

CULTURAL PERSISTENCE: THE ADAPTATION AND CONTINUATION OF
DIETARY AND LIFESTYLE PRACTICES OF THE NORTHERN PAIUTE AND
KLAMATH TRIBES

by

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“Food for us comes from our relatives, whether they have wings or fins or roots. That is how we consider food. Food has a culture. It has a history. It has a story. It has relationships.”

-- Winona LaDuke, 2015

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Cultural Persistence: The Adaptation and Continuation of Dietary and Lifestyle
Practices of the Northern Paiute and Klamath

Approved:



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This thesis examines the effects of Western contact on the lifestyle and dietary practices of the Northern Paiute and Klamath tribes between 1864 and 1900, and discusses how such impacts manifest themselves in a modern context. The Northern Paiute and Klamath of Central Oregon thrived as mobile tribes subsisting off of local flora and fauna collected in their seasonal rounds. With Western contact however, both tribes were forced to adopt a number Western subsistence and lifestyle habits as they were moved onto reservations. These sudden changes still affect tribal members' lives today in the form of Western diseases, loss of access to traditional food items, and an increased in the consumption of Western food items. Despite these adverse effects the Northern Paiute and Klamath have both managed to continue a number of traditional dietary practices, as well as to combat health and legislative issues with grass-roots efforts from within the tribal communities.

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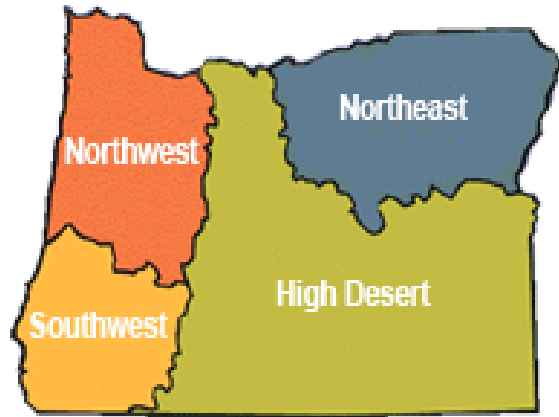


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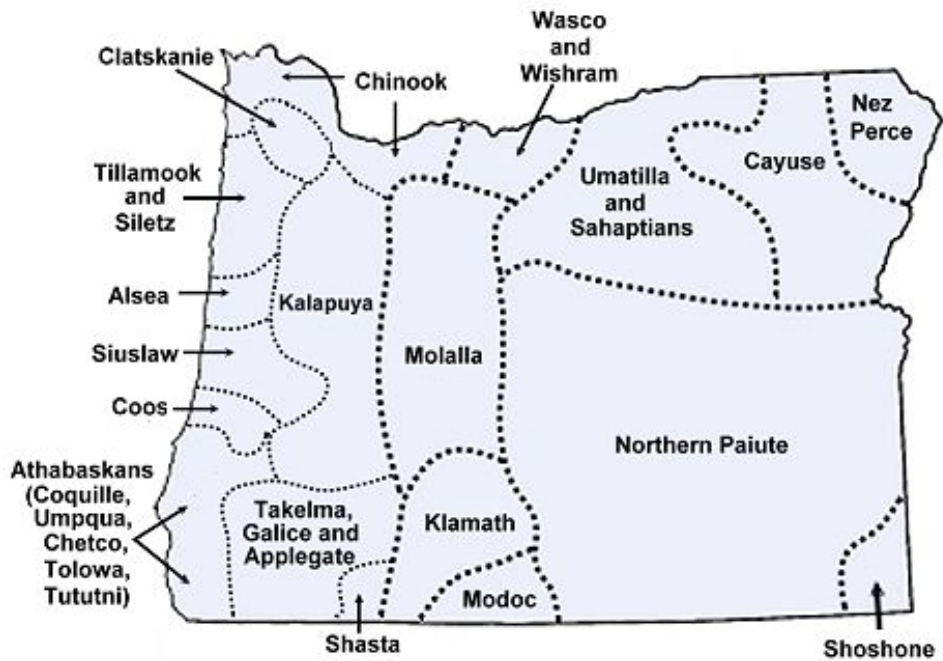


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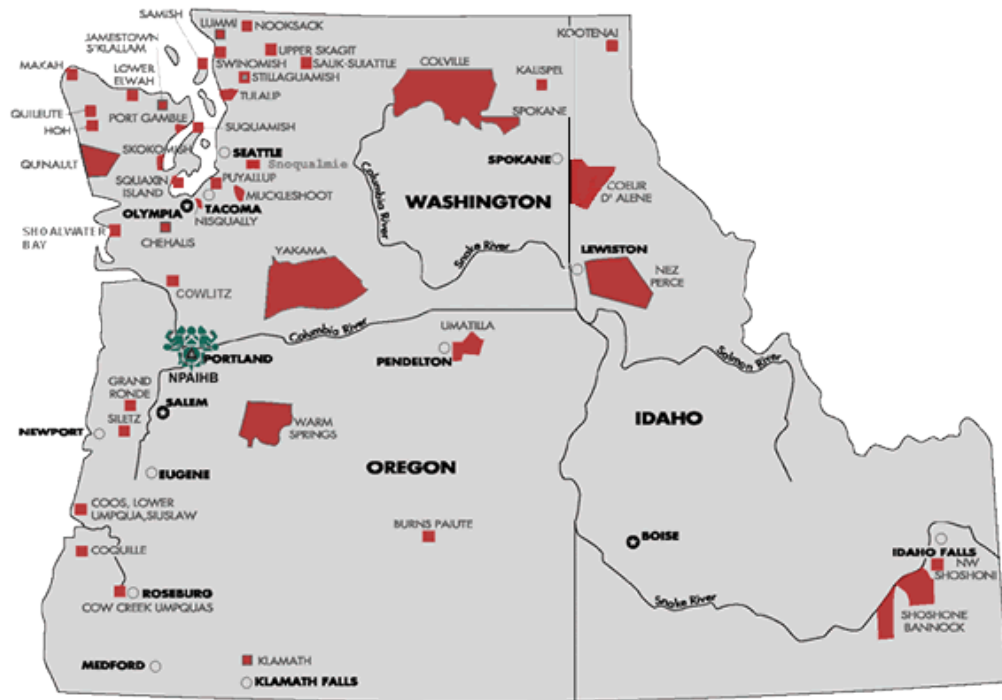
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The Klamath Seasonal Round

March	move to fishing camps, old remain at winter villages
April	fishing, continues in varying intensity year round
May	fishing, women dig for ipos, waterfowl eggs gathered, yellow pine cambium sought
June	camas gathered in meadows, waterfowl and other small game hunted
July	same

August	women harvest pond lily seeds (wokas) on lakes, men hunt mule deer and antelopes
September	harvest wokas, gather berries in uplands, hunt, fish, return to winter villages
October	prepare winter provisions, hunting and fishing restricted
November	some hunting and fishing
December	some fishing, some hunting of deer, bear and waterfowl, shamanic ceremonies
January	some hunting and fishing where possible
February	same, provisions often low, in times of famine moss and lodgepole pine cambium eaten

Figure 5: “Member Tribes”



Introduction

Critical aspects of the lives of all people, around which settlement, kinship, marriage, technology, and economic life is organized, are diet, subsistence and larger economic patterns. What is eaten, when and how it is prepared, and what nutrients are gained can aid in linking individuals' identities to a larger continuation of societal practices, and may influence cultural components such as art, religion, and societal organization. When a community conversely loses access to its dietary resources, an entire culture and resulting lifestyle may be at risk.

United States and Native American relations have historically involved violence and exploitation. At the time of the first sustained European arrival in North America there was approximately 112 million individuals speaking at least 2,000 distinct languages (Denevan 1992), across a diverse range of tribal and cultural structures. As the original inhabitants of the North American continent, Native Americans utilized land resources that were considered valuable to early colonial officials. This fact was a driving force in the actual or attempted cultural and physical genocide of many tribes, along with forced relocation onto less valuable land of many others. For those relocated to reservations extreme pressure was exerted to conform to a "Western" way of life-- including a sedentary lifestyle and Euro-Western dietary habits-- despite its poor suitability to the ecology, knowledge base, values, and social organization of the tribal members. It is easy to understand that a number of tribes resisted Western advances, attempting to maintain their original culture and way of life. In the state of Oregon in

particular, tribes fought--and continue to fight--Western advances that oppose their culture and original lifestyle.

The state of Oregon includes a wide environmental diversity. Ranging from west to east, the state's climate includes the temperate broadleaf and mixed forest of the coastal range, the alpine temperate coniferous forests and high deserts of the Cascade Mountains, the Snake River and Columbia Plateaus, the Steans and Wallowa Mountains to the east, and the Klamath basin to the south. The high deserts (see Figure 1) of Central Oregon average less than 10 inches of rainfall per year, falling primarily in the spring, with seasonal temperature extremes ranging from daytime highs of 95 degrees to nighttime lows of 50 degrees in summer and 40 degree highs and -20 degree lows in winter respectively (Taylor "Climate of Deschutes County," "Climate of Harney County," "Climate of Lake County," "Climate of Klamath County"). Junipers and sagebrush dominate the landscape, giving way to pine and fir mixed forest at higher elevations (Brady 253). Several groups of original inhabitants of these areas (including the Northern Paiute, Shasta, Shasta Costa, Kalapuya, Molalla, Klickitat, Chinook, Tillamook, Iroquoian, Alsea, Coos, Umpqua, Takelma, Tututni, Klamath, Modoc, Yahooskin, Warm Springs, Wasco, and many others) worked closely with the land, utilizing diverse and complex economic strategies to thrive in the harsh environments of the High Desert and Cascade Range. This thesis focuses on two such tribes and the dietary transitions they experienced historically, particularly in response to cultural incursion by Euro-Americans. The Klamath of Southwestern Oregon and the Northern Paiute of Central Eastern Oregon, despite their relative geographical proximity and similar diets and economic strategies, experienced these transitions in diet differently.

The Northern Paiute and Klamath were originally mobile tribes who varied their location based upon seasonal rounds. As all people whose livelihood depends on complex hunting, gathering, fishing, seasonal settlement, and social strategies in relation to these, the Northern Paiute and Klamath maintained an accumulation of culturally transmitted and stored knowledge concerning the natural history of their environment. They relied on this accumulated knowledge to optimize their use of hunting, gathering and fishing resources and seasonal variations in these in both the Klamath Basin and on the Snake River Plain (Morgan and Bettinger 2012). Both tribes additionally practiced a measure of land management (Duer 2009), promoting optimal habitats for essential plant and animal species. Evidence for a long successful history in both the Snake River and Klamath regions indicates that by practicing both variation and seasonal harvests and maintaining flora and fauna populations, these tribes ensured a balanced ecosystem in which they thrived for many generations.

In the 1840s and 1850s however, Western settlers began to immigrate to the High Desert area of Oregon. With promises of a fresh start and fertile soil the Western United States seemed like an incredible opportunity to many United States citizens (“Manifest Destiny” 2014). In general, there seems to have been little concern that the region was already home to Native American tribes, all of whom already exercised territorial or land use rights to the lands they occupied, as we would understand the concept anthropologically, psychologically, and cross-culturally (Brown 1991). With this view, the Native Americans who already occupied the desired land seemed only a minor setback in the Western dream of development and expansion. The precise context, history, and strategies to deal with settler incursions varied across Native

American groups and through time. The strategies of the Klamath and Northern Paiute may be directly contrasted in this respect; the Paiutes proved difficult to displace by strongly resisting occupation of their lands while the Klamath initially were pressured into cooperating with the US government in order to avoid complete annihilation.

Ultimately these processes lead to a fairly sudden transition from hunter-gatherer to sedentary agriculturalist-based lifestyle, influencing many aspects of both tribes' cultures. One obvious change around which many other aspects of life revolve, and one that has had major consequences for health, was a change in diet. How was the traditional diet and resulting lifestyle of the Northern Paiute and Klamath affected by their move onto reservations from 1864 to 1900, and how have these changes impacted their lives more currently? This paper traces both early, and more recent effects of these changes on Paiute and Klamath diet and health.

Context and Limitations

For the purpose of this paper, it is necessary to first define a few terms that are otherwise problematic. What constitutes a “Western diet” has changed through time, and was never singular in any case. In the context of this paper however, the term “Western diet” refers broadly to the Euro-American dietary features in the region at the time period under discussion, in contrast to the relevant diet of the Northern Paiute or Klamath prior to colonization. Broadly, this includes all domesticated agricultural and pastoralist products but not hunted game, fish, or collected wild foods. It also includes a relatively narrow range of foods consumed in contrast to the wide diversity of food

items in Northern Paiute and Klamath traditional diets. In present day this diet includes regular nutritional intake that is high in sugars, unsaturated fats and processed foods. Conversely, the traditional Northern Paiute diet was sufficiently calorically rich, consisting of foods that were highly fibrous, low in sugar, saturated fats and glycemic foods (Sturtevant and Fogelson 1981). The original Klamath diet additionally included high calories, a large amount of protein and many vitamins and minerals (Seafood Health Facts: Making Smart Choices). Western diseases refer to the so-called “diseases of modernity” associated with the epidemiological transition from infectious to chronic disease (Omran 1971) that are now the main causes of mortality in all but the very poorest of nations worldwide. These ailments are associated with the metabolic syndrome of high blood pressure, lipid profile, and obesity and include cardiopulmonary disease, diabetes, and obesity (Trowell 1981).

