

MISS ELLA E. CLARK
212 COLUMBIA STREET
PULLMAN, WASHINGTON

June 23 [1950?]

Dear Mr. Relander:

Thank you very much for the helpful clippings and the letter, also for taking time to talk with me the other morning. I hope that some time we shall have opportunity to talk more at length.

In my article I tell about several ceremonies--in several tribes, I mean. My chief purpose is to show that the Indians had the Thanksgiving spirit long before they knew about our observance of the day. So it will necessarily be shallow about recent observances; I give more detail about those a century ago.

I have so many things started that I may put it away and hope to get to attend a first-fruits ceremony before another year jumps by.

Perhaps you will be interested in this article by Mr. Ballard. He gave me extra copies, so keep it if you wish.

Sincerely,

Ella E. Clark

[Enclosure. June 23]
1950

CALENDRIC TERMS OF THE
SOUTHERN PUGET SOUND SALISH

ARTHUR C. BALLARD

Reprinted from

SOUTHWESTERN JOURNAL OF ANTHROPOLOGY

VOLUME 6

•

NUMBER 1

•

SPRING

•

1950



THE UNIVERSITY OF NEW MEXICO PRESS
ALBUQUERQUE

CALENDRIC TERMS OF THE SOUTHERN PUGET SOUND SALISH

ARTHUR C. BALLARD

THIS PAPER is an attempt to summarize and classify the data on the year and its subdivisions into seasons and months as conceived in former days by the southern Puget Sound Salish. In addition to my own findings in the field, I have included also the data thereon available from other sources. The material available in the field is scanty and sometimes contradictory and confusing. Little has yet been written on this topic, so the publication of this paper may now be worth while and helpful in stimulating further research.

In the lists of terms obtained from informants in the field there is a divergence in the textual representation of identical terms. This is due in part to individual and dialectical differences of enunciation and in part to the difficulty of an amateur in mastering the phonetic nuances encountered, as well as to changing practice in the use of phonetic symbols.¹

These notes were taken over a stretch of years and were usually incidental to research in other fields. Of the ten informants quoted, only three are now living.

THE YEAR AND ITS SEASONS

Among the people of southern Puget Sound the term *dza'ladəb* signifies "year" or perhaps simply "long time." In the mythological contest between Ant and Bear to determine the length of day and night, Bear sang,

dza'ladəb bəl'α'xi, dza'ladəb befa'xi
"long time day, long time night!"

The division of time in yearly cycles is recognized in the annual recurrence of the season of cold. Thus one may say *x'α'l'axtcid st'α's*, "I am nine winters old." The root syllable *t'α's* "cold" is found in all the expressions signifying "winter," thus *t'α's*, *padt'α's*, *t'α'səb*, *padt'α'səb*. In the expressions, *shadəb*, *padha'dəb*, signifying "summer time," the root syllable *had* is a derivative of the term *hod* "fire" and means "hot." Thus summer is the hot season.

While the terms for winter and summer are stable, there is no uniformity in the expressions used to designate the spring and autumn seasons, as we commonly

¹ The phonetic transcription has been revised by Dr Melville Jacobs of the Department of Anthropology, University of Washington. [Because of typographical limitations, alpha and inverted e appear here above the line of text in some native words. This has no phonetic significance—Editor.]

use them. It may fairly be concluded that the people of this region did not conceive of the division of the year into four seasons of equal length, as do those of a more sophisticated culture. No note seems to be taken of the movement of the sun, from north to south and from south to north, as determining the seasons. There is little uniformity in the responses to questions concerning the spring and autumn seasons. For spring, a Puyallup informant used the term *padhe'adəb*, "time of becoming warm." Similarly, Jack Stillman, a Snoqualmie, gave among others the term *sg^αlka'bats*, derived from *g^we'wg^ulil*, "it is warming up." We encounter also, *padtco'tclā*, "season of leaves," and *ci'a'bats*, "everything growing." Still other terms for springtime, whose meaning I have not learned, appear in the table of the seasons below.

For autumn Gibbs² gives *padtolus* for the Nisqually. A Snoqualmie informant gives *padtulo's*, "fall of the year." Other informants regard this term as equivalent to *padha'do'*, which is the term for the season of the humpback salmon, and still others the time of renewed vegetation after summer's drought. On the other hand, Haeberlin³ records *lati't'səb*, "it is getting a little cold." A Puyallup informant uses the expression *lət'e't'əsəbaxtcil*, "we are getting a little winter." I would therefore conjecture for autumn the term *padt'e't'əsəb*.

THE MONTHS

While the four-seasonal division of the year in the strict sense is absent, a series of time divisions, or seasons, regarded as "moons," is recognized. These correspond in part to the recurring phases of the moon. The people take note of the moon's phases and their relationship to the varying tides, since these phenomena have a direct bearing on their economic life. By long experience and observation, groups distant from the seashore are able to determine the occurrence of extreme low tide favorable to the gathering of shellfish. They can thus time their migrations to the beach accordingly. There is an extended nomenclature of tides and phases of the moon, which is deserving of study but lies outside the scope of this paper. None of this, however, seems to manifest itself in the calendric terms in general use. The syllable *pad-*, or *p^αd-*, occurring as a prefix in many of the terms employed, means, not "moon," but simply "season" or "duration."

According to one informant, the year has thirteen lunar months; another says twelve, "two of them big moons." Whether the discrepancy between the

2 George Gibbs, *Tribes of Western Washington and Northwestern Oregon* (Contributions to North American Ethnology, vol. 1, part 2, Washington, 1877).

3 Herman Haeberlin, unpublished notes on the Nisqually.

lunations and the solar year was known or suspected is doubtful. There is a vagueness in the responses for a portion of the year, which suggests the possibility that there may have been an intercalary period, albeit unrecognized as such.

THE TERMINOLOGY OF THE MONTHS

In response to query, ten persons of Puyallup, Suquamish, Snoqualmie, and Duwamish antecedents have reported nearly thirty terms in the local dialects as designating the so-called months of the year. From seven persons the number of terms so obtained vary from five to twelve. Some terms evidently refer to seasons longer than lunar months, others are frankly alternative. Some contradictions may be due to local diversity of usage. Following are the names given, with some remarks concerning them:

1. waq'waq'u's "frog's face" or "when frog talks"

This is the time, usually in late February, when the winter is broken and the frogs begin to sing. People now say, "Mink is coming ashore." This is a reference to the myth tale, "Mink Traps a Monster."⁴

2. po'po'i'g'ad, po'pohi'g'ad "blow time" or "everything tips over"

During this month there were repeated storms of wind and rain. "You'll be hungry all the time," they said. By this time the stores of food for winter have been consumed and new supplies cannot yet be gathered in quantity. Five informants give this term.

3. sxdze'dzehi "pregnant" or "plant life in bud and sprout"

Spring is now just beginning. This term is given by two informants—one of them Snoqualmie, one Suquamish. This seems to be an alternative for one of the preceding terms.

4. ufe'p explained as "moon when branches are ready to bud"

The time indicated seems to be earlier than that of the preceding term. This name, given by a Green River informant, may be a Yakima term.

5. wαx'wαxe't "plants in flower, leaves budding out"

Two informants, one Suquamish and one Green River, give this term. The actual meaning of the word is not known to me. The time indicated is later than that of sxdze'dzehi.

6. sk'a'g'alab, k'ag'ala'pk "the wind dies down," "quiet now; turning of the month"

"This is the time when the ducks go north. Everything becomes 'good,' peace-

⁴ Arthur C. Ballard, *Mythology of Southern Puget Sound* (University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, vol. 3, no. 2, 1929), pp. 124-126.

ful. Out in the bay, upon beds of kelp, porpoise gives birth to her young." Six informants give this term.

7. g^wα'lkbitc "salt water shining"

This term, given by a salt water (coastal) informant, from a Minter Bay group associated with the Puyallup, was said to be the name of a time in late spring or early summer. It also seems to be identical with the Nisqually term recorded by Haeberlin for December, with the notation "end of year, a big month."

8. padtā'g^wad and variants⁵ "time of yellow salmon berries"

padtα'g^wadetct'c^u (Minter Bay dialect) "tide of salmon berry time"

Six informants give this term.

9. padt'sa'bt and variants "time of red elderberries"

padt'sa'btade'tct'c^u (Minter Bay) "tide of red elderberry time"

This term is given by five informants.

10. padg^wα'dbix^u and variants "time of creeping blackberries"

padg^wα'dbixetct'c^u (Minter Bay) "tide of creeping blackberry time"

This term is given by four informants: it also appears in the Haeberlin notes on the Nisqually.

11. padt' a'qa, padt'a'xad⁶ "time of sallal berries"

padt'a'qa'etct'c^u (Minter Bay) "tide of sallal berry time"

This term is given by five informants, usually for August. One informant attributes it to September after noting a change of tides in August. This also appears in the Haeberlin notes and is recorded by Smith.⁷

12. padk^wola'fad "berry time"

This term is given for August by a Green River informant (see concluding remarks).

13. padtci'da'dx^u "salmon time," "time to dry salmon"

The same informant gives this term for late August (see also concluding remarks).

14. padha'do' "time of humpback salmon"

⁵ There are dialectic variations in the term for yellow salmon berry indicated as follows: Snoqualmie dza'tig^wad; Duwamish tca'g^wad; Puyallup ta'g^wad.

⁶ The employment of terms to designate the season when this fruit ripens is to be found over a wide area to the north of this region (cf. Leona Cope, *Calendars of the Indians North of Mexico*, University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 16, no. 4, 1919).

⁷ Marian W. Smith, *The Puyallup-Nisqually* (Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology, vol. 32, 1940).

This term is given for September by the same informant and by a Snoqualmie. The humpback runs only in alternate years.

15. padtulo's "time when the salmon begin to run" "same as ha'do'," "autumn," "September"

This term is given by four of my field informants and is noted by Smith, also by Gibbs. Only one field informant fixes it upon a single month (see concluding remarks).

16. padiyo'q "moon of the jack salmon"

This term is given for September by one informant, a Snoqualmie. It seems to be an alternative for padha'do'. Perhaps the jack salmon⁸ was more important to the economy of the Snoqualmie than to that of other groups in this region.

17. padt'twa'y' "season of dog salmon"

This term is given by three informants, two Snoqualmie and one Green River. The time is late September and early October. It is also recorded in the Haeberlin notes on the Nisqually where it is placed later than the term which follows below.

18. padk^wα'x^wits "season of silver (or red) salmon"

A similar term, padk^wets, is found in the Haeberlin notes. The time seems to be late October and early November. One informant says on October 29, "It is padk^wα'x^wits now." While the silver salmon begin to run earlier than the dog salmon, they remain in the rivers later.

19. sxto'tolupt, sxte'lexed "salmon beginning to run"

This is the designation for October by a Duwamish informant, who does not note the succession of runs of the various species.

20. padola'dx^u "salmon running thickly"

This is the month of November, according to the same informant. A Puyallup informant calls it "time to dry salmon." This may be an alternative for padticida'dx^u, although the informant first quoted places it later in the season. It is said that sola'dx^u is the Snohomish name for salmon, while tcida'dx^u is the name in use by the more southern groups. Perhaps these words mean, not simply salmon, but salmon-for-drying or salmon-as-food.

