Muckleshoot Foods and Culture: Pre-20th Century Stkamish, Skopamish, Smulkamish, and Allied Longhouses

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"Food is a blessing, gratefully and respectfully gathered and prepared, given and received with just as much gratification and respect."
– Coast Salish core value of food [1]

ABSTRACT

Food serves as a lens into the culture of a people. Traditional food systems reveal aspects about past, present, and future social, biocultural, and economic relations of a community. The peoples of *Stkamish*, *Skopamish* and *Smulkamish* longhouses whose descendants now make up the Muckleshoot Indian Nation have, for millennia, depended on a wide variety of food sources through reciprocal relationships between plants, animals, people, the land, and the cosmos. By honoring the cyclical nature of ecological systems and seasonal abundance, the Stkamish, Skopamish and Smulkamish developed food ways that were nourishing to humans and respectful of the environmental niche they inhabited.

While researchers often place marine/mammal resources at the center of the Pacific Northwest indigenous peoples' diet and culture, less attention has been paid to the role that plants and wild game played. This historical food assessment, therefore, seeks to provide a more nuanced food narrative that describes the diversity that characterized the Stkamish, Skopamish and Smulkamish diet.

Keywords: Muckleshoot, Lushootseed, indigenous foodways, archeobotany, ethnobotany

Overview of Muckleshoot Indian Nation

The Muckleshoot (I use Stkamish, Skopamish, Smulkamish, and Muckleshoot interchangeably throughout) are a part of the Southern Coastal Salish Lushootseed [2] peoples whose traditional territory stretched along the Green and White Rivers and into the Cascade Mountain foothills of Washington State. According to Coll Thrush (n.d.), Professor of Indigenous history at the University of British Columbia, Lushootseed is comprised of two words, one meaning "salt water" and the other meaning "language," and refers to the common language, made up of many local dialects, that was spoken throughout the region. As descendants of the Lushootseed, the people who settled along the White River were from the Stkamish, Yilalkoamish, Skopamish, Smulkamish and Tkwakwamish bands (collectively referred to as the Duwamish and Puyallup). They eventually took on the name Muckleshoot, originally pronounced

1 From: http://www.burkemuseum.org/blog/salish-bounty-traditional-native-foods-puget-sound

2 Lushootseed consists of northern and southern dialects. The Muckleshoot speak a sub-dialect of southern Lushootseed called Whulshootseed and Chinook Jargon (Matthes, 2016).

Buklshuhls, which means "from a high point from which you can see" (Davis,1996).

The present-day Muckleshoot Indian Reservation is located southeast of Seattle on a plateau known as the Muckleshoot Prairie. The six square-mile Muckleshoot Reservation, which is laid out diagonally, has 20 miles of boundaries. According to the Muckleshoot Tribal Police Department, the tribe's geographical boundaries lie in three jurisdictions: Pierce County, the City of Auburn, and unincorporated King County (2015). Muckleshoot approximate population is 3,500, making them one of the largest modern Indian tribes in the State of Washington.

The Muckleshoot relied upon complex and far-reaching seasonal food-sourcing rounds that included animals and plants. During winter months they lived in villages along the region's waterways, relying on caches of food and local resources. In the summer, they joined families from other winter villages at summer camps where they shared in fishing, clamming, hunting, and gathering (Matthes, 2016). Thrush (n.d., para. 13) describes this annual cycle:

> *In January, they gathered along riverbanks for the first runs of spring salmon, and took large rakes to the shore to comb herring out of the surf. Early spring saw men carving new canoes for the summer. By May, salmonberry sprouts and other greens complemented last season's dried salmon eggs. Men began hunting deer and elk, while women gathered camas and clams from prairies and beaches owned by important families. In early summer, steelhead appeared in the rivers and berries appeared in the forests, while tiger lilies and wild carrots provided roots from beds passed on from mother to daughter. As summer progressed, runs of dog, silver, and king salmon crowded into the rivers to be caught by the thousands, while tart huckleberries ripened on upland slopes. Fall was the time for snaring ducks in aerial nets stretched between tall poles, for hunting deer and elk, and for catching smelt on Puget Sound. By November, most of the gathering was complete, and if it had been a good year, the people would have enough food to last through the winter.*

The network of kinship was fluid and spanned watersheds from the Salish Sea to the Cascade Mountains. Longhouses were linked together by ties of marriage, joint feasting, ceremonies, and trade (Matthes, 2016). These connections provided the Muckleshoot extended access to resources far outside of the ecological region they traditionally inhabited—far to the north into what is now Canada, to the south into what is now California and into the regions well to the east over the Cascade Mountains.

Muckleshoot Origin Stories

Similar to other Lushootseed origin stories, Muckleshoot stories place the creation of their world far in the past, "when the world was in flux." Their story centers on a figure called the Transformer or Changer, whose actions gave sense to the Lushootseed world. Their stories emphasize resiliency, return, and perseverance, and form the heart of *Huchoosedah,* a term meaning cultural knowledge and knowledge of self, which is an integral part of the Lushootseed spiritual tradition (Thrush, n.d.).