It is additionally essential to recognize this paper’s inherent bias. As written first hand Paiute and Klamath accounts were not readily available for early time periods, the research for this paper consisted principally of analyzing written reports and ethnographic accounts. Most of these are government documents or reports and letters written by reservation agents. It follows then that these hold the non-native biases and concerns of their authors as Euro-Americans and as government agents. Nevertheless, though often difficult to discern the personal thoughts of the Northern Paiute and Klamath people behind certain actions, this paper draws on current testimony and logical inferences to attempt to fill this knowledge gap. The amount and quality of compiled evidence is additionally inevitably unevenly distributed; documents analyzed from Yakima reference the Paiutes less than either Warm Springs or Malheur,

as this tribe was a minority in Washington, while a loss of status for the Klamath makes it difficult to obtain information from the 20th century. Nevertheless, this project attempts to provide multiple perspectives for the modern context of the paper, including oral accounts, interviews, tribal newspapers and newsletters, government and reservation statistics, as well as other primary and secondary sources.

Though the paper appears to follow both tribes chronologically, it intentionally skips from 1900 to present day. For the scope of this paper it is relevant to follow the Northern Paiute's time spent on both Yakima and Malheur reservation, and unnecessary to include their time spent developing a place for themselves on the Warm Springs reservation. In order to draw accurate comparisons between the experiences of the two tribes, the Klamath are additionally focused upon during their early years within Klamath reservation.

Northern Paiute

The Warm Springs Reservation, located in Harney County in Central Oregon, is home to three predominant tribes (the Warm Springs, Wasco and Paiute) (See Figure 5). Prior to the 1800s however, the land on which the reservation is located and much of Central Oregon surrounding it was once home to the Northern Paiute (see Figure 2). The tribe occupied a territory that encompassed much of Central and southern Oregon, and included components of land within California and Idaho. From archaeological reconstruction, firsthand accounts, and verbally transmitted cultural knowledge, a picture of the economic life of the Northern Paiute is presented.

Northern Paiute were traditionally trans-human hunter-gatherers (Sturtevant and Fogelson 1981, 64-5) who strategically coordinated tribes to different resource sites across their territory to hunt, fish, and gather wild plant resources according to seasonal rounds (see Figure 3). As with all foraging peoples, diet and other important aspects of life including mobility, social organization, settlement patterns, technology, sharing patterns and trade are closely linked. Among the Northern Paiute, the close link between primary foods, ecology, and self-identification is illustrated by the fact that local subgroups usually called themselves by the primary resources they depended upon.¹

The primary plant food in the diet was camas (*Camassia quamash*), which was gathered primarily in the late spring and early summer months and processed by baking the bulbs. These bulbs were consumed at site of collection or transported for storage for use in the winter (Couture et al 1986). Other important foods included wada (genus *Suaeda*), huckleberries, deer, and salmon primarily from the Rogue and Deschutes Rivers. For the most part, the Paiute seasonal round followed the salmon migration in the spring, the maturation of the camas lily bulbs in the late spring, and the ripening of the huckleberries in the late summer. The camas in particular was an essential component of the Paiute diet, and Northern Paiute practiced environmental modification to help ensure camas production by annually turning the soil where it grew and periodically burning the fields to return some nutrients to the soil.

1 The Paiute were referred to as “digger indians” derogatorily by the US government (Gardner, James, *Oregon Apocalypse: The Hidden History of the Northern Paiutes*, 3.). They referred to themselves as “wada-tika” however, a phrase which means “wada eaters.” (Stowell, Susan. "The Wada-Tika of the Former Malheur Indian Reservation:" 2008. 341).

Like all people we know of whose livelihood depends on hunting, fishing, and harvesting of wild plant resources, the Northern Paiute lifeway depended on extensive knowledge of the natural world, especially but not limited to the edible flora and fauna surrounding them (Hawkes and Blurton Jones 2011; Couture et al 1986; Sturtevant and Fogelson 1981). Northern Paiute held elders—especially elder women—in high esteem, as their knowledge of plants, the correct times for harvest and the characteristics and location of medicinal herbs were essential (Alchin 2015; Couture 1986; Duer 2003). Elder men were responsible for teaching young men methods of tracking, fishing and snaring (Berg 2007; Stowell 2008; Couture et al 1986).

By the mid-1800s, Northern Paiute life was under threat as US settlement continued and US troops attempted to control their land. The Northern Paiute, along with Shoshone and Bannock of the Snake River Plains region, steadfastly resisted these attempts for over twenty years (Gualtieri 2006). Despite their efforts and the deaths of nearly three quarters of the Northern Paiute population, the Northern Paiute wars (or so-called “Snake War” according to US documents of the time period) ended with US victory in 1868. The following forty years consisted of the forced removal of Paiutes from their traditional territory and their relocation onto various reservations, including Malheur, Yakama, and finally Warm Springs reservations.

Malheur reservation

Malheur reservation was founded in 1872 for the Northern Paiute near present day Burns, Oregon. It originally consisted of over 2000 square miles, providing the Northern Paiute with access to some of their traditional hunting and gathering grounds,

as well as nearby river and grazing area for cattle deemed important by officials for development of the reservation (Burns Paiute Tribe, "Treaties and Reservations Created"). In 1872, any surviving Paiute of the Northern Paiute wars that could be found by US troops were rounded up and relocated to the Malheur reservation. It is unclear how many Northern Paiute were present on the reservation at its inception, though 426 ration portions were recorded as issued to permanent individuals at the reservation (Parrish 1874) in 1874 while the estimated number of Native Americans thought to temporarily pass through Malheur was much higher.

The first reservation agent Samuel Parrish was in charge of Malheur for four years, from its founding until 1876. Compared to his successors Parrish was considered a friend of the Paiutes (Gomman 1874), and more willing to compromise in reservation affairs than his successor William Rinehart, who was reservation agent for two years from 1876 to 1878. Although Malheur lasted just six years, the two agents laid the groundwork for the beginning of Northern Paiute sedentism and the transition to components of the Western diet and lifestyle. Due to increased pressure from United States' immigrants demanding land for agricultural use the reservation was closed in 1878, just six years after its establishment (USDA 2015).

With forced relocation to Malheur, the Paiute were suddenly uprooted from their traditional lifestyle, especially their ability to maintain the mobile transhumant way of life around which their hunting and gathering economy was based. Not only did diet and mobility change, but so did the daily rhythms of life. Although the Paiute originally stored some foods, they ordinarily ate as desired when they felt hungry as influenced by word and other energy needs (Berg 2007, 275-280). Euro-Americans on

the other hand had meal schedules derived from an agricultural workday with three designated meals per day, and expected the Paiute to do the same. Further, the Euro-Americans tended to separate work, socialization, and relaxation, assigning a specific time for each. As previously mentioned, the Northern Paiute held female elders in high esteem for their vast knowledge of plant life necessary for a transhuman lifeway. Women were traditionally in charge of harvesting, gathering, and preparing plants while men hunted and fished. The Western world, on the other hand, generally saw women as intellectually and physically inferior to men. Men completed any agricultural work (whether regarding plants or animals) while women managed the domestic sphere. Most significantly, US agriculturalists customarily lived on one relatively limited plot of land from which they grew and raised livestock needed for most of their daily subsistence. Reservation life was explicitly aimed at encouraging Paiute to follow the -American “Western” lifeway. Even Agent Parrish who seems to have set himself apart from other reservation agents by encouraging a melding of cultures, explicitly rewarded reservations’ residents for any steps they made toward increased sedentism.

Samuel Parrish

With the creation of the reservation came the installation of Samuel Parrish as reservation agent. Under Parrish and his family the reservation began the process of attempting to transform Northern Paiute life to a Euro-American agriculturalist model. Within the first year the agent taught gardening and oversaw the creation of a small garden patch and an irrigation ditch to water it, while his wife began a

school. However, agent Parrish was perceived as kind to the point of fault by other agents and superiors. During a yearly inspection in 1874, the Office of Indian Affairs observed that Parrish provided the same ration portion to every reservation member despite “age or size,” an act that they wrote was devious and corrupt (Parrish 1874). These rations, though nutritionally insufficient to replace the traditional Paiute diet, were nevertheless of a better quality than was received in later years (Rinehart 1876). In an 1876 letter to the Office of Indian Affairs, Parrish responds to an article in a local newspaper accusing the Northern Paiute of trespassing on ranchers’ private land and suggesting this was a result of a lack of leadership at the reservation. Parrish vehemently defends the Paiute in his letter, saying they have no need to trespass as all necessary foods were provided or could be found on reservation lands.

Parrish additionally differed from his successor in his acceptance of the continuation of Paiute traditions. Although he did encourage a sedentary lifestyle at Malheur, he simultaneously recognized the necessity and importance of Paiute cultural tradition. In a letter to the Indian Affairs Commission (IAC), the agent states that the Indians of Malheur “have a right to act traditionally,” a statement that was considered radical by his successor Rinehart (Parrish 1875a)². This assertion declares that the Paiute people have a right to their original hunting and gathering land, as well as their traditional mode of subsistence. Parrish also recognized the Paiute’s reliance on a mobile lifestyle. In the same letter to the IAC he states that “it will probably be some years yet before these Indians settle down” (Parrish: 1875a). Parrish’s acceptance of traditional

² Parrish, Samuel. *Letter to P Smith Office of Indian Affairs Commissioner: 1875.*

Paiute lifestyle and customs resulted in his unique approach in managing the reservation during his time as agent.

Parrish's efforts to understand the Paiute were not lost on the Malheur residents. According to Sarah Winnemucca (1844-October 16, 1891), a prominent but controversial member of the Northern Paiute, Parrish was "dearly beloved" (Hopkins-Winnemucca 1883, 109) by both herself and the Paiute people. Parrish compromised with some men who were laboring agriculturally, promising that if they finished the task he would allow them to go hunting. Parrish also praised the Paiute work ethic, remarking that he was "glad to see them so willing to work" (Hopkins-Winnemucca 1883, 109).

Many of Parrish's successful attempts to introduce Western culture to Malheur residents were made through the reservation's school. In addition to a preliminary education in mathematics and English, the children attending were taught farming and cooking skills according to idealized Western gender roles. Boys at the school were set to work rearing pigs and cattle, digging an irrigation ditch and creating a small garden to grow basic necessities (Parrish 1876). Girls were taught Western cooking methods, as well as what was considered the "correct" preparation of beef and how to make bread from wheat flour. As an incentive for attending school, students were issued meal rations. Students were expected to eat at the designated time for breakfast, lunch and dinner, and to work when they were told to. Parrish's hope was that the children would

introduce the concepts they had learned at school to their parents and the other adults of the tribe (Parrish: 1875b)³.

While Parrish's efforts to introduce American customs through his school were his most effective, he also encouraged the maintenance of Paiute traditions within the context of the US culture. For example in a monthly school report, Parrish wrote that his wife was giving the girls in attendance cooking classes. According to Parrish, the Paiute girls were encouraged to bring camas bulbs and other traditional foods to the class and to incorporate them into their prepared meals. A similar acceptance of a melding of cultures can be seen in the boys' education as well. In an 1876 letter to the IAC Parrish wrote that the boys in attendance at his school—though encouraged to learn agricultural techniques—were also taken on deer hunting trips in the hills (Parrish 1876). Considered unconventional, Parrish's methods of incorporating components of both cultures within his reservation appeared to yield greater Paiute acceptance of Western sedentism and customs.

Though school attendance was high during the winter months, Parrish expressed disappointment that attendance dropped in the spring and summer. In his monthly reservation reports, Parrish recorded a gradual decrease in school attendance as the weather warmed on the reservation as the people left to pursue their traditional seasonal rounds. Traditionally winter was a time for settling into larger camps in order to survive the cold months. At the reservation they continued this trend, relying more heavily on rations provided at Malheur over traditional food sources such as dried salmon and camas. Although Parrish was frustrated that his reservation could not

³ Parrish, Samuel. *Monthly Malheur School Report*: 1875.

progress as quickly during the spring and summer, he recognized the importance of these months to the Paiute's survival during the winter.

