

## Upper and Lower Chehalis

### 1. Description

#### 1.1 Name of society, language, and language family: [1]

- Society: Upper and Lower Chehalis
- Language: Tsamosan, Inland
- Language Family: Salishan

#### 1.2 ISO code (3 letter code from ethnologue.com): [1]

- Upper Chehalis: [cjh]
- Lower Chehalis: [cea]

#### 1.3 Location (latitude/longitude):

- Latitude: 46.82
- Longitude: -123.20361

#### 1.4 Brief history:

The Lower Chehalis lived in what is now southwestern Washington. Their name derives from tshels, a native word meaning "sand." Tshels was also the name of a large village at Hanson's Point at the entrance to Grays Harbor, near the modern-day town of Westport. The Chehalis name is now applied to formerly autonomous villagers who spoke a similar language in a much wider area along the Chehalis River and around Grays Harbor. The Lower Chehalis lived principally around the south sides of the Chehalis River and Grays Harbor. In later times, after the Chinookan speakers had been reduced by epidemics, such as the intermittent fever of the 1830's, the Lower Chehalis occupied territory to and around Shoalwater (Willapa) Bay that had been held by the Chinooks. Among the pressures to which the Lower Chehalis were subjected in early times, according to some anthropologists, were the movements of Chinookan peoples down the Columbia River, who pressed the Lower Chehalis into their historic positions. Besides being closely related culturally if not linguistically to the Chinooks, the Lower Chehalis were closely related to other peoples of the lower Chehalis River watershed and Grays Harbor, into which the Chehalis River flows. These people were the Humptulipses, Copalises, Wynoochees, and Satsops. Some ethnologists maintained that the Satsops were a subdivision of the Lower Chehalis, because they were part of the same political group. The Satsop language, however, was a Kwaiailk (Upper Chehalis) dialect. The Lower Chehalis had close ties with the Quinalts on the north along the Pacific Coast and with the Chinooks on the south. They had ties with Kwaiailks, but spoke a distinctly different Salish language [4]. The Chehalis were expert watermen who lived north of the mouth of the Columbia River. They were frequent visitors to the Corps of Discovery at Fort Clatsop. Already in decline by the early 1800s, these Salish-speaking Indians suffered further from smallpox and measles epidemics, influenza, and other diseases [3].

...many centuries, two large groups of Salish-speaking people lived along the Chehalis River. They lived in cedar longhouses with one end open to the water from which they received a bounty of salmon and other river-based sustenance. These two groups were the Upper and Lower Chehalis, and they thrived for a long time, until the encroachment of white settlers forced them to give up their ancestral lands. Rejecting the unacceptable terms of the treaties offered by the US Government, the Chehalis were regarded as a "non-treaty" tribe. This meant financial aid from the government would be limited and unpredictable [5].

#### 1.5 Influence of missionaries/schools/governments/powerful neighbors:

In February and March 1855, Washington territorial Governor and Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Issac Stevens met the Chehalises in council with neighboring tribes to treat for their lands...the council ended in failure, the government later succeeded in obtaining title to the Chehalises' lands without compensating them. Without their consent and with no treaty.... a reservation was established for them [4].

#### 1.6 Ecology:

The original land, in which they occupied, consisted of in between Shoalwater Bay down through the Chehalis River and through Grays Harbor. The ecology is a variety of environments which provided them with rich sustenance of food, fresh water, an array of vegetation throughout the Chehalis territory. Along with the water ecology, the people had the mountain areas surrounding them to provide them with other sources of protein and raw materials for shelter [6].

#### 1.7 Population size, mean village size, home range size, density

- Upper and Lower Combined: approx. 1,500 – 2,000 population size (date 1806) [6]
- Upper and Lower Combined: approx. 200 population size (current date 2012) [1]
- Village size: 5-6 villages total [6]

### 2. Economy

#### 2.1 Main carbohydrate staple(s):

Gathered sacred roots (wappatu, or sagittaria, and the kamas) [7] and berries (strawberry, salinon-berry, raspberry, and others which are not suitable for drying, are consumed at once; but the huckleberry, of which there are several kinds, sallal are dried

and stored for winter's use, and the salmon-berry), and acorns [5, 7]. The roots of the sunflower and fern, where they made a species of flour in which they made into bread [7]...potatoes [7]....

## 2.2 Main protein-lipid sources:

Upper Chehalis mainly relied on salmon; also their diet consisted of clams from the river, berries they gathered, game they hunted around the surrounding mountain and prairie areas [4, 5, 6].

