

# “You See Your Culture Coming Out of the Ground Like a Power”: Uncanny Narratives in Time and Space on the Northwest Coast

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**Abstract.** In 2003, construction began on a graving dock that would bring marine projects to the Olympic Peninsula and provide family-wage jobs. It appeared to be a good fit for the city of Port Angeles, Washington, and its surrounding communities. Shortly after construction began, workers unearthed an approximately 2,700-year-old Coast Salish village and cemetery, claimed by the Lower Elwha Klallam Tribe as an ancestral site. Significantly, indigenous reports of being haunted by the spirits of their disturbed ancestors and nonnative desires to bury the past and move forward resulted in intercultural conflicts and misunderstandings. Such struggles speak to the contested nature of history and the deeply rooted concerns about the region’s socioeconomic future following the decline of natural resource industries.

Where there are disputes over property, we find ghosts.

—Peter Buse and Andrew Stott, *Ghosts: Deconstruction Psychoanalysis, History*

We need to understand what impulses drive us, heritage crusaders all, to ravage the past in the very act of revering it.

—David Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusades and the Spoils of History*

## Multiple Meanings of Ghosts

Despite twentieth-century assumptions that science and technology would prevail over the superstitions of an earlier age, in the twenty-first century, many people are haunted by ghosts. Beyond the myriad accounts of hauntings to be found in popular publications, at Internet sites, and on reality television shows, for scholars and fiction writers alike, ghosts serve as meaningful rhetorical devices or tropes that transmit knowledge across

any number of boundaries—generational, temporal, regional, cultural, national, and disciplinary (Thrush 2007; Weinstock 2004; Richardson 2003; Brogan 1999; Bergland 2000; Holland 2000; Buse and Stott 1999; Derrida 1994; Tuan 1979). Free from the moorings that limit the living, ghosts disrupt linear time and “bring the past into the present” thus enabling the recovery of individual, ethnic, and national memories (Brogan 1999: 1). Often, Western scholars, when they consider ghosts at all, view them as subjective, even anachronistic, social constructs. Ghosts, some argue, enable theories of self-in-place, providing a way for “moderns” to transform abstract space into lived place. “We give ghosts to places. . . . [they] connect us across time and space to the web of social life” (Bell 1997: 832). Similarly, Peter Buse and Andrew Stott (1999: 3) note that “Spectrality and haunting . . . enjoy a powerful currency in language and in thinking, even if they have been left behind by belief,” suggesting that in Western culture there is room for metaphoric ghosts but not “real” ones.

Ghosts give voice to those parts of the collective past that have been forgotten, including “unspeakable” acts of colonization, dispossession, and violence. It is no surprise that North America, as a settler society, is deeply haunted by the dual specters of colonialism and slavery. Buse and Stott (1999: 9) point out that “where there are disputes over property, we find ghosts, or . . . where we find ghosts, there are bound to be anxieties about property.” Indeed, this is true from the eastern woodlands across the Great Plains to the deserts and coastlines of the West; wherever Europeans took root in unfamiliar landscapes, stories of indigenous ghosts prevail, serving as a kind of barometer for measuring the intergenerational guilt, unfinished business, and cross-cultural anxieties that are associated with the “multiple and/or diasporic identities of immigrant and settler cultures” (Goldman and Saul 2006: 645–46). Joseph Roach (1996: 4) reminds us that “acts of unspeakable violence” rarely are successfully repressed; rather they are, at most, “imperfectly deferred.” Thus, from the perspective of late modernity and settler nation-states, Indian ghosts are functionalist devices, exhumed—consciously and unconsciously—to explain lingering colonial doubts and even to “reassure” settler cultures they too are “historied” (Bergland 2000).

National identities in the “new world” were forged in the fires of colonialism and built on the lands and graves of the indigenous dead. The question is, how well can these explanations for twenty-first century ghostly revivals function beyond the boundaries of settler society? What form and function do ghostly figures take when the context is shifted and expanded to include living native North Americans? What different meanings do spirits hold for contemporary indigenous people and nations? Certainly, “native

people already have plenty of evidence in their daily lives of how the legacies of colonialism have been passed down through the generations; they do not need to summon specters to fulfil [*sic*] that function” (Cariou 2006: 730). Yet native North America is also haunted; the question is, by whom or for what reasons? It is difficult not to notice the degree to which these different cultural expressions of haunting parallel one another and intersect. How many places—from the melancholy landscapes of New England and New York’s Sleepy Hollow to the horror fiction of Stephen King—are possessed by haunted Indian burial grounds (Bergland 2000)? There is a significant difference between the guilt-infested projections of and obsessions about dead Indians that plague colonial imaginations and the kinds of manifestations indigenous people encounter when their burial grounds are disturbed. Places are both multivocal and multilocal. To best understand the significance of place to multiple inhabitants requires, as Margaret Rodman (1992: 641) suggests, a “decentered analysis” that acknowledges both non-Western and Eurocentric points of view, as well as “the physical, emotional, and experiential realities places hold for their inhabitants.” I will consider how differing experiences of place were expressed by citizens of a particular tribal nation, the Lower Elwha Klallam, and how they came to be haunted as a result of development and modernity—a process that began in the nineteenth century with the arrival of European Americans and continues in the present.

In 2003, ground was broken on a development project that promised new opportunities for the economically depressed Olympic Peninsula region of Washington State. One week into construction, ancient human remains were unearthed. Klallam tribal citizens hired to work for the archaeological excavation that followed participated in the removal of hundreds of human remains, an incident that left many profoundly traumatized. Several reported experiencing hauntings, which they related to the disturbance of the graves. This essay examines how these haunting experiences came to reflect past concerns just as they raised complex and troubling issues for all who were involved in the present, manifesting at times as stories of ancestral spirits.

Guilt, remorse, and Freudian repression do not necessarily provide a culturally meaningful or appropriate understanding of the metaphysics of indigenous “ghosting” and spirit encounters, particularly as these relate to local environments and specific and long-standing belief systems. As Warren Cariou (2006: 730) notes, ghosts that figure in native-authored works of fiction, and by extension in native life, “are not necessarily figures of uncanny terror.” While it has been argued that the distinction between “natural” and “supernatural” is universal, this is not necessarily the case. In

fact, ideas about the nature of ghosts and spirits vary widely between individuals and cultures. Rather than viewing ghosts and spirits as inhabiting a separate reality that one must transcend this one to reach, some indigenous people consider the ability to experience the nonliving a condition of possessing superior powers to apprehend the complex reality in which all beings dwell (Ingold 2000: 424n11). Ghosts of the dead and nonhuman spirits are authentic beings significant and specific to indigenous life-ways that are a part of a shared reality. Depending on the cultural context, they can be helpful, relatively benign, or malevolent.

Among the Saulteaux, deceased relatives and ancestors were often regarded as benevolent denizens of a “spirit land” who communicated with the living and remained integral to “life and thought” (Hallowell 1955: 171). This was so much the case that family members would periodically leave food, tea, and tobacco at grave sites so the dead could continue traditions of hospitality with the living. When a traveler came across a grave, he would help himself to food, drink, and tobacco, and this was “equivalent to having a visit with the dead” (157). At the same time, prohibitions enabled only the most highly trained and spiritually gifted individual to travel to the spirit land to commune with the dead in order to obtain assistance or knowledge (151). For the Coast Salish, humans were thought to possess two souls, “one in the heart and the other in the head” (Barnett 1955: 211). If people lost their “head souls,” they would in effect lose their minds. However, loss of the heart soul for an extended period of time resulted in physical death. Once an individual passed on, he or she might linger around loved ones and familiar places for a while out of loneliness and confusion and thus pose potential danger for the living (211–22).

