NEXT MEETING: The group will attend the lecture by Dr. Mayor-Oakes "EARLY MAN IN SOUTH AMERICA" February 13, 1964 - 8:00 P.M. Health Sciences Auditorium, University of Washington

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EVENING CLASS: ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST (LD 260)

Dr. Robert E. Greengo - Moderator

Next Speakers: (January & February)
1/29/64 "Asiatic Origins of the North American Indians" Dr. Walter A. Fairservis, Jr., Anthropology, Museum
2/5/64 "Tribes and Languages of the Pacific Northwest" Melville Jacobs, Anthropology
2/12/64 "The Explorer Meets the Northwest Coast Indian" Erna Gunther, Anthropology
2/19/64 "Indians of the Columbia Plateau" Verne Ray, Anthropology
2/26/64 "Cultures of the Northwest Coast" Viola E. Garfield, Anthropology
1963 was a critical year for the Washington Archaeological Society. The very first meeting brought the problem of artifacts into the open. The proponents of compromise felt that some way might be found that would allow the retention of archaeological finds by the finder, if not permanently, on a temporary basis. This problem was not new. It has been a recurring one from the beginning, emphasizing the two-fold nature of individuals who are likely to join the organization: collectors, per se, and amateur archaeologists. The difference between the two is obvious. The former digs for material acquisition; the latter for knowledge and what contribution he can make to learning.

Since the conflict was in reference to official digs of the Society, it was resolved that we should continue in the manner set forth by the constitution and adhere to the principles outlined in the code of ethics. The standards of the Society are exceptionally high, attesting to the foresight of its founders, and has been praised by professionals. It would seem that any form of compromise would cause a degeneration of standards and definitely contribute to the down-grading of the Society in professional stature. The Washington Archaeological Society has steadfastly held to their original concept of professionalism and if they have failed, it was in method for the lack of knowledge and in purpose for the lack of continuity. Knowledge and experience can be improved by personal diligence and dedication to archaeology. A continuum of activities can only be attained through exceptionally well organized activity of the members, particularly with institutional sponsorship and professional guidance. A lay group can assemble a number of varied skills that can greatly contribute to scientific endeavor, however, sporadic excavation or research without suitable laboratory space and the little professional leadership can at best attain only the stature of dedicated "Sunday Diggers."

Amateur societies vary in their nature from collecting clubs to professionally dominated student organizations. It has been made clear that the Washington Archaeological Society is not one of the former, nor are they the latter. The nature of its membership and its history during periods of University crises and transition has tended to insulate the group, even isolate it. This separatism is not compatible with furthering the study of archaeology, and yet, the loss of integrity and self-rule is not necessary for cooperation with other archaeologically oriented agencies. All can cooperate with mutual respect and abet the altruism that is necessary for a joint pursuit toward similar ends.

Negotiations were continued between the Society and the University of Washington in an attempt to work out differences. The development of tolerance and understanding by both parties has created an atmosphere in which cooperation can flourish. Indicative of a new awareness of relating anthropology to our locale a lecture-discussion series course, ID-260, Archaeology of the Pacific Northwest, with Dr. Robert Greengo as coordinator is being offered in the Winter Quarter. (Editor's note: Details of this series is listed on page 1.) This series will serve as an introduction to the fundamentals of Pacific Northwest archaeology to many and we hope will reemphasize the need for continued research in this area. The relationship between the Society and the Burke Memorial Washington State Museum remains unresolved partly because that institution has not officially opened.
The Society has always been interested in assisting other groups and institutions that pursue areas of mutual interest. In the past members have worked in the Washington State Museum as assistants to the curator and as laboratory technicians. Kay Nelson is currently with Dr. V. Standish Mallory, Division of Geology and Palaeontology, of the new museum. Linda Kimball is doing research on corn husk bags and is using museum collections as part of her study.

C. G. Nelson lead a research group in bibliographic research. Assignments were made among interested members, apportioning the state into areas of concentration. The minimal concept of the work would be a list of source materials, organized and briefly classified. The maximal concept would be an annotated bibliography listing charts, maps, illustrations, etc., including an abstract of each article. Work continues.