Lower Chehalis mainly relied on seafoods: dried sturgeon, halibut, rock-cod, clams, seals, and sometimes whale. They also hunted wild game for the protein, in which they traded the fur-pelts in latter times... [4] ....during the correct season when river otters were abundant, they would hunt them and trade their furs/fatty oils with other tribes....[7].

## 2.3 Weapons: Bow and arrow, blowguns:

Lower Chehalis used harpoons with either shell or copper for the point with some sort of line attached to the shaft [7], nets [6] Upper Chehalis would use scoop-nets and gigs [7].

Also both tribes were known to use bow and arrows, in which the arrows were pointed with hard wood or bone [7].

## 2.4 Food storage:

Dried sturgeon/salmon, seal oil, stored berries in baskets [4, 5, 7].

## 2.5 Sexual division of production:

Women gathered and used digging sticks to get the roots of plants out; while the men fished and hunted [6].

## 2.6 Land tenure:

They recognize no individual right to land except actual occupancy....this seems to be respected to this extent, that if a man has cleared a spot of land for cultivation only he can hold it on the return of the season for planting from year to year, and this is regarded as long as he sees fit...then in their villages, the site of a house pertains to the individual as long as he leaves any vestige or evidence of a building on it....among the Lower Chehalis, the right may have been carried somewhat further, but unsettled lands away from their usual haunts are but little regarded.... Tribes are, however, somewhat tenacious of territorial right, and well understand their respective limits; but this seems to be merely as regards their title, and they never, it is believed, exclude from them other friendly tribes. It would appear also that these lands are considered to survive to the last remnant of a tribe, after its existence as such has in fact ceased [7].....There have been different cases that have been mentioned of a claim by a chief to the ownership of the whole country occupied by his tribe; but these do not seem to have any foundation in acknowledged right, or to be actually maintained..... [7].

## 2.7 Ceramics:

Basketry was there main source of storage [7].

## 2.8 Specified (prescribed or proscribed) sharing patterns:

Traded with other tribes along the rivers [4, 7]

## 2.9 Food taboos:

When the first salmon arrives in the area for that season the Upper tribe would upon the capturing of the first salmon of the season, it was an occasion of great rejoicing as a harbinger of the school, state that, "*in order to hasten their arrival, they would according to custom, dressed the fish and cut it into small pieces, one of which was given to each child in the village.*"...the taking of the "*first fish of the season*" was, in fact, everywhere the occasion of a feast...the salmon dance was performed...the earlier fish could not be obtained at any price by a white man, unless they were first cooked, lest he should open them with a knife instead of a stone, or cut them crosswise...the heart was always roasted and eaten, for fear a dog should eat it, then no more salmon would be taken....the restrictions upon women during menstruation and pregnancy were stringent, and there were numerous other details observed, such as eating particular parts with the rising and falling tide, consuming the fish before sundown...[7].

## 2.10 Canoes/watercraft?

Canoes [6, 7]

# 3. Anthropometry

## 3.1 Mean adult height (m and f):

M:

F:

## 3.2 Mean adult weight (m and f):

M:

F:

## **4. Life History, mating, marriage**

### **4.1 Age at menarche (f):**

A female usually has her first menstruation between the ages of 10-12, this is usually the first prominent event in a woman's life, which signifies that she is becoming fit for marriage....the girl usually retreats to some secluded spot and fasts....but it doesn't go until the point of starvation, because some old squaw, who is acquainted with her hiding place, carries her a little water and dried salmon [7]. No matter when a female has her first menstruation or it is one of many, she is not allowed to eat any salmon or game meat, during that period, it is considered taboo [7].

### **4.2 Age at first birth (m and f):**

**If a female was promiscuous, and not married they would have an abortion if they got pregnant, they usually were allowed to start being promiscuous between the ages of 10-12. Sometimes a female would get pregnant right after she was married after her first menstrual cycle.**

### **4.3 Completed family size (m and f):**

The larger the family with his wives and children, the more the male was to show his wealth and prestige [7].

### **4.4 Inter-birth-interval (f):**

Usually every 2-4 years is when a female would give birth, it all depended on how long she breast-fed, and if her infant did not die [7].

### **4.5 Age first marriage (m and f):**

For females it could have been as soon as they had their first menstrual, and men were usually early twenties, if not older [7].