21. yεcu't "the youngest month"

This is the term for November given me by Snoqualmie Charlie, and the one with which he starts the year. While his series is the most nearly complete of those

8 Probably a sub-variety of the Chinook salmon (*Oncorhynchus tshawytscha*), variously known on Puget Sound as king, tyee, and jack. According to Jack Stillman, Snoqualmie informant, iyo'q^u is the Snoqualmie equivalent of tuwa'd, the name used farther south toward the head of the Sound for the king salmon.

given, it is noteworthy that this term has not been recorded by me elsewhere in the area.⁹

22. we'wulwulk "leaves fluttering down"

This is the designation for November by Mary Dominick, Green River-Duwamish. The name is based on a myth episode. Little Silverside was going up the river. Big Silverside said, "What are you coming up for?" "I want to see the leaves fluttering down," Little Silverside answered.

23. pad't'e'x'elst'l "time of falling leaves"

This seems to be an alternative for the preceding expression, and the time, November. On November 28 informant remarked, "It is about gone now." For November the Haeberlin notes give sxpe'gpeg'ad, "time of singing power songs."

24. sxi'tc'elwa's (and variants) "put your paddles away"

December. "About Christmas time; you go nowhere. It is a bad month, you starve"—Sam Wilson, Suquamish.

"Put the paddles away. Do not say, 'I am going.' Just get in the canoe; don't make too much noise. People can't walk fast; they get nowhere at this time. Young people have to be careful. That moon will throw them down"—Lucy Williams, Minter Bay.

"This is the Puyallup name for po'po'igwad (March). It is too windy for people to travel. All cockles go out and travel then"—George Young, Puyallup.¹⁰

25. ilo't sluk'w'alb "old moon"

December. This term is given by two informants, upper Puyallup and Suquamish.

26. xa'xa sluk'w'alb, hek'u xa'xa "holy moon," "big tabu"

These terms are used by Suquamish and Minter Bay informants respectively.

27. st'la'lkab (clairvoyant power) "the oldest month"

December. "This is the oldest month. It is a bad month. It opens into the ground. If a person has been sick a long time, he is likely to die before this month passes. But if he survives this month, he is likely to live another year. The name of this month is that of a supernatural power which enables its possessor to know distant and future events"—Snoqualmie Charlie.

The Haeberlin notes from the Nisqually give the term gulq'be'tc as the name for this month. Smith, in *The Puyallup-Nisqually*, gives st'as sloq'alm.

28. ilso'q'w'a sluk'w'alb, ilsa'q sluk'w'alb "younger brother month"

January. "If December is bad, January will be a good month with fair

9 Vide infra for further comment.

10 Vide infra for further comment.

weather. If December is fair, January will be cold and stormy"—Sam Wilson, Suquamish.

iso'tsq^wa "younger brother"—John Simon, upper Puyallup

ix so'q^wa xa'xa "younger brother tabu"—Lucy Williams, Minter Bay

The above may be considered variants of a single term.

29. sla'li "the good month"

January. "It is called the good month because its survivor may live another year"—Snoqualmie Charlie.

30. st'leq's, q'eq's sluk^wa'lb "stuck fast"

late January and February. "The ducks get stuck in the ice; steelhead can't travel; sapsucker is here"—Sam Wilson, Suquamish.

"The snow gets stuck on your feet"—Lucy Williams.

"The term q'eq' is derived from the expression uq'e'q', "he gets started from nowhere." A person listening to a power song in an assemblage becomes attached to, or ensnared in, the spell of the power. He then has to join in and continue singing with the others"—George Young, Puyallup.

31. The Haeberlin notes on the Nisqually give the name tsa'betceg^wud for January.

The following Yakima terms have been recorded:

32. tsəqt "December"—Charlie Ashue

33. tcitciłá' "January"—Charlie Ashue

tcetcet.łá' "December"—Mary Dominick

34. łempə'p February, "little moon"—Charlie Ashue

35. łempə'p łempə'p March, "a moon not so little as February"—Charlie Ashue

The following is a modern adaptation of the Salish nomenclature:

36. padha'ps "hop-picking time," September—George Young, Puyallup

Here we have a hybrid expression consisting of an English word (ha'ps is the English "hops") with a Salish prefix, to designate the season of the hop harvest, which formerly ran from late August through September, and on into October, but now runs about three weeks in September.

ADDENDUM

(a) Since the preparation of this paper I have before me a copy of a list of Twana terms for five of the months, kindly supplied me by Mr Alfred J. Smith, a volunteer student of Indian life and lore. These terms were obtained by Mr Smith from Robert Lewis, a long-time resident of the Skokomish Indian

reservation, who had attained his majority at the time of the treaties of 1854-55, and they may be taken as representative of Twana nomenclature.

Especially worth noting is *yacu't* "long nights" given as the name for December. This is the identical term given by Snoqualmie Charlie for November. It is described by the Twana informant as the time when you "put paddles, spears, and canoes away." Apparently, then, this is an alternative of the term *sxcí't'célwa's* given by my informants, and probably both indicate a time previous to the height of the solstitial season.

The Twana informant follows this with *xa'xa* "look out good" for January—December in my lists.

The remaining terms do not coincide with any that I have met and are not quoted here.

(b) Another list of calendric terms supplied me was obtained by Mr Smith from Mr Jerry Meeker, a Puyallup of the salt water region, who is well informed on the lore of his people. In this list we find the term *pada'qoq*, "month when they dry butter clams—not horse clams, that is in May." Here, for once, we meet a term based on the economic activities of a salt water group and not employed by the river dwellers. Whereas, in the calendric schemes of the latter, *po'po'i'g'ad*, the "windy month," is directly followed by *k'a'g'alab*, the month of calm, this is not the case among the salt water groups among whom *pada'qoq*, the month of drying butter clams, intervenes and pushes the month of calm forward into May.

This informant starts the year with December, which he calls simply "the big cold," followed by February, "younger brother cold." The expression *hek' xa'xa* "big tabu," used by other informants for December, is reserved by him for June and July combined, which he calls, "wonderful—God months." Thus we seem to find a feeling for the supernatural associated not only with the solstitial season of winter but also with that of summer. This may explain in part the vagueness in the responses of some informants to inquiries concerning that season.

In March, called *po'poh'e'g'ad* by this informant, "one must put the paddles away, for it will be too windy to fish; the south wind will melt the snow and ice away." This comment supports the terminology and remarks employed by George Young, another Puyallup informant, concerning this month.

The data thus coming to my notice (through the kindness of Mr Smith) since the preparation of this paper was well along have clarified some obscurities and altered some impressions, thus forcing a revision of the conclusions drawn from the material theretofore at hand.

THE WEEK

Since the coming of the white people, a series of names has come into use to indicate the days of the week. The terms, supplied by a Snoqualmie informant, follow:

- | | |
|---|----------------------------|
| 1. p ^α lk ^w a' bats | "Monday" |
| 2. sts ^α bda'ti | "Tuesday" |
| 3. shi'x ^w il | "Wednesday" or "third day" |
| 4. sbo'sil | "Thursday" or "fourth day" |
| 5. stsla't'sil | "Friday" or "fifth day" |
| 6. tcta'bats | "Saturday" |
| 7. padxa'xa | "Sunday" or "day of tabu" |

SOURCES OF INFORMATION

There is a widespread practice of exogamy in the tribes and villages of this region, with a resultant diversity of background and concepts prevailing within a given group. I am therefore listing, together with other sources, the informants consulted, along with comments upon their several backgrounds and the data supplied by each.

FIELD INFORMANTS

1. John Simon. On May 15, 1918, I consulted him, with James Goudy interpreting. Mr Goudy was a Snohomish-Skagit adopted into the Puyallup tribe. At the time of my visit John Simon was about ninety years of age, one of the few Indians who never married. He was from the upper Puyallup valley, of the group known as tuwa'q^wabc. Through the interpreter he stated that the Indians had thirteen lunar months. Mr Simon was able to recall the names of five, which have been confirmed by other informants. Of the names omitted by him, four have to do with the berry season and others relate to the salmon run.

2. Charles Sotaiakum (sota'yaqəb). With James Goudy as interpreter, I visited him on March 12, 1919. Though living on the Puyallup Reservation, he was a Duwamish from the Cedar River and lower White River area. He was of about the same age as John Simon. With one exception, the months—or seasons—covered by him were other than those noted by John Simon. Like other informants, he notes the four berry seasons, but, unlike them, he notes a change in the tidal phenomena in August before the last berry season. Concerning the salmon run, he does not attempt to date the appearance of one species apart from the others, but contents himself with general terms. It is remarkable that he does not

note the season during which ceremonial practices were followed, inasmuch as he attained manhood while they were in full vogue. He was a grown man at the time of the Medicine Creek treaty in 1854. Indeed, he paddled the canoe which bore Governor Stevens to the treaty grounds.

3. Snoqualmie Charlie (siya'txtəd). He was a man thoroughly conversant with all forms of his people's culture. Notes on calendric terms were obtained from him in 1917, when he was about seventy-five years of age. His nephew, Jack Stillman, acted as interpreter. Snoqualmie Charlie stated that there are twelve moons, two of them big moons. In naming his series, he inadvertently skipped the month of March and used the term po'po'i'g'wad, "the blowy month," for April, calling it "that good month," whereas he must have had in mind the term sk'a'g'alab. If this term had not been omitted, there would have been thirteen in his list. This would tend to confirm the supposition that there were overlaps in the series of time divisions in common use.

Three of the terms named by Snoqualmie Charlie are not noted by any other informant. The expression st'la'lkab for the solstitial season of winter is understandable, since it refers to ceremonial practices of that season, as do other terms employed for the same. The term yecu't for November, with which he begins his series, is rare and its meaning has only recently been clarified to my satisfaction. The term sła'li for the month of January, "that good month," is unusual and its use gives rise to speculation. This is the name for deer-tongue (*Erythronium giganteum*), which comes into bloom much later. An informant once called deer tongue "eye of the do'kw'bał (Transformer). The do'kw'bał always sees you." However, I suspect that the name sła'li may also designate the twin flower (*Linnaea borealis*). Another informant, to whom a specimen of the latter was recently shown, gave it a similar epithet, "eye of the earth," and also stated that it is the first to bloom, even before the trillium.

4. Jack Stillman (ackanipam). He was a Snoqualmie, well versed in the lore of his people through his association with his uncle. His use of the term sxdze'dzehi for the month of March is worth noting, as it was also supplied by another informant, Sam Wilson. For the spring season Mr Stillman, at various times, gave three alternative terms, which are noted elsewhere. Whether this is to be regarded as one of the "moons" or merely a stage in the advance of spring is open to question.

5. George Young. He is a man in middle life, of Puyallup affiliation. His use of the suffix -uł in the names of the berry seasons is not duplicated elsewhere in my findings. A remark of this informant indicates that it may have some reference to the tides. His use of the term ci'ci'tcalwa's as referring to the month of

March differs radically from that of other informants, who refer it to the month of December. As now seems probable, it may apply to both seasons. He makes his contribution to the diversity of terms for the spring season, calling it *padtco'tcła*, "season of leaves."

6. Nellie Bill Hamilton. She was a Snoqualmie, about sixty years of age when interviewed on August 3, 1935. All the terms given by her were duplicated by other informants. She gave the term *padtulo's* for September. Others give it as the fall of the year.

7. Sam Wilson. I interviewed him at the home of Mrs Hamilton on August 3 and August 7, 1935. He was a Suquamish, related to members of the Duwamish and other groups, then about seventy years of age. He named six of the so-called moons, in some cases giving alternative terms. He confirms the nomenclature of John Simon for December and January, and is confirmed in the use of certain other terms for January and December by Lucy Williams (Minter Bay). His use of the expressions *de'dzehi* and *waxwaxet* for the early months of spring is different from the usual practice, but the former term is employed by Jack Stillman (Snoqualmie) and the latter by Mary Dominick (Green River Duwamish).

