

THE WASHINGTON ARCHAEOLOGIST

NEXT MEETING: Seattle Chapter - Thursday, March 12, 1959 - 8:00 P.M.

MEETING PLACE: Walker-Ames Room, 3rd Floor Parrington Hall
University of Washington Campus

"Twana (Skokomish Basketry)" - will be Delmar Nordquist's topic of discussion at the March meeting of the Seattle Chapter. Mr. Nordquist, Executive Secretary of the Seattle Chapter, is a graduate of the University of Iowa in Art and Art History and is at present teaching art. He has long been interested in Northwest basketry and has devoted considerable time to the study of the subject.

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DR. VERN RAY, Anthropologist from the University of Washington, gave an enjoyable and informative talk on the "Ethnographical View of Northwest Archaeological Problems," at the February meeting of the Seattle Chapter.

Dr. Ray is well acquainted with the Northwest Area being a native Washingtonian and having done his first ethnological field work in the Plateau Area in 1928. He has also spent time at New Haven and in Mexico.

Stressing the closeness of archaeology and ethnology, Dr. Ray said it is difficult to draw a line between the two. He feels that the Northwest is a significant area to look for early culture of man and that many answers to the continental history of man may be unraveled here.

In 1928 when he started his field work there was not too much known about the Indians of the Plateau. Although some studies had been made in British Columbia by Franz Boas and Harlan Smith, nothing had been done in the Colville region where Dr. Ray made his survey. Since these natives were rather isolated, they had been little disturbed by the whites and he found his work quite rewarding. The older people proved to be profitable informants in explaining where sites of former villages were located. Dr. Ray was able to map these villages, their relationship to each other and to the fish traps as well as ascertain population figures. He thinks that the ethnologist could learn much about the techniques of precise descriptions from the archaeologist since most of them have difficulty in describing or drawing such things as houses, clothing and tools.

PALUS CHAPTER NEWS

NEXT MEETING: PALUS CHAPTER - March 25, 1959 - 7:30 P.M.
Room 444, Todd Hall on the W.S.C. Campus

DR. REX DAUBENMIRE, a W.S.C. Botany professor will speak on the subject of "Tree Ring Dating."

At the February 26th meeting, President Victor Moore reported on what appears to be a very productive find of Indian graves, some of which have been disturbed. He displayed an old flint-locked pistol, the estimated date is in the neighborhood of 1835. He also displayed several buttons, rolled copper beads, and hundreds of trade beads. These articles were all relatively close to the surface. Preparations were made for the chapter to meet at this site on the weekend.

DR. WILLIAM ELMENDORF of the Anthropology Department spoke on "The Native Cultures of the Plateau Peoples Before the Reservations." Since the Cascades form the dividing line of the cultures, he compared the Plateau to the North west Coast. He spoke of the many dialects throughout the area. The three largest language groups of the Plateau are Salish, Sahaptin and Shoshonean. The Athabascans were a nomadic inland people from Alaska and the Yukon and are found in spotted areas on the Coast.

Dr. Elmendorf spoke next on the Types of Cultures of the Plateaus and Northwest Indians. The Northwest Coast culture is found from Southeast Alaska to Northwest California. Many customs distinguish them from other cultures. They had a wealthy culture and social rank was very important to the point that whomever had the most material goods held the highest social rank. There was an over abundance of food and most of this was gathered in the summer and preserved for winter use. In the winter months their leisure was spent with elaborate feasts, wood carving, baskets, mats, and cedar homes. A socially prominent man had a huge Potlatch and gave elaborate gifts in order to obtain social prestige. They also dealt in slaves. Their enemies, when captured, were made slaves. Sometimes, they were traded or given as gifts at the Potlatch. The saying, 'Once a slave, always a slave,' was adhered to by these people. Slaves married only slaves and their children also were slaves.

By contrast, the Plateau people believed that everyone was essentially equal. There was no abundance of wealth or food. They had to depend on land animals, fish in season, berries, etc., for their survival. They were poorer in food and wealth.