### **4.6 Proportion of marriages ending in divorce:**

Divorce is unknown, for the simple reason that the marriage-tie...has no force, except in the will of the husband...a man sends his wife away, or sells her at his will....on the death of a brother, the survivor generally takes his wife; or the father sometimes takes the wife of his son, or vis versa....however, the wives can be sold or returned to their own people [7].

### **4.7 Percent marriages polygynous, percent males married polygynously:**

The males did practice polygamy, sources don't mention the percentage, but it does mention "*that the more someone has, the higher their prestige*"...[7]

### **4.8 Bride purchase (price), bride service, dowry:**

A strong sensual attachment undoubtedly often exists, which leads to marriage...a young man, desirous of obtaining a wife, usually cohabits with her for a time before purchasing her...which he is gathering together the necessary amount of property to be paid, or perhaps the courtship commences in this way—the girl wishing a husband, and taking a straightforward mode of attracting one....the condition of the woman is that of slavery under any circumstances. She is the property of her father, of her nearest relative, or of her tribe, until she becomes that of her husband [7].

### **4.9 Inheritance patterns:**

As regards the chieftom, it is theoretically hereditary; but if on the death of a chief the eldest son is objectionable from stupidity or bad reputation, it is said that the tribe sometimes set him aside for the next.... if a chief's sons are too young to govern, his brother or next relative succeeds him and continues chief till his death, when the office reverts to the son of the elder.... it is not unusual to sometimes find men living as chiefs over the mother's tribe instead of the father's.... [7].

On the decease of a man, his property is immediately taken possession of by his relatives, and what is not destroyed or displayed at his grave is divided among them, his sons if grown up taking a part; his wives get nothing whatever, nor young children, but unless appropriated by the men, return to their own people, taking the latter with them... [7].

### **4.10 Parent-offspring interactions and conflict:**

The ties between parent and child, husband and wife, seem little closer than between more distant relatives, or even others of the same tribe [7]... men have a certain pride of offspring, but it is rather as an evidence of virility on their own part than arising from parental care... as an evidence of this condition of things, the occurrence of infanticide...[7]... the grandparents seem to have a greater attachment to their descendants than do the immediate progenitors....on the part of the children, the affection is still less [7].

### **4.11 Homosexual activities, social attitudes towards homosexuals:**

n/a

### **4.12 Pattern of exogamy (endogamy):**

Considering women are seen as possessions, the men are the ones that the women live with and will move to be with the husband's family, and the lineage of chieftoms are passed through the father's side [7].

**4.13 What is the belief of the role of males in conception; is paternity partible? Are these “other fathers” recognized?**

Men have a certain pride of offspring, but it is rather as an evidence of virility on their own part than arising from parental care...as an evidence of this condition of things, the occurrence of infanticide, in which if the child is suspected to be another man's offspring the husband has every right to kill that infant... [7].

**4.14 What is the belief of the mother's role in procreation exactly? (e.g., “receptacle in which fetus grows”)**

**4.15 Is conception believed to be an incremental process (i.e., semen builds up over time)?**

**4.16 Occurrence of sexual coercion, rape**

Females were not seen any more than property, so the husband was allowed any liberties he sought [7].

**4.17 Preferential category for spouse (e.g., cross cousin)**

Wives were usually sought out in other tribes, so no intermixing was occurring, and in the event of the husband dying the wives would sometimes become property of the brother or of the father [7].

**4.18 Do females enjoy sexual freedoms?**

The females were able to perform acts of prostitution, but her earnings belonged to her husband...[7]. Prostitution is almost universal....will not let his favorite wife, but he looks upon his others, his sisters, daughters, female relatives, and slaves, as a legitimate source of profit...occasionally, adultery forms a cause of difficulty; but it is then only because the woman is reserved for the time being to the husband's use, or because he fears to be cheated of his just emoluments...cohabitation of unmarried females among their own people brings no disgrace if unaccompanied with childbirth, which they take care to prevent...this commences at a very early age, perhaps ten or twelve years...[7].

**4.19 Evidence of giving gifts to extramarital partners or extramarital offspring**

Females were able to perform acts of prostitution, but her earnings belonged to her husband...[7].

**4.20 If mother dies, whose raises children?**

If the husband has multiple wives, then the other wives will take in the deceased mother's children, if they don't then the children can either be sold as slaves, or sold back to the deceased mother's tribe [7].

**4.21 Adult sex ratio: number of adult males divided by number of (reproductive) females**

Males usually had multiple wives, so the ratio of women being higher than males [6, 7].