In contemporary Coast Salish communities, lingering spirits of the recently deceased are still viewed as dangerous for the living. For example, close relatives of the decedent are warned to be especially careful in the year following a death because their loved ones might reach back and “take” someone to join them on their journey to the land of the dead. It is no surprise that there are a number of customs that enable grieving families to cope appropriately during this volatile and dangerous period. For instance, family members gather before the funeral to burn personal items like clothing that belonged to the deceased. This also discourages the living from succumbing to the urge to wear or use items that belong to the dead. Such demonstrations of profound grief put the living at great risk (Boyd 1999–2000).

Interactions between the living and the dead enable communities and families to commemorate ancestral dead and link themselves to the past and to place. Anthropologist Cynthia Landrum’s work (2009: 11) among

Lakota people reveals that in the early twenty-first century, tribal members “still process the 1890 Wounded Knee Massacre as if it just happened.” Today, Wounded Knee is haunted by spirits of the people gunned down by the U.S. Cavalry on a snowy December day over one hundred years ago. The lingering spirits of the dead are provided as explanations for why tribal members typically avoid the site after dark and also why many participate in formal commemorative events like the community horseback ride from Sitting Bull’s assassination site in the Standing Rock reservation to Wounded Knee. One young rider shared with Landrum that she was “being watched” by ancestral spirits during the event and another explained how she “almost always” saw her dead ancestor on horseback in full traditional regalia whenever she and her family drove by the Wounded Knee site (11–13).

In addition to contact with the dead, native peoples report other kinds of uncanny encounters. While conducting research on the Navajo reservation, folklorist Barre Toelken (1995: 55–57) heard stories about “skinwalkers”—persons, male or female, considered “witches” who can transform themselves into creatures described as “dog-like” or as appearing to be “part-dog and part-cat.” In one instance, a Navajo police officer reported seeing “four human figures, each with the head of a dog,” after he pulled a speeding vehicle over and shined a flashlight inside the driver’s window. Skinwalkers gain power by violating Navajo mores through deliberate and inappropriate contact with the dead and their remains.

As these examples illustrate, indigenous spirits and ghosts are understood in a variety of contexts—they can be called upon out of familial obligation or for ceremonial assistance and healing (Hallowell 1955; Barnett 1955); they serve as a foundation for social re-membering, community healing, and political action (Landrum 2009), and may also delineate dangerous, antisocial, and bizarre actions from more acceptable social mores (Toelken 1955). Malevolent or benevolent, familiar or strange, each of these suggests that for indigenous peoples, ghosts and spirits are *not* simply metaphoric, or, in the words of Ebenezer Scrooge, “undigested bits of beef”; they are a part of the lived world. Such stories of place, cultural beliefs, and commemorative activities that are focused on the past create what Eviatar Zerubavel (2003: 40–43) refers to as “a constancy of place.” Places, he argues, provide a “sense of permanence” even as humans undergo individual and collective change. They provide a physical location for “mnemonic bridging”—that is, the various strategies humans employ to create a sense of historical continuity. Establishing a “constancy of place,” Zerubavel argues, “allows us to virtually ‘see’ the people who once occupied the space we do now” (42). Visions of spirits of the land or the ancestral dead create a constancy of place for indigenous people.

In North America, where ownership of land and the power to historicize are the focus of contentious debates, the narratives people tell “make meaningful connections and provide order and continuity in a rapidly changing world” (Cruikshank 1998: xiii). Julie Cruikshank argues that it is not enough that such stories are collected and interpreted through the framework of contemporary scholarship. Rather, she asks, how can narratives told by local peoples “subvert official orthodoxies and challenge conventional ways of thinking” (xiii). In other words, it is not enough for scholars to collect and interpret narratives—we must ask how stories can change the way we understand and interpret the varying perspectives they reveal. Like the stories told to Cruikshank by Yukon elders, the narratives shared by Klallam people interviewed for this essay were “locally grounded, highly particular, and culturally specific” (xii). The task before me is to consider the ways in which Klallam stories about ghosts, place, and the past challenge and subvert conventional thinking about the integration of multiculturalism and community development. The purpose here is not to simply define how ghosts operate within distinct cultural paradigms, but rather to better understand how different meanings of ghosts, spirits, and the power of place come to influence the ways in which peoples of diverse cultural backgrounds understand the significance of a specific geographic location and events surrounding it.

Places “are not inert containers; they are politicized, culturally relative, historically specific, local and multiple constructions” (Rodman 1992: 641). The stories indigenous people on the Olympic Peninsula tell about places in their ancient homeland enable them to make meaningful connections and share with the world their interpretation of the past. Scholars around the globe concur this may well be a universal trait for indigenous people everywhere (Thornton 2008; Thrush 2007; Nabakov 2002; Abercrombie 1998; Cruikshank 1998; Feld and Basso 1997; Basso 1996; E. Casey 1996). This essay considers how indigenous belief systems and experiences in which stories about returning spirits inform the present create boundaries between user groups and influence the efforts of natives and nonnatives to mediate cultural differences concerning the future of development.

In 2003, the city of Port Angeles, Washington, became the site selected for construction of a new graving dock project, where the pontoons required for major bridge repair would be built. A week later, construction workers digging along the city waterfront unearthed human remains. The remains were linked to the Klallam village of čix<sup>w</sup>ícən (*Tse-whit-zen*, “Inner Harbor”), built circa 2,700 years ago near the base of Ediz Hook. Čix<sup>w</sup>ícən, located just west of Ediz Hook (Gunther 1927: 178), was one of several Coast Salish villages that rimmed Port Angeles’s natural deep water

port and was a diverse microenvironment rich in marine and terrestrial resources (Larson and Lewarch 1991).

Throughout the Pacific Northwest, stories about the past and the dead intersect in profound ways. History and the dead, it seems, will not stay buried (cf. Thrush 2007). This truth underscores the need for greater awareness of what haunts the boundaries between “story” and “history,” spirits and humans, and past and present in this multicultural community where I have conducted environmental and ethnohistorical research since 1991. Boundaries signify the coming together of different systems of belief and the presence of ancestors, core components for articulating how natives and nonnatives relate to place in different ways. Recent interdisciplinary scholarship examines how hauntings intersect with memory, identity, and communal historical consciousness (Thrush 2007; Richardson 2003; Nabakov 2002; Bergland 2000; Brogan 1999; Gordon 1997: 21; Tuan 1979). Ghosts articulate the unseen and the unvoiced—the marginalized and forgotten—in short, those experiences and imaginings that are subjected to hegemonic forces, yet still contribute to the “realness” of social life. Because indigenous people do not typically distinguish between natural and supernatural realms, this may leave them vulnerable to any number of judgments in a society committed to certain binaries: irrational versus rational, truth versus fiction, normal versus paranormal, and plausible versus incredible. For these reasons, the scholarly inclusion and analysis of ghosts opens a door to greater engagement between the so-called “master” disciplines and Native American studies. It is an opportunity to move beyond binaries and toward a middle path of understanding (cf. Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2006).

Avery Gordon, in her ground-breaking study *Ghostly Matters* (1997), defines “hauntings” as a part of everyday modernity—a means by which we understand social life by unpacking power relations that are “never as transparently clear as the names we give them imply” (3). Tales of ghostly encounters told by Klallam people cross similar boundaries. To be haunted by the ancestral dead is another route to claiming rights to (re)occupy and (re)define lands appropriated through colonial processes. After all, these ancient spirits choose to reveal themselves to “their” living descendants. Seeing them legitimizes rights to land by demarcating who does (or does not) belong. Therefore, such stories are *alternatives* for laying claim to place and the past. They remind us, as Coll Thrush (2007: 1) states, that “every American city is built on Indian land.” There are no places in North America that are not, somehow, part of a larger indigenous homeland.

