## SHADOW TRIBE: THE MAKING OF COLUMBIA RIVER INDIAN IDENTITY

*by* Andrew H. Fisher

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Illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, index.
344 pages. $24.95 paper.

Andrew Fisher documents the history of the "Columbia River Indians," descendants of Indians who lived on the shores of the Columbia River between what were once the Cascades, now beneath the reservoir formed by Bonneville Dam, and Priest Rapids, flooded by the dam of the same name. When Governor I.I. Stevens and Agent Joel Palmer negotiated treaties with these and allied Indians in 1855, they were forced to cede their homes here and assigned to reservations set well back from the "Big River" — as the Columbia is known in the Sahaptin language — out of the way of the flood of Euro-American settlement. Not all these Indians, however, accepted reservation life. Indian families held onto their river homes at winter villages such as Priest Rapids, Hanford, Alderdale, Roosevelt, Rock Creek, Celilo, and Sk'in and at *in lieu* fishing sits at Lone Pine, Underwood, and Little White Salmon village. Eventually, most were enrolled with one of the several treaty tribes that had been carved out of the complex fabric of Columbia River Indian life by Stevens and Palmer. All had relatives who lived on local reservations, but their primary loyalties remained at the river. They resisted or evaded every effort by federal and state authorities to remove them, eventually gaining legal recognition of their right not only to fish at their "usual and accustomed places" — from the 1855 treaty language — but to be at home there.

Fisher's history is meticulous and nuanced, fully acknowledging the complex social and political currents within and around these "renegade" Indian communities. He credits their determination and intelligence as key to the successful legal battles waged for the recognition of the treaty rights of Indians to fish "in common" with non-Indian citizens. He suggests, as well, that these "River Indians" in many cases guarded traditional language, environmental knowledge, and worldview more closely than their reservation-based kin.

Fisher combines the skills and perspectives of a historian and an anthropologist. As a historian, he extracts surprising details from archival documents that anthropologists often ignore, including personal correspondence of government officials and individual Native and non-Native residents and records of homestead allotments and litigation that show this history to be not just a history of the displacement of the Indians by white settlers, but also of their complex and at times contradictory interactions. Fisher also has ferreted out oral histories recorded by individual Columbia River Indians telling their stories in their own words, making this history more ethnographic, more faithful to all those caught up in this history.

Fisher begins with an ethnographic reconstruction of Indian life along the Columbia at first white contact. Meriwether Lewis and William Clark left a rich record of visits and observations as they descended the Columbia from the Snake River to the Pacific in the fall of 1805, returning along nearly the same route the next spring. At that time there were no "tribes" here, just a string of well-populated, closely allied villages and fishing camps. Lewis and Clark recognized "chiefs," presenting them with presidential medals, but they could not appreciate the complex social and political weave of aboriginal Plateau Indian society.

Fisher then details the well-known story of introduced disease, fur-trader dealings, Christian missionary efforts, and the flood of settlers down the Oregon Trail that set the stage for the treaty councils of 1855. As Fisher notes, many "Indian" histories end with the treaties, the presumption being that Indians dutifully removed to their assigned reservations to be assimilated into mainstream American society. The treaty councils, however, are just the beginning of Fisher's story, not the beginning of the end. The treaties created "treaty tribes" — The Yakama Nation and the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla and Warm Springs Reservations — with all the rights reserved to those tribes by treaty. The "Columbia River Indians" are not mentioned in the treaties. They are a "Shadow Tribe," descendants of "renegade Indians" who, in the decades post-treaty, opted out of reservation life and its paternalistic surveillance to continue to live as best they could, following the examples and teachings of their elders and in the face of at times violent confrontations with white settlers and government authorities. Fisher details the response of these off-reservation Indians through subsequent eras of U.S. Indian policy and the recognition of Indian rights: the allotment era, the Indian New Deal, the Termination Policy post–World War II, the fishing rights wars leading to the 1974 Boldt decision, and the Self-Determination Policies that hold sway today. Columbia River Indians never disappeared and never abandoned their River identities and River homes. The most severe test came with the construction of Columbia and Snake River dams, most painful of all, The Dalles Dam, which in 1957 flooded Celilo Falls at the heart of Columbia River Indian life. Yet not even the dams could kill their spirit.

In the late 1980s, the Mid-Columbia River Council, the "Chiefs and Council of the Columbia River Indians," asserted their collective right to intervene when legal actions by the United States government affected Indian families living along the Columbia River. Most of the Indians so represented were enrolled with recognized tribes, mostly with the Yakama Nation. In fact, several Columbia River Indians had served as Tribal Council members, even as Tribal Council Chair, of the Yakama Nation, but they retained a sort of dual citizenship with divided loyalties. Their interests also diverged, as the scarce salmon resources of the Columbia River fisheries — which they claimed as their particular birthright — were increasingly subject to the management decisions of tribal authorities in collaboration with state and federal agencies. Those battles continue today.

What lessons should we learn from *Shadow Tribe*? First and foremost, that Indian peoples are survivors, having met daunting assaults on their sense of person and place, rolling with the punches but always getting up on their feet to fight another round. They are driven by deeply rooted loyalties to the places where their ancestors are buried, often now beneath the Columbia River lakes trapped behind each dam. Their original language is in grave danger of dying, but there are hopeful signs that each new generation of Indians will reach back and take hold of who they are as unique peoples.

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## OREGON AND THE COLLAPSE OF ILLAHEE: U.S. EMPIRE AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF AN INDIGENOUS WORLD, 1792–1859

*by* Gray Whaley

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In *Oregon and the Collapse of Illahee*, Gray Whaley traces the relatively rapid colonization of western Oregon from the date of direct contact between Natives and Europeans in 1792 to Oregon's statehood in 1859. He argues that the dramatic transformations that marked these decades must be analyzed within the context of imperialism because the region was an impor-