Outside his school, Parrish demonstrated great faith in the adult Paiute ability to eventually adapt to a Western lifestyle. In his 1875 annual report Parrish states “[The Indians] in the beginning, were awkward and slow in learning the miniature of farming, but had determination within them to persevere...the question is settled—the Piute *will work*.” Parrish appeared to have extensively puzzled over the philosophical differences between a sedentary and nomadic lifestyle. “I have been and am trying to instill into the Indians’ mind the idea of individuality, that each family should have its own ground and home instead of having all things in common, and roving around from place to place, as has been their custom” (Parrish 1875b, 349). This level of consideration of the Paiute worldview, although rudimentary to say the least, suggests Parrish’s potential for considering Paiute’s views and gaining their trust. Nevertheless, to encourage sedentary behavior, Parrish assigned each family a plot of land on which he helped them build a small garden and homestead. In addition to the daily rations of beef, flour and sugar, he also encouraged the Paiute to visit the army base stationed nearby to trade for and buy other Western supplies. Much of the money to buy supplies came from wages earned from Parrish, and often involved work that benefitted the reservation. This system further inspired Paiute members to buy Western goods from the army base. (Hopkins-Winnemucca 1883, 106-7). Godoy et al, who more recently analyzed reasons that contemporary indigenous Amazonians adopt Western goods and integration with the market economy suggests both external forces which “push” people toward the market economy, such as a decline in hunted animal populations as human

population increases, and “pull” factors such as desire for industrial products, including metal pots, axes, machetes, and firearms, western medicine and so on. One expects that similar forces were at work amongst the Paiute as well: while they clearly valued their traditional lifestyle in general, western tools and other goods appear to have been strong draws.

Given Parrish’s investment in the Paiute and his commitment to the reservation it comes as no surprise that he would protest its closing. When Oregon’s then governor Woods suggested Malheur reservation be reduced in size in 1876, Parrish composed a strongly worded letter condemning the idea (Parrish 1875a). He argued that Malheur residents had only made progress toward settlement because of their continued access to designated hunting and gathering land, and that they would surely revolt if this land was taken away from them. Despite his clear protests, Parrish was replaced by agent Rinehart in 1876, who reduced Malheur land soon after his appointment (Rinehart 1876).

William Rinehart

William Rinehart’s approach at Malheur agency differed markedly from that of his predecessor’s. Rinehart was known to be (at best) harsh with Malheur residents and at more often than not cruel and uncompromising (Hopkins-Winnemucca 1883). While Parrish was generally positive in his reports, Rinehart emphasized the Paiute’s lack of sedentism and what he saw as laziness (Rinehart 1877a)⁴. According to Sarah Winnemucca Rinehart even beat young children for laughing too loudly, and refused

⁴ Rinehart, William. *Letter to Commissioner of Indian Affairs*: 1877.

families their rations as punishment for what he deemed misbehavior (Hopkins-Winnemucca 1883, 106-7). During one yearly examination of the reservation, the inspector remarked to Rinehart on the poor quality of the flour at the reservation. Rinehart replied that “this is Indian flour, but you will find pouch packs that are [your] food.” The inspector additionally noted that “the flour is not weighed out to the Indians in a judicious manner” (Rinehart 1876). Both remarks highlight the contempt that Rinehart held for the Paiutes and his obvious difference from Parrish.

Similar to Parrish though, Rinehart recognized the value of education. While Parrish had been somewhat understanding of the Paiute’s traditional seasonal economic activities, Rinehart was constantly annoyed that the “Indians go off hunting and fishing” (Rinehart 1877b, 11)⁵ during the spring and summer. To enforce their presence and to generally encourage Paiute sedentism and dependence on the reservation, Rinehart encouraged a reduction in the size of the reservation. This left the Paiutes with no place for traditional hunting, fishing or gathering, forcing them to rely on personal gardens along with reservation rations year round. Like Parrish, Rinehart also offered food rations to children for school attendance, though when this proved ineffective he collected the children from their homes and forced them to attend (Hopkins-Winnemucca 1883, 112).

Further, Rinehart showed no desire to allow the continuation of Paiute traditions at his school. “The object aimed at [for this school], if I understand the work, is to teach the children to dress, to eat, to work, and to study as white people do” (Rinehart

⁵ Rinehart, William. *Monthly Malheur School Report*: 1877, 11.

1878). Consequently boys were taught to farm and girls to cook and clean, and there was no attempt at maintenance of Paiute traditions.

Compared to Parrish, Rinehart demonstrates a lack of tolerance for, or care to understand any components of Paiute life. Parrish sought to understand the philosophy behind the Paiute's actions, rewarding behavior that was beneficial to the reservation in a manner that he thought would gradually encourage sedentism. Rinehart's biases on the other hand led him to misinterpret the Paiute's daily habits and mindset. The tribe's tendency to leave the reservation during the spring and summer led Rinehart to call them "shifty" (Rinehart 1877a), and to declare their "going off" from the reservation to be counter indicative of any progress toward reservation goals they might otherwise have made. He complains in multiple accounts about his inability to get the Paiutes to consistently work on any one task for an extended period of time, as well as their lack of punctuality. He states that "neither can the daily hours of manual labor be given...it is hard to get them to work..." (Rinehart 1877a) It can be inferred, however, that this apparent lack of consistency in fact speaks to a component of the Paiute's traditional lifestyle: their combination of work and leisure, their timing of activities to their needs in relation to ecology, season, daily temperature and climate and the activities of others, and their appreciation of that lifestyle compared to toiling at tasks that did not yield results they found worthwhile. As Rinehart had no apparent knowledge of Paiute culture, he interpreted a lack of focus on one topic at a time to indicate a general laziness. This lack of awareness may additionally explain Rinehart's interpretation of the Paiutes as gluttonous; the people traditionally ate when they were hungry or when they encountered particular foods instead of at specific times during the day. As with

many contemporary transitory peoples for whom day to day variance in food acquisition means a measure of food insecurity, eating heartily when food was available was a necessity (Henrich et al 2005).

While Rinehart faithfully kept detailed records of his time at Malheur, the quality of the Paiute's diet during his agency leave much to be desired. According to an inspector's annual report on the agency, "the beef issued to the Indians is of (?) miserable quality...it is detrimental to the health of any human being...the Doctor at the agency often exclaims, the beef is not fit to eat, not even for the Indians" (Gomman 1874). As can be seen in the monthly sanitary reports from 1877, constipation and boils were among the two most common of Paiute patients' afflictions through the months of January to April (Rinehart 1877b). Though these could be the result of any number of lifestyle changes, an increase in foods that contain large quantities of fat and sugar or a decrease in a fibrous diet may cause constipation (Egton Medical Information Systems Limited). Additionally, a diet that is high in dairy products, sugar, grease or processed foods can result in the appearance of boils. As mentioned, typical rations issued to the Paiutes at Malheur consisted of ground beef, sugar and processed flour, while the highly fibrous camas roots and a wide array of other foods were a main component of traditional Paiute diet (See Figure 3). As the Paiute experienced a drastic dietary shift in their intake of a Western diet under Rinehart, and since these symptoms decreased considerably during the summer months (when the tribe was undoubtedly subsisting primarily on their traditional foods) it is logical to conclude that these ailments were a direct result of the Paiute's new diet at the reservation.

Conclusions

While Parrish had encouraged a melding of cultures as acting agent, Rinehart enforced an uncompromising agency that left no room for traditions. Moreover, Rinehart effected a reduction in reservation land that forced the Paiute residents to rely more heavily on rations than under Parrish. Whether Rinehart chose to highlight the agency's shortcomings for his own purposes, or his rigid approach to reservation residents backfired, a greater resistance to Western lifestyle was evident under Rinehart than Parrish. More Paiutes left the reservation annually, and less were recorded returning during the winter months. Eventually the residents are said to have fled to the Blue Mountains, sparking the Bannock War of 1878 and prompting the closure of Malheur reservation.

Yakama reservation

The Yakama reservation today is located in south-central Washington (See Figure 5). Established in 1855, it had already become a permanently settled agency by the time Paiute were forcibly relocated there in late 1879 (Hopkins-Winnemucca 1884). The reservation was known for its fertile land and great potential as an agricultural hub. Access to arable soil and a guaranteed place of residence drew numerous Native American tribes to the reservation, including primarily the Cayuse, Umatilla, Walla Walla, Nez Perce and Yakama (Official Site of the Yakama Nation). Under the guidance of various agents, the reservation became a large manufacturer of its own corn, wheat and oats, as well as a major producer of steer and dairy cows (*Letter of Inspection on Yakama Reservation* 1882). By the time the Paiute

arrived in 1879, the existing residents of the reservation were accustomed to Western market economic practices, often working for a wage within the reservation or selling their own agricultural products to US buyers. Having been on the reservation some 20 years prior to the arrival of the Paiutes, it comes as no surprise that a large number of Yakama residents displayed greater degrees of sedentism and an adoption of the Western diet than had ever been practiced by the Paiutes at Malheur.

The Paiute arrived on Yakama reservation in early 1879, and as might be expected, their presence caused a disruption in the everyday life already established at the agency. The presence of a new tribe created logistical issues for agent J H Wilbur, prompting him to state a need for an increase in reservation supplies in 1880. Further, 1880 saw the most construction on the reservation since 1861. The new buildings constructed in this year included a new root house, a warehouse and a stable and corral (all buildings that would become essential for the Paiute) (*Chart of buildings constructed 1861-1881*). Though the Paiutes are not directly mentioned in any of these statements, the arrival of a large number of new residents on the reservation cannot be denied; the appearance of the Northern Paiute tribe is a logical conclusion.

Even though the Paiute were forced to move to Yakama by the closure of Malheur reservation, the transfer did not deter them from continuing to follow the mobile lifestyle they had maintained previously. Yakama reservation had similar flora and fauna to the Paiute's homeland, a fact which they seem to have taken full advantage of during the summer months.⁶ During the winter months however, they were once again

⁶ The Paiute were notorious with both Agents Milroy and Wilbur for leaving the reservation during the spring and summer months and continuing their seasonal rounds (like they had at Malheur).

forced to rely on their reservation for supplies. Similar to Parrish and Rinehart, the Yakama agents took full advantage of this fact to manipulate the Paiute people. “At the time of the last free distribution of amenities in compliance with the treaty in November 1872, summons were sent out in all directions and a grand rally made to gather in as many Indians as possible” one agent remembers, demonstrating the reservation’s eagerness to encourage any steps towards sedentism the Paiutes might accomplish (Milroy 1882). While Yakama promoted a western lifestyle among residential tribes, it conversely viewed the Paiutes with disdain. Agent Wilbur (the acting agent at Yakama in 1880) expressed his displeasure at the Paiute’s unwillingness to settle down in an annual reservation report: “wandering vagrant[s]...by the vigors of winter, driven to the Reservation, to subsist upon their more provided relatives” (Wilbur 1878, 19). This expression of disapproval at the Paiute’s maintenance of their traditional lifestyle is additionally mirrored by other American government officials at the reservation, including Wilbur’s successor Milroy (See Milroy’s annual reports 1882, 1883, 1884).

J H Wilbur

Reservation inspectors considered J H Wilbur was considered strict yet just in his methods, maintaining control of the reservation for eighteen years from (1865-1883). Wilbur himself remarks in a report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs that “When the able-bodied Indians want food, if they work they are fed; if they won’t work they go hungry” (Wilbur 1878, 140). Wilbur's strictly quid pro quo approach may additionally be seen in his allocation of rations. Portions of sugar, salt, wheat, pork and

beef were strictly and equally rationed to each residing family, but only to those who followed reservation protocols (Milroy 1882, 19).

Despite his strict ideas concerning work on the reservation, Wilbur displayed a definite optimism concerning tribes such as the Paiute's ability to become sedentary and adopt a Western lifestyle. In an annual report on Yakama he states "...the muscle of and heart of the Indian would be educated, not for the use of the bow and arrow...but for the plow, for the habits and practices of civilized life...Their home fixtures and comforts would put an end to their wanderings and wars..." (Wilbur 1878, 140). Wilbur additionally appeared to believe that the only means of achieving peace in Oregon was through a complete Western acculturation of Yakama residents. "Give the Indians good land, practical business...then let the government appropriate money to help them to seed, tools and teams until they can be educated to cultivate the soil...and the wars with the whites will cease to the end of time" (Wilbur 1878, 142). Wilbur's confidence in his own success coupled with his strict management of the agency, along with an overconfidence in the superiority of an agricultural lifestyle and importance of rations led to a naive belief that limiting rations to punish the Paiute would encourage sedentism. When punished with ration limitations however, the Paiutes simply snuck away from Yakama and subsisted off the land in their traditional manner.

R H Milroy

After the retirement of agent Wilbur in 1883, R H Milroy became the presiding agent at Yakama. Milroy displayed none of his predecessor's naive optimism, instead demonstrating a definite dislike of the Paiute's diet and mobile habits, and a pessimism

about their ability to change in the ways he saw fit. In his first annual report as Yakama agent, Milroy declares that “with the Indian it is very difficult to make the start and emerge from the barbarism of his ancestors deeply encrusted in the rude habits, superstitions, and veneration of many centuries” Milroy 1883, 172). This statement, though obviously prejudiced, also reveals Milroy’s deviation in philosophy from his predecessor Wilbur. Milroy further reveals his disapproval of the Paiute’s mobile tradition in his annual report a year later. “The greater part of this lower class are non-residents of the reservation and seldom even visit the reservation, and have no fixed homes, but like wild animals go wherever they can obtain a subsistence with the least exertion and most securely” (Milroy 1884, 172). In this obvious contempt for the traditional Paiute lifestyle Milroy displays a similar mentality to agent Rinehart of Malheur.