The Southern Lushootseed Epic, *Fly* (See Appendix) offers wisdom on themes of gratitude for the plants within the region and explains that taking the easiest path is not always the most helpful in the long run (Matthes, 2016). This teaching demonstrates the struggle many contemporary indigenous peoples face

when it comes to restoring food ways that once nourished and connected them.

For Lushootseed people, the world is full of innumerable spirits. Even objects and places that seem inanimate, like rocks or the weather, are considered living beings. Each spirit is aligned with a certain facet of life. Career spirit such as the Clam or Duck, for example, help with everyday work, while others support the making of baskets or assist in gambling. Curing spirits like Otter and Kingfisher relate to those destined to become doctors (Thrush, n.d.).

Spirit powers were integral to ceremonies held in winter months, a time when *Huchoosedah* was kept alive through storytelling, feasting, and gift giving. In the longhouses, people performed the Winter Dance, releasing their spirit powers through movement and songs. The Spirit Canoe ceremony, in which doctors from several communities came together to perform a journey to the Land of the Dead to retrieve the souls of ill people, was the most important ritual of all (Thrush, n.d.).

Significance of Longhouse Locations in Relation to Food Access

The Muckleshoot have occupied the Enumclaw plateau since before the Osceola mudflow[3] roughly 5,600 years ago. According to archaeo-botanist, Joyce LeCompte (2014), investigations in the 1970's found nineteen sites on the plateau. The largest and longest occupied of these tended to be located in or near open prairies that were deliberately burned on a regular basis.

In his testimony to the Indian Court of Claims in 1927, Joe Nimrod, a Muckleshoot tribal member noted that the Enumclaw plateau was a cultivated place: "All of the land between the two rivers was good for farming– that is the reason the white people drove the Indians out." In addition, the ICC testimony of Joe Bill, also Muckleshoot, suggests that prescribed burning was a social institution. People "had a ruling, regarding the burning of underbrush, and that it was customary to do so about every 3 years, in the fall of the year to keep 'big timber' from burning" (LeCompte, 2014).

Muckleshoot communities consisted of longhouses made of cedar planks that housed forty or more mostly related people, and often much larger dwelling were constructed. Located near a river supporting transportation by canoes, some longhouses were located right next to each other, while others were more dispersed for miles along a river (Dailey, n.d.). As the center of the Muckleshoot community, longhouses provided far more than shelter—they symbolized people's bodies, their prized canoes, and their world as a whole. They reflected relationships among people and ranking in society (Dailey, n.d.).

Linked by trade and marriage with other communities, Muckleshoot communities were far from isolated. Though conflict sometimes occurred, close connections ensured the sharing of resources between neighboring communities. *Sgwigwi* ("inviting") was an important tradition in maintaining connections and corresponds to the more familiar term "potlatch," in which wealthy people displayed their social status by sharing their wealth with others (Dailey, n.d.).

Muckleshoot identity stemmed from these permanent communities where they lived during winter months. During the rest of the year, however, groups would often merge and migrate to resource-rich areas. In the summer

3 The mudflow inundated the plateau and portions of the Green River valley with more than one-half a cubic mile of mud that flowed down from Mt. Rainier (also known as "Talol" or "Tahoma").

people gathered on the riverbanks to catch, clean, smoke, and dry salmon. Later in the year, extended families reunited in longhouses and villages for the winter season of ceremonies, storytelling and crafting (Dailey, n.d.).

These extended social networks provided access to a wider range of high quality, quantity, and valued foods, as well as a social safety net against challenges such as seasonal shortages or intra-communal conflict (LeCompte, 2014).

Archaeo-Botanical Record of Muckleshoot Traditional Foods

In Historical Ecologies of *sw!tíx*^{w}*t!d* in the Duwamish-Green-White River Watershed (2014), LeCompte uses archaeobotany4 to enhance understandings of the co-production of people, plants, and place among the Muckleshoot. She compares the archaeo-botanical record with previous historical 5 ethnographies to analyze the role that plants played in pre-colonization Coast Salish diets.

According to LeCompte (2014), plants made up 20–30% of the caloric intake consumed by Coast Salish peoples prior to colonization. Providing dietary fiber, essential vitamins, minerals, and micronutrients not available in animal foods (particularly for children and pregnant/nursing women), their availability and cultivability provided variety and sustainability to the Southern Lushootseed diet. Edible roots such as q'awax (chocoloate lily), for example, were cultivated with methods such as tiling, weeding, and fertilizing, but they also included large-scale alterations of the natural environment to increase the productivity of preferred species.