**4.22 Evidence for couvades**

n/a

**4.23 Different distinctions for potential fathers (e.g., lesser/younger vs. major/older)**

Husbands were very prideful and territorial of their wives, so no one else was acknowledged as a potential father, unless the female wanted to be killed. If the female wasn't married and became pregnant during her promiscuous activities she would get an abortion, and if the abortion wasn't successful, the females of the village would turn to violence to beat the unwanted child from the expecting female [7].

**4.24 Kin avoidance and respect?**

Only people that were usually avoided were slaves, or females that were traded as: slaves, payment for something, or when a husband tired of his wives he would trade them or sell them [7]. The elderly however held a tremendous amount of respect throughout the villages [7].

**4.24 Joking relationships?**

Did not occur [7].

**4.25 Patterns of descent (e.g., bilateral, matrilineal) for certain rights, names or associations**

Names are passed down on the father's side [6].

**4.26 Incest avoidance rules**

Didn't happen, usually they would marry someone else in a surrounding village [6].

**4.27 Is there a formal marriage ceremony?**

The negotiations preceding a marriage are short, and the ceremony itself simple....when a young man has made his choice, he commissions his parents or other relatives to open the business to the girl's relatives....they are to receive a certain quantity of presents; and when these are agreed on, they all repair to the house intended for the future residence of the young couple, to which nearly all the inhabitants of the village are invited...the presents, which consist of: slaves, axes, beads, kettles, haikwa, brass and copper bracelets, etc. are now distributed by the young man, who, in his turn, receives an equal or perhaps greater

quantity from the girl's relatives....the bride, decorated with the various ornaments common among the tribe, is then led forth by a few old women and presented to the bridegroom....he receives her as his wife; and the elders, after wishing them plenty of god wishes they all leave the newlywed couple alone...[7].

#### **4.28 In what way(s) does one get a name, change their name, and obtain another name?**

Names are given to children when they begin to walk and talk, and are generally family appellations... the grandfather on either side, or, if there are several, of the uncles that choose the name....Usually names are changed in after life; sometimes in honor of a deceased relative; sometimes in commemoration of an event....On the death of a male, his name is not mentioned for a long time. If spoken of, it is as "he that is dead"; but after some two or three years, when the grief of his family is supposed to be assuaged, his son, perhaps, summons his friends, gives a feast, and announces that he has taken his father's name [7]. Or sometimes the grandson of the deceased grandfather will take his name instead....they are unwilling to speak their own names....and they do not use names in calling one another, instead they attract attention by saying "look here," or if hailing a stranger, or a friend "you there!" [7].

#### **4.29 Is marriage usually (or preferred to be) within community or outside community? (m/f difference?)**

Usually the men would go to other tribes to procure wives, this way it created treaties and peace between the tribes [7].

#### **4.30 Are marriages arranged? Who arranges (e.g., parents, close kin)?**

When a young man has made his choice, he commissions his parents or other relatives to open the business to the girl's relatives, who will name a price and the bridegroom must pay for the female [7].

#### **4.31 Evidence for conflict of interest over who marries who:**

Usually the men could marry whoever they wanted to, as long as the female's family would approve and the price for her was paid in full [7].

### **Warfare/homicide**

#### **4.14 Percent adult (male) deaths due to warfare:**

Percentages were not discussed in the data, however, it does describe that many people were taken as captives and made into slaves [7].

#### **4.15 Outgroup vs ingroup cause of violent death:**

The law of life for life is fully recognized, subject, however, to compromise on payment of damages. The procedure is about as follows: If one Indian has taken another's life, the revenge is not immediate; it is talked over for some time, perhaps months, during which any overture for settlement can be made. If none is offered, the relatives of the deceased, with a sufficient party of their friends, proceed to the murderer and make a demand on him for satisfaction....if he or his friends can make up a sufficient amount of goods to appease the next of kin, the affair is settled, the other friends being paid something for their trouble in the matter, and some return is then usually made by them in token that peace is restored....however, if the murderer cannot himself make a suitable recompense, or his friends will not assist him, they then take his life, and the affair stops, no hostility being provoked anew by the act....the amount to be paid as *blood-money* depends upon the importance of the person killed; women being of less value than men....up to ten blankets will generally pay for a common person....occasionally, the individual sought for, instead of compromising, makes fight, especially if a chief or a man of influence, in which case a quasi war arises between the two tribes or factions....it generally terminates without much bloodshed, and leads to an amicable arrangement....this system of retaliation, which is carried out in every matter, and takes the place of civil process for debt, as well as actions for torts or criminal prosecutions...[7].