Field work was resumed at the official sites on the Skagit and Snoqualmie Rivers. Because of high water and inclement weather only two excursions were made to 45SN100. The site continues to yield perishable materials such as basketry and bound net-weights, evidence of localized wood construction and chipped stonework similar to that reported in the Archaeologist. The difficulty of identifying stratification in the river bottom hampers observations made in situ since the deposit is compacted, water-saturated and percolated continually. As previously reported in descriptions of the site, any significant stratigraphic analysis must wait excavation of the upper site. Charles M. Nelson recommended work there with startling indications of a much greater extent of deposit than had been formerly envisioned. Quartz microblades, cores, and one whole crystal were found.

Four weekends were spent at 45SK33 with a special excursion arranged by the president and John Putnam, Science Consultant for the Seattle Public Schools, for teachers enrolled in Oceanography at the summer session of the Skagit Junior College. A group of about fifteen people visited and actively participated in opening a cross-trench in the excavation. The most significant revelation at the site last summer was evidence of a possible house or structure indicated by post holes. Material recovered has been consistent with that previously found, including a continued recurrence of shell-scrapers, bone implements, and a celt and fragmented pipe bowl found by Rolf and Gerda Nordquist in test pit 410.

A last minute check was undertaken by the Nelsons at Osborne Bar on the Columbia just prior to its flooding by the rising waters behind the Wanapum Dam. This site will be shortly published by the Washington State University. Charles M. Nelson has written the body of the material with appendices prepared by Roald Fryxell, geologist at Pullman, who removed strata monoliths for profile studies, and Carolyn Osborne, Mesa Verde National Park, who analyzed malletting and cordage. The Grant County Public Utility District is financing this publication.

Two special meetings were held at the Tom Beddall home. One was at the request of Mr. Bell of the Washington State Parks Commission who was interested in meeting the Society. Regular meetings were instituted at the Ted Ueld residence. Space was taken over in the Ueld basement for the disposition of excavated materials awaiting analysis. As yet, no great effort has been made to work there, probably for the lack of appropriate laboratory management.
The Washington Archaeologist was changed from a monthly to a quarterly publication. This was done to improve and facilitate the publication of the journal. C. G. Nelson, editor; Kay Nelson, archivist; and Mona Beddall, secretary, have been responsible for coordinating efforts in this direction. A measure of recognition has resulted in the journal being included in national bibliographic listings. The Society is also included in the Directory published by Current Anthropology.

We mark the loss of two members: Willi Weld, vice-president, charter member, and member of the Board of Directors. She made many contributions in the initial organization of the Society, in setting policy, in publications, and as frequent hostess at her home. John (Jack) Thomson, former president and board member, passed away after a short illness. Jack did considerable contact work in the field, contributed to the publication, and was engaged in faunal research at the time of his death. We are indebted to him for discovering the Snoqualmie site.

Officers for the year 1963 were:

President - Del Nordquist
Vice-president - Willi Weld
Secretary - John Frazeur
Treasurer - Mona Beddall
Directors - Ted Weld (1st year)
            Jack Thomson (2nd year)
            C. G. Nelson (3rd year)

Respectfully submitted,

Del Nordquist, President
Washington Archaeological Society
ABSTRACT: The Cascade Mountain Range in South Central Washington was utilized seasonally for hunting, fishing, and gathering and as avenues of trade between the tribal centers and later by white traders. At the time of contact the established Indian trails were both for foot and horse travel and were used extensively by the Indians during "The Period of Chinook and Klickitat Traders, 1805-1825." This gave way to "The Period of White Traders, 1810-1860" who used the basic system of Indian Trails. The establishment of white trading centers and Indian Reservations resulted in corresponding changes in this trail system to reach the new termini, "The Period of White Settlement, 1850-1880" brought about the creation of military roads which were the backbone of a wagon road system which served the new settlements. The economic use of the area by the Indians has been greater than supposed both in degree and temporally. This poses a valid archaeological problem, the solution of which may demonstrate that mountain areas were not marginal but a significant part of the cultures which utilized them.