Some of the similarities of the Plateau and the Coast peoples was that they lived in villages and had no political groups as for signing treaties. They also had a similarity of religion. Fathers spent a great deal of time training their children to enter into spirit life and to get a guardian spirit. There was no group worship of God or gods.

He went on to say that there has been controversy as to whether anthropology is history or science, but the fact is that anthropology is close to unique in that it must do both in order to do a good job.

Culture history is a term used freely by both the archaeologist and ethnologist. While the one goes down into the ground for old things, the other can be said to go down into the mind for information. Each must look at his find to make scientific sense of it - to enable him to place it in the proper historical relationship.

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WHAT IS A CAVE and WHAT IS A ROCKSHELTER?

By Dr. William R. Halliday

Nat Washington has politely but pointedly made it clear to me that in my recent note asking the archaeologists not to call rockshelters caves, I did not make it clear what the difference is.

This should be easy, but it isn't. The term cave has been used so loosely that there is now quite a difference between its technical and its popular definition. To the average person, any dark hole in the ground is a cave. Of course, this is exactly what causes most of the trouble.

Technically, a cave is a natural subterranean cavity large enough to enter with some portion in essentially total darkness. If it does not reach darkness, it is either a grotto or a rockshelter.

Unfortunately, even speleologists extend the term cave a little beyond this strict definition and sometimes use it to apply to a grotto or one of the three types of true caves: limestone solution caverns, lava tubes, or littoral caves ("Sea caves"). If a grotto is in some other kind of rock, or formed by some non-speleological process, then it is clearly a rockshelter unless it meets all the qualifications of the definition above.

Any clearer?

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ADVENTURE IS UNDERGROUND, a new book on the exploration of the caves of the western United States by our member, Dr. William R. Halliday, will be published by Harper Brothers in August or September. Dr. Halliday, who is Director of the Western Speleological Survey, presented a chapter from the book at one of our recent meetings.

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MARCH MEETING DATE CHANGED * The Seattle Chapter of the Washington Archaeological Society has rescheduled its regular meeting to Thursday, March 12th, in order that members who wish may attend the March 11th meeting of the Seattle Anthropological Society in the Walker-Ames Room at which Mr. William Holm will present slides and recordings of "Kwakiutl Potlatch - 1958."

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THE BATTLE PITS OF THE KOYOKEEES

By Thain White

(From Paper No. 7, Flathead Lake Lookout
Museum, Lakeside, Montana)

Introduction: On the west side of Flathead Lake, in western Montana, there may be observed some unusual pit structures of ancient construction. Undoubtedly others will later be recognized in other parts of this area, such as in the Little Bitterroot Valley, and in adjoining regions, but those actually known at the present time are located west of Elmo. Other archaeological remains are also present in this area, such as tipi rings, burials, campsites, but this particular paper will be devoted to a study of the pits.

It is truly amazing that a region so big and so important has been so long neglected by archaeologists. I suspect that it will prove to be important because one can observe here the ancient flow of cultural traits between the upper Missouri River people, living to the east, and those who lived in the Columbia River system to the west.

For several decades amateur archaeologists have been collecting specimens from old lake terraces on the mountain sides around the lake, and from the present beach line of Flathead Lake. For a brief period during the early 1940's it appeared that professional anthropologists would at last begin to study the area. H. H. Turney-High and William T. Mulloy had made preliminary plans to investigate sites on the west shore of the lake, but World War II soon interfered. Consequently, information on the archaeology of western Montana is lacking. A few brief paragraphs on some burials along the Clark's Fork River are all that have appeared.¹ Although this paper, too, is brief, it will cover in detail one particular subject on western Montana archaeology.

The area: Flathead Lake is located in northwestern Montana, and covers an area of 236 square miles. It is one of the largest natural fresh water lakes in the United States. It is located not far west of the continental divide, and Glacier National Park. Its outlet, the Flathead River, eventually reaches the Columbia River in the State of Washington.