My own interests in the interplay of spirits, the environment, development, and the past began when stories about hauntings found their way to

our home in the Midwest after tribal members were hired as archaeological technicians at the čixʷícən site. After I arrived in Port Angeles in the summer of 2005 for summer fieldwork, it was clear that for many people, the subjects of the environment and land development, spirits, and the ancient village site were thoroughly entwined.

In 2005, the Lower Elwha Klallam Tribe hosted the annual Tribal Journeys canoe festival—an annual event since 1989 that primarily involves native peoples in the United States and Canada. Each evening people gathered in a large tent for ceremonial singing, dancing, and giveaways. The Elwha Klallam selected as the theme of their tribal journey event “Reflections of Our Past: Čixʷícən Village”—a formal commemoration that drew attention to the village site dig, which had become a hotly contested political and cultural issue. Tribal Journeys thus became a forum not just for celebrating the vibrancy of Northwest canoe culture, but an opportunity to engage people near and far in a debate about land use, cultural resource management, and the past. It was clear that the people of Lower Elwha were seeking—and finding—allies from among the thousands of Northwest Coast residents invited for the festivities and the tourists who attended public events and for whom modern-day tribal citizens provide a link to the region’s cultural and natural heritage.

There is nothing new about conflicts between state and tribal governments, particularly in the Pacific Northwest. Since treaty times, states and tribes have struggled over control of the region’s natural and cultural resources. As the Olympic Peninsula transitions from an extractive resource-based economy to a service and preservation-based economy, residents are genuinely frustrated over more job losses. The loss of the graving dock project was a final straw for unemployed loggers and mill workers, most of whom are nonnative. Tribal citizens, who also face economic hardships and chronic underemployment and who also have a history of working in forest industries, bear the additional responsibility of caring for ancestral lands and remains. Development projects like the graving dock have been another kind of final straw for them, and their response has been to characterize the project as an “open grave” out of sincere and desperate fear over the consequences of disturbing the dead and further eroding endangered resources.

When I searched the existing Klallam language word list for vocabulary words related specifically to ghosts, what I found was the word *naʔnəkʷitəŋ*, which means “to ghost someone” (Montler n.d.). This is not a word I ever heard used directly in relationship with čixʷícən. Nonetheless, it relates to community beliefs about the nature of haunting that I have been told over the years. Clearly, to be ghosted implies a kind of relationship between the

living and the dead—this is a verb, not a noun. In this sense, ghosts have a certain agency to mingle with the living, whom they “ghost.” This is much closer to the way Klallam people express their experiences of the dead. Unlike paranormal investigators, who use technology in places believed to be haunted in the hopes of “capturing” the dead on digital recordings, Klallam people are concerned restless ancestors will find and “capture” them, following the living, for example, from disturbed grave sites to their homes. Ancestors create dangerous circumstances for the living when they seek to cross boundaries between this world and the land of the dead.

The varied concerns expressed by diverse residents of the Olympic Peninsula scratch the surface of what is at stake for the entire community—natives and nonnatives alike. Who truly defines the character of the region? Whose losses are more heartbreaking? Who is the most marginalized? Can the wounds ruptured by excavations ever be sutured? Is there room on the Olympic Peninsula for true cultural diversity?

It is my desire here to affirm that stories of spirits anchor and authenticate the past for Elwha Klallam people in time and space in ways that archival records or archaeological reports do not—a point Jill Grady (2004) has substantiated elsewhere in the Northwest. This is not to argue that tribal citizens have no use for documents or artifacts—that is certainly not the case. However, leaving open the possibility of other kinds of links to the past or interpretations, including personal narratives of the sort I have collected here, enables one to consider more carefully how cultural actors maintain boundaries in order to reproduce their unique cultures in a multicultural world. Native peoples ought to play a central and critical role in controlling the means and modes of historical production and in interpreting the multiple meanings and significance of archaeological and historical evidence from the past. The question remains—who will—or should be—listening?

Numerous scholars are now engaging in studies of the spectral within literary criticism (Weinstock 2004; Richardson 2003; Bergland 2000; Brogan 1999) and geography and architecture (Vidler 1999; Tuan 1979); through examination of the relationship between performance, memory, and the past (Holland 2000; Roach 1996); and in postcolonial interpretations of folklore and history (Simmons 1986; Ivy 1995; Trouillot 1995; Nabakov 2002: 146–48). Peter Nabakov (2002: 148) argues that the ancestral remains of indigenous peoples possess inordinate power to mobilize politics and emotions while “Indian history continues to hinder and haunt the doctrine of progress by placing human remains in its path.” The “contours and boundaries” of space as “sites of struggle” in contemporary discourse “are called upon to stand in for contested realms” of national and ethnic identities (Vidler 1999: 167). In a similar vein, the čixʷícən village

and burial ground mobilized Klallam people, who in turn called out to indigenous people near and far, seeking global support for their human and sovereign rights to the site. It became a metonym, standing in for larger issues regarding contemporary indigenous sovereignty. At the 2005 Tribal Journeys canoe festival, indigenous people from as far away as Japan, New Zealand, and the Pribilof Islands joined efforts to support the Klallam (Boyd 2005a). In speeches and informal conversation throughout the five-day celebration of Northwest canoe culture, references to spirits, ancestors, and ghosts were frequent.

### **čixʷícən/Port Angeles: Multivocality and Multilocality on the Olympic Peninsula**

Diverse user groups on the Olympic Peninsula often divide over issues pertaining to land use, natural and cultural resources, tourism, and development. How the region will represent itself to the millions of tourists who visit each year is, as Michael Harkin (2003b: 577) notes in an article on tourism and native peoples, “a dialogic process involving both locals and outsiders, indigenous peoples and agents of globalization.” Like the Makah Nation’s renowned Ozette dig, a rare archaeological find in downtown Port Angeles has the potential to draw even more visitors to the region. When the decision was made to excavate the site and disinter the remains, tribal members were hired to work as archaeological technicians and provide security for the site, as was the case with the Makah at Ozette. For Klallam people, the unearthing of their ancestors was a mixed blessing. Elders especially were distressed as the archaeological dig recalled for them “repeated desecrations of the site by industrial development” in the area. At the same time, although it brought intense grief and trauma, tribal members also expressed excitement over the historic richness of the village site. Although marketing their culture was not a primary concern in the early months of the dig, later tribal leaders supported the development of an interpretive center where some of the artifacts unearthed during the excavation period could be displayed and contextualized for visitors. Archaeologists hired by the state of Washington and the tribe debated the significance of the site—arguing back and forth about its potential value to public history. As time progressed, it became evident that the 2,700-year-old site, with its millions of artifacts and cultural features, was perhaps one of the most significant archaeological sites unearthed in Washington State to date (Mapes 2005).

The čixʷícən site reflects the Klallam people’s larger relationship to the north Olympic slope, which reaches back thousands of years to the last Ice Age. Oral traditions reference the era of the Animal People and xáʔyəs (or

Changer), who readied the world for the humans who were coming, as the following story illustrates:

All the people heard that a man [Changer] was coming to change everything. Kekaiax [Wolf] heard about it and got ready so when the man came, Kekaiax went with him. The man turned and said, “I do not want you to come with me.” He touched Kekaiax and changed him into rotten wood on the ground.