As mentioned of Rinehart, it appears that Milroy’s observations concerning mobile Paiute habits are rooted in a definite western bias at the heart of reservation philosophy. Though Milroy looked down on the Paiute for attempting to obtain the most secure food sources at a lower cost, to do so required subsistence methods that necessitated vast knowledge of the environment and plant and animal behavior, and an ability to optimally deploy a diversity of complex economic strategies. In fact, these characteristics appear not only to be common features of hunter gatherer life, but also the basis upon which the traits that make us human are based (Kaplan et al 2000). Milroy’s prejudices against more traditional Native Americans are additionally expressed when he voices his frustration that “the lazy, indolent, vicious, anti-civilization portion of the Indians...live off the reservation, with no fixed homes, subsist

mostly on fish supplemented by wild roots and berries, steal from whites and prostitute their women for grain..." (Milroy 1884, 173). Though clearly biased and ethnocentric, it coincides with reports that the mobile tribes of the reservation (presumably including the majority of the Paiute) manage to continue to be able to subsist primarily on traditional foods, with only occasional help from the reservation.

Though he wrote harshly about the tribe's mobile habits, Milroy eventually came to recognize Paiute traditional hunting and gathering methods as necessary for their survival. In an 1884 report on the reservation, Milroy reflected that "The crops raised by the Indian farmers of this reservation are short for the reason stated [drought], but will be sufficient for their subsistence, supplemented by many with wild roots, berries, fish, game, &c" (Milroy 1884, 172). This statement reveals a more realistic recognition of the Paiute population and the benefits of their continuing elements of their traditional lifestyle. Furthermore, the agent commented in another annual report that though he may dislike the tribe's traditions, he "had no means, power or authority to force Indians back to the reservation" (Milroy 1883, 152). Milroy's recognition of his inability to exert power over the reservation's mobile population, though undoubtedly frustrating led him to accept the necessity of their traditional subsistence strategies and diet maintenance.

Despite Milroy's grudging acceptance of the necessity of traditional food acquisition, he still attempted to encourage sedentary behavior at Yakama. Similar to Malheur and other reservation agents, Milroy encouraged school attendees by providing them with steady food rations. In an annual report, the agents says that "those children who attend [school] have been well provided with...plenty of wholesome food" (Milroy 1882,

354), demonstrating his adoption of this idea. In a later report, Milroy states that “want is the parent of industry” (Milroy 1884, 172). This mindset explains the agent’s rationale behind his actions; offer the tribes access to food in the winter when they cannot provide for themselves and they will theoretically begin to rely on the reservation for survival and consequently begin to adopt some of their habits.

Although Yakama officials disapproved of Paiute traditions, they did provide the Paiute on the reservation with the same chance to earn wages through agricultural labor as any other reservation residents. The agency hoped that if tribe members experienced what they regarded as the reward of consistent work for a steady wage, they would be more willing to give up their mobile lifestyle. Lee Winnemucca, the son of the controversial figure Sarah Winnemucca, exemplifies Yakama reservation officials’ ultimate goal for people from tribes like the Paiute. According to a statement said to be by L. Winnemucca in an agency report, he received a dollar a day for work on farms on the reservation and within the surrounding rancher community, which he used to buy land, a horse and some cattle (Winnemucca, Lee. *Agency Investigation and Report*). In a corresponding record of all supplies bought by reservation land owners in 1881, L. Winnemucca is recorded as having primarily purchased bacon, sugar, syrup, flour, coffee, bacon and beef. With his acquisition of land and a homestead, as well as what appears from his purchases to be adoption of some main components of the Western diet in the area, L. Winnemucca displays what appears to be a willing deviation from traditional Paiute lifestyle absent from most accounts concerning members of this tribe in the available records.

Return to Oregon

It is important to note that Paiutes were later arrivals to the Yakama reservation, and even after their arrival are often excluded from official accounts concerning the reservation, or only included in reports as an afterthought. For instance, when discussing the reservation population in the 1881 annual inspection report, the IAA investigator states “there are others living here, near and remotely related to, and affiliating with, but not clearly traceable to any particular tribe...not more than eight hundred and fifty, all total exclusive of the Paiutes” (Pollock 1881). In another report, agent Wilbur remarks on the tribes of the reservation purposefully distancing themselves from the Paiute tribe members. This exclusion of the Paiute population suggests the view of them as an inferior or marginalized group in both US and Native American reservation groups at the time.

While Yakama agents accepted this idea of separation, the Paiutes did not appear content to stay on a reservation that repressed their traditional diet and lifestyle. After Milroy became agent at Yakama, he argued for the Paiute’s return to Oregon. “[The Paiutes] have never been contented here and commenced stealing away soon after they were brought here...there has never been any fraternization or good feeling between them and the native Indians of this agency” (Milroy 1884, 175). As previously mentioned, the Paiute were notorious in the eyes of Milroy for escaping the reservation to subsist off the land for the spring and summer months, even though, as previously mentioned, it was vital for their survival. In any event, Milroy saw the Paiute as a lost cause, consequently deciding they should be moved off Yakama reservation. In 1884, the Paiutes were offered a place at the Warm Springs reservation in Oregon, located on

a portion of their traditional hunting and gathering grounds. Some Paiutes are still reported to have received flour and beef rations from Yakama after this date (Milroy 1885), while others like L. Winnemucca decided to adopt a more Western style of life for themselves at Yakama. However, in the spring of 1884, the vast majority of the Paiute population at Yakama began the journey back to the northwestern part of their homeland. “About 300 of them left last summer...this disposes of the Piute element of this agency” (Milroy 1884) Milroy remarked in an annual report on Yakama. The Paiute may not have all evacuated the Yakama area at this time, and didn’t go directly to Warm Springs, stopping at fishing areas along the Columbia River on their way down. By the turn of the century however, they had largely abandoned Yakama. Though this move to Warm Springs marked a physical return of the Paiute to a portion of their homeland, it was hardly the end of their struggle to maintain a traditional diet and lifestyle. When considering the Paiute through a more contemporary lens, it becomes clear that the task of maintaining traditional customs amidst a Western power such as the US was and remains a struggle.

Klamath

Similar to the multiple tribes at Warm Springs, Klamath Reservation is currently home to the Klamath, Modoc, and Yahooskin people, now a federally recognized confederation known as the Klamath Tribes, whose tribal government is based in Chiloquin, Oregon (see Figure 5). Current reservation land, as well as much of Southwestern and Central Oregon and Northern California including over 20 million acres was Klamath land (see Figure 2). The Klamath, Modoc and Yahooskin peoples

were linguistically and culturally similar and referred to themselves as maklaks, a term that they utilized to describe themselves in many cultural means. More specifically the E'-ukskni maklak or "lake people" became known as Klamath, whereas the Modoc (also referred to as Murdoc in some historical records), were called the Moatokni maklaks or "southern people" (Cothran 2014). Like the Paiute, the Klamath practiced a nomadic lifestyle, living primarily along the banks of the Klamath River and lakes (Alchin 2015).

As with the Northern Paiute, the people maintained an intimate relationship and deep knowledge of the plants, animals, ecology and geography of their land. Seasonal rounds began with the fishing of salmon and other species in the spring, followed by camas collection in the summer and the harvest of wokus in the late summer and early fall (see Figure 4). The Klamath retained an extensive knowledge of salmon (*Oncorhynchus tshawytscha*), deer (*Odocoileus hemionus*), wokus lilies (yellow pond lilies; *Nuphar lutea*), and various bulbs, roots and berries, as well as the optimal season in which to harvest each item. The Klamath people appear to have practiced a greater degree of land management than the Northern Paiute, including management of huckleberry plants, marsh-edge environments of the wokus, juniper, and *perideridia sp.* (a plant in the parsley family) (Duer 2003). With similar gender roles to the Northern Paiute, this tribe also relied on its elders to pass on dietary knowledge to the younger generation. Elder men led hunting and fishing expeditions, while the women gathered wokus lilies, roots, acorns, berries, and other plants.

Although the two tribes both resided within the High Desert, their seasonal rounds led them through different habitats. The mountainous Klamath territory was

filled with marshes, lakes, and rivers, a much wetter environment than that of the Northern Paiute. Klamath subsequently had a larger variety of aquatic resources at their immediate disposal than the Paiute, including a greater variety of fish and aquatic plant species with a large emphasis on salmon. Easier access to a more diverse number of resources helped support a population base that allowed them to exert power amongst other surrounding tribes. For example, the Klamath conducted raids into neighboring territories, capturing people who were sold as slaves to other tribes at trade locations along the Columbia River (Alchin 2015). They additionally gained a measure of influence over their neighbors the Murdoc and “Snake” Indians (i.e. those of the Snake River Plain like Shoshoneans and Paiute), expanding their territory farther along the tributaries of the Klamath. The tribe’s reliance on salmon as their primary food source is reflected in their emphasis on the fish in all aspects of Klamath culture. Utilized as a valuable trade item, a staple to get the tribe through the long winter months, and a gift of religious and societal significance, salmon were considered a central component of the everyday lives of the Klamath. Fishing locations and fish traps were consequently held in the highest regard economically, socially, and spiritually (Duer 2003; Lane and Lane 1981).

Even though first direct ongoing contacts between Klamath and the fur trader Peter Skeen Ogden did not occur until 1826, a series of epidemics with diseases including smallpox and influenza swept through Oregon and California beginning in the 1770s (Cothran 2014). These diseases changed the demographic and political history of the region. As the Klamath realized US citizens intended to settle permanently within their territory, interactions between their tribe and US settlers became increasingly

hostile (Thompson 1971; Gatschet 1890). After observing how the US government treated the more rebellious Murdoc, however (Massey et al 2006, 192), the Klamath saw a treaty with the US as their only means of cultural and physical survival. To avoid major conflict with the US the Klamath signed a treaty in 1864. The treaty promised land rights, rations, and fishing rights, despite the sacrifice of some traditional hunting and fishing lands. Unlike both their Murdoc neighbors⁷ and the Northern Paiute, the Klamath mostly cooperated with the US government in their efforts of “Westernization,” and in exchange managed to maintain a measure of their cultural knowledge and practices.

Klamath Reservation

Unlike the Northern Paiute, the Klamath resided on one reservation following the signing of their treaty with the United States. Klamath reservation was located in South Central Oregon close to the border of Oregon and California. Founded following the Klamath treaty of 1864, approximately 2,000 Klamath and 1,000 individuals from other tribes were initially reported as residing upon the reservation (Cooley 1865). With its mountainous yet arid terrain, harsh winters, and limited accessibility to other Western outposts, Klamath Reservation would pose difficulties for American settlers and agents alike. According to an annual report conducted by Superintendent Huntington in 1865, the Klamath “cede[d] 15,000 to 20,000 square miles...present[ing]

⁷ The Murdoc, a neighboring and conflicting tribe to the Klamath, were relocated onto the Klamath Reservation by US officials after the signing of the 1864 treaty. Unhappy with having to share land with their enemies and fed up with the short supply of rations, a large band of Murdoc left the reservation and moved back to present day Northern California. This move resulted in the Murdoc War of 1872-1873, the massacre of a large portion of the tribe's members, and their forced move back onto the Klamath Reservation.

great diversity of topography, soil and climate.” In turn the Klamath are said to have retained land “which affords great supplies of edible roots and seeds...and much fine grazing land” (Huntington 1865). Although a detailed description of the lands is given within the mentioned treaty, no estimation of the exact number of acres is provided. It is likely that Indian Affairs employees sought to emphasize the positive aspects of this treaty for the US while downplaying any items controlled by the Klamath and affiliated tribes.

Over the span of its first seven years, Klamath Reservation experienced a high turnover rate of acting agents. The first reservation agent Lindsay Applegate held his position for four years, but he was followed by O C Knapp, John Meacham, and J N High in quick succession. Given the change of leadership during the first few years of its existence, these agents found progress toward reservation goals difficult to pursue and quantify. Following the Murdoc War of 1872 and the assumption of agency powers by L S Dyar, records and reservation ‘progress’ became more marked. In contrast to a majority of the agents at Malheur and Yakama, although every agent’s goal was to ensure Klamath residents “learned civilization” (Roork 1877), each individually recognized the importance of the continuation of Klamath traditional dietary habits.

While the sudden transition from nomadic lifestyle to Western sedentism affected all aspects of Klamath culture and way of life, they appeared to adjust more quickly to Western culture than the Northern Paiutes. Traditionally practiced polygamy and traditional gender roles were deemed unacceptable by agents, and heavily discouraged with the goal of replacing them with a Christian set of values. The people were encouraged to participate in the market economy, which included the ownership of

and production from purchased goods, services, and land. While men had traditionally hunted, women gathered plants, and all members of the tribe fished, men on the reservation were expected to complete all manual labor alone. Commercial production appears to have been adopted more readily by the Klamath than the Northern Paiute; the tribe readily created a lumber and flour mill on their reservation and kept personal land, cows, and horses (Martin 1996). Given the Klamath's history as professional traders and slave owners, it is likely that these people were already familiar with ideas of personal ownership and material wealth. With the treaty of 1864 the Klamath were forced to give up a large portion of their original territory, land that had been valuable for conducting seasonal rounds. Unlike the Paiute however, the Klamath had a greater say in the boundaries of their reservation. This allowed them to retain control of key subsistence locations within the reservation's boundaries, promoting traditional dietary strategies. While living upon the reservation however, agents highly encouraged a more sedentary lifestyle and a greater reliance upon Western goods. Although the Klamath traditionally were considered a nomadic tribe, harsh winters limited their mobility to the spring, summer and fall. The arid climate of southern Oregon additionally limited their hunting, gathering, and fishing grounds to areas in and around the Klamath River and surrounding lakes. Consequently, the Klamath traditionally practiced a more sedentary lifestyle over a smaller range of space than did the Northern Paiute.