Root gardens were created in estuaries and offered important supplements to diets in the years when salmon runs were less bountiful or when other food sources were running low. Matthes (2016: 85), citing Deur (2005), describes the nutrient-rich soil that characterized these estuary gardens:

> *The soils that accumulate in the upper salt marsh and the garden plots are rich in fresh sediments and organic detritus from riverine, estuarine, and marine sources, carried to the high tide like by peak tides and floods. A significant portion of each estuary's total organic output is redeposited to the upper salt marsh each year, making that portion of the Northwest coast estuary among the most productive environments in the world, if measured by carbon produced per unit of area (Deur 2005:313). Soils of this nature are typically much higher in nutrient composition than the majority of the region's rain-leached soils and are characterized by pronounced seasonal growth (Deur 2005, p. 313). With these subtle modifications to salt marshes within the area, indigenous people within the region were able to maximize the productivity of these unique areas.*

In additional to their nutritional offerings, plant foods were central to the entire Muckleshoot food system. The organization of labor; the creation of tools for cultivating, processing, storing, cooking, and consuming foods; and the use of fuel wood for cooking fires

4 Archaeo-botany provides a more dynamic understanding of historical people-plant relations by evaluating anthropogenic landscape modification, processes of resource intensification and plant cultivation, and human adaptation to environmental change (LeCompte, 2014).

5 LeCompte argues that the late 19th to mid-20th century ethnographers worked within the paradigm of Boasian historical particularism. While these ethnographies provide rich detail and a conceptual framework about pre-Euro-American Coast Salish life, historical particularism tends to result in the production of ahistorical ethnographic accounts, leaving the impression that nothing changed for perhaps thousands of years (LeCompte, 2014).

plants held profound socioeconomic value (LeCompte, 2014).

For more protein-dense foods, the Muckleshoot relied on a combination of land animals (more so than Coast Salish peoples to the north and west) and marine life. The tables below outline the variety of plant and animal foods that the Muckleshoot relied upon.

Figure 1a: Traditional Foods of Muckleshoot (Combined list from LeCompte and Krohn)

Nuts	Berries	Fruits	Edible Greens
Hazelnuts	Blackcap Raspberry *	Bitter Cherry	Cattail
Acorns	Cranberry *	Chokecherry	Cow Parsnip (Indian Parsley)
White Oak	Elderberry	Crabapple	Fiddlehead Ferns *
	Huckleberry	Currant	Fireweed Shoots *
	Salal	Gooseberry	Horsetail Fertile Shoots *
	Salmonberry *	Indian Plum	Nettles *
	Saskatoon (Service Berry) *	Wild Rose	Spouts (Salnonberry or thimbleberry shoots) *
	Soapberry		Spruce Shoots *
	Thimbleberry *		Wild Lettuces – Spring Beauty, Violet, Watercress *
	Wild Blackberry		Chickweed
	Wild Strawberry		Dandelion Greens *
			Lamb's Quarters

Figure 1b

Fresh Bulbs	Roots	Other
Nuttal's Wild Onion	Biscuitroot (fresh) (wild carrot *Lomatium*)	Bedstraw (Cleavers)
Arrow-Leaved Balsam Root	Gairdner's Yampah (dried)	Maple Sugar Tree Sap
Great/Common Camas–*Quamash*	Wapato/Arrowhead (Indian Swamp Potato)	Mustard
Avalanche Lily	Bracken Fern Root *	Cambium – Red Alder, Cottonwood Trees
Riceroot Lily	Pacific Cinquefoil *	Seaweed
Dentalia?	Springbank Clover	Kelp (with Herring Roe) *
Cimaryllid		

**Indicates species that were not found in archeological digs, but were considered important in interviews with elders or ethnographic texts.*

Table 1c

Common Seafood		Fish	Wild Game
Clams (many types)	Seal	Salmon (Coho, Chinook, Sockeye)	Duck
Geoduck	Octopus	Smelt (Eulachon)	Grouse
Mussels	Gumboots	Halibut	Deer
Gooseneck Barnacles	Basket Cockle	Sturgeon	Elk
Oysters	Sea Cucumber	Ling Cod	Bear
Shrimp	Pacific Herring	Trout	
Crab			

The foods noted above were consumed seasonally. Muckleshoot believed that harvesting foods in season ensures abundance, year-round availability, and prepares the body for the change of seasons, including the lunar cycle.[6]

Nutritional Value of the Food Sources Pre-1854

Muckleshoot harvested plants when seeds were ripe—ensuring both taste and nutrition. The timing of their harvest was important because nutrients deplete through time and processing. In areas that were frequently burned after a harvest (in order to promote new growth the following year) mulch was used to protect seeds and catch nutrient-rich ash that washed into the soil with rainstorms (Matthes, 2016).