After a short time Kekaiax got up and started to call to this man and said, “Turn around and look at your dead stick.” And he walked behind the man. Then the man turned again and he touched Kekaiax, making him a high mountain. Soon Kekaiax said, “Just turn around and look at your mountain.” He was standing up again. The man walked on and Kekaiax walked behind him. The man hated Kekaiax and he turned and touched him, making him a fine little sand spit for he wanted the next people to use him as a landing. Soon Kekaiax called, “Just turn around and look at your spit.” The man left Kekaiax but Kekaiax still followed him. (Robbie Davis in Gunther 1925: 143)

Over time, the ancestors of the  $n\acute{x}^w s\lambda\acute{a}y\acute{o}m\acute{u}c\acute{a}n$  (the Strong People) settled in winter villages at the mouths of rivers and creeks that discharged into the Strait of Juan de Fuca, the bottleneck that connects the Pacific Ocean to the inland waters of the Puget Sound. They also built villages on beaches that rimmed the nearby deep water harbor and at the base of Ediz Hook, a large sand spit that frames Port Angeles harbor like a crooked arm. The harbor and beach became prime locations for subsistence some 2,700 years ago when fluctuating postglacial sea levels stabilized (Larson and Lewarch 1991). Oral and written historical sources indicate that the  $\text{?i}^{\text{?}}\acute{i}n\acute{a}s$  village was east of Ediz Hook at the mouth of Ennis Creek and  $\acute{c}ix^w\acute{i}c\acute{a}n$  was located west of the base of the spit near a saltwater lagoon.

Residents of the harbor had ready access to diverse sea life, a beach rich with botanical resources and mollusks, and nearby complex forests. Noble families were protected from natural and human enemies by the spit and with its proximity to valuable resources and a deep water port, were well positioned to take advantage of trade opportunities, particularly after Europeans arrived in their sailing vessels.

In 1856, Captain Alexander Sampson sailed his schooner from nearby Port Townsend into Port Angeles harbor, dropped anchor, and proceeded to stake out a 320-acre donation claim along the western edge of the harbor, near the  $\acute{c}ix^w\acute{i}c\acute{a}n$  village and where the Daishowa America mill stands today. Sampson and his business associate, Jack Dunn, had formed Winsor and Company in order to fish and establish trade with local indigenous

populations. Since the arrival of the fur trade to the Pacific Northwest in the 1820s, Klallam people had participated in trade with Europeans and Americans that linked them to global markets (*Washington Historical Quarterly* 1915).

Alexander Sampson and his partner determined the land behind the deep water port would be an excellent location for their new headquarters where they would establish formal trade relations with indigenous people (Hult 1954: 94–95). Unfortunately, Sampson did not make a good first impression on his new neighbors and colleagues, since the Klallam people “resented his location on the harbor” because it encompassed their village and cemetery. Angry villagers retaliated by attempting to board Sampson’s vessel. He and Dunn escaped by putting distance between themselves and the canoes of their pursuers. Strained relations between the new settlers and the Klallam subsided when “Old Indian Norman” [most likely the nobleman Yeoman] from the ʔiʔinəs village, who was “friendly to white people,” intervened (Harper 1971: 180). A historical tale, a kind of story known in Klallam as *sqʷsʔqʷiʔ*, was recorded by the linguist John Peabody Harrington in the 1940s that tells of a husband and wife who fall prey to the bitter effects of alcohol consumption while on a road stretching between “Port Angeles town” and the Klallam village at the spit. This story links the village and Ediz Hook by foregrounding a family drama that underscores the alcohol trade as a harsh consequence of early contact between native peoples and European Americans (Boyd 2006: 344–47; Harrington 1981 [1942]: 1116). The husband’s relatives believe he has died after he passes out and proceed to inter him in the nearby cemetery. When he calls for help, they mistake him for a ghost (Boyd 2006: 344).

By the late 1850s, the federal government expected Klallam people to have removed to the newly created Skokomish Reservation on Hood Canal following the negotiation of the Treaty of Point No Point in 1855. With few exceptions, the Klallam refused to remove, as the reservation “was not their country” (Henry Allen quoted in Elmendorf 1993: 5). Despite the uncertainties and hardships they faced as a “landless” tribe, most late nineteenth century Klallam preferred to live on or near their original winter villages, even if this meant squatting illegally on land claimed by settlers or residing with the permission of legal property owners.

By 1861, President Abraham Lincoln had set aside five square miles of land along the Port Angeles harbor as a military and naval reserve (Hult 1954: 98). This became the basis for squatters’ claims to allegedly unclaimed public land on Ediz Hook. Over time, more Klallam people moved to Port Angeles, where they joined strangers and relations already living in semi-permanent dwellings on Hollywood Beach and Ediz Hook. Newcomers to

the region began referring to them as the “Port Angeles Indians” or the “Clallam Bay Band” (U.S. Census 1900, 1910, 1930; Boyd 2001: 193–236). In 1866, Carolyn Leighton, on a visit to the tip of Ediz Hook, described one of these Klallam villages that rimmed the Port Angeles Harbor. It is evident from her description that by that time, the region was already significantly reshaped by nonnative development. Her romantic description has a kind of timeless and resigned tone to it—“How long will these ‘picturesque’ scenes last?” runs like a kind of undercurrent throughout her journal:

We are making a visit at the end of Ediz Hook. No one lives here now but the light-keepers. When we feel the need of company, we look across to the village of Port Angeles and the Indian ranch. It is very striking to see how much more picturesque one is than the other, in the distance. In the village, all the trees have been cut down; but the lodges of the Indians stand in the midst of a maple grove, and in this Indian-summer weather there is always a lovely haze about it, bright leaves, and blue beams of mist across the trees. Living so much out of doors, as they do, and in open lodges, their little fires are often seen, giving their ranch a hospitable look, and making the appearance of the village very uninviting in comparison (Leighton 1995 [1884]: 68).

The natural-resources industries, especially fishing and logging, grew the economy on which cities like Port Angeles evolved. For Klallam people, this was still Indian land even if they also participated as wage laborers and entrepreneurs in the burgeoning capitalist economy. Along with the fish canneries built to support the commercial fishing industry, local developers also built logging mills in which to process the hundreds of board feet of timber harvested each year from the Olympic Peninsula’s old growth forests. In the latter half of the nineteenth century, U.S. forestry practices emphasized profitability at the expense of preserving natural resources (Boyd 2001: 259). Tensions between private landowners, industrialists, and private conservationists characterized the competition for development on the Olympic Peninsula. Local developers clamored for economic development at the expense of sustainability. Klallam people at this time were present, but as landless Indians were largely voiceless in these debates. Local timber companies grew in power and encroached on what had been Klallam lands and village sites. In 1914, Mike Earles built the “Big Mill” at the base of Ediz Hook—at the time it was the largest timber mill in the world.

Thus, in the early twentieth century, Ediz Hook became a site where conflicting interests merged. Like a magnet, it drew to its shores traders and industrialists; sportsmen, commercial fishers, and subsistence fishers; conservationists and entrepreneurs; law-abiding citizens and criminals; rich

and poor; natives and immigrants. The story of Ediz Hook, which is also the story of čixʷícən, lays bare the threads of sociopolitical and economic tensions within Clallam County in the early twentieth century. The desire to control Ediz Hook made enemies of some while forging alliances among others. It both triggered and revealed the contest for power between federal agents of government and those representing the state and various private sectors. Ediz Hook was a microcosm and in its history we may understand something about social and environmental changes as settlement and development further transformed the Olympic Peninsula. It is a story that reverberates in the present.