Lindsay Applegate

As the first acting agent at Klamath Reservation, Lindsay Applegate (with the support of his sons) would lay the groundwork for future relations between the Klamath and the United States. As a longtime resident of Salem Oregon, the closest town to fort Klamath at the time, it was hoped that his good relations with the Klamath and Modoc would encourage them to remain on the reservation. Despite his belief that the Klamath were “really industrious” (L Applegate 1868) and “civilized Indians” (L Applegate 1869), Applegate faced setbacks due to the reservation’s climate and location. L. Applegate often relied upon his sons Ivan and Oliver Cromwell Applegate to ensure that reservation affairs were run smoothly.

L. Applegate firmly believed in the potential of the Klamath to excel within a Western context. In his third annual report for the reservation the agent states that “the general condition of the tribes on this reservation has been quite as favorable to progress and the development of civilization during the last year as at any time since I took charge of this agency...” (L Applegate 1868, 123). L. Applegate additionally emphasizes in multiple annual reports that the Klamath “labor energetically” (L Applegate 1869, 176) in farm work, building structures, and cutting timber. The agent attributes this perceived hardworking nature to “their necessities in providing subsistence in the past hav[ing] required activity” (L Applegate 1869, 176), or the fact that the Klamath have always labored together to provide food for their tribe.

Despite his emphasis on Western civilization, L. Applegate recognized the Klamath’s reliance on native plants and animals. He described “fish of the finest quality,” as well as edible roots, and wokus as forming “the chief articles of food for the

Indians” (Huntington 1867, 71), even encouraging them to fish after a particularly difficult winter in 1866 (Huntington 1867, 92). Issued rations usually consisted of flour and to a lesser extent beef, and were only distributed in the winter when Klamath supplies were the lowest.

Although L. Applegate was optimistic in his Klamath reservation reports, he faced major problems regarding its remote location and climate. The agent’s reports become increasingly frustrated as he noted multiple delays in the arrival of purchased supplies, rations, and seeds. Given the remote location of Klamath reservation supply wagons were often snowbound for weeks at a time, even when travelling over the Klamath Mountains in the summer months (*Muller and Vrentand to L Applegate June 1867; W. Turner to L Applegate February 1869*). This forced L. Applegate to rely even more heavily on the Klamath’s traditional subsistence strategies to ensure both his own and the tribes’ survival. Despite multiple failures to produce a significant crop in the arid environment of Klamath reservation, L. Applegate was nevertheless adamant that it would become an agricultural community. He believed that “provided with the necessary implements of agriculture...[the Klamath’s] progress will be rapid and permanent” (L Applegate 1868, 123). The agent attempted to plant crops of wheat, hay, and various vegetables every summer while he was agent at Klamath reservation, only to have the majority burnt by frost or eaten by insects. The Superintendent of Indian Affairs at the time, J. W. P. Huntington, reported that agricultural efforts at Klamath reservation “do not warrant quite so sanguine a view of the future production as that gentleman [L. Applegate] has taken” (Huntington 1867, 71). Despite evidence to the contrary, L. Applegate reported “the planting of a crop next season sufficient to feed all

the Indians on the reservation” (L Applegate 1868, 123) in the same year as Huntington’s visit. L. Applegate’s efforts towards agriculture cost the reservation resources and labor that could have been more effectively used in another manner. With the loss of their crops, tribal members once again turned to their traditional economy, helping promote aspects of their pre-reservation lifestyle (*O C Applegate to L Applegate March 1867*).

L. Applegate’s overly optimistic attitude towards the reservation was counterbalanced by his sons Oliver and Ivan Applegate. Charismatic yet realistic in his dealings with both Native American individuals and American settlers, O. C. Applegate helped ease tensions on the reservation as assistant agent. Ivan Applegate wrote in a letter to his brother O. Applegate that he “would be glad to do anything to please you” (*Ivan Applegate to O C Applegate 1867*), while O. Applegate reported that he was “getting along fine” with O. C. Knapp. The latter report is particularly impressive, considering other accounts of Knapp’s character.⁸ O. Applegate additionally defended the rights and integrity of Klamath tribal members. In a letter to H. W. Corbet in 1869, O C Applegate states that his “physician at Klamath Agency Mr. McAllay is a ¾ blood Indian...he is a well-educated man and is decidedly intelligent” (*O C Applegate to H W Corbet 1869*). Oliver’s brother Ivan also “knew the Indians and their problems well” (Thompson 1971, 7), resulting in his appointment as agent of the Modocs and Yahooskins following the Modoc Indian War. Together the two brothers helped resolve conflicts on the reservation and ensure that Native Americans’ views were represented to a greater extent than they otherwise would.

⁸ See following section on “O C Knapp.”

1869 - 1872

Following L. Applegate's retirement from Klamath Reservation in 1869, a string of more temporary agents followed. Retired military agent and reported alcoholic O. C. Knapp quickly became overwhelmed by his position at the reservation and retired a year after becoming agent (Meacham 1871). Although J. Meacham and J. N. High conducted themselves in a more professional manner, each only served as agent on the reservation for a year. Due to erratic leadership, lack of supplies, and the threat of Modoc unrest at the reservation, Klamath were permitted and even encouraged by these agents to find their own food and practice a traditional lifestyle.

Knapp's vices often hindered him when attempting to complete business at the reservation. After making an effort to find Knapp and have him sign some documents, O. Applegate writes that "he got a bit drunk...Knapp has been drinking there more than a week. He may be there yet; was said to be very sick after his spree" (*O C Applegate to L Applegate* 1869). Due to his loose hold on his position, the agent quickly became overwhelmed by his position. In a letter to O. Applegate, who he heavily relied on to help run the reservation, he complains that "the two men needed most...are absent. There is no one here who knows a thing about the Agency, who to make out the separate accounts to, and I am at a loss how to work" (*O C Knapp to O C Applegate* 1869). Knapp's inability to handle the reservation led to his speedy removal a little less than a year later.

Although Knapp had to deal with the same issues of the reservation's remoteness and climate as L. Applegate, he managed to produce a significant harvest

the year he was agent. In his annual report, Knapp states that 3000 pounds of wheat, 7200 pounds of oats, and 9000 pounds of barley were raised, while the vegetable crop was a “failure.” The wheat and the majority of the barley was supplied to the residents of the reservation, implying that the Klamath at least relied on Western foods, at least during the winter months (Meacham 1870, 68). Additionally, Knapp first introduced the idea that the reservation be a pastoral community to the IAC. He wrote in his annual report that “the Indians should be supplied with cattle and sheep, and they would soon become self-sustaining” (Meacham 1870, 69).

Knapp’s inability to deal with the material matters of the reservation led to his reliance on the Klamath to provide themselves with the majority of their annual subsistence. The agent noticed Klamath gathering wokus in spring months, and wrote he “told them to gather all they could and [he] would haul it from the marsh for them. The more of such stuff they can gather the less flour will be to issue” (Meacham 1870, 69). Knapp also encouraged Klamath fishing practices, stating that “they put up immense quantities of fish in the spring, and if they are successful in hunting this fall very little beef will be required this winter” (Meacham 1869).

Following Knapp’s retirement in the October of 1870, John Meacham became agent at Klamath Reservation. Meacham emphasized the westernization of the residents of the reservation, stating that “I find Indian men by scores, who have put on all the habits and ways of white men, and that have capacity to transact business on individual account” (Meacham 1869, 156). The agent emphasized that such men understand “that plows and wagons are better for them than flimsy flannels and

trinkets” (Meacham 1869, 156), demonstrating (in albeit a racist manner) the Klamath’s success in dealing with the Western market economy of the times.

Meacham was replaced by Johnson N. High in September of 1871. Like Meacham, High also emphasized the Klamath’s progress towards westernization, though he found himself fascinated by their willing adaptability. In his 1871 annual report, High marvels at the Klamath’s Western capitalist enterprise:

They are a very peculiar people, exhibiting more enterprise than commonly found among natives. The completion of a saw-mill has worked a great reformation and inspired them to extraordinary exertion to amass property of various kinds. Savages in skins, paint, and feathers as they were two short years since, they have donned the white man’s costume, taken the ax, cross-cut saw...and today are lumber merchants with stock in trade constantly on hand, evincing shrewdness and business integrity that makes an agent’s heart strong to with and for them.⁹

Although High displayed his admiration for the Klamath’s business sense in the above passage, he failed to grasp the economic situation of the Klamath prior to Western contact. As previously mentioned, the Klamath were an influential tribe and skilled traders. Rather than having been introduced to a new concept, it is much more likely that the people applied their existing skillsets to new endeavours and markets that opened up for them, and used these in their interactions with the Klamath Reservation’s agent.

Like the agents before him, High additionally recognized the tribe’s reliance on traditional food sources. In his annual report the agent comments that the native foods of the Klamath area are “‘wocas’ and fish, of which they have unlimited sources”

⁹ Meacham, A B. *Annual Report of A B Meacham, superintendent of Indian Affairs, 1871*. Report. University of Washington digital archives. 299

(Meacham 1871, 299). By recognizing these as legitimate items of subsistence, High lends the Klamath credibility in the eyes of the Western world.

L S Dyar

Resulting from a period of changing leadership and growing unrest among the Modoc, tensions reached a head in 1872 with the Modoc Indian War. As acting agent at the time of the conflict, it became Dyar's responsibility to reach an agreement with the Modoc and to correct the reservation's past mistakes. As agent from 1872 to 1877, Dyar succeeded in bringing stability and order to the Klamath, and in laying the groundwork for a working compromise between westernization and traditional practices.

One of Dyar's first acts as agent at Klamath was to begin work on a school. Dyar firmly believed education was the key to Western civilization, stating that he "would most respectfully urge the cooperation of the government in the prosecution of this work of taking the children from their native haunts of degradation, and clothing, feeding, and teaching them the habits and arts of civilization" (Dyar 1873, 324). From his tone in this annual report it is evident that Dyar had less respect for the Klamath's traditional lifestyle than his predecessors. Further, he notes in his first annual report: "the Indians are so scattered, and live so far away from the station, that nothing but a boarding school can at present meet with any degree of success" (Dyar 1872, 373). Although Dyar's distaste is obvious, it is also evident that the Klamath were able at this time to at least partly continue their original subsistence strategies.

Although it appears that over Dyar's five year tenure on Klamath he did not succeed in engendering respect or much understanding of Klamath culture, he did come to understand the climate and landscape of the reservation and the productive opportunities for the Native Americans living there. Dyar was able to help shift the reservation's focus from agriculture to ranching, lumber, and milling. He led improvements of the reservation flour mill, doubling the amount of flour ground at the agency in 1876 from 50,000 to 100,000 pounds (Dyar 1876, 120). In addition, he encouraged production for distribution to neighboring Fort Klamath. Abandoning the push for a farming community, he instead focused the reservation's efforts on raising cattle (Dyar 1874).

Although he firmly expressed his distaste for traditional Klamath lifestyle, Dyar recognized its necessity to the people. In his annual report for 1876, he expresses his frustration at the Klamath's current situation:

The cold nights and frequent heavy frosts during the summer months render agriculture so exceedingly difficult and uncertain that, in the absence of large bands of cattle, these Indians are obliged, in order to avoid suffering in the winter, to spend much of their time during the summer session in hunting, fishing, and gathering roots and seeds for winter food. This necessitates their moving about from place to place, so that Christianizing and civilizing influences thus far could only be brought to bear upon them in the winter season, except through the school.¹⁰

In this passage Dyar clarifies his belief that, with the absence of provisions from the reservation, the Klamath would continue to live in their traditional manner indefinitely: even if the tribe wanted to farm, it was not a feasible way of life on the reservation. Although he was frustrated by this fact, he recognized the necessity of the

¹⁰ Dyar. L.S. *Report of Klamath Agency, 1876*. Report. University of Washington digital archives. 120.

traditional economic system to ensure the survival of the tribe. Dyar additionally displayed his insight into reservation affairs in his response to settlers' request for segments of Klamath land. The agent stated that "the settlement of whites within the reservation limits would cause endless troubles if not open war" (Dyar 1873, 324), implying his support of Klamath rights within their treaty with the US (or at least his realization that breaking a treaty will cause anger and problems among the people involved).

J H Rook

While agent Dyar had laid the groundwork for westernization at Klamath reservation, J. H. Rook would attempt to solidify these advancements. A Methodist pastor and an architect behind the first flour and sawmill in South Salem, Rook seemed a perfect choice for Klamath agent to US officials (C. Patty 2008). Though he belittled the Klamath's traditional subsistence methods upon first arriving at the reservation, Rook's two years at Klamath Reservation soon changed his views on the validity of such a diet and lifestyle.