8. Mary Dominick. She is a resident of the Muckleshoot Reservation, and is now past eighty years of age. Her paternal ancestry was from the Suise Creek watershed, tributary to Green River. Her mother was Duwamish and her early life was spent on the Duwamish River and lower White River. Her use of a Yakima term for December is unusual. She omits the berry seasons but contents herself with the expression "berries time" for August. She also identifies "salmon time" as August. Indeed, the salmon run begins before the close of the berry season and it is this overlap that gives rise to a divergence in the terminology employed and makes difficult any attempt to establish a strict sequence of terms. Specifically she names the season, or moon, of the humpback salmon and that of the dog salmon. Her expression "leaves fluttering down" for November finds a synonym in that of one other informant, Mrs Williams. Mrs Dominick said, "Even if there were no white people, the Indians stayed anywhere and had a system of counting for tides, like a calendar."

9. Lucy Williams. Through her father, Mrs Williams is a member of the *sxo'tf'bab*c, or Minter Bay people, a Puyallup-affiliated group. Her mother was Duwamish, from the head of Elliot Bay, and related to the Snoqualmie. Like Sam Wilson, of another salt water group, Mrs Williams omits mention of the salmon run. A unique feature of Mrs Williams' terminology of the berry seasons is the use of a suffix having reference to the tides. It may be correct to attribute this feature to the Minter Bay dialect, which in a number of instances differs

from that of the mainland Puyallup. Instead of using the expression *padt'a'qa*, "season of sallal berries," she gives *padt'a'qa'etct'c*", which might be rendered "tide of sallal berry time," the suffix *-etct'c*" having reference to tides. "Clams get poisonous that month. There are two tides in that month, one of them a 'no-good tide'." In winter the big tide is known as the "dark tide." Here the tide consciousness shows itself in the calendric terminology.

Mrs Williams' terminology for the winter months agrees with that of Sam Wilson (Suquamish) and John Simon (upper Puyallup). She specifically names January also as a tabu month, while the others do not so express themselves. Mrs Williams' list was obtained on November 28, 1945.

10. Charlie Ashue. He was a Puyallup of Yakima ancestry on the paternal side, born about 1863. His father, a Yakima, remained in the Puyallup country after the war of 1855-56. His mother was of Snohomish ancestry; her death occurred during his childhood. As a boy, Charlie Ashue lived with his father, except for the time spent in boarding school. He was a man of more than average intelligence and affability. It is to the circumstances of his early life that I attribute his failure to recall the complete coast Salish nomenclature for the subdivisions of the year and his resort to Yakima terms. I discussed the calendar with him on November 14, 1929.

OTHER SOURCES

11. The unpublished notes of the late Herman Haeberlin. These I have been privileged to examine through the courtesy of Dr Erna Gunther, head of the Department of Anthropology of the University of Washington. More than a quarter century ago Dr Haeberlin made extensive researches in the indigenous culture of this region, a work which was left unfinished by reason of his early death.

The term *gulq'be'tc*, recorded by Dr Haeberlin for the month of December is evidently the same as that given by Lucy Williams for a time in early summer. The term *sxpe'gpe'gud*, meaning the practice of singing power songs, may signify the month of November, although the month is not named in his notes. It would be late in November, when people began to resume their ceremonial observances. I do not know the meaning of the term *tsa'betceg'ud*, recorded by Dr Haeberlin for the month of January. The other terms, except that for spring-time, check with my own findings.

12. George Gibbs, *Tribes of Western Washington and Northwestern Oregon*, (Contributions to North American Ethnology, vol. 1, part 2, Washington, 1877). This work contains a Niskwalli-English and an English-Niskwalli vocabulary.

With reference to time divisions, Gibbs makes no mention of the so-called moons, or months, but does record a series of terms for the seasons of the year. The terms are here presented as they appear in his volume, no change being made in the orthography. (As they appear in Table 2, The Seasons, however, the modern orthography is followed.)

spring	pét-lo-ki, o-he'hud-dub, a little warm (diminutive of had-dub)
summer	had-dub, s'had-dub, warm, from hod, fire
autumn	let-us-bukh ^w , pad-to-lus
winter	a-h ^w us-tus-sub, tus-sub, from tus, cold

Gibbs comments as follows: "The distinction is not clear except between warm and cold seasons and the periods are not spoken of in any definite sense."

13. Marian W. Smith, *The Puyallup-Nisqually* (Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology, vol. 32, 1940) pp. 135-136. The terms therein noted for the months of March, April, August, and October, as well as those for December and January, approximate those recorded by me. The designation of June as "little brother summer month" is new to me, though suggestive of a similar designation for January. Dr Smith's remark concerning the term padtulo's, that it may include two months, strengthens my impression that there is no hard and fast line between a lunar month and a season of longer or shorter duration.

14. Leona Cope, *Calendars of the Indians North of Mexico* (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 16, no. 4, 1919). This paper was the stimulus for the present study. It showed the nature of the problem and indicated the lines of inquiry to be pursued. The systems analyzed in Miss Cope's study have many similarities to practices found in the local field work. ✓

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The annual recurrence of a season of cold and a season of heat was recognized by all the people of this region, and there was no variation in the nomenclature employed to designate those seasons. The people did not conceive the year as being divided into four quarters of equal length. The various terms rendered as spring or autumn may rather be regarded as indicating certain stages in the transition from winter to summer and from summer to winter. The prefix pad- and the suffix -ək seem to designate a season or point of time rather than a specific duration such as the 29½ day lunation. Not that the people were ignorant

TABLE 1 (CONTINUED)

Table of the months

	Charles Soriaiakum	Mary Dominick	George Young	Charlie Ashue	John Simon	Lucy Williams	Snoqualmie Charlie	Jack Stillman	Nellie Bill Hamilton	Sam Wilson	total field sources	Haeblerlin	Gibbs	Smith	total all sources
spadg ^w α'dbix ^u	x						x								
padg ^w α'dbixe'tct'c ^u						x									
padg ^w α'dbix ^u tcu			x												
padgu'·dbix ^u											4	x			5
padt'a'qa'			x				x		x						
padt'a'xad	x														
padt'a'qa'e'tct'cu						x									
padt'a'q'a												x			
pαdt'a'k'a sloq ^w a'lm											5			x	7
padk ^w ola'fad		x									1				1
padha'do'		x							x		2				2
padtulo's									x		1			x	2
sxtōtolupt	x														
sxtē'lexed	x										2				2
padtcida'dx ^u		x									1				1
padola'dx ^u	x		x								2				2
padiyo'q ^u							x				1				1
padt'łwa'y'		x					x		x		3	x			4
padk ^w α _x ^w its			x				x				2				
padk ^w ets												x			3
we'wulwulk		x									1				1
padt'e'x ^w elst'f						x					1				1
yεcu'f							x				1				1
sxcī'tcēlwa's										x					
tci'tcilwa's						x									
ci'ci'tcalwa's			x								3				3
sux ^u pe'·gpe·gud												x			1
st'la'lkab							x				1				1

TABLE 1 (CONCLUDED)

Table of the months

	Charles Sotaiakum	Mary Dominick	George Young	Charlie Ashue	John Simon	Lucy Williams	Snoqualmie Charlie	Jack Stillman	Nellie Bill Hamilton	Sam Wilson	total field sources	Haebelin	Gibbs	Smith	total all sources
he·k ^u xa'xa						x									
xa'xa sluk ^w alb										x	2				2
ifo't sluk ^w a'lb					x					x	2				2
st ^α s sloq ^w a'lm											1			x	1
ts ^α qt			x								1				1
tce'tcetfa''		x									1				1
gulq'be'tc (gulq'be'tc)												x			1
iso'tsq ^w a					x										
ixso'q ^w a xa'xa						x									
ifso'q ^w a sluk ^w a'lb										x					
ifsa'q sluk ^w a'lb										x	4				4
exlso'q ^w a st ^α s														x	
ext ^α s (abbreviated term)														x	2
t ^α sa'betceg ^w ud												x			1
st'le''qs (st'le'ks)						x				x					
q'e'qs sluk ^w a'lb										x					
t'le''k's (t'lek's)											3	x			4
sla'li							x				1				1
q'eq'			x								1				1
tcetctetfa'' (tcitci'fa'')				x							1				1

TABLE 2
Table of the seasons

	Ashue	Stillman	Young	Williams	Wilson	Gibbs	Haerlin	Smith
Winter								
padt'α's	x	x		x	x		x	
stαs								x
tα'səb						x		
ahwαstα'səb ¹						x		
Summer								
padha'dəb	x			x			x	
pαdxa'dəb								x
sha'dəb, ha'dəb ²						x		
Spring								
padhe''adəb ³	x							
uhe'hadəb ⁴						x		
sgαlka'bats ⁵		x						
st'falka'bats		x						
stlakaba'bats		x						
st'lka'bats ⁶		x						
padtco''tclā ⁷			x					
ci'a'bats ⁸					x			
pe'tloki ⁹						x		
padt'lko'lil ¹⁰							x	
Autumn								
let'e't'αsəba'xtci ¹¹	x							
lati't'səb ¹²							x	
let'αsəbax ¹³						x		
padtulo's		x		x				
padtulu's					x			
padtolus ¹⁴						x		

1 Apparently a verbal form; meaning not determined.

2 The s in sha'dəb is a substantive prefix.

3 "Time of getting warm." Diminutive form of padha'dəb.

4 "It is getting warm."

5 "Warming up." Derived from g'e'wg'lil.

of the lunar phases. Indeed, these were observed closely and a knowledge acquired when to expect the extreme low tides favorable to the gathering of shellfish. The coupling of these phenomena is revealed, however, only in the terminology of the Minter Bay people, a salt water group. Further research may bring to light a wider distribution of such terminology. The extent of the knowledge of the salt water groups with respect to the phases of the moon and its relationship to the tides deserves further study. There does not seem to be an awareness of the discrepancy between the lunations and the solar year. There is a certain vagueness in the responses and there are allusions to a big tide and a lesser tide in midsummer, which may indicate an unconscious attempt at intercalation. Again, the so-called "moons" may have varied in duration. The various constellations were observed, as were their positions at various seasons of the year.

The nomenclature for the subdivisions of the year fall into three main classes based upon (a) natural phenomena, (b) economic life, and (c) social practices and religious concepts.

We recognize the first of these classes in the terms for the grip of winter, the spring thaw, the growth of leaf and bud, the windy season and the subsequent calm; also in the shedding of leaves in autumn. In the second class there are two groups: one covering the succession of berry harvests and the other that of the salmon runs. The third class of terms has to do with the tabus observed and the consequent mode of life during the dark days before and after the winter solstice.

We have two pictures of the winter season. One is that of a time of gaiety, singing, dancing, feasting, and exchange of visits; the other is that of hunger and apprehension of evil. The road from the underworld is open. Malignant creatures and the shades of the dead are abroad, menacing health and life. Now, if ever, one must participate in ceremonials and call upon his guardian spirit for protection. The usual occupations and travel are tabu. This season terminates with the beginning of spring, signalized by the singing of the frogs.

6 These three are apparently variants of one term.

7 "Time of leaves."

8 "Everything growing."

9 Derivation of this term not learned.

10 Apparently a variant of the preceding term; meaning not learned.

11 "We are getting a little winter."

12 "It is getting cool."