Most of the pits which have been found are in a locality known as "The Big Draw." This is a narrow valley several hundred feet above the present level of Flathead Lake, but in Pleistocene times it was the outlet to a much larger pluvial lake. "The Big Draw" has its head just west of Elmo, Montana. Other pits are located in "Hog Heaven" which is a horseshoe shaped valley connecting near the western extremity of "The Big Draw."

The Koyokee pits: The purpose of pit structures in this area is unknown, but there are a few clues which indicate that they were probably connected in some way with warfare practices of prehistoric people. Except for the pits around "The Pothole," to be described later, no specimens have been found in these structures. Thus, it is not easy to identify their makers. We must search for a solution to this problem by other means.

¹H. H. Turney-High, "The Flathead Indians of Montana." *Memoirs of The American Anthropological Ass'n*, No. 48. 1937. pp. 17-21

Turney-High mentions that the Kutenai once hunted game by making a pit, and then hiding in the pit until game came nearby. Then the animal was shot or grabbed.² The pits in "The Big Draw," however, are far too big for use as hunting pits, and at least one had interconnecting trenches. Moreover, if these particular pits had been used for hunting, the older Kutenai should have known this fact. Instead, they attribute them to other purposes. This does not deny that hunting pits, such as those described by Turney-High and my own informants were used by the Kutenai. It does mean that probably these particular pits under observation had an origin arising out of warfare. That they are defensive in nature is indicated by their strategic location, and by tradition. There are no indications that they are the remains of dwellings, nor were they ceremonial centers. Both the Kutenai and Flathead admit that at one time they used to make a small circle of stones, just large enough to sit in, or lie in. These were used by those who sought visions and power from spirits of various kinds. Usually they seem to have been located on hill tops. Hence, both their location and dimensions as well as structure distinguish them from the battle pits.

Baptise Mathias, the last of the Kutenai chiefs in the Elmo and Dayton district of Montana, says that the pits were made by the Koyokees, or "Young People." The Koyokees preceded the Kutenai in Montana, and according to Most Mathias, they were distinguished by the unusually small heads. The Flathead, according to Baptise Mathias, did not live in the Flathead Lake area at that time as they were centered in the Bitterroot Valley, to the south about 100 miles. "The Koyokees," said Baptise, "liked to fight a lot, and they were bad people. They fought everywhere, Tobacco Plains, along the Kootenay River, it happened everywhere. They had some fights around Elmo, too. Here there are some pits built by these people. If anyone saw them they shot them right away. They ate people, too." The informant could not state how long ago all this happened, nor could he give a reason for their disappearance. He added, "I think that these Koyokees are the ones who built these pits." He also remarked that two of these Koyokees are still living, Pete Pierre and Isaac Pierre, who live south of Tobacco Plains. This interesting bit of information has not yet been confirmed, but Eneas Granjo, a Flathead leader, told Mr. Malouf, of Montana State University that both of these men were Salish and were no different than any other people in this area. Both had married Kutenai women from Canada.³ Regardless of the accuracy of the details, it appears to be quite evident that the pits are of considerable antiquity, and probably had some connection with warfare practices.

Other aged Kutenai admit the existence of the "Koyokees" but can give little information on them. The wife of the now deceased Kutenai chief, Kustata, mentions them as "old time people." Mrs. Bull Robe has also heard stories of the Koyokees. Iasso Stasso, another aged Kutenai living at Elmo, on the other hand, seemed to know nothing about these ancient people.

Bill Jangros is a younger Kutenai, but he has always been very interested in the stories of older Kutenai days. He too had heard of the Koyokees from his grandparents, and he even attributed the few tipi rings in this area to their

²H. H. Turney-High, "The Ethnography of the Kutenai." *Memoirs of the American Anthropological Ass'n*, No. 56. 1941 p. 41.