When a the Lower tribe determined they were going to battle with another tribe they would be determined on hostilities, they give notice to the enemy of the day on which they intend to make the attack, and having previously engaged as auxiliaries a number of young men whom they pay for that purpose, they embark in canoes for the scene of action. Several of their women accompany them on their expeditions, and assist in working the canoes...once they arrived at the enemy's village, they would enter into a parley, and endeavor by negotiation to terminate the quarrel amicably....sometimes a third party would be present, who preserved a strict neutrality, and they would undertake the office of mediator...should their joint efforts fail in procuring redress, they immediately prepare for action....should that day be too far gone into the afternoon or evening, they would schedule the battle (by mutual consent) until the following morning... where each tribe would pass the night intervening in frightful yells and making use of abusive and insulting language to each other....generally whoever the invading tribe was, they would fight from their canoes....and in this position with their bodies quite bent the battle commences....the battles were seldom bloody; and as soon as one or two men fall, the party to whom they belong acknowledge themselves vanquished and the combat ceases....however if the assailants be unsuccessful, they would return without redress; but if conquerors, they receive various presents from the vanquished party in addition to their original demand...[7].

#### **4.16 Reported causes of in-group and out-group killing:**

The deaths that were caused inside the tribes were from the owner's killing the slaves due to dissatisfaction and they were allowed to do this, since it was considered their property...[7].

#### **4.17 Number, diversity and relationship with neighboring societies (external relations):**

They traded with other groups surrounding the Lower and Upper Chehalis Land [6].... The Lower and Upper Chehalis had slaves from other tribes in which they did steal, or kidnap from the other tribes, and this did cause some turmoil between the tribes..[7].

#### **4.18 Cannibalism?**

Was never witnessed and never practiced among the Chehalis [7].

### **5. Socio-Political organization and interaction**

#### **5.1 Mean local residential (village) group size:**

The Upper Chehalis averaged anywhere from 2,000-4,000 people depending on who was counting...Lewis and Clark or Dr. Gibbs....this was before epidemics wiped a large number of the population out, which then dropped them down to approximately 550-1200...[6, 7]. As for the Lower Chehalis, they averaged anywhere between 850-1500 in population, then after they were hit with a wave of epidemics as well, their total population dropped down to approximately 450-500... [6, 7].

#### **5.2 Mobility pattern: (seasonality):**

The Upper and Lower tribes relocated to their summer fishing and crop growing areas, as well as, activities in different hunting areas, then during the winter they would construct cedar lodges in different locations that would position them closer to their wild game hunting areas... [6, 7].

#### **5.3 Political system: (chiefs, clans etc, wealth or status classes):**

As regards the chieftom, it is theoretically hereditary; but if on the death of a chief the eldest son is objectionable from stupidity or bad reputation, it is said that the tribe sometimes set him aside for the next.... if a chief's sons are too young to govern, his brother or next relative succeeds him and continues chief till his death, when the office reverts to the son of the elder.... it is not unusual to sometimes find men living as chiefs over the mother's tribe instead of the father's.... [7] ....there is no class of braves, or warriors, and no distinction between war and peace chiefs...the decision of all questions of moment depends upon the will of the majority interested, but there is no compulsion upon the minority... society is perfectly democratic, because in the absence of government or authority...[7].

#### **5.4 Post marital residence:**

If the husband dies and the wife is from another tribe, she is allowed to return to her original tribe with her children...[7].

#### **5.5 Territoriality? (defined boundaries, active defense):**

Tribes were somewhat tenacious of territorial right, and well understood their respective limits; but this seems to be merely as regards their title, and they never, it is believed, exclude from them other friendly tribes....it would appear also that these lands are considered to survive to the last remnant of a tribe, after its existence as such has in fact ceased....[7].... As regards the fisheries, they are held in common, and no tribe pretends to claim from another, or from individuals, seignior age for the right of taking....such a claim would be inconvenient to all parties, as the different tribes move about, on the sound particularly, from one to another locality, according to the season. Nor do they have disputes as to their hunting grounds. Land and sea appear to be open to all with whom they are not at war. Their local attachments are very strong, as might be inferred with regard to a race having fixed abodes....[7].

#### **5.6 Social interaction divisions ? (age and sex):**

In their councils, everyone has the right of speaking, and assent or dissent is ascertained by exclamation or silence. Some of them are effective orators, though in general their eloquence is of a very noisy and vociferous kind....The women are present at, and join in, these talks, speaking in a low tone, their words being repeated aloud by a reporter....on occasions of less ceremony, they sometimes address the audience without any such intervention, and give their admonitions with a freedom of tongue highly edifying....in some instances, matrons of superior character, " *strong minded women*", have obtained an influence similar to that of chiefs [7].