13 "It is getting cold."

14 Various said to mean "time when the salmon begin to run" and "time when grass begins to grow after hot summer months." Exact meaning and derivation not learned.

Specifically, four berry seasons are named, always in the same order. The fruits so named are the yellow salmon berry, the red elderberry, the creeping blackberry, and the sallal berry. One informant contents herself with giving the term *padk'ola'tad*, "season of berries," which probably covers the duration of the four specifically mentioned. Likewise we learn of the seasons of the jack salmon, humpback salmon, dog salmon, and silver salmon. The duration of the salmon runs may be indicated by the term *padtulo's*, "fall of the year," "time the salmon begin to run." I do not know the derivation of this term. We have the terms *padtcida'dx* and *padola'dx*, "time to dry salmon." These are derived from *tcida'dx* and *sola'dx*, both meaning "salmon," or perhaps more precisely, "salmon for drying." One informant gives *sxto'tolupt* (alternative *sxtel'axed*) as "salmon beginning to run," and *padola'dx* as "salmon running thickly." The terms rendered "frog's face," "everything growing," "plants in bud and sprout," "plants in full flower," and "time of falling leaves" seem indicative of certain stages in the cycle of the year rather than any specific duration.

The following incident suggests intercalation. In listing the months, one informant skipped the month of August. Upon being queried, his interpreter explained that "the tide changes; there is no tide."

It is strange that no month of the spring season took its name from the practice of digging camas, nor is the season of digging fern roots noted in the calendar. Neither is there recognition of the practice of going to the mountains for huckleberries in the fall. Neither is note made of the season for killing and drying venison. No mention is made of the salmon run by informants living adjacent to the salt water. That is explainable, since the salmon was but one of the food fishes and aquatic animals obtainable in the waters of Puget Sound. In pre-Caucasian times the presence of the porpoise, the sea-otter, and the whale was of great importance in the economy of the salt water people, but not restricted to any given season.

As noted above in the addendum to the body of this paper, one of the spring months, whose name indicates that it is the season for drying butter clams, is so named exclusively by those dwelling along the salt water. This name, based upon a phase of their economic life, is absent from the terminology of the groups living inland. Further inquiry may yet reveal other terms used exclusively by the salt water groups.

The term *yɛcu't*, given by Snoqualmie Charlie for November, was that with which he began his series of month terms, calling it the "youngest month." In the data supplied by Mr Alfred J. Smith I find the same term given for the month

of December by an aged Twana informant, Robert Lewis, who stated that the year begins with the new moon in December. The word was said by him to mean, "cold nights." The Puyallup informant quoted by Mr Smith stated the year begins with December, which he called the "big cold month." No other informants report any certain starting point for their yearly cycle. It is remarkable that two informants as far distant from each other as the Snoqualmie and the Twana, speaking different, though related, dialects, should employ the same term and both employ it as the initial term of the series.

Unique features encountered in the calendric schemes recorded are not only the use of alternative terms for a given month-season, but also the use of a given term for two such "months" occurring at totally different stages of the year. For example, the term *sxi'tcelwa's*, represented by the phrase "put your paddles away," is used, not only to denote the advent and prevalence of cold and stormy weather at the beginning of winter, making travel difficult, if not impossible, but also the season of stormy weather in March again bringing about the cessation of travel. In both cases this expression is used as an alternative to another month-term. Another term, *g^wα'lkbitc*, given me by a Minter Bay informant for a time in late spring or early summer has its counterpart in *gulq'be'tc*, which term appears for December, in the Haeberlin notes on the Nisqually. The term *hek'xa'xa*, given for December by certain of my informants, is reported in the notes of Mr Alfred J. Smith, recorded from Jerry Meeker (Puyallup), as designating a two-month season in early summer. The expression, "younger brother" (moon), recorded by me for January, has its counterpart in the term recorded by Dr Marion Smith for June in her volume, *The Puyallup-Nisqually*. In the notes of Mr Smith we find that Mr Meeker (Puyallup) employs the term *padtulu's* to represent a three-month extent of time, namely "the time when grass begins to grow after the hot summer months." Certain other terms recorded may represent a duration shorter than that of a lunar month, perhaps simply a point of time. From the knowledge of such practices one is led to the conclusion that the distinction between a lunar month and a stage of longer or shorter duration is indeed but shadowy.

In all my notes the following is the only reference to the recording of time by means of notched sticks: "tca'auxc, ka.'ulac, and tx^wα'ptəd of the sahi'wabc. . . ka.'ulac used to record his age by marks on a stick. He died after the white people came. He was more than a hundred years old—so old, in fact, that the moss was growing upon his knees and elbows!"

In the assembled data presented herein there are contradictions hard to resolve.

That this is so is not surprising, inasmuch as we are dealing with the concepts of a loosely organized society without an organized priesthood or cult to standardize their attainments. All in all, the calendric system, insofar as it was developed by the people of the southern Puget Sound region, was an achievement sufficient for their needs in their pre-Caucasian state of culture.

AUBURN, WASHINGTON

THE STATE COLLEGE OF WASHINGTON

PULLMAN, WASHINGTON

COLLEGE OF SCIENCES AND ARTS
DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH

January 31, 1953

Mr. Click Relander
Route 3, Box 146
Yakima, Washington

Dear Mr. Relander:

Professor Deutsch has asked me to answer your questions about the McWhorter manuscript collection of Indian legends. Apparently he overlooked your word "confidentially"; I will remind him of it and assure you that I understand your desire to keep your publication plans "under your hat" until the proper time. I do free-lance writing and like to keep most projects to myself in the early stages.

I am interested in your research, for I have been working along somewhat the same lines for seven years, as I have had time. I read a little about Smohalla when getting a Yakima creation myth from James Mooney's "The Ghost Dance Religion". Do you know it? It is an important source for you: in the 14th Annual Report (for 1892-1893) of the Bureau of American Ethnology, pp.653-828. If the Yakima library does not have those government reports, perhaps they can borrow that one for you on Inter-Library Loan. Perhaps you already have used it.

Before answering your question about the manuscripts, let me tell you about my research and book, in which I am using some of the legends. The University of California Press is publishing this spring my INDIAN LEGENDS OF THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST, a collection of 110+ myths and legends, chiefly about places in Washington and Oregon--mountains, lakes, rivers, rocks, waterfalls, etc. I started out with a geographical theme and have added other types of myths to give a fairly complete study of Northwest Indian mythology, for the general reader.

I am including Coast and interior Indians of both states--the stories which I think will be of general interest regardless of tribe or area. I think I have read hundreds of tales and have obtained some directly on several reservations. About two years ago, the McWhorter Collection was made available to me, and I am using eight stories from it: "Coyote and the Crow," "Orion," "Legend of the Great Dipper and the Milky Way," "The Painted Rocks of the Naches," "Pah-to, the White Eagle," "Yakima Tradition of the Flood," "Pictured Rocks of the Naches Puh-Euh Num," and "Deep Lake."

Before knowing about the manuscripts, I had read a good many of the stories elsewhere, chiefly in a collection made by Dr. G.B. Kuykendall, government physician on the Yakima Reservation in the 1870's. You will find it in Volume II of Elwood Evans' History of the Pacific Northwest: Washington and Oregon, published in Portland in 1889. He has an excellent chapter on the Indians. The same material was published also in The West Shore in 1887. (a magazine). You will find it valuable.

Now about your question: there are nearer 150 stories in the McWhorter Collection, I think, than 60. Several of them are as long as the one I am enclosing; I first thought I would use it but I already had several Bridge of the Gods stories. Some are typewritten and some in long-hand. I think I spent two or three days reading the entire collection and copying the ones I wanted. At 75 cents or \$1.00 an hour for a typist, I think you would find it very expensive to have the entire collection copied. Because of the Indian names and the long-hand, copying would be slow. If you could get over here for a day or two and skim the collection, then have copied whatever you want--that would seem to me to be the best procedure. And of course my collection may change your plan a little. It will in no way interfere with your study of Smohalla.

C.R. Armstrong, Associate Director of Libraries, is the librarian in charge of the McWhorter Archives. On Monday I will inquire about a bibliography on Fort Simcoe--unless I find that Dr. Deutsch has answered that question. That would be a task for a reference librarian in the Social Science Library.

I should like very much to talk with you about our hobby, and if I am in the Yakima area again I shall try to get in touch with you. Your paragraph about Coyote reminds me of two legends in my book. One told me by a Sanpoil takes Coyote from Celilo Falls up to Kettle Falls, making waterfalls, changing the course of the Columbia. In the following story, as I explain in the headnote, I have woven together a great many stories in order to have a unified tale of Coyote's assistance to the animal people. I have no tales about the characters before the days of Coyote; in fact, I have read none, and I think I have examined every collection in print. And I have never found the word Wanapum. So you have unplowed soil there.

I have now made quite an extensive bibliography of Northwest Indian materials, and if I can be of any assistance to you I shall be glad. The only reference I have seen to Smohalla is the Mooney one, already mentioned--except in Andrew Splawn's book, in which I think he has used Mooney freely without footnote or bibliography.

Sincerely yours,

Ella E. Clark

Ella E. Clark

P.S. I find that the ~~term~~-Wanapam people are mentioned in Verne F. Ray's "Native Villages and Groupings of the Columbia Basin," the Pacific Northwest Quarterly, XXVIII (1936), 99-152.

As to publishing--have you considered Binfords and Mort? Address: 124 N.W. 9th Ave., Portland 9.

They are interested in Northwest material and last summer when I was discussing another project I would like to publish, I found that Binfords and Mort had a very good reputation. The author of a book published in recent years by Caxton had to invest more money in it than I have ever heard of an author investing--even paid them \$1500.00 for the editing work which the U. of Calif. Press is doing as part of publication responsibilities. But of course you may be able to make more satisfactory arrangements. Mr. McWhorter has had experience with Caxton.

Monday--Dr. Deutsch asks me to give your letter to Nelson Ault for the question about Fort Simcoe.

THUNDERBIRD AND THE BRIDGE OF THE GODS

In the days of the Animal People a great bird lived in the land of the setting sun. It was the thunderbird. All of the Animal People were afraid of it. Thunderbird made five high mountains and then said to the Animal People, "I make a law that no one is to pass over these five high mountains. If anyone does, I will kill him. No one is to come where I live."

Wolf did not believe the law. "I will go," declared Wolf. "I will be the first to see what Thunderbird will do to me."

"I will go with you," said Wolf's four brothers.

So the five Wolf brothers went to the first mountain. They stood in a row, and each stepped with his right foot at the same time. Nothing happened. Each stepped with his left foot, all at the same time. Immediately the five Wolf brothers were dead.

When the Animal People heard that the five wolf brothers were dead, Grizzly Bear, the strongest of the animals, decided that he would go.

"I will cross over the mountains," announced Grizzly Bear. "I will not die as the Wolf brothers have died."

"We will go with you," said Grizzly Bear's four brothers.

So the five Grizzly Bear brothers went to the first mountain. They stood in a row, and each stepped with his right foot, all at the same time. Then each stepped with his left foot, all at the same time. Immediately the five Grizzly Bears were dead.

"I will go now," said Cougar. "I will take a long step and leap over the mountain."

Cougar's four brothers went with him. They made one leap together, and then all were dead.

"We will go next," said the five Beaver brothers. "We will go under the mountains. We will not be killed. We will not be like the Wolf brothers, the Grizzly Bear brothers, and the Cougar brothers."

But as they tried to cross under the mountains, all five Beaver brothers were killed.