> *"Root gardens offered important supplements to diets in the years when other food sources were running low. Cultivated bulbs added an important source of complex carbohydrates in the spring and fall, to complement the winter diet that was higher in proteins, oils, and fats. Le Compte (2014: 21) suggests the "practice of substituting carbohydrates for fat may have been true for inland people, for whom land mammals were a much more important part of the diet than they for saltwater people. Furthermore, the all-important anadromous fish would have lost substantial body fat by the time they had swum all the way to these inland villages."*

Qwlawl or quamash (blue camas) was and remains one of the most important food plants in the Pacific Northwest for indigenous people. According to LeCompte (2014) camas[7] is rich in protein, fiber, calcium, phosphorus, iron, and inulin.[8] Unlike most sugars, inulin does not affect or alter blood sugar levels.

Balsamroot is a versatile plant and can be eaten raw, baked, or dried. Similar to camas,

6 Each moon is named for its relationship to the seasonal rounds of daily life in the village. For the Muckleshoot these include the summer Berry Moons, the Elk-Calling Moon, the Digging Moon, and the Silver Salmon Moon (Matthes, 2016).

7 One does need to cook camas in order to be able to digest it.

8 A complex sugar that emerges from the complex carbohydrates within camas once the bulbs of the plant are subjected to low heat for an extended amount of time within earthen ovens.

it also contains inulin. Balsamroot's [9] bark contains an antibacterial and antifungal compound called thiophene E along with other antimicrobial properties that give the bark and its resin its unique ability to heal ailments such as open sores, poison ivy, and ulcer stones (Matthes, 2016).

Red elderberry was another important and nutritious food among the Lushootseed. The flowers and fruit were cooked and made into syrup or spread out onto skunk cabbage leaves and dried to make berry cakes (fruit leather), which was often stored until the winter before being consumed. In addition to being rich in vitamins C and A, the fruit was used as an herbal remedy for rheumatism (Lloyd, 2013).

Cultural and Spiritual Practices in Exercising Control Over Food Access

Muckleshoot core values centered on food and how it should be shared, given, and received with gratitude and respect. Knowledge of food gathering, harvesting, hunting, processing and preparing was passed down through careful observation, teaching, and learning. According to Nancy Turner (2014: 161), professor of ethnobotany at the University of Victoria,

> *[a] number of different plant and animal resource management techniques were originally learned by observing other animals and their effects on the growth and productivity of plants. Many plants are adapted to withstand and rejuvenate themselves after moderate amounts of trauma caused by people, animals, or natural disturbances. Episodes of natural disturbances- floods, ice jams, storms, exceptionally high tides and tsunamis, windthrow trees, fire, and lava flows- also provided opportunities for observing the regenerative capacity of plants and were sources of learning through limitation in the development of management at the habitat level.*

Inter-tribal communication also contributed to the development of different cultivation techniques. Stories passed from group to group—and generation to generation—served as an important means to share lessons on resource management. Lessons based on sensory experiments (i.e. listening, touching, tasting, feeling, smelling) helped the Muckleshoot select foods and medicines that were safe, digestible, and nourishing. Turner (2014: 432) notes that most plant foods are "mild-tasting and lack strongly bitter flavors or intense odors. Plants that contain medicinal or pharmacological properties (such as the ones found in the Balsamroot) contain bitter-tasting and highly aromatic compounds, such as alkaloids or essential oils that make them unpleasant to consume except in small quantities or in diluted forms."

Muckleshoot had their classification system for soil types. Throughout the region they seeded and transplanted, intentionally modified soils, and weeded out competing plants in sustainable ways (Matthes, 2014). Root vegetables, for example, were harvested by size so that only the larger and older bulbs were taken, and the younger, smaller bulbs were left to grow for future harvesting.

Archeology professor Astrida Blukis-Onat (2002) argues that the concept of "resource exploitation" does not reflect a Coast Salish world-view. Drawing on linguists Jay Miller and Vi Hilbert, she proposes the Lushoot-

9 Balsamroot requires peeling to remove these substantial concentrations of thiophene E and the other compounds in order to detoxify the inner root so that it can be safely eaten.

seed concept of *tiχdx* – the cultivation of relationships with people. Rather than exerting control, often associated with resource management, *tiχdx* reflects the role that caring for others plays. Respected leaders ensure the well-being of others in addition to taking care of their own responsibilities. Someone who is *siʔáb* (a derivative of *ʔiʔáb*, or 'wealth') maintains good relations through *tiχdx*. The closest term in English, Blukis-Onat suggests, is "cultivation":

> *It applies to the improvement and preparation of land by loosening or digging, to planting and tending a crop, and to nurturing and fostering the growth of plants. The term also applies to enhancing human relations through means of education and social refinement […] Cultivation applies to the totality of cultural interaction, both within a community and without. (Blukis-Onat 2002: 128)*

When viewed through the lens of *tiχdx*, cultivation refers to maintaining good relations between people, plants, animals, the land, and spirit powers (LeCompte, 2014).