By 1915, Ediz Hook was significantly more developed from its base to its tip. Although it was still the home of several Klallam families and an interethnic settlement of “fishermen’s shacks” with small docks, the spit boasted canneries, timber mills, and a lighthouse at the tip. The fishing village was a community of lower income individuals and families: shady characters smuggling whiskey, opium, and Chinese laborers; mill workers; laborers; and fishermen who “plied their lines” for salmon and “devil fish,” which were sold to the Japanese market (Welsh 1920). Ediz Hook was also designated a federal bird reservation in 1915, even though numerous reports indicated that because of the spit’s proximity to the City of Port Angeles “and there being considerable industry carried on the reservation, it is of little value to waterfowl” (USDA 1921).

Those families dwelling in the “electric light and bathtub zone”—the newer neighborhoods emerging on the sea cliffs rimming the harbor—viewed the spit as “the city slums” but, as the local paper noted, residents of Ediz Hook still contributed to the growing economy by spending their money in town (Welsh 1920). Nonetheless, dispossession of “squatters”—native and nonnative—on the spit was viewed by city fathers as a necessary stage in the evolution of progress: “Just as the pioneers clearing lands in the forest drove the Indians to seek other hunting grounds, so is the progress of Port Angeles driving the squatters from the government reservation on Ediz Hook” (Welsh 1920).

At the end of the 1930s, fourteen families had moved to land in the Lower Elwha valley purchased on their behalf through the Indian Reorganization Act’s land buy-back program. A few families remained at Ediz Hook until the 1950s. After that, stories of the villages that rimmed the harbor remained a part of Klallam people’s cultural memory (Valadez 2002; Boyd 2001: 319; Morrison 1939).

With each new development in Port Angeles and the surrounding environs, Klallam sites were destroyed or desecrated. After Klallam people were forced to relocate to the unprotected areas of the spit between the mills and

the lighthouse, workers building the new mill in 1915 drove pilings deep into the base of Ediz Hook and unearthed, damaged, and desecrated hundreds of human remains. Some of the remains were removed to be later used as fill. In addition to the physical evidence found in the course of the recent dig, in a previous generation, mill owners and local “old timers” speculated the bones were all that was left of a great battle between the Klallam and the Chimekum, an indication they were aware human remains had been found when the mill was constructed (Crown Zellerbach 1940: 1).

Encounters between indigenous peoples and European Americans underscore the premise that basic understanding has been fraught with miscommunications that arose due to enduring and fundamental problems concerning the experience of place. When European and American explorers, traders, and settlers first arrived in what would become the western United States, they often ignored or belittled the primacy of landscape that so utterly defined the realities of native people they met. The result was, of course, a series of misunderstandings with various consequences ranging from inconsequential to brutal. Today, the legacies of these early encounters are apparent in stories that explode throughout the media. Often, private citizens, developers, and politicians are forced to contend with tribal claims and counterclaims rooted in histories they have rarely been taught. As was true in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, at the root of contentious debates in the early twenty-first century about the development of land, resources, and water are fundamental disagreements about how places and natural resources should, or should not, be used, managed, or commemorated. Humans discern, value, and shape landscapes through fundamentally different values and expectations they have for the environment (Ingold 2000; Silver 1990; Cronon 1983; Brody 1981).

### **Graveyards and Graving Docks: Disputing Traditions of (Dis)belief**

Native employees worked alongside contract archaeologists to disinter human remains from the čixʷícən graveyard. Shortly after work began, some native workers began to experience inexplicable encounters and strange sensations, which they attributed to the disturbance and desecration of ancestral graves. Many expressed concern for the safety of fellow crew members working at the site, especially (but not exclusively) those of indigenous heritage.

Haunting, Avery Gordon (1997: 7) notes, “is a constituent element of modern social life. It is neither premodern superstition nor individual psychosis; it is a . . . social phenomenon of great import.” Like magic and

witchcraft, cultural haunting critiques modernity and at the same time “belongs” to it (Pels 2003: 5). In the 1930s, a Twana/Klallam elder named Frank Allen told the young anthropologist William Elmendorf (1993: 227) that an Indian doctor had revealed to him how ghosts dwelling in the land of the dead “got automobiles now, stores now, just like we have here.” With this statement, Allen challenged modernity’s power to banish ancestral ghosts by demonstrating the uncanny ability of spirits to embrace selected aspects of modernity and therefore survive—a fact that parallels the resilience of living native people as they too resist, survive, and transform. They continue to have more in common with dead ancestors than living non-natives, so this seems to suggest.

Folklorist David Hufford (1982: 47) questions why it is that “most” academics view “supernatural beliefs” as arising from “various kinds of obvious error.” In other words, he states, “What I know, I *know*, what you know you only *believe*” (ibid.). Hufford speaks directly to what is at issue here. As anthropologists and scientists, those who are trained in the Western “tradition of disbelief” generally dismiss as false any claims that cannot be proven through observable facts. In August 2005, at a healing ceremony held at the čixʷícən village site, a visitor from the Tulalip Tribes echoed Hufford’s sentiment in one of several insightful and poignant speeches made that day: “Sometimes people do not recognize what is dear to us. They never say it is a sacred site to the Klallam people. They say ‘The Klallam people believe it is a sacred site.’—Not that it just is” (Boyd 2005b). It can be especially difficult for native peoples when scholars hired to consult on projects are not truly open to full intellectual engagement with indigenous epistemologies.

When issues pertaining to land development, tourism, and environmental, historic, or cultural preservation cut across political, social, and economic boundaries, natives and nonnatives may view what is at stake in different ways—each from their traditions of belief or disbelief. Native peoples express concern over nonnative abuse of local sacred sites. For instance, Boston Charley, “the last medicine man of the Klallam people,” would “go up to the Olympic Hot Springs for spiritual cleansing, long before the springs were known to white people” (Valadez 2002: 23). In the twenty-first century, the hot springs are used regularly by ecotourists seeking “authentic” back-to-nature experiences. Some people choose to bathe in the nude, so warning signs are posted on the trail alerting visitors to the possibility of public nudity. Sometimes the hot springs are closed due to a high amount of bacteria in stagnant water, which makes them unsafe for human use. For these reasons, few native people on the Olympic Peninsula attempt to access these sacred sites any longer, even though some would like to do so. The Olympic Mountains remain a significant source of mythi-

cal stories (or *sx<sup>w</sup>i<sup>2</sup>ám*) of quarreling spouses turned into peaks and Mimwheeten, the sleeping lady in the mountains, who can be seen from the Lower Elwha Valley reposing on her back—when she stands up, the world will come to an end (Boyd 1992). Likewise there are historical tales of Klallam youth venturing to the mountains in order to seek out and commune with guardian spirits (cf. Ed Sampson in Wray 1997: 60).

Whether they are fighting to protect sacred sites or exercising fishing and hunting rights, and despite their own cultural beliefs and sovereign authority, Klallam people struggle to be understood amid a cacophony of voices clamoring for *their* sense of place, the wilderness, and order to be privileged. Using resources in an appropriate manner—catching, cleaning, processing, and eating a salmon, deer, or whale—is a physical expression of all that is sacred. The act of fishing enables Klallam fishermen to know their environment through direct experience and brings them closer to the Salmon People—sacred entities that inhabit Northwest waterways. Accusations that they do not respect natural resources because they actively fish and hunt do not take into account that the union of a human and an animal in this way is a sign of respect, if properly conducted. Sacred sites, and this includes a vast array of sites used for multiple purposes, must be approached and ministered with proper care and concern for all that dwells in that place—human and otherwise. Because an individual thinks he or she is being respectful by bathing nude in a hot spring does not mean this is true from the standpoint of indigenous people.