Then Coyote's oldest son said, "I will go talk to the mountains. I will break down the law, so that people may live and pass to the sunset."

His four brothers went with him, and two of them talked to the five mountains. They made the mountains move up and down; they made the mountains dance and shake. But the five sons of Coyote were killed. The five mountains still stood. None could pass them to the sunset.

Coyote's sons had not told their father their plans. He had told them that they must never stay away from home over night. When they did not return, he knew that they had been killed by Thunderbird. Coyote was wiser than the others. He has been instructed in wisdom by the Great Spirit.

After his sons had been gone five nights, Coyote was sure that they were dead. He cried loud and long. He went to a lonely place in the mountains and rolled on the ground, wailing and howling with grief. Then he prayed to the Great Spirit for strength to bring his five sons back to life.

After Coyote had cried and prayed for a long time, he heard a voice. "You can not break the law of the Thunderbird. You can not go over the five mountains. Thunderbird has made the law."

Coyote continued crying and praying, rolling on the ground in a lonely place in the mountains. After a time he heard the voice again.

"The only thing you can do is to go up to the Above-World. It will take you five days and five nights. There you will be told how you can bring your five sons to life again."

So for five days and five nights Coyote traveled to the Above-World. There he told his troubles to the Great Spirit.

"Give me strength," he ended. "Give me so much strength that I can fight Thunderbird. Then the people can cross over the mountains to the sunset."

At last the Great Spirit promised to help.

"I will blind the eyes of Thunderbird," he promised. "Then you can go over the five mountains and kill him."

"I will tell you what you must do," continued the Great Spirit. "When you get back to the earth, find the big bird called the Eagle. He has great strength. Ask him for a feather from his youngest son. Ask for a feather, a small feather from under his wing. This feather

is downy and has great strength. It has power running out from the heart because it grows near the heart. Return now to the earth."

After five days and five nights, Coyote reached the earth again. He found Eagle and told him all that the Great Spirit had said. Then he asked, "Will you give me the feather that grows nearest the heart of your youngest son?"

"I will do as the Great Spirit bids," replied Eagle. "If he told you to come to me, then I will give you my power to fight Thunderbird."

So Eagle picked a feather from under the wing of his youngest son. It was such a small, downy feather that it could not be seen when it floated through the air. Then Coyote followed the next commandment the Great Spirit had given him.

"Fast for ten days and ten nights," he had said. "If you will go without food and drink for ten days and nights, you will be changed to a feather. You will then be able to go anywhere."

So Coyote fasted. After ten days and ten nights, he was turned to a feather, like the one Eagle had given him. He floated through the air towards the five mountains. At a distance from them, he made a noise like thunder, as the Great Spirit had told him to do. Three times he made a slow, deep rumbling, off towards the sunrise.

Thunderbird heard the rumble and said, "Who is making this noise? I alone was given the power to make that rumbling sound. This noise must be coming from the Land-Above. I am dead! I am dead! I am dead!"

A fourth time Coyote rumbled, this time closer to Thunderbird. Thunderbird became angry. "I will kill whoever this is that is making

the noise, I will kill him. I will kill him!" he repeated angrily.

Thunderbird made a mighty noise, a greater thunder than Coyote had made. Coyote, in the form of a feather, went into the air, higher and higher and ever higher. He darted and whirled but could not be seen.

Thunderbird was afraid. He knew that if a fifth rumble of thunder came he would be dead. He sought the deep water of the great river, to hide himself there. He heard Coyote far above him.

Coyote prayed to the Great Spirit, "Help me one more time, just one more time. Help me kill Thunderbird so that the people may live, so that my sons will come to life again."

The Great Spirit heard Coyote and helped him. Thunderbird sank deeper into the water, terrified. Coyote, still invisible above him, made a greater noise than ever, a noise like the bursting of the world. The five mountains crumbled and fell. Pieces of the mountain, floating down the great river, formed islands along its course.

Thunderbird died, and his giant body formed a great bridge above the river. The five sons of Coyote and all the other Animal People who had been killed by Thunderbird came back to life.

For many hundred of snows the great bridge stood above the river. It was there long after the first Indians came to the earth. They called it the Bridge of the Gods. The Wasco Indians had a law that when the canoes journeyed under it, no one should look up. No man must see the Bridge of the Gods. No one must look at the rocks of the bridge. They knew that some day it would fall. They must not anger the Great Spirit by looking at it, their wise men told them.

The Klickitat Indians had a different law. Only a few men necessary to paddle the canoes would pass under the bridge. All the others would land when they approached the Bridge of the Gods, walk around to the opposite side of it, and there re-enter the canoes. The oarsmen always bade their friends good-bye, fearing that the bridge would fall while they were passing under it.

After many snows, no one knows how many, the prophecy of the wise men came true. The Bridge of the Gods fell. The rocks which had once been the body of Thunderbird formed the rapids in the river which have long been known as the Cascades of the Columbia.

SOURCE: An unpublished manuscript in the library of the State College of Washington. A Wasco legend told to Lucullus McWhorter in 1914, by a Wasco woman about one hundred years old. Klickitat custom added in a note by McWhorter.

McWhorter Archives, Exhibit 8, Folder #1.

GILBERT BOND

26% COTTON FIBRE

U.S.A.

Miss Ella E. Clark
212 Columbia Street
Pullman, Washington

April 28, 1953

Dear Mr. Relander:

I think I have never thanked you for the information about Wahkshum, and here I am about to ask another favor of you. McWhorter has a version of the story of Sun and his five wives; in it the mountains are the wives of Thunder -- Enumclaw. He also says that Wahkshum is Mount Simcoe. So I'll get it right in the proof.

Last summer I did an article on Indian Thanksgiving, which was published in the Inland Empire Magazine of the Spokesman on Nov. 22. I think I'll try a magazine with a wider audience and submit it for a November issue.

This information about the Indians from the Yakima Reservation is from a friend of mine, now dead, who was for many years at the guard station near the huckleberry fields in the Mount Adams country. Do you know how many of the customs he tells about are still practised?

Another friend went to the Root Festival either last spring or the year before at Rock Creek, somewhere near Goldendale. She was so hazy about everything that I thought her unreliable. Do you know what group and how large a group observe the festival there? Is it a religious ceremony? I judge from what she said that it is not commercialized.

Do you think that your sham friend would talk to me if I should go over to see him next summer? Chief Jobe Charley and his granddaughter were very interested in helping me. I have several questions I'd like to ask of someone who has studied Indian religion. I have several stories in which the mountains are spirits; others in which they are people. Are they anthropomorphic spirits? I have other myths in which people were changed into mountains or other objects of nature. How do they fit into the stories of the "animal people" -- Coyote, etc.? Are there two mythological periods in their stories? You see, I am full of questions. Perhaps someone at the conference of anthropologists

I don't expect answers to this. I'm just asking questions.

here this week-end will have time to talk with me. I can't figure out why most of the stories recorded by pioneers have to do with spirits and almost all collected by anthropologists are about Coyote, Raven, etc. -- the grotesque rather than the spiritual. And yet Dr. Kuykendall's collection is entirely about animal people. He suggests that the supernatural part of the giant animals, the spirit, still exists; if that was the Indian belief, that explains, I suppose, why the guardian spirit was usually an animal.

I must return to my paper-grading!

Sincerely,

Ella Cough

P.S. If when June comes, you will tell me what kind of stories you want from the McWhorter collection, I will try to select them and have them copied for you -- if that's what you still want.

July 9

Dear Mr. Reider:

Last I lead you astray:
the anthropologist on our
faculty says that no anthro-
pologist today accepts
Powell's theory of different
stages of mythologic thought!

Edw. S. Clark



THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS



Mr. Chick Relander
Route 3, Box 146
Yakima, Wash.

Miss Ella E. Clark

212 Columbia Street

Pullman, Washington

Dear Mr. Rolander:

Thank you very much. I have a Kodaslide of Billy Cullen on horseback, so I have special kind of interest. And I know Cull White.

Author's copies of my book here. The publishers have done a beautiful job. The college publicity man will send Yakima a story soon. Ella Clark

January 30

[1954]

Dear Mr. Relander:

Thank you for the clippings. I have the feeling that I shall be a sentimental old lady and shall enjoy looking back upon my one autumn! The Lions secretary kindly sent me your account of my departure from Yakima--thank you for that. Any duplicates I can use as I answer my Christmas mail in this lull between semesters. I was so busy and so tired that I wrote almost no one. Then I escaped from everything by going to a brother's in Illinois for a very happy holiday season. And my themes and test papers did not grade themselves while I was away. I should train them better.

I've had this envelope addressed to you for nearly two months, to send you the enclosures from the Assoc. on American Indian Affairs. I could not think of the title when I talked with you. If you have this material already, perhaps you can use it in some way. I have seen several syndicated pieces by LaFarge recently, objecting to the proposed sudden end of Federal protection. Much of his letter of Dec. 16 appeared in the Bloomington, Ill., paper during the holidays. I wish that I had known the facts better, so that I could have asked your opinion on some of these matters. I appreciate very much what I learned from you, and I can see why the Indians have confidence in you. They certainly need you.

On my return from Yakima, I talked with Tom Stockdale. He told me a little about a sacred rock on an island in the Columbia where there are pictures (petroglyphs or pictographs?) of polar bears. I think I'd like to use the information in the headnote to two traditions I got last summer, about Arapaho and Assiniboine crossing on ice which seems likely to be the Bering Strait. Stockdale says you know the story better than he does. Of course he was interested in my book, and the souvenir shop across the highway will, I think, carry it.

On November 30, the business manager wrote me that he had ordered a second printing of 2,000 copies. On Jan. 5, I autographed some copies from the second printing from Graham's, one yesterday bought at Gill's two or three weeks ago. I don't know how many were in the first printing (1372 were sold the first month), but obviously they have sold more than they expected to sell, at this time. And the school and tourist markets have not been tapped yet. It's a pleasure to me to see the wide range of appeal--from Cub Scouts to a retired professor of classical languages and his wife, who are impressed with the parallels with Old World mythology. That's a study I shall make and publish some day; I've had it in mind for seven years.

The Spokesman-Review articles of Dec. 27 and Jan. 3 contained in detail my talk before the Yakima Lions. I'm shortening it and hoping to find a place for it in some magazine of wider circulation. I had another "tie-in piece" in the Oregonian on Nov. 22 (sent last July), and the editor gave me a by-line about my book. Reviews in a Portland paper, the Seattle Times, and the San Fran Chronicle have been favorable. So I think that the book is all right. Mrs. Broad said she'd drop me a note about post-autographing sales there, but I surmise she became too busy with the Christmas rush to think about it. It sold amazingly well here throughout the Christmas season.

Yes, I found Sarah Olden's little book in the li
at Lander, Wyo., last summer, talked with a woman who knew
her and with the daughter of Rev. Roberts. Strangely, I could
not find there Grace Coolidge's Tepee Neighbors, though her
husband was from the Wind River Reservation. I ordered it
yesterday through inter-library loan. I haven't had a minute
on last summer's research, and now it is time to prepare for
next summer's field trip. I want to go into the Canadian
Rockies area for part of the summer, and I don't know anything
about the Indians there.

If you should ever hear a story about Glacier Peak, let
me know, will you? Unless of course you wish to use it your-
self. Perhaps the publishers will permit me to enlarge my
book some day. There is a story about Glacier Peak in Nels
Bruseth's little book, but he would let me use it only if I
used his wording verbatim.