³Personal communication.

work. Jangros made a very interesting speculation when he attributed the Koyokees to be Iroquois. Jangros based his theory on the fact that Iroquois trappers were once fairly numerous in this part of the west, brought here by the Hudson Bay Co. He remarked, "Take the Flatheads. Very few of them are Flathead now. They all have Iroquois in them. Take the Vanderbergs, the Conkos, or John Delaware and his family - they are all from the State of New York. Koyokees might even be a corruption of "Iroquois."

It does not appear that these pit structures were the work of white men. The purpose of such pits is entirely unclear. Furthermore, the first homesteaders, such as Angus MacDonald, did not make them. Mr. Gabe Saloway, a Cree who once worked for Angus MacDonald during the early 1900's stated that they marked the scene of early Indian battles.

It is not likely that prospectors and trappers who scoured this area made these pits. It would have been futile for them to expend so much energy on pits in a pile of boulders that were obviously washed down from above.

It is much more likely that Indians long ago were responsible for the construction of these pits, and on one occasion, a trench. "The Big Draw" was an ideal location for campsites during the summertime. No doubt it was on the main routes of travel between Flathead Lake and areas west.

The shape and size of the pits would make them ideal for warfare of the type waged by Indians in this vicinity. They seem to have been primarily defensive in nature. Blackfoot warriors frequently came into western Montana to obtain horses. There are many Kutenai tales which refer to such expeditions. Moreover, the Blackfoot as well as some of their enemies are actually known to have made war structures such as the Koyokee pits. John C. Ewers, in describing Blackfoot war lodges used by raiding parties, mentioned that they were sometimes made of stones when wood was not available in sufficient quantity to build the usual war lodge⁴. Such lodges served several purposes: they could be used in defending themselves against an enemy attack, they provided shelter from poor weather, they served as a base for scouting operations, it served as an advanced base for the war party proper, and it served as an information center. At one place near Elmo, Babtise Mathias said that his grandfather and father had once helped other Kutenai kill some Blackfoot Indians who had come to this territory on a horse stealing expedition.

Blackfoot pictographic art on robes depicting the war exploits of their individual owners frequently portray raids on defenders in pits. One is illustrated on a canvas in the Museum, at Montana State University. Still another appears in Wissler's, Indians of the Plains⁵. Probably pit warfare between Blackfoot and Salish, in the region of the continental divide was once much more extensive than has been yet suspected. Perhaps the Kutenai too figured in some of these battles.

That these pits were occupied for just a short period of time is suggested by the dearth of specimens in such sites. A few chips of Chalcedoney, parts of

⁴John C. Ewers, "The Blackfoot War Lodge: Its Construction and Use." American Anthropologist, n.s., Vol. 46, No. 2. 1944, pp. 189-190.

⁵Clark Wissler, "North American Indians of the Plains." American Museum of Natural History, Handbook Series, No. 1 New York. p. 104, fig. g.

projectile points, and thumbnail scrapers were found near one set at "The Pothole," but there are the only ones found near such pits. They may not even be contemporaneous with the pits.

Conclusions: Evidences, both archaeological and ethnological, seem to indicate that certain pits in western Montana were built for defensive warfare. Most tactics dictated that the warriors in combat participate in a "hit and run" battle, but on many occasions they were forced to resist short sieges, or they prepared for ambushing other raiding parties from enemy tribes. They seem to have been constructed about the time horses were introduced to the Plains Indian or slightly before, and were not used extensively in modern times. Blackfoot, Flathead, Kutenai, and other Salish groups were probably all involved in their use and construction during times sufficiently remote to have allowed their significance to be dimmed in the lore of these Indians.

A KOYOKEE BURIAL ?

Our knowledge of the Koyokees may be supplemented by the discovery of a burial near Rollins, Montana. In October of 1950, Dr. H. P. Fishbauck had an earth moving machine constructing some private roads near his lake shore home. This property is located on the west shore of Flathead Lake, about one mile north-east of Rollins.