Not only do the men own property distinct from their wives, but (which is a consequence following on polygamy) their wives own each her private effects, separate from her husband as well as from the others. He has his own blankets, she her mats and baskets and generally speaking her earnings belong to her, except those arising from prostitution, which are her husband's. On the decease of a man, his property is immediately taken possession of by his relatives, and what is not destroyed or displayed at his grave is divided among them, his sons if grown up taking a part; his wives get nothing whatever, nor young children, but unless appropriated by the men, return to their own people, taking the latter with them. Another custom in respect to property is that the seller of a horse, slave, or woman guarantees life and safety for a time. If they escape or die within perhaps a month or two, the purchaser can demand back the price. As a general thing, they do not dispose of property before death. Instances happen of course when they express the wish that individuals should have particular articles, but is not always regarded [7] .

#### **5.7 Special friendships/joking relationships:**

There was only married or non-married [7].

### **5.8 Village and house organization:**

They are usually intended to accommodate several families, and frequently a whole village was under the same roof, usually the leader/chief of the tribe, his house was sometimes grander in length than the others [7]. They crafted gabled lodges, which added prestige to the owners [6].

### **5.9 Specialized village structures (mens' houses):**

The triumph of their architecture is displayed in the buildings erected for festivals...these were of extraordinary size and strength, considering the means at their disposal...they were erected for special occasions, and afterward dismantled [7].

### **5.10 Sleep in hammocks or on ground or elsewhere?**

They slept in bunked beds that lined the wall of the houses they built [7].

### **5.11 Social organization, clans, moieties, lineages, etc:**

As regards the chieftom, it is theoretically hereditary; but if on the death of a chief the eldest son is objectionable from stupidity or bad reputation, it is said that the tribe sometimes set him aside for the next.... if a chief's sons are too young to govern, his brother or next relative succeeds him and continues chief till his death, when the office reverts to the son of the elder.... it is not unusual to sometimes find men living as chiefs over the mother's tribe instead of the father's.... [7].

### **5.12 Trade:**

Traded fur pellets with the white man after first contact around 1780's [6].... Also the tribes in the Upper and Lower Chehalis did trade among the other tribes for goods they needed...[7]. Also men would trade their sisters and/or daughters to other tribes for a certain item...[7].

### **5.13 Indications of social hierarchies?**

Wealth gives a certain power among them, and influence is purchased by its lavish distribution...the more wives a man possesses, therefore, the richer he is; and it is an object for him to purchase others as his means increase. [7]... The feasts at which their principal consultations generally take place will be mentioned hereafter...they are given by some leading chief or rich man, who takes the office upon himself with a view of bringing himself conspicuously before the public...[7].  
.....slavery is final degradation, the rule of once a slave always a slave...a man can purchase his father or mother, they become his slaves, and are treated as such....children of slaves by others are slaves likewise...then children of a man by his own slaves are but half free ; they do not rank as seahb-viri. Even if one purchases his own freedom, he is yet looked upon as an inferior.... A certain distinction is to be made as regards women, that whereas in one sense they are always slaves or property, yet when a man sells or pays away his sister or daughter, she, if born of free parents, becomes the wife of the creditor or purchaser, and as such does not follow the rule of distribution, but on the death of her husband returns to her tribe or family...[7].

## **6. Ritual/Ceremony/Religion (RCR)**

### **6 Time allocation to RCR:**

#### **6.1 Specialization (shamans and medicine):**

There is no priesthood aside from the tamahnous men, or doctors, who have by virtue of their office an important part to play as leading the ceremonial incantations which accompany proceedings of general interest...in their councils, everyone has the right of speaking, and assent or dissent is ascertained by exclamation or silence....[7].