Rook was not impressed by progress at Klamath upon his arrival in 1877. In his first annual report he remarked on the state of the school building, the flour mill, and census taking techniques, calling them unorganized and ill-kept (Rook 1877, 171). Rook was most disturbed by the habits of the Klamath however, particularly noting their mobile lifestyle and subsistence practices. Rather than sedentary upon the reservation, the agent observed the Klamath to be "scattered in the collection of their various edibles, as well as in the pursuits of the 'pleasurable chase'" (Rook 1877, 171). From this quote it

is evident that Rook believed the Klamath's "naturally unsettled character" (Rook 1877, 171) to be a negative influence upon both their advances towards Western sedentism and consequently their moral standing from the perspective of the US. While the former inference is illogical, it is true that the Klamath had succeeded in retaining much of their traditional lifestyle while on their reservation. With attendance at the newly constructed school mildly encouraged and only small rations provided by the reservation, Klamath continued to primarily subsist in their traditional manner. Rook additionally belittles the Klamath diet in his description of it. "Formerly their pursuits in this line [of subsistence] amounted to gathering berries and digging a few kinds of roots of spontaneous growth" (Rook 1877, 172). The agent went on to say that in the Klamath diet "there is none but small roots and seeds, which necessarily makes the work of gathering very tedious" (Rook 1877, 172). His dismissive tone conveyed his lack of respect for and understanding of the time, effort and knowledge exerted while completing the Klamath seasonal rounds.

Like his predecessor Applegate, Rook at first maintained that agriculture and sedentism were the keys to Western culture. "As they...learn civilization, their want of civilized food from grains and fruits is correspondingly increased, and seeds of hardy grains and fruits, or cuttings and scions, should be furnished here" (Rook 1877, 171). Rook believed that the longer the Klamath permanently resided on the reservation, the more Western customs they would adopt as their own.

Although Rook was adamant concerning the growth of crops on at Klamath, a year as agent resulted in a change of heart. The agent urged the US government to be more understanding of the slow nature of westernization at Klamath Reservation, chiding

them with his statement that “Americans are an impatient people” (Roork 1878, 114). In his annual report for the following year, Roork marveled that “so extremely jealous are the Indians of any interference with their personal liberty and that of their children that it required great effort to establish this school” (Roork 1878, 114). The agent additionally commented on the resourcefulness of the Klamath, stating that he found them to be “as industrious as the average of our own people” (Roork 1877, 172). These reports demonstrate a significant change of opinion for Roork, as well as a newfound respect for the industry of the Klamath.

Roork also gave more thought to Klamath dietary components after a year as acting agent. Whereas he had originally belittled their traditional strategies, Roork went as far as to provide a detailed account of Klamath seasonal rounds:

Early in the spring and depending somewhat as to the time upon the mildness of the weather and rains, fish in great abundance run up the little streams and are taken out by nets, spears, and even by the hands...Just as the Indians get home and put away their dried fish, the camas crop (a small bulb which grows in abundance here) is ripe, and they go out in every direction to the little valleys and camp out to gather their harvest. The women dig these roots and dry them while the men hunt. By the time this crop is harvested and put away, the *wookes* (the seed of the pond-lily) is ripe and ready for them. This is their choice crop, and many families gather from 15 to 30 bushels of it. This takes about six weeks. Then the berry crop is just ripe, and very abundant. They gather these and dry them, and use them during the winter. This brings them up to the winter when they must gather at their homes for shelter, and to subsist on what they have laid up during the summer.¹¹

Roork’s exact description of Klamath subsistence strategies fourteen years after the creation of their reservation clearly demonstrates the durability of the Klamath diet and lifestyle despite initial Western influences. Roork himself stated that “it will be seen from the above [passage] that this reservation is better adapted to the tribal relation

¹¹ Roork, J H. *Report of agent at Klamath agency, 1877*. Report. University of Washington digital Archives. 172.

than the quiet family home” (Roork 1877, 172). The agent further supported the Klamath diet by declaring it to be “both nutritious and palatable” (Roork 1878, 115).

1880s and 1890s

L. M. Nickerson’s succession of Roork in 1879 marked the entrance into a period of economic growth for the Klamath. Throughout this period the Klamath increased the production of both their lumber and flour mills, raised large numbers of cattle for breeding and consumptive purposes, and increased the number of individual land allotments (through the Dawes Allotment Act of 1887) and Western style family dwellings on the reservation. While these advances in the Klamath’s capitalist endeavors are undeniable, the tribe’s increased self-reliance in managing reservation affairs as well as the continuation of traditional dietary and subsistence strategies demonstrates a resourcefulness and ability to excel simultaneously in two cultures. The Klamath’s greater independence in tribal matters¹² additionally calls attention away from individual agents for this period, instead turning the focus to the self-determined actions taken by Klamath members.

Throughout the last two decades of the 19th century, Klamath members increasingly turned to ranching methods and Western styled dwellings in order to more effectively participate in capitalist ventures. As “the only profitable industry that can be engaged in [on Klamath Reservation] is stock raising” (Nickerson 1879, 205), the tribe began to breed cattle and horses. While 250 acres of grain (which would yield

¹² The implementation of a court run by the occupants of the reservation, as well as the beginning of a tribally run governmental system. Individual land allotments were given to residents, encouraging self-motivated cultivation.

approximately 16,000 bushels), 1,485 heads of cattle, and 3,640 horses were documented as possessed solely by the Klamath in 1886 (Emery 1886, 212), these numbers had increased significantly to 17,000 bushels of grain, 4,000 heads of cattle, and between 6,000 and 7,000 horses by 1890 (Nickerson 1879, 204).

This significant increase enabled the Klamath to industrialize their reservation, encouraging them to adopt a number of Western customs in the process. At this time the tribe was said to “all dress in citizen’s clothes, and for a living depend upon the same industries or employments of the white man, such as raising horses and cattle, freighting, working out for wages or on contracts” (Nickerson 1879, 205). It was reported by the agent in 1885 that the Klamath “now obtain their principal subsistence from the proceeds of their labor and the sales of their beef-cattle and horses” (Nickerson 1879, 204), the money from which they used to purchase “flour, sugar, coffee, &c” (Nickerson 1879, 126). Any additional wages were utilized to purchase parcels of land from which “butter, eggs, milk, and garden vegetables” (Nickerson 1885, 165) could be raised. The Klamath had effectively adapted to their new Western neighbors, and had learned to make a profit in the process.

Klamath additionally began to favor Western style log cabins over their traditional tule-mat lodges, constructing the buildings from timber cut at their saw mill. An annual report from 1885 states that “most of [the Klamath] have comfortable houses, well and neatly kept” (Nickerson 1885, 166) while the superintendent reported that they “live in houses similar to those of white people” (E L Applegate 1890, 205) in a statement from his visit to the reservation in 1880. While the Klamath were undeniably building Western style houses during this time however, it is unlikely that

such constructions indicated complete sedentism. These people had traditionally constructed winter homes to return to during the colder months; it is likely that at least a portion of them utilized their cabins in a similar fashion.

Besides the Klamath's industrial and capitalist advances, the tribe maintained an impressive connection to their traditional dietary items and subsistence strategies. In 1980, the acting agent included wokus in the "Natural Resources" section of his report, noting that "the wokus is a nutritious and delicious food" (E L Applegate 1890, 204) and remarking on the women's methods of gathering the seeds. An earlier agent agreed with these remarks, stating that "for the purpose of subsisting... no better reservation can be found than this" (Nickerson 1879, 125). He went on to zealously describe the animals, fish, and plants traditionally utilized by the Klamath. Even while nearing the turn of the century, Klamath were still reported to rely heavily on their original customs. In the 1897 annual report the reservation's agent reported that "four-fifths of the Indians [were] in the mountains hunting and gathering berries, wo-cus, and wild plums" (Emery 1897, 250-1).

Agents during this period, though anxious for the Klamath's westernization, recognized the health benefits of their traditional diet. "The out-door life which they lead during the summer strengthens and fortifies their systems against the depressing effects of the long, dreary winters, during which they are of necessity closely housed" (Nickerson 1885, 165). This quote demonstrates a Western appreciation for the health benefits of the Klamath's mobile diet and lifestyle.

Observations concerning Klamath subsistence strategies from this time is not limited to agency officials. Albert Gatschet, an ethnologist and ethnobotanist, provides

a meticulously detailed account of Klamath diet, seasonal rounds, and culture surrounding subsistence practices (XXII-XXVIII). Gatschet additionally includes the native names of significant flora and fauna, and his own personal ideas concerning the nature of the Klamath. He concedes that “we often have to admire the ingenuity and shrewdness displayed by the American native in his hunting and fishing implements and practices, the art of agriculture, without which there can be no real human culture” (XXXIX), displaying his admiration of the Klamath’s perseverance against Western culture.

Gatschet also attributes the Klamath’s health to “an active and laborious life.” He writes that the mobile nature of the Klamath, as well as their time spent in the reservation’s cold mountain air, “render their constitution hardy and healthy” (XXXIX). Due to the proven success of the traditional Klamath lifestyle, Gatschet maintains that it will be difficult to convince the tribe to accept Western culture. The author writes that both Klamath “children and adults are prone to reject or slow to adopt the blessings of civilization, because many of these are of no practical use to a hunting and fishing people” (XXIX). This statement demonstrates the author’s belief that a tribe such as the Klamath would do better to care for themselves in a traditional manner.

Gatschet’s analysis of the reservation was not restricted to the Klamath or other Native Americans residing upon it. The author also reflects upon the reservation’s past agents, and their failure to completely westernize the Klamath. In an excerpt on page LXXV from his ethnology he provides striking insight into the reservation’s state of affairs:

The reports of the United States agent repeat the same story of progress towards civilization every year; but in view of the difficulty of bringing a hunter tribe into the high road of Christian culture and industrial progress we can not attach much credence to such reports so long as they are couched in generalities and do not contain special facts attesting mental improvement by schooling.

Although past agents may have reported that the Klamath were making significant progress towards a Western lifestyle and culture, the author understands that these reports were likely over exaggerated for the benefit of their superiors. It is evident from ethnographic accounts such as the one reported by Gatschet that the Klamath continued their traditional subsistence strategies into the twentieth century, despite adopting some Western customs.

Conclusions

The Paiute and Klamath were both a calculated people who lived their lives strictly according to the seasons and the relative development of the plants and animals around them. While both occupied the High Desert region of Oregon, the tribes each placed greater emphasis on different food staples within their respective cultures. The Northern Paiute relied heavily on camas as a main food source, traversing a wide range of land to provide themselves with sufficient subsistence. The Klamath placed a greater emphasis on salmon and wokus, primarily conducting their seasonal rounds along the Klamath River and surrounding bodies of water. This led to differing levels of power and societal influences pre-contact with Western powers; Klamath often conducted raids for slaves, even taking Northern Paiute as captives in some cases (Winthrop Associates Cultural Research).

The two tribes reacted very differently to Western contact. The Northern Paiute resisted all Western advances, holding out against United States' soldiers in the Snake War for over thirty years. Given their past resistance the US consequently granted the tribe less freedoms on their reservation, and were quick to relocate the Northern Paiute to a new location at the first sign of the rejection of Western ideas. This cost the tribe their original lands in which they conducted their seasonal rounds, as well as any privileges to subsist in their traditional manner while living at Malheur or Yakama. The Northern Paiute were consequently forced to rely primarily on their reservations for subsistence, resulting in an early Western diet and sedentary lifestyle. The related health effects can be seen from agency health records.

Unlike the Northern Paiute, the Klamath accepted a treaty with the US and were able to secure valuable lands in the process. Whether as a result of their previous experience as traders, the smaller range in which they conducted their seasonal rounds, their partial sedentism, the reservation's climate and location, their willingness to comply with Western demands, or the speed at which they accepted capitalist principles, the Klamath were on better terms with their various agents throughout the 1800s than were the Northern Paiute. As a result the Klamath were permitted to practice their seasonal rounds and therefore subsist in a traditional manner into the twentieth century. The tribe also resided upon the same reservation throughout this entire period, allowing them to maintain a relationship with their traditional territories and choice items of subsistence.

A modern context

Throughout the twentieth century the United States experienced major industrial changes that affected both the Klamath and Northern Paiute. Nearly a century after the Paiute's return to their homeland, everyday life appears to have drastically shifted. Warm Springs reservation members regularly shop at US stores, buy and consume Western goods and generally live a sedentary life. This adoption of Euro-American habits and lifestyle choices has not only resulted in a shift away from the maintenance of traditions but has caused an epidemic of Western diseases among the Warm Springs population. Despite their initial success both within the Western world and in the preservation of their culture, the systematic building of environmentally and culturally damaging dams and the termination of federal recognition of the Klamath tribe in 1954 led to a loss of essential hunting, gathering, and fishing lands and a greater reliance on Western lifestyle and food sources. Today the Klamath primarily reside in the towns surrounding their reservation, mostly within Klamath County. Due to forced restrictions on their diet and lifestyle, both tribes have also experienced major economic and health implications

Despite these adverse effects of Western culture, both tribes have found new strength in activism, grassroots movements, and a dogged continuation of traditional subsistence knowledge. Continued activism has ensured the tribes rights to hunting and gathering grounds, as well as water flow in streams for salmon and other fish. Movements started by individuals within both reservations aim at educating adults concerning healthy dietary and lifestyle habits, as well as ensuring that children continue cultural traditions and practices. Such persistence ensures the continuation of

traditional subsistence strategies and healthier lifestyle choices, despite the dominance of Western culture surrounding these tribes.