While the machine was building a grade close to the lakeshore the operator stopped when he noticed a human skull rolling ahead of the blade. He and Dr. Fishbauck examined the area and discovered a flat rock about four feet square, and about one foot thick protruding from the steep bank where the blade had undercut and partially removed the burial. The two men then carefully removed the rest of the bones and the road building was resumed.

The body had been buried in a flexed position, but it is not known whether it was on its back or side. However, it was oriented east and west with its head being toward the east. The skeleton was directly under the flat rock, and there was about one foot of soil above the rock. About one year later the author took Babbette Mathias to view the skeleton. He spent about an hour examining all the bones and finally remarked that it was a Koyokee. As a matter of record his comments will be noted here.

He said, "The chin is not pointed like the Kutenai. The head is too long, and the jaw too crooked to be a white man. He is not Kutenai. He was big. His upper and lower jaws are too small and the cheek bones too low." After pausing several minutes he continued, "My father talked to lots of Koyokee people around here." Then by means of sign language, and by using some pieces of Douglas fir boughs (*Pseudotsuga douglasii*) he demonstrated how these ancient people constructed and covered their shelters. The structure was conical shaped and was covered with large slabs of fir and pine bark (*Pinus ponderosa*). These pieces of bark, incidentally, were stripped from dead trees.

Mathias then commented on the economy of these people, "There were lots of Koyokees here; they fished most of the time." Then pointing to the skeleton he said, "Koyokees were bad people. They fought all the time." On the return

home he offered to show the author the location of another Koyokee burial site. He had recalled seeing it when he was younger. The remains undisturbed, but many years ago, when Mathias was seven years old, a white farmer piled some rocks there which had been cleared from the land nearby. The pile remains there today.⁶

⁶This occurred about 1886 while Mathias was attending a Sun Dance at the Big Lodge Flats, about one mile southwest of Rollins, Montana. The tales explaining the origin of this place name are many. The most logical one is given by the Indians. Basically it explains that once two Sun Dance chiefs each had a vision calling for them to have their dances at the Big Lodge Flats - a rare circumstance indeed.

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LINEAGE AND CLAN IN A BANTU STATE

Edgar V. Winans

University of Washington

(Abstract of paper read at 11th Northwest Anthropological Conference)

This paper deals with the forms of clanship in a state society and is based upon fieldwork in Tanganyika with the Washambala, a Bantu-speaking tribe of approximately 200,000 members.

The Shambala state is an elaborate organization which was strong enough in the past to dominate a wide area of northeastern Tanganyika. This paper, however, is not concerned directly with the organization of the state but rather with the effect of state organization on the form of clans and lineages in Shambalai.

Most Shambala clans take the form of loose aggregates of parallel lineages which are unable to trace exact genealogical connection but which nevertheless claim a common ancestor, possess a name, and practice clan-wide exogamy. The lineages which go to make up such a clan are localized corporate groups but the clan can in no sense be considered a corporate group. It holds no property, has no machinery for clan-wide action, and no leadership.

The royal clan is found to differ very greatly from this pattern however. In contradistinction to commoner clans, it forms a deep segmentary system arranged in a hierarchy in which relations between lineages at one level are defined in terms of solidarity at a higher level of segmentation. In the light of terminological and structural factors which operate to form clans of shallow parallel lineages, the form of the royal clan must be explained by reference to other factors which override these tendencies.

One of the primary sanctions to chiefly position is membership in the royal clan. Thus lineage segmentations within this clan are crucial data to the state system. Relationships with the various political groups are not acted out every day, but must be understood through the memory of formative historical events. In this light, the segmentations of the royal clan stand, in Malinowski's words, as a "pragmatic charter" for the existing situation. This produces elaborate and precise genealogies buttressed by reference to wars, agreements, supernatural events and the like. That is not to say that these genealogies are accurate, although they may be more accurate than commoner genealogies. It is, rather, that they are precise and that there is unanimity with regard to them.

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