Routes of travel and avenues of trade between the coast and the interior of Washington state have long been important to the aboriginal inhabitants of the Pacific Northwest, both in terms of travel and economic activity. The primary concern of this paper lies with the Indian utilization of these routes and the surrounding mountain areas.

TRAILS

It is reasonable to assume that man first followed game trails in search of food, water, and materials for shelter and clothing. The use of such trails inevitably was extended to serve as avenues of trade and contact with other people. Thus man superimposed the pattern of trails which would meet his particular needs over the precious pattern of animal trails. Over a period of time, as socio-economic factors and stimuli for trade changed in intensity and direction, new patterns were again superimposed upon the old. Since the white man has entered the Northwest the same cycle has continued and in many places where Indian trails once wound through mountain passes, railroads and super highways now extend and destroy any concept of a mountain "barrier" between east and west. But even in prehistoric times the Cascades were more of a seasonal storehouse of goods than a barrier, as will be seen.
From the time of Lewis and Clark (1805-1806) to about 1880, I see three major overlapping periods of trail patterning based on trade. Seasonal economic activity in the mountains continued throughout the three periods, but varied in intensity.

(1) The Period of Chinook and Klickitat Traders. (1805-1825)

This period is characterized by widespread trade on the Columbia and occasional trading trips crossing over the Cascades from the interior to the coast. Primary avenues of trade included the Columbia River from The Dalles to Willapa Bay, southern Puget Sound to the Columbia via the Chehalis and Cowlitz River drainages, and the interior to Puget Sound via the Cascade passes—especially Snoqualmie, Naches and Cowlitz passes. (See Plate 1 for general geographic locations) During this period there was a very definite pattern of westward and downriver movement (Jacobs, 1937: 55). The introduction of the horse in the Plateau sometime after 1750 by the Snakes to the southeast lead to the establishment of horse trails as well as foot trails; as horses became more common the foot trails fell into disuse (Schwab, 1958: 363).

(2) The Period of White Traders. (1810-1860)

With the founding of forts and trading posts along the Columbia and Puget Sound, white traders began to replace Indian ones. Trail terminals shifted to the new trading centers and pack trails were established to cross the Cascade passes—especially Naches and Snoqualmie passes. During this period smallpox and measles decimated Indian populations (i.e., the Chinook traders) along the Columbia and on the coast, but the interior was still largely unaffected. As a consequence trade lagged at the mouth of the Columbia and Willapa Bay. The flow of trade tended to follow the older pattern, but focused on Ft. Vancouver (established 1825) on the Lower Columbia, Fort Nisqually (established 1833) in southern Puget Sound, and Fort Dalles (established 1820) near the Long Narrows of the Columbia. (Plate 1 notes the location of these forts; note the trend of downriver-coastal movement reflected in their dates of establishment.) Aboriginal downriver and westward population movements continued.

(3) The Period of White Settlement. (1850-1880)

Growth of towns on Puget Sound and along the Columbia necessitated the establishment of wagon and military roads, and ultimately, railroads. These routes in many instances followed the older network of trailways. Towns became the main focal points of commerce and roads soon connected all major towns. Indians went to towns to seek work in the mills or hop fields. Indian trade over the Cascades diminished because of the Indian wars of 1855-56 and populational movements were held in check by the creation of reservations.

Naturally the above time periods are not strictly defined, but are designed simply to illustrate the growth of some aboriginal and modern routes of travel and their historical relationships.

Although Indian trails and modern roads may traverse the same territory, there are some important topographical differences which set them apart.
PLATE 1 - General map of Washington. Area discussed in text outlined. Note the peripheral position of major forts and towns in relation to area under concern.
"In the mountains, trails often led along the higher grounds and ridges where the undergrowth was not so dense and where there were fewer and smaller streams to cross. There, too, the road rose and fell less and the outlook for game and for enemies was wider. Where possible, trails passed through the lower gaps in the mountain ranges." (Myer, 1928: 743).