Western Impact: Northern Paiute

Since the 1970s Warm Springs has experienced a commercial boom that was additionally felt by the rest of Central Oregon. Military trade stores and small outposts were replaced by supermarkets and department stores. *Spilyay Tymoo*—a local Warm Springs newspaper run by and for members of the reservation—reported the proposal of three new stores between 1976 and 1977 alone. This marked increase has undoubtedly influenced the Paiute’s diet in recent years.

In addition to a shift towards an acceptance of American goods, a huge emphasis on cattle may be observed within the Warm Springs reservation. Traditionally, a main component of the Paiute diet was the camas bulb. With the introduction of beef and flour as rations at reservations,¹³ however, Paiute diet and culture soon became focused on cows. *Spilyay Tymoo* newspaper provides an excellent example of this; nearly every volume contains some reference to a rodeo, the problem of escaping cattle or useful tips on how to store ground beef. Rodeos additionally appear to partially replace traditional fish and root festivals as an excuse for socializing and exchanging gossip and gifts with other tribes. Cows are bought and sold, steers are ridden to prove valor, and rodeo queens enjoy recognition and Native Americans of the surrounding area visit Warm Springs for these events (*Spilyay Tymoo* 1976-77). These rodeos are obviously important annual occurrences at the reservation.

¹³ See previous sections on Malheur and Yakima.

As the Euro-American lifestyle became saturated into every aspect of Paiute life, some began to doubt their old ways. As Wilson Wewa¹⁴ put it in a field research discussion on the Northern Paiute, “it’s hard to be in a non-native culture and hold onto your identity.” “Young people are straying away from their culture” (Field research trip discussion 2014), he maintained, because of the Western ideology that claims new is always better. The Paiutes value their elders’ knowledge and respect traditions; Americans believe progress is a result of change. Myra Johnson Orange¹⁵ provided different reasons for this turning away from traditional customs, though she drew similar conclusions to Wewa’s. As she grew up on the reservation, she says that she began to get the sense that “Paiute was not a good thing” (Field research trip discussion 2014). Similar to their time spent on the Yakama reservation, the Paiutes endured prejudiced mindsets at the Warm Springs reservation from other Native American residents. Facing discrimination inside and outside the reservation made tribal members doubt their people’s traditional practices and even their self-identification.

In addition to the new availability of Western stores, most Warm Springs residents could only afford to purchase the cheapest food available. Shayleen Macy¹⁶ can relate to this problem first hand; in a phone interview she discussed her family’s dietary choices while growing up at Warm Springs. Macy attests that she ate many canned, packaged and processed foods as a child, as these were the most economic

14 Wilson Wewa is a distinguished elder of both the Paiute tribe and the Warm Springs reservation. His advocacy work in his tribe’s name and his familial ties to the Paiute chief Wewa are both admired and recognized by individuals inside and outside the reservation.

15 Myra Johnson Orange is a recognized Paiute elder from Burns, Oregon. Directly related to the medicine man Oytes, Johnson identifies strongly with her traditional roots.

16 Shayleen Macy is a full-blood Paiute currently living on Warm Springs reservation. Upon her graduation from the U of O, she began the incredible task of educating Warm Springs school children on Paiute and other relevant tribes’ traditions.

items at their local grocery store. In an attempt to choose a healthier lifestyle, Macy recently visited a Safeway located in Madras, Oregon. Aside from the fact that the nearest Safeway is approximately an hour's drive away from the reservation, Macy found the prices at the grocery store to be grossly inflated. Comparing the stores prices to those she had experienced while attending the University of Oregon, Macy declared that the price for fruits and vegetables at her "local" Safeway were equivalent to those she encountered at the Market of Choice in Eugene (Dougill 2014). As Market of Choice is known for its higher prices in comparison to more economic (if less organic and healthy) grocery stores, this example displays the difficulty Warm Springs residents face when attempting to improve their dietary habits. A recurring column in *Spilyay Tymoo* also attests to the idea that cheapness is more important than quality. Located under the extension notes at the end of an issue, the column is entitled *How smart food shopping can pay off for you*. The column details a list of "smart" items to buy at the store, including multiple canned goods, cake mix, ground beef, American pre-sliced cheese, white bread, flour and sugar (*Spilyay Tymoo* 1976). This mindset, though economical, would prove to have drastic health consequences for the Paiute population at Warm Springs.

These lifestyle habits, regardless of the reasoning behind them, have caused an alarming number of reservation members to develop western diseases. In 2011, the Annual Indian Health Services report testified that cardiovascular diseases affect 66% of the adult Warm Springs community, while 75% of reservation members are reportedly affected by obesity (*2011 Annual Report* 2011, 41). Jefferson County is additionally the fifth most overweight county in Oregon (Health statistics for Oregon by

County 2006-2009). These troubling statistics, though not directly attributed to a western diet in the reports, definitely indicate a negative trend in eating habits and lifestyle choices.¹⁷ Perhaps more worrying is the fact that the Warm Springs community spent only 7% of their 2011 budget on community health (*The Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs Oregon and Indian Health Services 2011*, 32). The high percentages of Warm Springs members affected by health related issues versus the allocation of funds is a disparity that the reservation will need to address before its residents can be expected to positively progress.

Western Impact: Klamath

For the first half of the twentieth century, the Klamath enjoyed major economic growth. Timber operations supplied tribal members with substantial income, encouraging more individuals to pursue a Western lifestyle and means of income. Such successful business ventures attracted Americans to work on the reservation exposing the Klamath to an unprecedented standard of Western living:

From 1913, tribal members began to enjoy dividends from the cutting of tribal timber, in the form of semi-annual per capita payments. They also saw the mushroom growth of mill towns upon the face of the reservation, where sizeable bodies of whites, far exceeding the total tribal membership, lived under state jurisdiction and offered a scale of living previously beyond ken and reach of tribal members, but now close and seemingly attainable.¹⁸

17 Though the author did not encounter any specific statistics on Paiute health on Warm Springs reservation, it may be assumed that these statistic reflect the Paiute population as well as the other tribes represented at the reservation. The fact that many of the other tribes present at Warm Springs maintained a mobile lifestyle similar to that of the Paiutes previous to US contact further supports the accuracy of the data. Further research into the specific situation of the Northern Paiute is needed however.

18 Stern, Theodore. "Livelihood and Tribal Government on the Klamath Indian Reservation:" 1961, 173.

With a higher Western standard of living tantalizingly within their reach, many Klamath opted for a Western lifestyle over their tradition strategies. “Over 42 years of logging, the Klamath Tribes grossed a return of \$32.8 million...shared with each tribal member” (Chiu 2) representing the single source of income for many Klamath tribal members. The Klamath timber industry was so successful during this time that *The Four L Lumber News* featured multiple articles concerning their sawmill throughout the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s.¹⁹ Together with the profit and dietary resources gained from ranching techniques, Klamath Reservation was considered “the second wealthiest tribe in the nation” (Chiu 2) before their 1954 termination. This increased revenue for the reservation resulted in increased tribal self-governance as well as a support network for residents,²⁰ though consequently more Klamath left more of their traditional ways of life and subsistence strategies.

In 1954, Public Law 587 terminated the Klamath Reservation (without tribal consent) and ended the Klamath’s tribal recognition in the eyes of the US government. Although this move was meant to encourage Klamath independence, it instead had drastically negative consequences for Klamath Reservation tribal members. As they were provided with minimal monetary compensation for their lands Klamath poverty levels skyrocketed, while health and general education plummeted to well below national averages (US Department of the Interior 2012, 15-40). The loss of traditional lands further restricted Klamath access to their seasonal rounds, increasing their separation from original subsistence strategies. Although the tribe was able to

19 “Klamath Stakes All on 8 Hours,” “Union Allows Men to Return to Mills at Klamath Falls,” “State Board for Eight Hour Day in Klamath Report.” *The Four L Lumber News: 1920.*

20 “Tribes provided jobs, per-capita payments from timber sales, medical services, land for homes, and revolving loans.” Chiu, 2.

maintain fishing, hunting, and gathering rights under their 1864 treaty, even these claims were challenged multiple times (Kimball v. Callahan: 1974). These land rights issues were not resolved until 1974, twenty years after Law 587 was implemented. Although Congress reestablished Klamath Reservation and the tribe's federal status in 1986, thirty years of termination had lasting negative implications for tribal members.

Testimony from a tribal member who experienced the termination of Klamath further exemplifies the negative consequences of these actions for the tribe. Gordon Bettles²¹ was four years old when his tribe lost their official status, and 36 by the time their title was re-implemented. According to Bettles, termination forced him and his family to “live a modern way,” trying to “do what everyone else does” to fit in to the Western world (Dougill 2016). Whether knowingly separating themselves from their traditional practices in an attempt to succeed within Western society, or being pressured to accept Western cultural norms, Bettles maintains that the “values forcing [the Klamath] to fit in were the same slowly separating [them] from traditional ways” (Dougill 2016).

The restriction of traditional Klamath waterways has additionally affected Klamath health and traditional subsistence strategies. Since 1906,²² a series of dams and diversion canals meant for agricultural purposes have limited water flow to Klamath Lake and the bodies of water surrounding it. As a result salmon, Chinook

21 Gordon Bettles is an ethnobotanist, steward for the Many Nations Longhouse at the University of Oregon, and tribal member of the Klamath. He additionally serves as Director of Native American Initiatives, and has contributed to booklets published by the US Forest Service and local Klamath authorities.

22 Construction began on the main “A” canal of Klamath Dam in 1906.

salmon, steelhead, and pacific lamprey have been unable to migrate into their original breeding habitat (US Department of the Interior 2012, 44), leading to Klamath fishing restrictions. Restricted water flow additionally affected water quality, promoting toxic algal growth that poisoned fish and humans alike (Fisher 2013, 4).

As “fishing and gathering wokus was the most important thing” (US Department of the Interior 2012, 16) for the Klamath, a salmon restriction affected all aspects of tribal culture. Between one-half and one-sixth of the traditional Klamath diet consisted of salmonid fish (US Department of the Interior 2012, 12), providing an invaluable source of protein, vitamins, and minerals that would last the tribe year round. Salmon was additionally utilized as a source of income for the Klamath, who traded smoked or dried fish with settlers and other Native Americans. Such trade ventures promoted tribal interactions, promoting marriages, resolving past conflicts, and resulting in a sharing of goods, cultures, and traditions (US Department of the Interior 2012, 9-10). Cultural values also focused around the fish, shaping tribal treatment of children and the elderly (US Department of the Interior 2012, 10). It follows that the construction of dams that restricted the Klamath’s access to salmon “killed a way of life” (Duer 2004, 30).

Initially following the depletion of salmon as a major food source, Klamath turned to other traditional sources to substitute this loss. “For a time, this fostered the increased use of deer and mullet...[which] resulted in overexploitation of these resources” (Duer 2004, 234). Ultimately this loss “was the instigating event for a dietary transition that led to the ultimate dependence of the Klamath Tribes on the purchase of processed foods and the use of supplementary commodity foods” (Duer

2004, 234). One tribal member describes the dams' effects on tribal diet in the following manner:

A healthy riverine system has a profound effect on the people on the river. I have six children. If every one of those kids went down and fished and caught a good healthy limit . . . you could pretty much fill a freezer and have nice good fish all the way through the year. But now, without a healthy riverine system, the economy down here on the lower river is pretty much devastated. All the fishing community is devastated by the unhealthy riverine system.²³

Such profound cultural and dietary losses have had a significant impact on Klamath health. Klamath County is ranked as the worst county in the state of Oregon for quality of life, the second worst for health outcomes, and the third worst for health factors in a 2016 survey. The county additionally ranks above the state average for percentages of obese adults, physical inactivity, children in poverty, and individuals reporting poor or fair health (County Health Rankings 2016). Diet related diabetes is four times as common for Klamath tribal members than for the rest of the US population, and heart disease is almost four times as common for Klamath tribal members (Norgaard 2005, 40). Duer attributes the Klamath's prevalence of "diabetes, hypertension, obesity, and related cardiovascular ailments" (Duer 2004, 34-35) to the fact that the tribe has come to rely on Western goods as their primary source of nutrients. As previously mentioned, a diet such as that promoted in Western culture encourages the intake of saturated fats, sugars, and processed foods, heightening the consumer's chances of contracting a Western disease.

In addition to the restriction of traditional resources, poverty levels and access to healthy foods have affected Klamath health in recent years. Poverty rates in Klamath

23 Norgaard, Kari Marie, and Alison Hope Alkon. "Breaking the Food Chains: An Investigation of Food Justice Activism:" 2009.