Everyone has different stakes in such contentious debates. Understanding these debates provides greater awareness of the issues that are at stake. The very fact that city leaders, union organizers, and officials from Washington State's Department of Transportation pushed to continue the graving dock project, even after human remains were uncovered, was further proof to Indian people how little their neighbors, politicians, and fellow state citizens really understood what was at stake for them. Like the response to Makah whaling or the violence perpetrated against Indians following the Boldt decision in 1974 (*United States v. Washington*), pursuing the development of *čix<sup>w</sup>ícən* even after remains were found was viewed as a blatant affront against indigenous peoples.

More than a decade ago, Haitian scholar Michel-Rolph Trouillot (1995: 151) cautioned us to be aware of silence in history—its causes and reasons for existing, including those relationships of inequality that serve to reproduce in the present the “legacies of past horrors” like slavery and colonialism. “Only in the present,” he states “can we be true or false to the past we choose to acknowledge” (ibid.). In this regard, stories of spirits disturbed by legacies of the past and actions taken in the present that also collide with

disturbances to physical landscapes are a variety of spatial-temporal narrative that Klallam people are actively weaving together. Others can choose to listen or to ignore. How far will policy makers, scientists, developers, or civic leaders go to acknowledge and engage tribal assertions that the land is actually, not just metaphorically, “haunted”?

### **“You See Your Culture Coming Out of the Ground Like a Power”: Cultural Haunting in a Coast Salish Community**

At a healing ceremony held on 2 August 2005 during the Tribal Journeys canoe festival, about 250 people gathered at the čixʷícən site. One hereditary chief from the Esquimalt reserve on nearby Vancouver Island stated: “It is truly a testimony to Indian people that we are caring for the land, the water. You can’t give up because things are standing in your way. The old people want you to be together. It was the old people who pulled you together. You see your culture coming out of the ground like a power” (Boyd 2005b).

His words referred to the human remains and artifacts removed from the ground throughout the course of the čixʷícən project—material objects that evoked a sense of power and purpose even as they frightened and disturbed many people. Over one hundred native people, most from the Lower Elwha, were employed at the site during the first fifteen-month period the dig was under way. Most received on-the-job training from the contract field archaeologists hired to supervise. Tribal employees took the teachings of elders “very seriously” and conducted themselves accordingly at the dig site. For instance, they were instructed to wash with snowberry water before entering and leaving the site and smear dabs of *tumas* (red ochre) near their eyes for protection. They also participated in prayer circles. One tribal member stated: “I had to pray about what I was doing out there and I asked [the ancestors] to show me what they wanted me to show the world. After that I started to find some awesome artifacts. Around that time I ended up finding my first human remains. It was kind of disturbing” (Boyd 2005a). His first strange encounter occurred after being given the choice of where to dig. While standing in a certain location, he heard a loud knocking sound coming up through the ground and through his feet. He decided to dig on that exact spot and soon unearthed a human pelvic bone—“I was probably standing on [an ancestor], it was like [he was] in a box saying, “You’re standing on me, step aside!” The remains found that day were male. “[I’ve been a] fisherman all my life,” he explained, “this guy I found had hooks and harpoons buried with him” (ibid.). This person’s own status as a fisher-

man caused the employee, who is also highly respected for his subsistence skills, to identify positively with the decedent. For many of the native people associated with the dig, uncanny encounters are a part of real life. They may be odd or even frightening, but few dispute that spirits exist and have agency to influence, and in this case, inspire, the living.

For native people employed at the site there were not only spatial but also temporal considerations. When the dig first began, archaeologists hired to supervise the project collaborated with spiritual advisers and leaders from regional indigenous communities on protocol. "At first they would listen to our spiritual advisors. They would tell our people if they see something that bothers them they have the right to take all the time they need to collect themselves, no matter how long it would take" (Boyd 2005a). This changed when deadlines had to be met. Archaeologists stopped calling the designated tribal liaisons when they found human remains. "I did get offended [when the archaeologists did not follow protocol]. The way I was trained there is no time limit, I don't care how long it takes" (ibid.).

Others shared uncanny experiences from the site. A young pregnant woman told me she had been instructed to avoid the dig because she was in a sacred state and it could be "dangerous" for her and the baby. Another woman attributed the numerous remains of children she unearthed to the fact she has three young children herself. Another explained that her boyfriend's house had to be "brushed out" with cedar boughs after a sibling working on the site carelessly brought spirits home from the dig (Boyd 2005a). During the excavation, community members gathered with relations from Vancouver Island for a ceremonial "burning" of food and clothing—offerings to appease the ancestors. Each person who participated was someone with direct ancestral ties to the village. One man stated: "I felt I had to be [working at the site], knowing that my father was born out on Ediz Hook." He prayed "every day not to offend the ancestors" (ibid.). A woman hired to dig and screen artifacts also was available to smudge crew members who felt uncomfortable for any reason with burnt sage and cedar bundles. Prior to seeking employment at the site, she visited a family allotment where she stayed until she found five sacred items including eagle fluffs, olive shells, and stones. These things, along with following the strict protocol elders advised, protected her and she suffered no ill effects from the dig. However, the power of the site to cause harm was readily apparent at a healing ceremony I attended in 2005, where participants were instructed to check their clothing and children's clothing for shells, sand, or rocks from the site. Anything, even sand and dirt, in close proximity to disturbed human remains was unsafe to carry away.

Tribal members' raw and public expression of grief at times seemed to

fall on deaf ears. “Stop grieving and start graving” a yard sign proclaimed. Others participated in the twenty-first century equivalent of the whisper campaign as a “private” e-mail message accusing the tribe of taking over the waterfront was circulated among members of the Port Angeles City Council and eventually found its way to other e-mail accounts. Some residents, clearly frustrated, turned their anger on tribal enterprises, and eventually the FBI was brought in to investigate a local campaign launched to damage the reputation of the Elwha Fish Company, a tribally owned and operated business in Port Angeles (*Native American Law Report* 2005). In an open statement released on the Internet, Frances Charles, tribal chair for the Lower Elwha Klallam, stated:

We are asked to make the economics of the Clallam County/Port Angeles area our priority—to save a bridge that has deteriorated through the course of the years due to natural forces—not listening to what mother earth herself wants, but going back into the “reality” of the non-native society and trying to reconstruct this bridge. Maybe it doesn’t belong there, but that is not for us to judge at this point in time.

But this version of reality is the one that we’re faced with. And it’s tearing our community apart in heart, the way we have to witness the visions of how our ancestors are being treated, and the disrespect that is shown by the construction that continues at the site and the village itself. (Charles 2007)

Charles went on to thank the workers responsible for providing spiritual support to the technicians who worked on the site. It is evident from her words that for many Klallam people, the site is far more than an archaeological repository or an employment opportunity; it is sacred land: “Our words cannot express the wisdom of those that come down here and help us in the spiritual parts of the morale of our people, for the sorrow that they’re carrying—to uplift them, and help them in the day-to-day functions that they’re working with down here. There is no piece of paper that can express the job description that they are working with down here, because these grounds are very sacred” (Charles 2007).

After the site was closed down, the remains “waited” in storage until they were finally reburied in September 2008, with a solemn blend of beliefs—in this small community people adhere to the Shaker Indian Church, local Christian denominations and/or more traditional beliefs like the Smokehouse religion. Tribal members reported on the day of the reburial that they felt “whole” and like justice had been served. One young woman, when asked how the ancestors felt about events, stated, “I hear that they’re happy and I would just like to think they came back home” (Casey 2008a).