Winthrop comments on his journey to Naches Pass from Fort Nisqually that "Indian trails aim at the open hill-sides and avoid the thickset valleys..." (1863: 100). Some important distinctions are also pointed out by McClellan, who states that

"...the Indian trail is a very bad one — avoiding the valley, and keeping to the mountain-sides, where the ground is very stony; the ascents and descents long and steep — so much so, that it would not be possible to construct a wagon road along the mountain sides at any reasonable expense... It may be well to mention here, once and for all, that the Indian trails in these mountains seldom follow the valleys; they generally keep to the higher ground, where the woods are less dense; for the Indian prefers riding over a mountain, to the labor of cutting a trail over more level ground. In other words, he has more consideration for himself than for his horse." (1855: 191-192)

Recent investigations by the author in the Upper Cowlitz River drainage confirms the above descriptions. The pattern of archaeological finds along the Cowlitz follow the ridges and hill-sides. Where hill-sides are very steep and rocky, the old trail ran along the edge of the river bottoms. In the case of the Cowlitz, the main trail from the coast followed the north side of the river upstream from Randle. About nine miles upstream from Randle lies Kitchen Rock where Indians reportedly spent the night before starting the trek over the Cascades. (See Plate 4, fig. 1.) Other camp sites were at the mouth of the Muddy Fork and at La Wis Wis. From these camp sites the main passes that were traversed were Cowlitz and Carlton. Trails led from these passes down the Tieton and the Bumping Rivers into Eastern Washington, as indicated on Plate 2.

Traffic over the Cascade passes varied with the season. "The Klickitat in family groups crossed the mountains once a year in July or August, using Cowlitz Pass" (Haeberlin and Gunther, 1930: 9). These routes were used as the occasion demanded, however. According to Governor Stevens "it is no uncommon thing for the Indians to cross the Snoqualmie Pass with horses in mid-winter" (1855:135). Tinkham in his report on snow conditions in Snoqualmie Pass during the winter of 1853 states:

"The Yakima Indians with me, who were well acquainted with route both in summer and winter, cached their snow-shoes only eighteen miles west of the summit, to be used when they went back to their country. They could not return there until as late as February 10, and evidently, at that place, expected no increase of snow during the interval of their absence." (1855: 186)
It is likely that Snoqualmie Pass was utilized more during the winter than most other Cascade passes, first, because it is one of the lowest passes and, second, because the Yakima often spent the winter on the west side of the mountains with the Snoqualmie (McClellan 1855: 623) According to McClellan "...the Indians did not pretend to cross the mountains at this season, but waited until about the end of March, and then took their horses over." (1855: 623)

TRIBAL MOVEMENTS

During the time period from 1805 to 1855 several different Indian groups inhabited the south central Cascades. (See Plate 3 for tribal boundaries) The Upper Cowlitz occupied the Cowlitz River drainage during the early 19th Century. The Upper Nisqually (Meshal on Plate 3) also used the drainage for annual trips over Cowlitz Pass (Haeberlin and Gunther, 1930: 9). Both groups evidently had close ties with the interior, as Jacobs indicates when he states:

"The recent drift of Kittitas—Sahaptin speech westward over passes of the Cascades into the Coast Salish Upper Nisqually (Meshal) and Upper Cowlitz villages is revealing of recent gradual Sahaptin speech expansion westward to more attractive villages." (1937: 72).

(Note the distribution of Sahaptin peoples west of the Cascades on Plate 3.)

Between 1830 and 1855 there was a great deal of infiltration into western river valleys by the Klickitat (Gibbs, 1877: 224). Due to disease and inter-marriages the Upper Cowlitz were largely replaced by the Tai-tin-a-pam, "a band of [Klickitat] said to live ... in the country lying on the western side of the mountains, between the heads of the Cowlitz and Cowlitz ..." (Gibbs, 1855: 403; Cf. Hodge, 1907-1910: 672; Mooney, 1896: 739. In 1854, Gibbs reports that:

"...the Taitinap ... are about seventy-five in number. They are called by their eastern brethren wild or wood Indians, until very lately they have not ventured into the settlements, and have even avoided all intercourse with their own race. The river Indians attach to them all kinds of superstitious ideas, including that of stealing and eating children, and of travelling unseen." (1855:428)