County were as high as 21.9% in 2014 (United States Census 2014), approximately twice that of the national average at the time. With such high poverty levels, it is more likely that tribal members would purchase cheaper (and less healthy) products that are more safely in their price range. Additionally a retail assessment of Klamath County conducted by Klamath County Public Health in 2014 concluded that chips, cake, donuts, cookies, chocolate, and candy were available for sale at 97%-98% of produce stores in Klamath County, while only 42%-57% sold fresh fruits and vegetables. Of the 57 stores surveyed in Klamath, only three of them advertised healthy food options (Klamath County Public Health 2014, 17-19). If the poverty rates and limited healthy options are taken into account when considering the diet of the Klamath residing within Klamath County, then a clear link may be established between these factors and the prevalence of Western diseases within this population.

Traditional Presence and Activism: Northern Paiute

Despite the adoption of certain Western lifestyle choices and the often negative consequences, evidence suggests that the Paiute still manage to maintain aspects of their traditional diet and lifestyle. Though dam constructions restricted fishing opportunities for Paiutes and other Native American tribes, a 1994 survey of fish consumption of the Nez Perce, Warm Springs, Yakama and Umatilla concludes that these tribes consume “nine times the estimated national fish consumption rate” (Columbia River Inter-Tribal Fish Commission 1994). This fact demonstrates the Paiutes continued maintenance of this aspect of their traditional diet, despite Western influences. In addition, Paiute elders testify that they still gather traditional roots and berries, hunt and catch fish at

Burns and Warm Springs. “My grandmother used to gather juniper and others...tie the choke cherries and the wild plum” (Field research trip discussion 2014) Johnson remembers, establishing her connection to her tribe’s traditions. Ruth Lewis²⁴ adds her own experience, describing the *kida* (groundhog), deer, rabbit, squirrel and fish she would typically eat as a child. She learned how to dig, she explains, “with her aunts and cousins” (Field research trip discussion 2014). *Spilyay Tymoo* additionally reveals the maintenance of a traditional Paiute diet. In an October issue (just after the commencement of hunting season) the newspaper ran “Fewer Hunters, More Deer: the Joy of Hunting” which addressed the prevalence of tagging violations on the reservation and the continuation of hunting traditions. Despite a decrease in the number of tribal hunters since officials had hardened the consequences for hunting without a permit, other reservation members continued to hunt the same animals they had for hundreds of years (*Spilyay Tymoo* 1976).

Although all the elders present at the field research trip discussion agreed these traditions were no longer as common as they used to be, they maintained that the customs are retained through oral history, traditional ceremonies and even written methods. In his book *When the River Ran Wild*, George Aguilar provides an extensive list of flora and fauna, their traditional names, uses and techniques for preparation (Aguilar 2005). A booklet of Central Oregon flora was additionally created collaboratively by Warm Springs elders, including the traditional names from the tribes represented on the reservation (Culture & Heritage Department, *A Sample of Culturally Significant Plants on the Warm Springs Reservation*).

24 Ruth Lewis is a Paiute elder living in Burns. She is considered one of the eldest members of her tribe, and has extensive knowledge concerning her tribe’s culture and traditions.

While written documentation may help to document and categorize Paiute diet and lifestyle for future generations, a physical maintenance of traditions is equally effective for the persistence of customs. It appears that the majority of Paiute dietary customs today are physically maintained through the tribe's original dances and ceremonies. Aguilar writes that "today, some of the foods we once used are only seen in the ceremonies," listing the first kill ceremony, roots, salmon and huckleberry feasts and weddings as events at which traditional foods are common (Aguilar 2005, 60). Lewis and Johnson support this belief, saying in the field research trip discussion that they enjoy their tribe's foods and customs at most traditional reservation events (Field research trip discussion 2014).

Interestingly *Spilyay Tymoo* provides evidence for not only the maintenance of certain aspects of the Paiute diet in ceremonies but also the preservation of their traditional seasonal rounds.²⁵ Front page headlines for this newspaper logically report major events within the reservation. These headlines primarily include information on traditional festivals and ceremonies, which in turn occur only at specific times during the year. The roots festival, for example, always takes place between the end of March and the beginning of April, as this is usually the time of year when roots are mature enough to be harvested. When other documented major Warm Springs events are analyzed, it is apparent that they fit the Paiute's original times for hunting and gathering. *Spilyay Tymoo* reports a large salmon bake in a July issue, a huckleberry feast in August, and a first kill celebration for young men with the opening of hunting season in October (*Spilyay Tymoo* 1976, Vol 1, No. 10, 12, 16). Although the Paiute are

²⁵ Though only volumes 1 and 2 were analyzed extensively, it appears that these volumes set a trend for all later issues published.

no longer mobile hunter gatherers, they manage to maintain their seasonal rounds through community events (whether consciously or subconsciously). The fact that each of these festivals is usually accompanied by a rodeo demonstrates Warm Springs members' ability to maintain traditions within a modern context.

Although Warm Springs may produce alarming health statistics, recent community efforts seek to raise awareness on western diseases and how to live a healthier life. According to Macy, the problem is a lack of education. In a phone interview, she says that she didn't know there was a healthier way of living until she stepped away from her community and attended the U of O. "A lot of people out here never had access to nutrition or training" Macy stated, and "we need to understand our rights" as members of a modern community. Currently back at Warm Springs, she plans to share her knowledge however she can. Macy also spoke of an increased effort from families on the reservation to ensure that their children were able to stay healthy. "[We] can't just depend on Safeway or the public school system to provide adequate nutrition" (Dougill 2014) Macy maintains, reflecting what she says is quickly becoming a common mindset within the reservation. In addition to child health, the reservation community is focusing its efforts on general awareness of healthy habits and the construction of community gardens. In the newsletter *High Desert Gardening* the editor details tips on what plants grow best in Central Oregon, how to grow a healthy garden and where to buy seeds. A few native plants are even included in the list (Detweiler *April/May 2010*). Furthermore, Macy affirms that there has been a recent effort within the Warm Springs community to create community gardens and encourage exercise.

Throughout all of Warm Springs and Burns residents' testimonies appears a common trend: a fear of the loss of traditions and lifestyle for future generations. Consequently, each resident appears to have taken it upon themselves to pass on their traditions however they can. Macy expressed her hope for the future, saying that the children she teaches show a fascination with and acceptance of their traditions. "They know their heritage; they know they're Native American" Macy said proudly (Dougill 2014). In 2012, the Warm Springs' government released "The People's Plan" for the year 2020. This plan outlines the reservation's values, community goals and vision of the future. Health appears an important component of this plan; one of the stated Paiute community values is "Numu pesa namatukuna," or healthy families. Additionally, two of the five Paiute community goals include information concerning Paiute diet and health (The Confederated Tribes of the Warm Springs Reservation of Oregon 2012).

Traditional Persistence and Activism: Klamath

Although various legislative actions have sought to control and restrict Klamath access to traditional subsistence strategies and lifestyle practices, the tribe has managed to maintain a significant measure of cultural knowledge. In 1981, Lane and Lane produced a document which included interviews with 50 Klamath tribal members concerning aquatic subsistence in the upper Klamath Basin. Every individual interviewed provides unique knowledge of what fish are traditionally caught, at what time of the year, and to what quantity. As one of the individuals interviewed, Victor Nelson provided the authors with his experience of fishing on the Sprague River,

estimating that “twenty men on average would fish daily through the summer months...approximately 3,000 pounds of salmon fish were taken out at the Baking Powder Grade each day for 90 days” (Lane & Lane Associates 1981, 58). Following these calculations, 270,000 pounds of salmon undoubtedly provided significant dietary subsistence to a majority of Klamath tribal members. Such accounts solidify the idea that traditional subsistence strategies were still practiced recently despite restrictions of water flow and habitat.

Gordon Bettles provides additional evidence of the continuation and adaptation of tribal traditions. In an interview with the author Bettles provided an extensive account of the Klamath seasonal rounds, including native names for each item described in his commentary. Bettles described how fishing of suckers and salmon was followed closely by the gathering of roots (such as *baa* and *bouchu*, or wild carrots and celery) and berries, and the collection of woka seeds. According to Bettles, the seasonal rounds of Klamath and Northern Paiute intersected during late spring, when both tribes were invested in the collection of roots and berries. His extensive knowledge is apparent in even such a broad interview, proving to be an invaluable source of knowledge for future and current tribal members alike.

Despite the difficulties faced by the tribe during their period of termination, elder members helped to consistently preserve knowledge through oral traditions and word of mouth. Bettles maintains that elders “were willing to show you where the plants were and how to gather them...how to prepare them for food” (Dougill 2016). When not directly instructing younger members in cultural knowledge, elders managed to share traditional information in everyday settings. Bettles remembers his

'aunts' telling him which seeds to snack on as he played in the Klamath Basin as a child, as well as the difference between "death camas" and edible camas (Dougill 2016).

Despite the undoubtable hardships the Klamath tribe has endured as a result of Western restrictions and regulations, Bettles maintains optimistic about the future of his tribe's subsistence traditions. As the former Director of Cultural Heritage for the Klamath, Bettles was responsible for ensuring the continuation of his tribe's culture and customs. He continues to promote these today through cultural classes that "show young people when and where to gather, and how to process [these items]" (Dougill 2016), and has contributed to written works that promote knowledge of edible plants within traditional Klamath territories (Klamath Tribes in cooperation with the US Forest Service and Chiloquin High School 1993; Emanuel 1994).

The Klamath also attempt to keep their traditional customs alive on a local level within Klamath County. A grassroots group of volunteers self-entitled the "Klamath Riverkeepers" work at "restoring the ecosystem 'goods and services' that fill pantries and keep people who work and play on the river healthy and safe" (Fisher 2013, 5), ensuring the promotion and safety of traditional subsistence strategies. Although the tribe values restoration of original customs and practices, they appear to recognize the necessity of adaptation and compromise. The *Klamath River News* reported in its 2014 issue that Klamath tribal members and Klamath County residents met at the Klamath Basin Potato Festival "in a gesture of mutual respect" (Fisher 2013, 3). Klamath members prepared salmon "on redwood sticks next to a madrone fire...on the sidelines of a football game," (Fisher 2013, 3) demonstrating the melding to these two

cultures. To further exhibit this unique blending, locals dubbed the festival the “Fish & Chips” event, “symboliz[ing] the progress that has been made between agricultural water users and tribal members who have depended on fisheries for thousands of years” (Fisher 2013, 3).

Bettles believes that adopting certain aspects of Western culture may in fact promote traditional cultural practices. He explains how he uses a food processor to prepare woka seeds in place of a traditional stone grinder, and metal pots as opposed to baskets and hot stones (Dougill 2016). Bettles additionally drives to key fishing and gathering locations, opting out of the much more laborious process of travelling on foot. In general, Bettles maintains that such components of Western society will enable the continuation of his people’s traditional practices. “I took the best of both cultures,” he explains. “Now the task is to recover as much [traditional knowledge] as we can” (Dougill 2016).

Rather than depend on the US government for help, the Klamath and other affiliated tribes have taken it upon themselves to restore habitat to traditional food sources and ensure the continuation of their dietary traditions. After years of activism and petitions to the government, their persistence has resulted in an agreement to remove four dams from the Klamath River by 2020. This is considered to be one of the largest river restoration efforts in the nation (Kershaw 2016), and will provide the Klamath with invaluable access to healthy and abundant traditional resources.

In a similar vein the Klamath have turned inward for the provision of care and support for tribal health issues. Klamath Reservation is home to a Diabetes Management Clinic, and provides diabetes management and prevention programs for tribal members. These

programs promote healthy lifestyle choices by providing classes that encourage participants to be physically active and learn healthy eating habits. Such activities include “Indian dancing and snowboarding” (Klamath Tribes "Diabetes Prevention Program."). Management programs seek to provide individuals with diabetes with significant medical care and advice from other tribal members. With these programs, Klamath tribal members seek to gain control of their lives despite the threat of Western diseases.

Conclusions

The Northern Paiute and Klamath have both suffered cultural isolation from their traditional practices and forced adoption of a Western diet and lifestyle. Territorial losses, restrictive legislative actions, dams, and a Western discouragement of cultural practices have resulted in the near annihilation of dietary knowledge in both tribes. As a Western diet was adopted, The Klamath and Northern Paiute experienced an epidemic of Western diseases such as diabetes, heart disease, and obesity. The relative lack and inflated pricing of healthy dietary options in both counties has further discouraged tribal members from choosing a more nutritious lifestyle.

Despite Western attempts of acculturation and the resulting cultural setbacks, the Northern Paiute and Klamath have managed to maintain key aspects of their original diet and lifestyle within oral and written tradition, ceremonies and festivals. Although many tribal members suffer from “Western diseases,” recent community actions and health committees serve to raise awareness and combat unhealthy lifestyle choices,

preparing tribal communities for a continuation and adaptation of dietary traditions into the future.

Both tribes sought out life in a harsh landscape that required extensive knowledge, dedication, and flexibility in order to survive; today their life is no different. Constantly striving against a system that threatens to eradicate traditional knowledge, these tribes have firmly established a base for themselves, adapting cultural practices when necessary. In their interview the author remarked to Bettles that he had “planted a seed” in the minds of young tribal members with his lessons on cultural knowledge. Bettles smiled, replying “I just helped [our people] find it again” (Dougill 2016). The tribes are not reclaiming their culture with their activism and educational efforts; they are maintaining it and ensuring its persistence.

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