Longhouse Peoples Access to Food and Treaties with the United States

Europeans (Spaniards and some Russians) steered their ships in the Salish Sea (now Puget Sound) in 1792. Over the following decades, new goods (knives, pewter pots, horse blankets, glass beads, muskets, pork fat, wheat, sugar, beans, etc.) brought by more ships and fur traders coming from Canada were slowly absorbed into Lushootseed society. The Europeans (Spanish, Americans, Russians, and later English and French after 1840) also brought diseases (e.g. smallpox, influenza, tuberculosis, and measles). These diseases devastated entire villages, sometimes killing two-thirds to 80% of the people in each longhouse (Thrush, n.d.). In other words, diseases were far more disastrous to Lushootseed and their neighboring longhouses than overt violence at the barrel of a gun.

For the longhouse peoples living on the Salish Sea outsiders moved into their territories very rapidly after the 1805 visit by the Lewis and Clark expedition from the United States arriving at the direction of President Thomas Jefferson. This expedition set in motion a slow wave of migrants from Rupert's Land in British Canada in 1840 at the behest of the Hudson's Bay Company. By the 1850's settlers poured into the region and called for treaties to extinguish "native" title to the land. After some skirmishes (some lasting well into the late 19th century) and then negotiations with the territorial Governor Isaac Stevens, the Muckleshoot signed two treaties with the United States government that recognized their claim to reserved lands and the cession of land to the United States. The Muckleshoot reserved, in addition to land, their right to hunt, fish, and gather in their traditional places. The Treaty of Medicine Creek (December 1854) was signed with the Puyallup, Nisqually, and Squaxin Indians, some living in the Green River Valley. The Treaty of Point Elliott (January 1855) was negotiated with the Duwamish and Suquamish people, along with other tribes whose range extended north to the Skagit River (Updegrave, 2016). Since some of the Muckleshoot longhouses were in the Duwamish range, this treaty became an instrument of law for the Muckleshoot as well.

After the negotiation of these treaties, conflict broke out between Nisqually, Snohomish, Skagit and some of the Muckleshoot longhouses and east of the Cascade Mountains the Yakama, Wenatchee, and Taidnapum against settlers since the United States failed to live up

to its treaty promises. Muckleshoot ancestors from the upper portions of the Duwamish watershed and the upper Puyallup participated in the conflict, while those from villages in the lower parts of the Duwamish and White River watersheds were interned during the hostilities. By the summer of 1856, the conflict had subsided and Governor Stevens renegotiated the Treaty of Medicine Creek at Fox Island[10] – agreeing to changes in the Puyallup and Nisqually reservations and to the establishment of an additional reservation at Muckleshoot where there was a military fort (MIT, 2017).

The Muckleshoot longhouse headmen present at the Fox Island Council understood that a piece of land beginning at the junction of the White and Green Rivers would be included in the reservation, preserving an important village site and fisheries on both rivers. However, the US Presidential Executive Order of January 20, 1857 fell short and only referred to the Muckleshoot prairie. Between 1859 and 1868 efforts were made to change the borders. Unfortunately, a revised Executive Order was proposed during the chaos of President Andrew Johnson's impeachment and no further action was taken (MIT, 2017). The issue remains unresolved to this day.

In 1874 – during the time of railroad grants – the Muckleshoot Reservation was finally enlarged by Executive Order. Yet it only included land in five even-numbered land sections extending diagonally along the White River. As pressures from settlers increased, Lushootseed peoples moved from their traditional villages to the Muckleshoot Reservation. Eventually they began to identify as the Muckleshoot Tribe, rather than by their historic affiliation with Duwamish or Upper Puyallup bands. In 1936, the Muckleshoot government was officially reorganized – adopting a constitution approved by the Secretary of the Interior under the Indian Reorganization Act (MIT, 2017).

The US government further broke up Muckleshoot communal land holdings by allotting reservation lands to individual families and selling "surplus" lands to settlers. Poverty, discrimination, and substandard housing forced many to sell their land in order to survive. During the same time, the State of Washington sought ways to restrict off-reservation fishing, hunting, and gathering that the Muckleshoot depended on for their sustenance and livelihood (MIT, 2017).

In the 1960s, the Muckleshoot, along with the Puyallup and Nisqually Tribes, challenged state efforts to prohibit fishing at traditional locations. In 1970, the US[11] filed a lawsuit against the State of Washington to determine the nature of fishing rights reserved in the treaties with Governor Stevens. *United States v. Washington (1974), commonly known as the Boldt Decision,* held that tribes party to the Stevens Treaties are entitled to take 50% of the fish available for harvest at traditional tribal fishing locations free from most state regulation. It also affirmed the Muckleshoot Tribe as a political successor to Duwamish bands (party to the Treaty of Point Elliott) and to Upper Puyallup bands (party to the Treaty of Medicine Creek).