Besides the regular practice of the tamahnous men, who may be considered the faculty, they used a number of plants as medicines: the root of the Oregon grape a decoction of which serves as a tonic, and is also their remedy for venereal....A decoction of the white-flowering or poisonous Kamas furnishes an emetic, and that of the cucumber vine both an emetic and cathartic.... roots of a species of fern is chewed as an expectorant, and is made into a tea as a remedy for gonorrhoea. Some herbs are used for abortion or for sterility, sometimes a powder is made from the rattle of a rattlesnake to assist in this. The inside bark of the skunk-wood chewed up serves as a poultice, and the juice of the colt's-foot as a fomentation for bruises and sprains. Hemlock is used on people when they are sick, or when females are going through their menstruation cycle. Sores that are slow in healing are cauterized, and they employ moxa by the application of coals of fire, and the powder left by worms under the bark of trees is also strewn over to dry them up. This, and also potter's clay dried and powdered, is used for chancres. Suction by the mouth is employed as a topical remedy to alleviate pain, and this too is part of the practice of the tamahno-us doctors. Their sweat-houses are partially excavated in the ground, just large enough to contain the body of one person, and covered with boards and earth, the heat being produced by hot stones; after the operation they plunge into cold water. Fractured limbs are bandaged and splinted with strips of wood.

#### **6.2 Stimulants:**

There were herbs and medicines practiced by the tamahnous men, but those were used as healing remedies for those who suffered pains, or sicknesses [7].

#### **6.3 Passage rituals (birth, death, puberty, seasonal):**

When a female has her first menstruation, sometimes a father will have a celebration feast, in which, males will bring presents in trying to become her husband [7].

#### **6.4 Other rituals:**

When someone was trying to secure his position or was trying to extend their influence they would give a grand potlatch... this was generally some chief, or what was equivalent to it, a man of wealth... While some others have been known to save all their means for years, accumulating property of value, haikwa, beads, blankets, and other articles, until they possessed enough sufficiently to make an ostentatious display... then all his friends from his own and adjacent tribes were invited, an immense house built for the express purpose, quantities of food prepared, and during the feast, which lasted for several days, the whole of his stores distributed to his guests.... sometimes particular articles being given to individuals, and again others thrown indiscriminately to the crowd [7].

#### **6.5 Myths (Creation): [2]**

##### The Story of the Flood

A long time ago, the animals and birds lived as people. Thrush wanted to marry a certain young girl, but her parents did not approve of him. The young girl, however, wished to marry him. The girl persisted and finally her parents gave their consent. Thrush and the young girl were married.

Thrush always had a dirty face; he never washed before he ate. His mother-in-law asked him "Why don't you wash your face?" Thrush did not answer. The next morning she asked again "Why don't you wash your face? It's getting dirty." Thrush once again did not reply. She asked him the same question for 5 days in a row.

Finally on the 5th day, Thrush said "If I wash my face, something will happen." Nevertheless, his wife's parents still insisted. Then they gave him an ultimatum. "If you don't wash your face, we'll take our daughter away from you." So Thrush finally gave in, "All right then, I'll wash my face".

He went to the river to wash his face and sang, "Father-in-law, Mother-in-law, Keep moving back from the river."

He washed his face. The dirt rolled off, leaving his face streaked all over. Then it began to rain. It rained all day.

Thrush told his in-laws, "Move back from the river. I washed my face as you asked."

The river continued to rise. It rained many days and nights. Soon there were no places for the people to stand but in the water. The water rose and covered everything. There was no place for them to go. Many drifted away and were never seen again.

Thrush, his wife and his in-laws landed their canoe on this side of the land, in Upper Chehalis country. There was only the top of one tall fir tree sticking out of the water. And that is where the People tied their canoe.

They got together and planned what they should do next. They agreed that someone needed to dive in the water and see how deep it was. Muskrat dove into the water and came up with some dirt. He dove down into the water 5 times. Each time he brought up some dirt. From the dirt, he made a little mountain. He told the People to land there, that they would be safe. He told the People "This is the mountain that I have made for you so that you can be safe". The People called that mountain Tiger Lily Mountain. It is known today as Black Mountain.

After the water receded and the earth dried up, the earth was found to be covered with dried whales (fossils). At Gate, not far from Mima Prairie, the earth still remains in the shape of the waves. It extends like this for 4 or 5 miles.

After the water subsided, the earth was just like new and the People could begin all over again. It was said "There shall never again be a person who will cause a flood when he washes his face." Thrush turned into a bird and flew away.

#### **6.6 Cultural material (art, music, games):**

Paintings, basketry, wood carvings (i.e. panels, bowls, cups, utensils, plates, etc.) [6]

#### **6.7 Sex differences in RCR:**

Males were the only tamahnous or doctors that performed spiritual and healing practices [7].

#### **6.8 Missionary effect:**

The missionaries didn't have any influence on the tribes until they were relocated into the reservations later on after the 1860's [4, 5, 6, 7].