According to local residents, the Upper Cowlitz River was also visited frequently by Indians from Cle Elum and Ellensburg — apparently Kittitas people. The Klickitat proper inhabit "the valleys lying between Mounts St. Helens and Adams, but they have spread over districts belonging to other tribes." (1855:403)

Gibbs reports in 1854 that:

"...the Klickitats and Yakimas, in all essential peculiarities of character, are identical, and their intercourse is constant; but the former, though a mountain tribe are much more unsettled in their habits than their brethren." (1855:403)
PLATE 2- Major trails and passes used by the Indians in crossing the Cascades as of about AD 1850.
PLATE 3 - Linguistic and tribal boundaries in the Northwest as they existed in ca. AD 1850. (From Jacobs, 1937)
This close relationship between Yakima and Klickitat has led to the use of the term "Klickitat" in Puget Sound as the name generally applied to the Yakima and other ultramontane tribes (Winship, 1853:51). Gibbs attributes the unsettled habits of the Klickitat to the fact that they had been driven from their previous home by the Cayuse, and "became acquainted with other parts of the country, as well as with the advantage to be derived from trade" (1855:403). Swanton states that "the original home of the Klickitat was somewhere south of the Columbia, and they invaded their later territory after the Yakima crossed the river" (1952:425).

"The Klickitat are the only tribe who have changed their location to any considerable extent within historic times. These movements . . . did not follow trade-routes, but . . . led west across the mountains north of the Columbia . . . Lack of a dense population and conditions favoring their manner of life, which at that time was hunting, doubtless caused the choice of this route." (Lewis, 1906:197)

Jacobs feels that interests in trade and intermarriage were other factors besides overt tribal displacement causing population flow (1937:55). Such factors would help explain the changes in linguistic areas which occurred. Jacobs proposes that:

"... residents of poorer villages suffered from greater economic and social ambitions and traveled more often to localities of greater wealth, economic security and social prestige; the wealthier communities were almost always downstream or to the west. Along lower rivers or coastal rivers the larger food supply permitted populations denser in numbers, relatively wealthier in household goods, and enough satisfied with their own dignity and value to travel and marry within comparatively narrower radii." (1937:55; 57)

The above process may be witnessed in the cases of the Upper Cowlitz and the Upper Nisqually (Heshal) whose speakers are largely or completely Sahaptin (Jacobs, 1937:57)

**TRADE**

The Klickitat

"... manifest a peculiar aptitude for trading, and have become . . . the travelling retailers of notions; purchasing from the whites feathers, beads, cloth, and other articles prized by Indians, and exchanging them for horses, which in turn they sell in the settlements." (Gibbs, 1855:403)

"It seems that the Cowlitz were the principal people with whom they [the Klickitat] traded in the west, and they were most friendly with them." (Teir, 1928:99)

Close trading ties also existed between the Nisqually and the Klickitat (Haeberlin and Gunther, 1930:11). During the 1830's to the 1850's bands
of Klickitat made excursions north as far as Mt. Baker and south as far as the Umpqua and Rogue Rivers in Oregon (Teit, 1928:99). Also, the Klickitat became the scourge of points west. Swan notes that the Klickitat sometimes came through the woods to Shoal-water Bay [Willapa Bay] while hunting for elk; that they were very hostile to the Bay and Coast Indians, and did not hesitate to murder them and steal their effects."

Eastbound trade commodities included clams, fish, roots, berries, shells and baskets. (Haeberlin and Gunther, 1930:11; Gibbs, 1855:104). In exchange for these items pipes, tobacco, ornaments, Indian hemp, salmon, dressed skins, bows, and sometimes horses, were traded westward (Teit, 1928:121). At Ft. Nisqually Winthrop listed the "three Bs" of Indian desire as blankets, beads, and tobacco (1863:55). Gibbs noticed pipes of talcose slate and steatite brought by Indians from up the Wenatchee River (1855:161).