Current Factors Changing Food Access and Food Control for the Muckleshoot Peoples

In *Traditional Foods of Puget Sound Project Final Report 2008-2010* Elise Krohn, ethnobotanist and Center for World Indigenous Studies Fellow (2010), outlines common barriers to accessing traditional foods for Muckleshoot

10 Located near in Gig Harbor, WA

11 Acting on its own behalf as "trustee" of several Western Washington tribes

and other Coast Salish peoples. Based on roundtable discussions, she found the following barriers (in order of importance) as noted by participants:

Environmental Toxins

Environment toxins have drastically reduced the bounty of traditional Coast Salish foods and threatened the health of their people. Participants report that tribal shellfish and fish have high levels of mercury and PCB's, known to cause learning and behavioral problems in children. Water "dead zones," where pollution robs the water of oxygen and makes it inhospitable for living things, is also a major challenge. Toxins affect the harvesting of wild plants as well. Berry fields are sprayed with pesticides in clear cut areas, and insecticides and herbicides are often used in public areas such as fields and along roadsides. Without costly tests, it can be difficult to assess the safety of traditional harvesting sites.

A Loss of Rights

Despite treaty rights regarding hunting, fishing, and gathering in their usual and accustomed places, participants said new regulations require that Indian people get a permit for harvesting forest products, including berries and cedar. This costs extra time and money. Muckleshoot said that their communities have access to shellfish but due to the costs they are not harvesting them. Their concern is that they may lose their harvesting rights if people do not exercise them.

A Loss of Land

Wild spaces where traditional foods flourished are diminishing because of urban sprawl pavement and housing developments.

Modern Foods verses Traditional Foods

Dietary changes[12] away from traditional diets began in the mid-1800s when highly processed annuity foods (e.g. pig fat, beans, flour, and sugar) began to be distributed. According to indigenous food expert Gary Paul Nabhan, PhD (2002), eating refined carbohydrates such as wheat results in blood-sugar and insulin responses two to three times higher than those reported from whole grains or coarse-milled products. Because milk and grains were not present in the traditional Coast Salish diet, people were not able to digest lactose and high-gluten wheat – leading to chronic inflammation and diabetes.

Colonization and Cultural Oppression

Participants having survived boarding schools and cultural oppression expressed shame around their culture and did not pass it on to their children—as act of love and protection.

Non-Native Invasive Species Have Changed the Environment

Non-native species such as scotch broom have taken over prairies where camas, bracken fern, edible lilies, strawberries, and other wild foods grow. Milfoil has taken over many lakes. Spartina grass has displaced eelgrass in Puget Sound shallows and along the Pacific coastline, and is a threat to native species of crab and fish.

Lack of Time and Money

Due to increasing income pressures, many participants reported having little time to hunt, gather or grow their own foods. Such foods can be expensive to buy. One Muckleshoot woman shared about the challenges of harvest traditional foods: "Muckleshoot has

12 Diabetes did not emerge as a chronic disease for Indian people in the Pacific Northwest until around the time when Indian people began eating larger amounts of commodity foods and modern industrialized foods instead of traditional foods.

clam beds on Vashon Island that are available for tribal members to harvest. However, you have to take a ferry to get there, that costs forty dollars. Because the beds are not being harvested, the clams are growing too close together and are dying off" (Krohn, 2014:14).

Under-education about Traditional Foods

Many participants said their doctors, nurses, dieticians, diabetes educators, tribal cooks and others were under-educated about the nutritional benefits of traditional foods. Healthcare workers often try to teach people to eat a low-fat diet but they do not educate people about the difference between good quality traditional fats and unhealthy fats.

Federal, State, and Tribal Food Program Regulations

According to participants, many tribal food programs (e.g., Head Start, Elders programs, community events, and casino buffets) serve pre-cooked unhealthy foods that come from major food distribution corporations and contain trans-fats and sugars. Foods from local fishermen, hunters, or gatherers are not funded under food programs.

Limited Involvement in Garden Projects

While several community educators and program managers said that their community has expressed an interest in traditional foods and developing community gardens, too few people participate when it is actually time to do the work.

Lack of transportation/Geographic Isolation to Traditional Foods

Many elders said they do not have a way to travel to harvest sites. Chain supermarkets and convenience stores are often the closest option for buying food. Unhealthy snack foods are cheap, while fresh produce, fish, or meat is expensive or unavailable.

Krohn Roundtable Conclusions

Despite these barriers to reviving traditional Coast Salish food ways, Muckleshoot youth and elders alike are increasingly discussing traditional food restoration. To better understand the current food system of the Muckleshoot Indian Nation, it is important to look at origin stories and beliefs around ecosystems management, the history of traditional food usage and availability, and the complex web of cultural, socio-political, economic, and legal barriers that impede their people from accessing and deriving nourishment from the foods that have sustained them for millennia.

Contrary to assumptions held by earlier researchers in the Southern Lushootseed region, this historical assessment finds that Muckleshoot peoples were doing far more than fishing; they were actively managing the lands around them. Le Compte (2014) notes the use of fire and varied cultivation techniques suggest the intentional management of land for food. Previous researchers (anthropologists, geographers, linguists, etc.) missed the fact that the Muckleshoot practiced agriculture because it did not fit their Western model of land cultivation.