I'm glad that you've had at least a little time for your
sculpture. That's a beautiful face of the old Wanapum chief.

Thank you again for the clippings and for the good dinner
and visit after the Yakima autographing.

Sincerely,

Elle Clark

P.S. I have been invited to speak next Saturday evening at
the second anniversary banquet of the United American Indians
in Spokane. I don't know the organization but the experience
should be an interesting one. Mrs. J.W. Dunning wrote me about
it.

Had an inquiry about my book yesterday
from the Isle of Guam! The Guamanians
are much interested in our Indians, says a
WSC alumna.

[Enclosure - 1954 Jan 30]

ASSOCIATION ON AMERICAN INDIAN AFFAIRS, INC.
48 EAST 86th STREET
NEW YORK 28, N. Y.

A RESOLUTION FOR A POSITIVE PROGRAM
FOR THE ASSOCIATION ON AMERICAN INDIAN AFFAIRS
for its Annual Meeting April 19, 1956

WHEREAS it is the understanding of this Association that Federal responsibility in the American Indian problem cannot be fulfilled by the dispersal of Indian communities, but by the continuous development of their human and economic potential; and

WHEREAS it is recognized that Indian communities cannot be considered to have reached the American level of well-being until the principles of consent of the governed, self-determination, and local self-government are operative, nor until Indian opportunities in economy, education and health are measurably equal to those of their fellow-citizens, and

WHEREAS the American "Point IV Program," as it has been applied successfully in under-developed areas of the world, reveals tested techniques whereby American Indian communities may be so developed; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED by the Association on American Indian Affairs in Annual Meeting this 19th day of April, 1956, that the Bureau of Indian Affairs should be, by definition, an agency to assist American Indian communities to reach the level of well-being enjoyed by other communities in the United States; and the governing program of the Bureau of Indian Affairs should be an American Indian Point IV Program.

It is further declared that this program should be offered to the American Indian communities without exacting termination of Federal protection of Indian property or of any other Indian rights as its price;

(over)

that Indian culture and identity should not be restricted or destroyed; that technical guidance and financial assistance should be made available; that the request for assistance should come from the Indians after each Indian group has studied itself in terms of its own needs; that an impartial effort should be made to deal with the development of natural resources to maximum capacity, to develop the full capabilities of industrial and agricultural production, of improvements in housing, nutrition, clothing, sanitation, and health, and of the resettlement on their own initiative of individuals and families in other areas; that technical assistance should be given to long-term general, vocational, technical, and professional education to enable American Indians to share fully in our total American society and to contribute to it; and that older, revered values should be respected and used as new forms of living are introduced.

It is further resolved that the Secretary of the Interior should review all programs of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in order to develop its activities to further an American Indian Point IV Program; and that he should report to Congress at the earliest possible date his recommendations for such legislation as may be necessary to accomplish the purposes of this resolution.

Finally, it is declared that Federal protection and services should be ended for any tribe, band or group only when that unit shall have adopted a plan for its organization and operation under State law, and the plan shall have been approved by the appropriate State and by the Secretary of the Interior prior to its submission to the Congress.

[Enclosure - 1954 Jan 30]

Association on American Indian Affairs, Inc.
48 East 86 Street, N.Y. 28, N.Y.

FOR INFORMATION CALL:

New York : La Verne Madigan, TR 9-3130
Washington, D.C.: William Zimmerman, ME 8-3988

FOR RELEASE: April 20, 1956

DRASTIC REVISION OF FUNCTION OF U.S. INDIAN
BUREAU DEMANDED BY ASSOCIATION ON AMERICAN INDIAN AFFAIRS

AMERICAN INDIAN POINT IV PROGRAM SEEN AS KEY

INDIAN CANNOT BE GOVERNED LIKE FISH AND WILD LIFE,
LA FARGE DECLARES

ELECTIONS TO BOARD ANNOUNCED

"The Bureau of Indian Affairs should be, by definition, an agency to assist American Indian communities to reach the level of well-being enjoyed by other communities in the United States; and the governing program of the Bureau of Indian Affairs should be an American Indian Point IV Program," the Association on American Indian Affairs declared yesterday in a resolution presented at its annual meeting in New York City.

The resolution, demanding drastic reinterpretation of the official function of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, stated that "Federal responsibility in the American Indian problem cannot be fulfilled by the dispersal of Indian communities, but by the continuous development of their human and economic potential," and pointed out that "the American Point IV Program, as it has been applied successfully in under-developed areas of the world, reveals tested techniques whereby American Indian communities may be so developed." "This program," the resolution continued, "should be offered to the American Indian communities without exacting termination of Federal protection of Indian property or of any other Indian rights as its price."

In presenting the resolution to the Association's membership, Dr. Charles

Russell declared that a Point IV Program would be a self-help program, since technical guidance and financial assistance would be made available to the Indian communities but the request for it would have to come from the communities themselves after they had worked out plans in terms of their own needs.

Application of the American principle of consent of the governed was called for by Oliver La Farge, noted author and president of the Association, in his keynote address on Indian affairs. The Indian Bureau is in a more harassed situation in this respect than, say, the Fish and Wildlife Service, Mr. La Farge said. "If the Fish and Wildlife officials want to do something on a given game preserve, they have only the people interested in wildlife to satisfy. The birds can't talk and don't vote." Referring to the Association's continuing efforts to cooperate with the Bureau of Indian Affairs on programs beneficial to Indians, Mr. La Farge continued, "And of course, in all that we put forth, in every argument that we advance, we begin and end with one basic principle -- which is, that the Indians themselves must be satisfied, that in this democracy, we don't do things to people, we don't do things for people, we do things with people."

Elected to the Association's Board of Directors were Dr. Angie Debo, of Marshall, Oklahoma, historian of the West and author of "And Still the Waters Run" and "The Five Civilized Tribes"; Mr. Noble Swearingen of New York City, Chief of the Legislative Unit of the National Tuberculosis Association; and Dr. Evon Vogt of Cambridge, Mass., Harvard anthropologist, and author of "Navaho Veterans", "Navaho Means People" (with Dr. Clyde Kluckhohn, also of the Association's Board), and various other scholarly works.

The full text of the resolution in favor of an American Indian Point IV Program follows:

[Enclosure. 1954 Jan 303

THE AMERICAN INDIAN FUND
of the
Association on American Indian Affairs, Inc.



48 East 86th Street
New York 28, N. Y.
Tel. TRafalgar 9-3130

December 16, 1953

OLIVER LA FARGE
Chairman

Dear Miss Clark:

SPONSORS

Cleveland Amory
E. Raymond Armsby
Frank Aydelotte
Thomas Hart Benton
Viola W. Bernard, M.D.
Junius Bird
Robert Woods Bliss
William Douglas Burden
Witter Bynner
Carl Carmer
Pearl Chase
H. Hall Clovis
Harold S. Colton
Mrs. W. Murray Crane
Mrs. H. H. D'Autremont
Mrs. Henry P. Davison
Bernard deVoto
Mrs. John Dewey
Rene D'Harnoncourt
Ruth Draper
Gertrude Ely
Haven Emerson, M.D.
Douglas Fairbanks, Jr.
Harry Emerson Fosdick
Mrs. George P. Gardner
A. B. Guthrie, Jr.
Charles S. Johnson
Hans V. Kaltenborn
Willard V. King
Clyde Kluckhohn
Mrs. Albert D. Lasker
Herbert H. Lehman
Mrs. Edward C. Lindeman
Robert S. Lynd
Thomas Mann
James Marshall
William Mauldin
William C. Menninger, M.D.
Mrs. Gerrish Milliken
Mrs. Victor Morawetz
G. Bromley Oxnam
Philip Phillips
Rufus G. Poole
Will Rogers, Jr.
Mrs. Edgar L. Rossin
Charles Russell
Evelyn Sears
Eric Sevareid
Bernard J. Sheil
Mrs. Joseph Lindon Smith
Paul C. Smith
Mrs. Arthur Hays Sulzberger
William L. White
John Hay Whitney

As the year ends, American Indians, often betrayed and poorly served in the past, face a threat to the very existence of their communities. We pledge our resources to aid them and we ask your help.

Powerful forces obsessed with one idea -- to solve the Indian problem by ending Federal relations of Indians -- are renouncing the nation's commitments; repudiating promises to rehabilitate Indians reduced to poverty and dependence; and rejecting the American idea that Indians must have a voice in determining their destiny.

Congress and the Interior Department, moving relentlessly toward that end, have created a hydra-headed monster of legislation -- to end Federal protection of individual and tribal property; halt Federal health, education, and welfare services; and terminate the Indian Bureau.

Scheduled for quick abandonment are the Seminoles of Florida (largely illiterate), all Indians of California, western Oregon, and western Washington, the Chippewas of Turtle Mountain, N.D., the Potawatomis of Kansas and Nebraska, the Flatheads of Montana, and the Menominees of Wisconsin. Confusion, dismay and bitter opposition are wide-spread in Indian country.

"How can our Government end a hundred years of Indian heartache by abandoning us now? We are a poverty-stricken people and a beaten enemy," writes a small, almost forgotten tribe of California, appealing for aid.

I enclose the facts on Indian health. Despite ignorance and poverty that contribute to the shocking rate at which Indians sicken and die, the Federal Indian budget for the coming year proposes critical reductions in funds for education, health and welfare. Nineteen Indian hospitals are to close; facilities for treatment of tuberculosis among Hopis and Navajos, already inadequate, are to be cut.

There is no need for abrupt changes in Indian administration; there is neither justice nor humanity in sudden renunciation of Federal responsibilities. When Indians are self-supporting and healthy, when they get equal educational opportunities and know our technology, they will themselves abolish the Indian Bureau by making it superfluous.

We have a mandate now from Indians all over the country. They call upon us to try to halt these tragically mistaken policies. We must help them before it is too late. Won't you send us a contribution before the old year closes?

Sincerely yours,

Oliver La Farge, Chairman

Enclosure. 1954 Jan 30

THE AMERICAN INDIAN FUND
of the
Association on American Indian Affairs, Inc.



48 East 86th Street
New York 28, N. Y.
Tel. TRafalgar 9-3130

October 16, 1953

OLIVER LA FARGE
Chairman

Dear Miss Clark:

SPONSORS

Cleveland Amory
E. Raymond Armsby
Frank Aydelotte
Thomas Hart Benton
Viola W. Bernard, M.D.
Junius Bird
Robert Woods Bliss
William Douglas Burden
Witter Bynner
Carl Carmer
Pearl Chase
H. Hall Clovis
Harold S. Colton
Mrs. W. Murray Crane
Mrs. H. H. D'Autremont
Mrs. Henry P. Davison
Bernard deVoto
Mrs. John Dewey
Rene D'Harnoncourt
Ruth Draper
Gertrude Ely
Haven Emerson, M.D.
Douglas Fairbanks, Jr.
Harry Emerson Fosdick
Mrs. George P. Gardner
A. B. Guthrie, Jr.
Charles S. Johnson
Hans V. Kaltenborn
Willard V. King
Clyde Kluckhohn
Mrs. Albert D. Lasker
Herbert H. Lehman
Mrs. Eduard C. Lindeman
Robert S. Lynd
Thomas Mann
James Marshall
William Mauldin
William C. Menninger, M.D.
Mrs. Gerrish Milliken
Mrs. Victor Morawetz
G. Bromley Oxnam
Philip Phillips
Rufus G. Poole
Will Rogers, Jr.
Mrs. Edgar L. Rossin
Charles Russell
Evelyn Sears
Eric Sevareid
Bernard J. Sheil
Mrs. Joseph Lindon Smith
Paul C. Smith
Mrs. Arthur Hays Sulzberger
William L. White
John Hay Whitney

I am writing you in a time of crisis in Indian affairs. Often-betrayed and poorly-served in the past, American Indians now find the very existence of their communities threatened as never before in our time. We pledge our resources to aid them, and we ask your help.