"The greatest intertribal trading-place was at The Dalles ... Other places were at the mouth of the Cowlitz, near ... the mouth of the Lewis ... the middle Nisqually, and the Upper Puyallup ..." (Teit, 1928:121-122)

THE ECONOMIC CYCLE

The nature of economic activity carried on in the mountains of south central Washington differed with the season. Lewis and Clark noticed the seasonal cycle of activities when they passed through The Dalles region in 1806:

"... after having passed the winter near the mountains, [the inhabitants] come down as soon as the snow has left the valleys, and are occupied in collecting and drying roots till about the month of May. They then crowd to the river, and ... continue fishing till about the first of September, when the salmon are no longer fit for use. They then bury their fish and return to the plains, where they remain gathering quamash [camas] till the snow obliges them to desist. They come back to the Columbia, and taking their store of fish retire to the foot of the mountains, and along the creeks which supply timber for houses, and pass the winter in hunting deer or elk, which, with the aid of their fish, enables them to subsist till in the spring they resume the circle of their employments." (Spier and Sapir, 1930:225)

Hunting was done by bow and snares primarily during winter months. When firearms became more widespread, hunting activities were enlarged until, in certain areas, the game was depleted.

"Of game, there is but little left. The deer and elk are almost exterminated throughout the country, the deep snows of winter driving them to the valleys, where the Indians ... have slaughtered them without mercy. The mountain goat, and the big-horn sheep, are both said to have formerly existed here, but, since the introduction of firearms, have retired far into the recesses of the Cascades. The black bear alone is still found, though but rarely." (Gibbs, 1855:104)
Today over one hundred years later naturalists and natives have related to the author that the deer and elk populations in the south central Cascades are small in comparison to the total area in which they live. Goat Rocks, at the source of the Clear Fork of the Cowlitz is the ancient home of the goat. Not far south, perhaps 40 miles as the crow flies, the Klickitat and the White Salmon Rivers tumble into the Columbia. Lewis and Clark, in October, 1805, saw in that vicinity Indians wearing robes of the goat. . ." (Douglas, 1950:205). Today mountain goats are not likely to be seen south of Ives Peak in the Goat Rocks.

Fishing was of prime importance to Indians in the Pacific Northwest and took place mainly during the summer. Five species of salmon enter the Columbia for spawning and these occur in three runs: the first from January to March; the second and choicest, from May till early July; the last beginning in late July and continuing until early October. (Ray, 1938:107)

According to Gibbs:

"...the salmon furnishes to these [the Yakima and Klickitat], as to most other tribes of the Pacific, their greatest staple of food. Their neighborhood to the fisheries of the Cascades and The Dalles provides them for the summer; while, after the subsidence of the Columbia, later schools ascend the small rivers, and in the autumn an inferior kind forces its way into the brooks, and even the shallow pools which form in the prairies." (1855:404)

Among the mountain Yakima and Klickitat the most common methods of fishing were by spear and dip net. Sometimes fish weirs or dams were constructed across streams so that the fish might be more easily speared or dip netted. Although no such weirs have been reported by residents on the Upper Cowlitz during historic times, they are sure to have been present. In 1960 three fishing spears were found between the mouths of the Clear and Muddy Forks of the Upper Cowlitz River. These spears are of the two-pronged variety and are presently in the possession of the Packwood Ranger District Office, Gifford Pinchot National Forest, in Packwood. The closest description of this kind of spear and its use is given by Ray:

"The two-pronged spear consisted of a fir shaft fourteen to eighteen feet in length to which were fastened the diverging foreshafts which held the points. Each foreshaft was about twelve inches long. The three pieces were bevelled at the point of juncture so that the proper angles would result when the parts were bound together with spruce root wrappings and pitch. Each point consisted of three parts, a flattened point of elk bone or hardwood and two butt barbs of elk horn. The point and barbs were bevelled, fitted together, and made secure by careful wrapping fixed with pitch. The butt formed by the barbs contained a cupped socket which fitted the tapered end of the foreshaft. From the point to the main shaft loosely hung a strong cord made fast at either end. . . The spear was thrust, not thrown. When a fish was speared the points came loose from the foreshafts but remained attached to the main shaft by the cords. The fish was then played by manipulating the shaft." (1938:108-109)
Some of the residents of Packwood remember Indian fish drying racks at the mouth of the Muddy Fork of the Cowlitz, but the author was unable to find any remaining vestiges of these racks. In this area the chief rivers used for fishing were the Cowlitz on the west side of the Cascades and the Tieton on the east side. Generally speaking for the south central part of Washington state, the richest salmon fisheries were at Sunnyside Falls and Prosser Falls on the Yakima and Celilo Falls on the Columbia; at the first two locations the salmon were caught by spearing and at Celilo they were most often dipped with nets on long poles (Douglas, 1950:134).