Figure 1. Jonny Charles at son Foster Charles's home on Ediz Hook (near čix'ícən site), mid-1930s. University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections, UW 14317

Immediate plans for the site include maintaining the cemetery and landscaping it with grass and native plants. In time, the Lower Elwha Klallam Tribe hopes to construct a cultural center and museum that would include a re-creation of the čix'ícən village as it looked in the nineteenth century (Casey 2008b). This would ensure the tribe could “keep on educating and sharing the culture of the Lower Elwha Klallam” (Boyd 2008).

The čix'ícən graveyard and village site and the graving dock proposed for economic development had little in common on the surface, except for the unfortunate fact that for a time they shared the same physical space. For city leaders and residents anxious for family-wage jobs to materialize, the graving dock represented the prosperity of the future. For Klallam people, who were also concerned about the future of their families, the past represented by the cemetery could not be ignored. Supporting the graving dock would have required them to detach from the ancestral lifeline that čix'ícən represents. There would be no future—no moving forward—for them until the ancestors could be returned to their final resting place.

The state of Washington spent \$87 million on the Port Angeles graving dock, which was not completed and eventually rebuilt elsewhere. The entire community lost over one hundred family-wage jobs. Even though the

archaeological dig created temporary employment for about the same number of people, for the most part, these jobs disappeared when the site was closed down. In early October 2007, the Lower Elwha Klallam government settled lawsuits against several private and governmental parties, including the state of Washington and an archaeological firm originally hired by the tribe to conduct the dig. The site will be designated a historic cemetery, and in September 2008, members of the Lower Elwha Klallam Tribe reinterred over three hundred complete burials excavated from the site, “in two days of painstaking earth moving” (Casey 2008b). Some of the artifacts are now stored at the University of Washington in Seattle and will become part of a curation and interpretive facility to be built on a section of the site.

### **“My Heart Aches for You—You Are So Far Away”: Authenticating Spirits in Place**

It is the Elwha Klallam tradition for tribal members to do the work of digging graves and burying the dead. Mostly men from the community are asked to do this painful and difficult labor. It can take many hours just to dig a single grave, inter the remains, and bury the deceased with proper ceremonies. Funeral services and burials are daylong events. A local reporter for the *Peninsula Daily News*, who has covered tribal-related stories for years, was present when tribal members reburied the čix<sup>w</sup>ícən remains. He wrote about the Shaker and Klallam songs and prayers that were offered, including one that when translated stated, “My heart aches for you—You are so far away” (Casey 2008a).

Human experiences of place are colored by these shades of ancestral memories. Ghosts are slippery and uncanny—familiar and strange all at the same time. They are present and absent—near and far away at the same time. They evade humans even as we call upon or encounter them in unexpected ways. Yet they also cross boundaries and provide a kind of “cultural language” for articulating our intangible relationships to specific places (Bell 1997: 813). Like place, ghosts are “best viewed from points in between the rock of objective generalization and the soft place of subjective particularism” (815). Our landscapes are filled with such subjective experiences—the ghosts that “help constitute the specificity of historical sites, of the places where we feel we belong and do not belong [and believe others do not belong], of the boundaries of possession by which we assign ownership and nativeness.” They are “a ubiquitous aspect of the phenomenology of place” (813–14). To be internally possessed by spirits, in that experiencing them creates a sense of belonging to them, also demarcates an external boundary for geographic and cultural possession. The presence of Klallam

spirits authenticates indigenous claims to history and place in ways the non-native descendents of Clallam County pioneers do not necessarily share, even though they often take great pride in stories of how their ancestors “settled” the Olympic Peninsula (cf. Clallam County Historical Society 1971).

When Lower Elwha Klallam tribal members responded to the disturbance of the čixʷícən site by evoking federal law, which was well within their rights to do, they halted development of the marine construction site the state and city planners favored. Their primary goal was to protect the site, not to seize control of the city waterfront as some city council members contended (Boyd 2005a). In fact, in the past, the tribe had demonstrated a willingness to work *with* state and municipal governments on behalf of tourism and development by not having the decommissioned Rayonier timber mill declared a Superfund site (Boyd 2001: 190–93).

In contrast, the unearthing of the čixʷícən village and cemetery raised serious concerns about the desecration of human remains.<sup>1</sup> The archaeologists called in to determine the extent of the cultural materials substantiated that this was not the first time the site had been disturbed by development. It was unreasonable for state and city officials to presume tribal leaders and their constituents would not intervene, given that this was a culturally rich site that also contained hundreds of human burials. After the state spent millions of dollars and the Lower Elwha Klallam Tribe evoked federal law, the graving dock project was relocated to nearby Tacoma. State, county, and municipal leaders; developers; and private citizens were outraged that a project promising jobs and revitalization could be scrapped in deference to tribal demands for their cultural and legal rights. They were less than thrilled to be reminded this was first and foremost Indian land that carried with it certain legal constraints.

The treatment of Native American remains and cemeteries is at the heart of contentious debates surrounding the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1990. Stories of desecration begin with the arrival of Puritans in North America and proceed into the present. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, graves were pillaged in the name of scientific study and used to build collections in university and public museums. Sometimes military personnel robbed the dead of their belongings and their body parts to keep as grisly trophies of the Indian wars (Bieder 1996). Klallam human remains were mistreated and disregarded by nineteenth and twentieth century developers, venture capitalists, and even private citizens in the process of construction on the Olympic Peninsula. For example, in addition to the desecration of burials near the mill on Ediz Hook, in 1962, it was reported that at the village site on Ennis Creek, “Milwaukee Rail-

road tracks now run through the old burial ground” (*The Evening News*). Klallam people’s mistrust and anger about čix<sup>w</sup>icən and other sites must be understood within this context.

For Klallam people, the negative reactions they encountered from city leaders and state officials was yet another example of the unwillingness of nonnatives to understand or value their unique sense of place and the sacred. Waterfront development aside, as the descendants of the individuals buried in the earth, every Klallam person felt a familial obligation to ensure their relations were provided dignity and respect. They could not turn their backs on the haunting reality revealed by the unearthing of human remains.

The larger questions posed here are not limited to one region or time period. The kinds of problems Klallam people experienced are similar to those of colonized people elsewhere—from early twentieth century Africans who feared rumors that European imperialists were actually vampires kidnapping black people to steal their blood (White 2000) to contemporary tribal peoples in Australia who use tropes of haunting spirits and the sacred to “radically disturb” the nation’s image of itself and resacralize the landscape (Gelder and Jacobs 1998) and Irish stewards of holy wells concerned that “New Agers” are offending the spirits of these sacred sites through incorrect use of them and causing the wells to “go away” (Ray 2007).

Core conflicts, born of cross-cultural (mis)conceptions of, and differing relationships to, space, spirit, and place, are stereotypically framed as unequal contests between “tradition” and “progress,” with native peoples fighting oppression by clinging stubbornly (and emotionally) to their ancestral past. Meanwhile nonnatives champion development, make the hard choices to promote economic and scientific (rational) progress in the face of what are viewed as quixotic minority claims to underutilized objects and spaces and long-dead history. Such discord is intimately tied to emotional experiences of local histories and place. In his insightful article concerning the ethnohistory of emotions, Michael Harkin reminds us that little has changed with regard to the amount of attention ethnohistorians typically devote to the emotional dimensions of the past (Harkin 2003a: 277–78), let alone to understanding the role of emotions outside of Western culture (261–66). At the same time, he challenges us to rise above fears that such investigations will only lead researchers down a tangled and nonproductive path of subjectivity. In the end, many ethnohistorians remain unwilling to face the colonial past—what Alfred Kroeber called “the little history of pitiful events” (263). Facing the emotions that are interwoven with indigenous senses of place and their personal and cultural memories about the past requires that we face the all-too-human responses to colonialism, past and present. Stories about ghosts that are attached to local landscapes accen-

tuates places that have been disturbed by the very process of colonialism in its myriad forms—economic, cultural, geographic, and scientific—and are shared by indigenous people publicly and privately. Public formal commemorations like press conferences, healing ceremonies, burials, and ritual burnings, as well as more privately expressed grief—informal prayers, stories between friends and families, personal/family rituals to “brush off” the afflicted with smudging of cedar and sage—are efforts to express to a multicultural audience the depth and the nature of emotional responses to the ancestral past.