#### **6.9 RCR revival:**

#### **6.10 Death and afterlife beliefs:**

#### **6.11 Taboo of naming dead people?**

On the death of a male, his name is not mentioned for a long time....if someone had spoken of, it is as "he that is dead"....after some two or three years, when the grief of his family is supposed to be assuaged, his son would summons his friends and he would give a feast, and announces that he has taken his father's name.... After the time period has passed when they are not allowed to mention the deceased name, women will usually talk about the people they knew when they were alive and relate the information they know about that person [7].

## 6.12 Is there teknonymy?

They didn't call each other by their names, they just addresses them as "you there" or "friend" [7].

## 6.13 Briefly describe religion (animism, ancestor worship, deism, magic, totems etc.)

They showed respect to the dead by not mentioning their names until after the mourning period. Also they did worship different spirits and the creator who had control over different natural aspects, such as the coming of the salmon, the different weather patterns, whether they would eat that day or not. Also the creator had control over who was to live and who was to die, and everything the people did was somehow tied to a spiritual aspect [4, 5, 7].

## 7. Adornment

### 7.1 Body paint:

They didn't really seem to participate in body painting [5, 6, 7].

### 7.2 Piercings:

They had feasts in celebration of "*the ceremony of piercing the ears and nose of children*" [7].

### 7.3 Haircut:

### 7.4 Scarification:

If an individual suffered from injury, then sometimes they would scarify it [7].

### 7.5 Adornment (beads, feathers, lip plates, etc.):

During ceremonies and spiritual rituals they adorned themselves in feather and costumes to represent the different spirits [5]. The ordinary dress of the men, when they saw fit to use any, was a deer-skin shirt, leggings, and moccasins.... On the coast quills were scarce, being obtained from a distance and by exchange, and since the opening of trade with the whites they have used beads and various colored threads. They also wore on occasion robes made of the skins of small animals, such as the rabbit, sewellell, muskrat, or of larger ones, as the cougar and beaver. Fur caps, of a form suited to the fancy of the wearer, were used occasionally; but the most noticeable covering was a broad, conical hat, with an inner-rim fitting the head, made of a tough grass resembling hemp which was made water-proof, and painted with figures. [7].

### 7.6 Ceremonial/Ritual adornment:

They would adorn themselves with feather, branches, bark, animal hides, or embellished beaded clothing during their dancing, singing, and spiritual rituals [5, 7].

### 7.7 Sex differences in adornment:

The women universally wore a breech-clout of strands gathered round the waist and falling usually to the knees, which served the purpose of concealment. With the men wore clouts as well, which was sometimes made of twisted grass, at others of cedar-bark, hackled and split into a fringe [7].

### 7.8 Missionary effect:

Missionaries really didn't have an effect on the tribes until later on after they were relocated to the reservations, and when whites started to settle more and more in the region after 1860's [6, 7].

### 7.9 Cultural revival in adornment:

Flattening the head is known to happen throughout the Chehalis Territory, and the process of flattening the head has been too often described to need repetition. It is continued for about a year when most excessive, and is confined to children of free parents; slaves do earn the privilege of distortion. For a different reason, it is not performed on the offspring of whites by Indian mothers, it being a matter of pride to assimilate them to their fathers [7].

## 8. Kinship systems

### 8.1 Sibling classification system:

They address their elders as 'grandfather' or 'grandmother' also they show respect to the older siblings and everyone is addressed with some form of respect [6].

### 8.2 Sororate, levirate:

They did practice levirate marriages, if a husband died then the wives were married to the husband's brother or to the husband's father, if this didn't happen then the women were sold/returned back to their original tribes [7].

### 8.3 Other notable kinship typology, especially cross-cousin (MBD/FZD) typology (Crow/Hawaiian/Omaha etc.):

Lower Chehalis were closely related to other peoples of the lower Chehalis River ..... These people were the Humptulipses, Copalises, Wynoochees, and Satsops. . The Satsop language, however, was a Kwaiailk (Upper Chehalis) dialect [ 5].

## 9. Other interesting cultural features (list them):

- As regards the right of property in houses or goods, their ideas are naturally clearer...the maker of anything is its necessary owner until he voluntarily parts with its possession...also the captor of fish or game, the one who digs roots or raises vegetables; but it is not probable that they have ever speculated upon the origin of this right...[7].
- Another custom in respect to property is that the seller of a horse, slave, or woman guarantees life and safety for a time...if any of them escaped or died within perhaps a month or two, the purchaser can demand back the price....[7].
- Slavery is thoroughly interwoven with the social polity of the tribes [7].

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