Powerful forces obsessed with one idea -- to solve the Indian problem by ending Federal relations of Indians -- are renouncing the nation's commitments; repudiating promises to rehabilitate Indians reduced to poverty and dependence; and rejecting the American idea that Indians must have a voice in determining their destiny.

Congress and the Interior Department, moving relentlessly toward that end, have created a hydra-headed monster of legislation -- to end Federal protection of individual and tribal property; halt Federal health, education, and welfare services; and terminate the Indian Bureau.

I enclose the facts. The proposals disregard Indian conditions, the human needs of Indians, and their rights as citizens. If not defeated, we may expect to see the virtual confiscation of Indian lands and the demoralization of Indian family and community life.

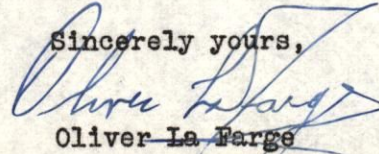
One bill is already law -- Public Law 280, which renounces for all time Federal protective legal authority over Indian communities -- rushed through Congress just before adjournment, without hearings, without notice to Indians. The President, on August 15, condemned the evils in this Act, and asked immediate correction.

While the Government drives on to turn Indians over to State and local authority, the tragic history of Indians under the States is being renewed. Despite initial defeats, Arizona still seeks court sanction to discriminate against Indians in Social Security; San Diego County, California, is asking higher courts to validate relief discrimination against Indians. School authorities of St. Charles, South Dakota, barred Indian children from public schools last year. In California two Indian women were arrested this August for fishing in traditional Indian waters.

There is no need for abrupt changes in Indian administration. When Indians are self-supporting and in sound health, when they get equal educational opportunities, when they know our technology, the Indians themselves will abolish the Indian Bureau by making it superfluous.

To help Indians now, before it is too late, we face a job of tremendous proportions. Won't you send a contribution today?

Sincerely yours,


Oliver La Farge

Feb. 3, 1954

Alexander
Association on Indian Affairs
48 East 86th Street
New York 28, N.Y.

Dear Sir:

I am sorry that I am in no position to be of help. My acquaintance on the reservations has been almost entirely with very old Indians, for they are the only ones who know the legends and my time for field research is limited.

I will send your night letter to a man who knows the Yakima Indians very well. He may possibly know someone to suggest as an expert witness on Oregon Indian conditions.

O.M. Yeager (Box 475, Castle Rock, Wash.) may be able to direct you to someone on the Umatilla Reservation, Oregon. He spent a month there last spring gathering material for a book about those Indians.

Sincerely,

Ella E. Clark

Dear Mr. Relander:

I sent Mr. LaFarge a copy of my book and a note with it. As it was a social note, I did not keep a carbon; I think I just agreed with him that the Indians should be gradually prepared for termination of federal relations.

You can answer this message or not, as you think best. I see more than ever that I must not get involved, for it would take a great deal of study for me to have an informed opinion. And I haven't any extra time or energy.

Sincerely,

Ella E. Clark

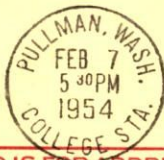
Feb. 7

Dear Mr. Melander:

I'll send the names and address on to N.Y. Last night at the banquet of United American Indians in Spokane, I made the acquaintance of some able, intelligent Indians from several tribes (46 are represented in the membership) and made note of names and addresses. Let me know if you ever need them. --I wrote you between semesters when I had an unusually long breathing spell. I'm all caught up, even with "fan mail," and tomorrow I begin a new semester with a clean slate--and a firm resolve to keep slowed down. Last weekevening's experience was unique, pleasant, touching, inspirational.

Sincerely,

Ells E. Clark



THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS



Mr. Click Relander
1212 N. 32nd Ave.
Yakima, Wash.

66-95
23-88

Pullman, July 4 [1955]

Dear Mr. Relander:

It took only a few minutes when I got to it. Knowing that your book was scheduled for next spring, I did not put the list high on the things to be done in June. The obvious ones like Yakima, Spokane, Seattle, Portland I omitted. Most of my fan mail came from personal acquaintances; I autographed several books for people who collect Northwest Americana or Indian things, but I do not know their names and addresses. Gill's, Kling's, Boad's will be very helpful with those collectors.

Put Justice Douglas on your list. Some bookstore in Washington, D., C., handles my book but I don't know which one. I'll keep you in mind next year when I am there and elsewhere.

Thank you for the booklet on the Yakimas. I read it when it arrived and found it informative and of course saddening. Any hatred the Indians feel for the white people--and I am frequently impressed by the lack of it--is deserved.

Last week I mailed two articles recognizing the Lewis and Clark sesquicentennial, begun last Jan. when I wrote the one for Mont. magazine, and also the George Gibbs ms. Did I tell you that Herman found in Wisconsin an unpublished ms. of Gibbs, written in 1865, on the mythology of the Northwest Indians? He had it microfilmed, I have copied and annotated it, OHQ agreed at Christmas time to publish it. It runs to 100 pages typed plus 20 pp. of footnotes. I'll send you an "author's copy."

So I can make a guess at the work you put in on the Yakima booklet. I can only guess at the time you've spent on the Celilo Falls agreement.

Wednesday I start to the Flathead Reservation, for the last of the Powwow and the first of my 1955 attempts to get some stories there. I hope to complete my field research this summer; rather, I think that after this summer trips will not be worthwhile.

Sincerely,

Ella E. Clark

Miss ELLA E. CLARK
212 COLUMBIA STREET
PULLMAN, WASHINGTON

August 1, 1955

Dear Mr. Relander:

Congratulations! Mary Avery tells me that your book is off the press. I understood that it was scheduled for next spring and from what I have learned about publishers I surmised that it would be later than spring by several months.

So I congratulate you also on getting the book out ahead of schedule.

Of course I want a copy. If you ^{are} selling copies, as Caxton often expects authors to do, I want to buy through you. If you do not have to sell, I will ~~order~~ order through the Students Bookstore.

I hope I had it on my list. And I am very sorry I did not send the list earlier; as I said, I thought you would not need it for months.

You might add these people, interested in Northwest history:

Ralph Irvin, Salmon, Idaho
Byrd Trego, Blackfoot, Idaho
J.A. Harrington, 1120½ O'Farrell St., Boise.

I got the impression that Gill's and Kling's (Lewiston) have lists of customers who are specially interested in books about the Northwest.

Best wishes for the sale of your book.

Sincerely,

Ells E. Clark

Relander

L

October 16, 1956

University of California Press
Berkeley 4
California

Dear Sirs:

If you still have brochures of INDIAN LEGENDS OF THE PACIFIC
NORTHWEST, may I suggest that you send one to each of the addresses
given below.

Very truly yours,

Ella E. Clark

State Library of Wyoming
Cheyenne, Wyoming

Library, University of Wyoming
Laramie, Wyoming

Carnegie Library
Cheyenne

Carnegie Library
Laramie

Balcony Book Shop
1607 Carey Avenue
Cheyenne

Student Bookstore
University of Wyoming, Laramie

Nisbet Stationery Store
1610 Capitol Avenue
Cheyenne

Double M Art and Book Shop
501 Garfield Street
Laramie

Sheridan County Library
Sheridan, Wyoming

Howery's
216 Iverson Blvd.
Laramie

EEC:jw

Feb. 2, PM 5:4 8

New York NY 2, Professor Ella E. Clark, Dept of English, State
College of Washington, Pullman

Your letter to La Farge being forwarded. Meanwhile, can you help
on Oregon and Washington phases of Indian Crisis. Joint senate-house
hearings on legislation terminating federal relations with Oregon
Indians now scheduled as follows:

February 17 on S. 2746 . HR 7317 terminating Indians of Grand Ronde and
Siletz Reservations. February 22 and 23 on S 2745 HR 7320 terminating Klamaths.
We are deeply concerned. Have not yet received clear information on real s
sentiment of many Indians affected by thes bills. Can you help us find
out? Can you advise who might be strong expert witness on Oregon
Indian conditions in the scheduled hearings? Termination hearings not
schedule d yet on Washington Indians. Many thanks for your
cooperation. Advise airmail. Sincerely

Association on American Indian Affairs, Alexander Lesser,
executive Director 48 East 86th St. New York 28 NY.

Feb. 2, PM 5:48

New York NY 2, Professor Ella E. Clark, Dept of English, State
College of Washington, Pullman

Your letter to La Farge being forwarded. Meanwhile, can you help
on Oregon and Washington phases of Indian Crisis. Joint senate-house
hearings on legislation terminating federal relations with Oregon
Indians now scheduled as follows:

February 17 on S. 2746 . HR 7317 terminating Indians of Grand Ronde and
Siletz Reservations. February 22 and 23 on S 2745 HR 7320 terminating Klamaths.
We are deeply concerned. Have not yet received clear information on real
sentiment of many Indians affected by these bills. Can you help us find
out? Can you advise who might be strong expert witness on Oregon
Indian conditions in the scheduled hearings? Termination hearings not
scheduled yet on Washington Indians. Many thanks for your
cooperation. Advise airmail. Sincerely

Association on American Indian Affairs, Alexander Lesser,
executive Director 48 East 86th St. New York 28 NY.

Feb. 2, PM 5:48

New York NY 2, Professor Ella E. Clark, Dept of English, State
College of Washington, Pullman

Your letter to La Farge being forwarded. Meanwhile, can you help
on Oregon and Washington phases of Indian Crisis. Joint senate-house
hearings on legislation terminating federal relations with Oregon
Indians now scheduled as follows:

February 17 on S. 2746 . HR 7317 terminating Indians of Grand Ronde and
Siletz Reservations. February 22 and 23 on S 2745 HR 7320 terminating Klamaths.
We are deeply concerned. Have not yet received clear information on real
sentiment of many Indians affected by these bills. Can you help us find
out? Can you advise who might be strong expert witness on Oregon
Indian conditions in the scheduled hearings? Termination hearings not
scheduled yet on Washington Indians. Many thanks for your
cooperation. Advise airmail. Sincerely

Association on American Indian Affairs, Alexander Lesser,
executive Director 48 East 86th St. New York 28 NY.

To: Chick R

DATE: 5/26

FROM: ELLA E. CLARK

Sorry you could
not get here for
the PNW Hist. Conf.
It was a very good
one. See May Harpers
for one of the key
addresses— one by
Webb of Texas.

I think you'll be
interested in this
clipping— perhaps
give a little publicity
to the encouraging
fact. E E

ELLA E. CLARK
212 Columbia Street
Pullman, Washington



Mr. Click Relander
Yakima Daily Republic
Yakima, Washington

212 Columbia St.
Pullman, Wash.
May 20, 1960

Dear Mr. Relander:

I thought of you a few weeks ago when I had a delayed reading of "The Buckskin Curtain," in the autumn issue of The Beaver. It is a plea for justice and humaneness for the Indians of Canada. And I thought also of the Nez Perce president (1954) of the United Indians of Spokane who said to me, "I have such confidence in the justice of white people that I think they would see that we were treated justly--if they just had the facts. But we have no press." I suppose that he would consider you the press as far as the Yakima papers and Yakima Reservation tribes are concerned.

