will affect the tribe as it interacts with outside assemblages and as

those assemblages interact with other assemblages such as US legislation. Therefore,

future research might also benefit the tribe by looking at etic, or outside, perceptions of

the tribe since federal recognition and the land trust ruling.

Appendix A:

Words Used to Describe Cowlitz Tribe (grouped by similarity in meaning as defined by interviewees):

Words/Phrases	Number of Uses
Tenacious, determined, stubborn, perseverance, persistent, people who always prevail, not going to give up, ambitious, oppositional, powerful, patient	15 + 5 descriptive narratives expressing these ideas
Enduring, proud, strong, beginning middle and no end	12
Compassionate, caring about each other, loving, faith/spiritual, sharing/giving	11
United, loyal, togetherness, closeness, shared experience/heritage, family, tribe of the people	9
Progressive	1
Honorable	1
Spunky	1
Seeking	1
Intelligent	1
Diverse	1
Argumentative	1
Welcoming	1
Industrious	1
Learning	1
Worth having lived	1
A community of tribal Native Americans	1

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