The gathering of vegetal foods and supplies formed another important part of the aboriginal economy. While hunting and fishing were typical male enterprises, the gathering of vegetal products was primarily a feminine task (Spier and Sapir, 1930:182). During the springtime women went to the mountain slopes around Mounts St. Helens and Adams to dry roots. Equipment consisted of a basket tied to the waist and a digging stick. The latter

"...was oak, eighteen inches to two feet in length, had a curved point and bore a short cross-grip at the top. Berries and nuts were also obtained on the mountains, but in the fall. Like roots, these were stored for winter use." (Spier and Sapir, 1930:182)

Some of the more common roots that were gathered include: camas, wild potatoes, wild carrots, sunflower roots, wild onion. McClellan states:

"There could not well be a more abundant growth of berries than we found in this district: among them may be enumerated three kinds of the huckleberry — blue, purple, and red; the blackberry, raspberry, thimble-berry, gooseberry, service-berry, salmon-ber-ry, salmonberry, and the Oregon grape; the wild cherry and hazel-nut also were seen." (1855:189; Cf. Spier and Sapir, 1930:182-184; Ray, 1938:119-123; Gunther, 1945:53-55).

In addition to food stuffs other supplies were obtained in the mountains. Cedar planks used for houses by the Wishram were derived from the vicinity of Mt. Adams (Spier and Sapir, 1930:204), The bearberry or Kinnikinnick was scattered along ridges near the Cascade summits; its leaves were used by the Indians for smoking, tanning, and dyeing (Douglas, 1950:66). Squaw grass and cedar bark were obtainable throughout the western slopes of the south central Cascades. These two products were the key materials used in the manufacture of baskets.

**BASKET TREES**

Residents of Packwood and representatives of the National Forest Service pointed out a number of "basket trees" to the author in the Upper Cowlitz drainage. Basket trees are western red cedars which have been stripped of their bark on one side of the tree from one or two feet off the ground to six, or even ten, feet above the ground. The stripping naturally produces a scar on the trunk of the tree over which new bark rarely grows. (See Plate 4, figs. 2 & 3)
Figure 1 - Kitchen Rock, trail landmark in the upper Cowlitz River valley about nine miles east of Randle, Wn.

Figure 2 & 3 - Basket trees at La Wis Wis Forest Camp, Packwood.
Ultimately, these scars of exposed wood rot out and the tree dies. Due to logging and forest fires not a great many basket trees remain. The National Forest camp at La Vis Wis in the Upper Cowlitz River drainage contains over twenty such trees and several other locations have been referred to the author, especially en route to Cowlitz Pass and Cispus Pass. Evidently routes of travel and temporary campsites were generally well marked by the presence of basket trees.

CONCLUSION

This paper has attempted to define the major avenues of trade and travel over the south central Cascade Range. It has shown the historical procession of peoples who inhabited the area and has illustrated the importance of mountain areas to the total way of life of the peoples involved. Also, it has shown the seasonal fluctuations in economic activity and heavy dependence on mountainous areas as a storehouse of resources.

Hopefully, this paper will stimulate increased interest in the archaeological potentialities which mountain areas most certainly hold, but which have not yet been tapped. Also, it is hoped that this paper will help rule out the notion that mountain areas were marginal to the cultures which utilized them and that they were barriers to bearers of different cultures and languages.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS: The author would like to thank the National Forest Service, Packwood District, Gifford Pinchot National Forest — especially Mr. David Bunting — for their kind cooperation and free rendering of information. Also, Mr. C. C. Nelson is to be thanked for his technical help in the preparation of maps and photographs.

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