My hope is that my books will arouse in white readers a little appreciation of Indian culture. My collection of INDIAN LEGENDS OF CANADA is scheduled for publication this fall by McClelland and Stewart, Toronto. It is being printed in England. The college gave me a semester for research four years ago, and so I was able to find valuable materials in the NY Public Library recorded long before anthropologists existed and some also in the National Museum in Ottawa. I think it is a collection of good stories, but the publishers I think, set the price too high for the general reader for whom I wrote. They see the book chiefly as "a reference book." I have said all I dare say, I think, about the price, which is their business, not mine.

As soon as I have completed an article I am working on for OHQ (I hope), I shall take up again my work on the Idaho-Mont.-Wyo. collection. I laid it aside more than half completed when I learned in 1956 that Mr. McClelland is an elderly man; I knew that he was interested in publishing the Canadian collection. I have a larger proportion of unpublished material for this third volume than for either of the others. Most of the research is done.

Looking for something else the other day I found what I had completely forgotten: evidences that I had done some work, in the spring of 1953, on the article I am now working on: "Indian Thanksgiving in the Pacific Northwest"-- as it was observed as early as I can find accounts of it. Among my materials was a letter from you written in 1953. I fear I did not even acknowledge it; a few days later I must have received proof, and just as soon as it was mailed I started on a 6-weeks research trip thru the northern Rocky Mountains. I am working over a brief account of Indian thanksgiving that I published in the Spokesman in November 1952. I do not intend to describe recent observations of first foods ceremonies; instead, I shall refer the reader to your account in Chapter 5 of Drummers and Dreamers. That is the subject for an article by you.

But I do have a few questions that I think you can answer briefly:

1. Were the first salmon or first foods ceremonies held this spring on the Yakima Reservation? (I read the Yakima papers several days but probably not the right ones; if you happen to know the dates, I can look up the news accounts.)
2. Do you know whether the Celilo Falls group has held its April first foods ceremonies since the completion of the dam?

3. Were the ceremonies that used to be held at Celilo Falls in recent years influenced chiefly by the Prophet Smohalla or by the Shakers?

I ask because of some information a woman there gave me in 1953. She had been one of the servers. The use of the bell made me think of the Shakers I had talked with on the coast. The woman said she had tried both Catholicism and Protestantism and found her present religion more satisfying than either of them. I am always so afraid of seeming to pry into their affairs that I did not ask her the questions other people would have asked.

4. For a little book for children I am using the huckleberry parts of an article which a Forest Service friend of mine, now dead, published in Pacific Discovery in May-June, 1952. I helped him with it and should have called his attention to an omission. He was forest guard over the huckleberry fields on Mount Adams for many years. He says that "when the huckleberries begin to ripen, a few Indians journey to the high country and bring back a few gallons of the fruit. Then the celebration begins. It lasts for several days and centers around the Long House...."

But he did not say what use was made of the berries. I assume that they were used in a feast. Can you say in a sentence or two (probably all I'll need for children) what they did or do with the first huckleberries? Teit reported that the Salishan tribes of the Plateau offered them on a tray to Amotken, whom Turney-High translates as "He-Who-Lives-on-High."

have been amazed to find that

(or Mr. Sumner, either)

I am-amazed-that-I-can-find none of the early writers who referred to the first salmon ceremony as a thanksgiving or religious ceremony. Yet it seems logical that if they expressed thanks ceremonially for berries and roots, they expressed thanks for their main food. As you say, "These things, the very deep, are not lightly treated by the Indians." The explorers and anthropologists did not stay long enough to know any Indian well, and the missionaries were-so-convinced-that the-Indians-were would have no interest in Indian (pagan, heathen) rituals. I thought that perhaps I could find out what ancient rituals Smohalla built upon or what the rituals were along the lower Columbia in the early 19th century, but I have been baffled and frustrated. In my notes of 1953 is a prayer of thanks which a Chehalis man of 80 said he learned from a Yakima. It is a prayer of thanks addressed to "Howlock, the Highest High and the Greatest Great." On the Colville reservation I found references to the Creator, literally "He Who Made Us." Both informants believed that the belief ante-dates the whites. I could not transliterate their names for this Being. The Yakima prayer utters thanks for berries, game, and fish, "that we can gather the berries and catch the fish."

I must stop--for your sake as well as mine. I am so very glad that you have preserved the recollections of the old Wanapum. There must be almost none of that group left, unless they are reproducing fast.

I hope that all is well with you.

Sincerely, Ella Clark

Mary Amy's book on Washington State history and government is supposed to be published soon. -The Wentzschers are going to Europe for the summer.

WASHINGTON STATE UNIVERSITY
PULLMAN, WASHINGTON

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH

May 27, 1960

Dear Mr. Relander:

You must have groaned at my question about the use of the huckleberries at the berry feast. I had no thought of the answer being long and complicated.

I finally came to my senses and this morning examined the McWhorter Manuscript Collection. I found to accounts of the Berry Feast (1910 and 1912) and one of the First Foods Ceremony in April 1912. With this material I think I have another chapter in my little book.

The First Foods Feast he described is much like your account in Chapter V, except that there is only the barest suggestion of a religious service and there is no mention of the sacred seven; the numbers 3, 4, 6, 8, 9, and 11 are mentioned in the preparation and serving of the feast. I suppose that there are several departures from Smohalla's directions--improvisations, you call them.

Martha Ferguson McKeown's little books for children make clear that in Chief Tommy Thompson's concept of the First Salmon Ceremony it was a religious service.

So please ignore the question about the use of the first huckleberries. I should not have been so ignorant as to ask it.

Sincerely,

Ella E. Clark

Ella E. Clark

Miss ELLA E. CLARK
212 COLUMBIA STREET
PULLMAN, WASHINGTON

July 6, 1960

Dear Mr. Relander:

Thank you for enabling me to finish the Indian thanksgiving article I had hanging on a snag for some time. I wrote to the superintendent of the Yakima Agency but received no reply. Wamm Springs did reply and Mrs. McKeown brought me up-to-date on Celilo.

I read your clippings with interest. And I shall keep your query about the Civil War in mind, although I am doing little research on this area just now. I'll tell Mary Avery about your assignment; she specializes in the Northwest.

It was good of you to write me in such detail. I could use very little about present-day celebrations because my theme was the ceremonies as they used to be. I just wanted to mention those that I knew were continuing. The article ran to 30 pages with footnotes.

Did I tell you that Indian Legends of Canada is scheduled for publication in Toronto (McClelland and Stewart) in October? I have a collection of Indian tales for little folks with a juvenile editor--about my 20th attempt with it!

Success to you with your projects.

Sincerely,

Ella Clark

635 Kirkwood Place
La Jolla, Calif.
June 3, 1963

Dear Click:

It was a pleasant surprise to receive your book from Harriet and to know that you have become acquainted with the Robinsons in Richland. They are a lovely couple. Harriet is doing nicely with her writing and thus preparing for the years ahead when her daughters need less of her time.

Of course I am glad to have your latest book, individually autographed. I picked it up the first evening, intending just to glance through it at the time; but soon I became absorbed in chapter after chapter. In your account of Joe Leather you are impressively successful in presenting the present and creating the past. I find a few familiar names, and I am reminded of several army officers' reports on the "Indian wars"--we would not have had this trouble if we had kept our promises, if the white men had not been so greedy, etc.

Ever since our talk in 1953, I have greatly respected you for what you have done and continue to do for the Yakimas. Would that every tribe had such a friend! Last summer I was thrilled by the report of work done among the Sioux, as well as sickened by the lay-worker's description of conditions. The world is in such a mess that I sometimes wonder if I could show the optimism that some of my last students spoke of with appreciation in 1961.

You probably recall that by October 1953 I had started a collection of Indian traditional stories from Idaho, Montana, and Wyoming. It was very good for me to have an important project under way when I retired. Wish it well. I am so eager for the publishers who have had it since last October to produce it that I can not bear to think about what to do if they reject it. Exactly half of my titles are for stories that have never been published; I was fortunate in being given manuscripts from pioneers. So it will be the most important contribution I have made.

I digressed to the Canadian collection when I learned in Ottawa in 1956 that the Toronto publisher who was interested was an elderly man. I wonder if you know that the Canadian Broadcasting Company made 13 quarter-hour discs from the stories, read by a well-known Canadian actor--first for their foreign transcription stations and then for home broadcast. The producer wrote me that he was "glad to offer them as a corrective of the one-sided picture we are usually give of the American Indian." The book review that made me happiest was written by a Mohawk in Ottawa, who had heard such stories in his boyhood from his elders; now he is vice-pres. of an electrical company.

La Jolla has proved to be the right place for my happy retirement--year-round golf, interesting people, a fairly good library in the city and a new research library being built by the U. of Calif., and more lectures and concerts than I have time for.

I hope that all is going well with you.

Sincerely,

Elta Clark

Two programs
were translated
into Czech and
Clink

*Removed from Book
Indian Legends...*

La Jolla, Calif.

May 20, 1966

Dear Mr. Relander:

The book of Indian myths and legends from Idaho, Montana, and Wyoming which we discussed long ago-- in 1953--is at last to be published. The University of Oklahoma Press lists it as No. 84 in its Civilization of the American Indian Series. It is scheduled for release on May 30. I don't know whether the salesman called on Broad's or not. It has 344 pp. besides Index, 25 full-page illustrations. Price: \$6.95.-- My Indian Legends of the Pacific Northwest was issued as a paperback in 1958 and continues to sell. The new volume is INDIAN LEGENDS FROM THE NORTHERN ROCKIES.

My best wishes.

Ella E. Clark

MISS ELLA E. CLARK
635 Kirkwood Place
La Jolla, Calif. 92037



THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS



TO Mr. Click Relander, City Editor
Yakima Daily Republic
Yakima, Washington

MISS ELLA E. CLARK
212 COLUMBIA STREET
PULLMAN, WASHINGTON

July 7

Dear Mr. Relander:

I wonder if you have run across an article by J.W. Powell in which he discusses the four stages of ~~philosophi~~ mythologic philosophy. It took me off the snag in my article on Indian mythology, answered the questions I thought out into words in a letter to you last spring.

According to him, the Coyote stories belong to the second or zootheistic stage. No stage is ever found in purity. I think I have found evidences of the first and third also. You once wrote that you had found myths of a period before Coyote and the other "animal people."

When you get round to the legends of the Wanapum, I think you will find the article helpful to read or to re-read. It is "~~Mythology-of-the~~ Sketch of the Mythology of the North American Indians," Bureau of American Ethnology, First Annual Report 1879-1881/

Sincerely,

Ella E. Clark

Ella E. Clark

To: C. Relander

DATE:

FROM: ELLA E. CLARK

I think these places should be informed about your book: (All are in Washington, D.C.)

1. Smithsonian Institution
2. Library, Dep't of Interior
3. Brentane's 1322 F St., N.W.
4. Wm. Ballantyne & Sons,
605 15th St., N.W.
5. Lowdermilk & Co.
715 12th St., N.W.

Herman said just before I left that your autographing "party" in Pullman is to be next fall. For myself, I am glad, for I shall be home then.

For you--I am sorry the road to publishing has been so long. I wonder why editors and publishers make the road so rough for us. I once asked B. DeVoto if he ever felt that he would not write another book. "I always feel when I have published one that I shall never write another." Whether that was publishers' fault I do not know.

I am havung fun with research in the Smithsonian and the Dep't of Interior library. The next volume is on its way-- in the writing, I mean.

EEC