In his speech at the Nisqually Healing our Wounded Spirits Conference in 2006, professor of historical trauma Tom Ball emphasizes the importance of looking to the past as a way of healing the present: "Those things that were in place before [colonization] heal us. Cultural practices are most important because this is our story…Things that help us are the things that we already had."[13]

To enhance the food access and health of

13 From: http://studylib.net/doc/7866656/diabetes-elise-krohn----the-school-of-traditional-western

their peoples today, Muckleshoot have begun to create policies that promote the incorporation of traditional plants, fishes, wild game and cultivation practices that served an integral part of their society in the past. ■

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Appendix I

"Fly": A Southern Lushootseed Epic
(Told by Annie Daniels and by Peter Heck, retold by Jay Miller, in Thompson and Egesdal, 2008)

In the early days of the world, Flytown hosted a gathering. Many people came. A man heard about it and decided to go. He floated on the river and paddled with his hand. Along the way, he met the Changer, who told him to carve paddles and a canoe out of cedar. But when the man picked up a piece of wood, it fought back. So the Changer used his mind to deaden the wood so people could use it. That was how woodworking began. At Flytown, the man worked in the woods, hollowing out his canoe during the day and attending the gathering during the evening.

Another person who came for the gathering was a girl who had just had a baby. She and the baby were supposed to stay secluded for several days, but she came to Flytown instead. She hid the baby in the brush near the town and went off to watch the dancing through the cracks in the plank walls of the houses. In time she forgot about her baby, who would wake up and cry until it fell asleep again.

The man working on the canoe heard the baby crying off and on for several days. Finally he looked for and found the baby. He went home and told his wife, who pretended to be pregnant for a day. The man built a birthing hut for her, brought the baby there, and the woman pretended to have the baby. In five days he grew into a boy, and his father made a bow and arrows for him.

The couple already had an older girl, who resented her new brother. While he was trying out his new bow, she teased him.

Bet you can't hit me! You never could hit me!

The boy ignored her for as long as he could. After five times, however, he shot at her hand and hit it. The girl screamed, again and again,

I was shot by the discard claimed by my parents.

When their mother heard this, she said,

My daughter is all mouth,

and ran into the woods to calm the situation.

But the boy ran far away, flung himself onto the ground, and cried his eyes out. The searchers never found him. After a long time,

the boy got up and went on.

Eventually he met Cougar Woman, who decided to raise the boy until she could marry him. She tried to feed him some of her big red berries, but the boy knew that these were lizards. Instead, Crane Woman, who lived with Cougar, went out and got salmon fry for the boy to eat. He liked those.

After a time, Cougar got possessive of the boy and he decided to run away. Crane helped him by saying that Cougar could only be safely shot from the front, because she kept her head down and looked backward when she walked. The boy shot Cougar to slow her down and ran off. Cougar then turned on Crane, who was ready. Crane had made wings for herself and, as she flew off, she shot and killed cougar.

As the boy walked along, he heard a woman singing in the distance. When he got near her, she stopped singing and refused to continue. Her sister appeared and joined the boy in urging her to continue. After five times, the woman began to sing the words

Summoning Heat and the world caught fire.

The boy fled from the flames and looked for a refuge. He ran to Rock and asked for help. Rock said,

I snap and pop, sending off sharp pieces. You would not be safe. He ran to Water, who warned him,

I boil and you will be cooked. You would not be safe.

He ran to Road, who said,

I will burn on both sides and roast all in my path. You would not be safe.

He ran to Fir Tree who said,

I only burn on the very bottom. If you climb up into my branches, you will be safe.

So that is what the boy did.

He climbed up into the fir tree, but the flames got closer. For safety, he grafted his bow and arrows to the top of the tree and used them to climb up into the Sky. Then he reached down and retrieved his bow and arrows to take along.

In the Sky was a big grassy meadow, where the boy wandered until he found a path and followed it. First light began as he walked along. He saw movement ahead and stepped off the trail. A Grey Elk went by. Soon after, five Grey Dogs passed. Then came a Grey Man. The man stopped and called the boy over. They talked. The man said he was Dawn. He had five daughters up the trail. The boy should go to his home for food and marry the girls. Then Dawn went on and the boy resumed his trek.

He walked all day before he saw movement ahead. He stepped off the trail while a gaunt man who looked like a walking skeleton went by. Soon after, five Dark Dogs passed. Then came a Dark Man, who called the boy over. They talked. The man said he was Dusk. He also had five daughters. The boy should go to his home for food and wives. Then Dusk went on, and the boy went in the opposite direction.