## Conclusion

In the nineteenth century, settlers envisioned their new homes in the so-called “wilderness” of the West with trepidation. For the Klallam, this was not a wild or unmarked land. Everything they required to nourish bodies, minds, and souls and reproduce new generations was available, while knowledge preserved and transformed the landscape through cultural practices, stories, and language. In the twenty-first century, popular culture “still locates Indians and modernity at opposite ends of the nation’s historical trajectory” (Thrush 2007: 11). What lies between these extremes is a kind of spectral identity that replaces, at least for many nonnatives, the reality of indigenous people’s lived experiences. Thus, development of tourism in places like the Olympic Peninsula continues to promote romantic and even haunting images of native peoples in the past. On the city of Port Angeles’s public wharf, an artist was commissioned to paint a mural depicting local history to educate the many tourists that visit each year. The first panel, which depicts a Klallam village in the late eighteenth century at the time of European contact, used living tribal members as models—a kind of reverse spectralization, where contemporary native peoples are seen haunting their own ancestral past. Meanwhile, the reality of indigenous people living complex lives—seeking employment; granting interviews to the media; staging political protests; exercising their rights to fish, hunt, or gather; and excavating archaeological sites—is at odds with the identity civic leaders and developers want to project about the Olympic Peninsula as a kind of timeless and traditional envirocultural wonderland. These real-life native peoples, like all twenty-first-century global citizens, will not be contained to rigid stereotypes any more so than the spirits of place they claim are haunting them. The stories analyzed here exemplify how the Olympic Peninsula as a physical space is called upon to mark the “contested realms of identity.” Meanwhile, ancestral remains, located in places defined as sacred and historic, secular and modern, mobilize people into political action,

alter the trajectory of economic development, and resist the forgetting of indigenous points of view. This is not a land that time forgot and the native peoples—who are still transforming it—are not vanishing impediments to progress. As much as anyone else, they are born to, and for, the contemporary world—which is, for better or worse, increasingly interconnected.

In the late nineteenth century, native peoples across western North America took up the Ghost Dance in an effort to revitalize their cultures and revivify the past. Similarly, John Slocum died and later rose from the dead and thus brought the Indian Shaker Church to the peoples of the Northwest Coast, including the Klallam. Interactions between humans and spirits, including the power of ghosts to harm the living, were well-established beliefs among the Coast Salish prior to sustained contact. Today, members of the Indian Shaker Church, still an important source of spiritual power and leadership at Lower Elwha, protect believers from the restless spirits of the dead. Thus it is no surprise that artifacts, human remains, and spirits intersect on ground deemed sacred and in the process are revitalizing Klallam culture in powerful and sometimes traumatic ways. Ancestors call out to the living to protect a uniquely Klallam way of life and by preserving the past for the present and the future. Similarly, as the graving dock project promised to bring jobs and prosperity to Port Angeles, it was, in its own way, a kind of economic “ghost dance,” or resurrection, an effort to revitalize the regional economy and revivify a previous era when Port Angeles was a booming logging town. Although the Port Angeles graving dock project was scrapped, destined to become the future of another struggling Northwest community, the čixʷícən site will provide the region with yet another tourist attraction, one that will no doubt be embedded in a larger framework for valuing and considering what is memorable about this complex environment.

The Olympic Peninsula possesses the necessary components for successful tourism. With its temperate rain forests, exotic wildlife, towering glacial peaks, remote beaches, quaint coastal communities with Starbucks and clam chowder on tap, and colorful indigenous cultures, the region now relies on tourist dollars. With the collapse of the natural-resources industries in the Pacific Northwest, communities are under pressure to develop economic opportunities for residents, and in doing so are creating attractions that will draw wealthier residents of large urban centers to places they feel are somehow more “authentic.” In part, this includes references to the region’s “traditional” maritime and timber heritages. This is underscored by a recent exhibit at the newly refurbished Clallam County Historical Museum, titled “Strong People: Faces of Clallam County”—a play on the Klallam people’s name for themselves, which is translated to mean

“Strong People.” The exhibit goes beyond this to pay homage not only to Clallam County’s “ancestral” (i.e., tribal) heritage, but also to the pioneers who founded the city of Port Angeles and the region’s “timber, maritime and agricultural” past (Clallam County Historical Society). Indians, pioneers, fishermen, farmers, and timber workers are all “strong people,” united in their representations of what it means to be part of the Olympic Peninsula’s heritage—past and present. In reality, people of all ethnic backgrounds labored in the woods and mills and treasured gaffing or angling for the sparkling fish in the nearby streams. Perhaps the exhibit is a cautious step toward recognizing that people of diverse backgrounds can find common ground in their shared knowledge and experience of this region. The fact that they all labored in their own ways to make it what it is will aid in building a better sense of community and common purpose. Maybe these realizations will help to appease the specters of previous generations.

The discovery of graves had to be embedded into the community’s vision of itself and ultimately postponed (and later transformed) the economic recovery plan. The čix<sup>w</sup>ícən village and cemetery, according to tribal citizens, is haunted, and therefore has been at odds with newer development plans that attempted to suppress and even erase the history of this place. Newcomers to the region convey a kind of “landscape naiveté” that conceives of the land as a blank slate waiting to be inscribed. Instead, the Olympic Peninsula is a palimpsest and they are merely the most recent (and still not the only) layer in a complex and diverse overlay of place, culture, and history. Every action by developers and politicians evokes a reaction: “Your beaches are full of all the ancestors,” tribal elders caution (Boyd 2005a). The future of Port Angeles, for better or worse, is linked to its past, and Klallam people belong not only to the past, but to the present and future of the Olympic Peninsula. Their “memoryscapes,” that is to say, their “sensual and mental apprehension of their environment [and its] remembered places” cast long shadows in spaces that resist modernity’s assumption that power is only linked to the ability to see clearly in every corner (Nabakov 2002: 149). From shadowy and unseen places, the dead “speak” through the embodied experience of cultural haunting.

## Notes

I gratefully acknowledge the generous support I received for summer fieldwork from the Melville Jacobs Research Fund. I thank the editors and staff of *Ethnohistory*, most especially Michael Harkin, and also Adam Hartz at Duke Press, for their unwavering assistance with this manuscript and the anonymous reviewers whose suggestions made it stronger. I “raise my hands” to Drs. Jill Grady and Celeste Ray and my husband, John Boyd, for their willingness to carefully review multiple ver-

sions of this article and to Dr. Coll Thrush for his intellectual generosity and mutual interest in ghosts and most of all, to the people of Lower Elwha for sharing with me their knowledge, time, and stories.

- 1 Similarly, human remains were unearthed by construction workers in the town of Blaine, Washington. Instead of halting construction and treating the remains respectfully, in accordance with the agreement between the state of Washington and the Lummi Nation, human remains were secretly trucked to Colorado and even used, accidentally, for road pavement. In 2004, the Lummi Nation settled its dispute with Golder Associates over this action for \$4.25 million (Heffter 2004). This story underscores that it is likely as development increases in North America and around the globe, local governments, private citizens, and developers will be forced to confront the sovereign claims of indigenous governments and constituents and ignore these at their own peril and expense.

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