He came to a fork in the trail. The right side was dark and grassy, but the left side was dimly lighted and paved with dry cedar bark. The boy took the dim side by mistake. Dawn, who had his own light, went by the dark trail, while Dusk used the lighted one. Thus, the boy got to the home of the daughters of Dusk. The youngest and smartest one knew when he got there.

His first impression was not favorable. The girls were smelly, dark, and had big noses. They welcomed him and rubbed him over with oil from human corpses. This changed his senses, and he liked the four girls and married them. They tried to feed him human flesh, but he dug up nearby roots and ate those instead. He threw away the flesh when they

were not looking.

The oldest (fifth) daughter stayed in a coffin-like box. During the day, while her four sisters were out getting food, the boy (now a man and husband) and older sister visited. One afternoon, a man came to the door. He was called Split Foot. The oldest sister took the visitor away and the boy did not see him again.

That night, Dawn came home and asked if the boy had arrived, but his daughters never saw him. So he sent his daughters to get him from Dusk's daughters. When the Dawn girls arrived, they demanded the boy, but the Dusk girls refused to give him up. The girls fought, while the boy peeked through a hole in the wall. The eldest Dusk daughter used a human leg as a club, and the boy saw that it was the leg of Split Foot. He also noted that Dawn's daughters were bright and beautiful.

The Dusk daughters drove off the Dawn daughters, but the boy had made up his mind. Five days later, he explained that he needed to stretch his legs and was going for a walk. Once he was out of sight, he ran back down the trail and turned into the dark fork. In no time, he was at the house of Dawn. Four sisters greeted him. They washed him and dressed him. They fed him elk meat. He was very happy.

One day he went for a swim and returned to the house looking for a comb. He looked into a basket hanging from the wall and found the youngest, smartest, and most beautiful daughter. He took to his bed, he was so stunned. That night when Dawn came home he asked why the boy was abed, the other girls explained that he found the youngest daughter. Dawn roused the man and told him to marry the girl in the basket. He was delighted.

One day, as they sat in the sun while his wife was grooming his hair, the man poked a hole into the ground. He looked down and saw Flytown. He saw that his natural mother now had a younger son. He became very homesick and again took to his bed.

When Dawn came home, the youngest daughter explained why her husband was not feeling well. Dawn told her to go to their grandmother and ask her to take them to earth. This grandmother was Spider, who agreed. Dawn gave the couple many gifts, including a goat wool blanket, dentalia, roots, meat, and fragrant oils. They took these into a basket, and Spider lowered them down. In this way, many treasures came to earth.

The couple landed near the spring where the town came for water. They waited. Soon the younger brother arrived. He was blind, potbellied, and awkward. The man called him over, but the boy did not believe him at first. Dawn's daughter brushed the boy's body and he became slim and handsome. Then his brother blew into his eyes so he could see. His brother also patted his head so his hair grew in thick and lustrous.

The couple told the boy to go to his mother and say that her older son had returned safely. She should clean the house so that her new daughter-in-law from the Sky could live with them in a fresh and purified environment.

When the boy got to his mother, however, she did not believe him and scolded him severely. She too was blind, but she refused to touch her son and learn the changes to his body. The boy went back and was made older, slimmer, and more handsome. Five times he returned to his mother and was scolded. But the last time, she touched his body and believed. She too came to the spring, and she too was given sight, thick hair, and a nice figure. Then she cleaned the house thoroughly. The couple moved in.

Because the natural mother had abandoned and lost her first baby, she had been shunned by her relatives and friends. Eventually, Bluejay had claimed her and her younger

son as slaves. Bluejay had been off when the couple came to earth and improved their relatives.

Bluejay arrived back home and crouched on the eaves of the house, calling to the young boy,

Wipe me off! Wipe me!

The younger brother realized that he was now free and looked at his brother, who nodded slowly. It was time for revenge. So the boy reached into the fire and grabbed a burning stick. He shoved it into the place that Bluejay wanted him to wipe. Bluejay screamed and flew off, realizing that he was no longer in charge. But he too would have his revenge.

In time, the Dawn wife became pregnant. Because she was at Flytown, she gave birth to twin boys joined at the back. For this reason, flies are sometimes stuck together today. In five days these Siamese twins grew into boys. Their father made them bows and arrows. He set up targets at each end of the house so the boys could stand in the middle and shoot in opposite directions. Everyone enjoyed this game.

Bluejay came to watch. Five times the twins passed in front of him. The last time he jumped up and cut them apart. They fell down dead. Bluejay said that twins would always be born separated from then on.

The twins' mother, Dawn's youngest daughter, was grief stricken. Her children were dead. She brooded for a short time and then decided to revenge herself on Flytown. She took a sharpened stick and stabbed everyone there, killing them. From each hole, flies emerged. Ever since, flies have hovered around wounds.

The couple called to Grandmother Spider to pull them back into the Sky, and she did so. But they left all their treasures, foods, and gifts on earth for good people to use in the future.

And so, the world became more like it is today because of the deeds of these people. ■