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To Fish in Common: The Ethnohistory of Lummi Indian Salmon Fishing.  
By Daniel L. Boxberger.

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For glimpses of Northern Cheyenne views the author turns almost exclusively to Peter J. Powell's excellent two-volume work, *People of the Sacred Mountain* (Harper and Row, 1981). Admittedly, it is very difficult to obtain information about Indian motives and perspectives from this era, especially for the native people the government deemed "hostile." Perhaps Sherry Smith could have gleaned more information from the extensive records of the Office of Indian Affairs, which she barely utilized. The voices of the Indian scouts are stronger, however, thanks largely to the observations of Lieutenant Bourke, a keen amateur ethnographer who recorded councils with Crook's Indian auxiliaries. Although their words have come to us through interpreters, as Smith herself notes, the reader does gain some insights into the motives of these scouts.

Smith's bibliography and footnotes are most helpful. The former lists the published and unpublished accounts of other soldiers—both enlisted men and officers—who fought with Private Smith. The footnotes present concise biographical information on individuals mentioned throughout Private Smith's diary. Although more rooted in military history than in Indian history, *Sagebrush Soldier* is an entertaining and valuable work that has wide appeal.

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**To Fish in Common: The Ethnohistory of Lummi Indian Salmon Fishing.** By Daniel L. Boxberger. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1989. 212 pages. \$26.50 Cloth.

When most people think of Northwest Coast Indians, they think of totem poles and masks and those stylized paintings of whales and eagles. But how much do people know about the day-to-day economic and subsistence activities of contemporary Northwest Coast Indians? There is a serious lack of information about the modern ways of life of Indian tribes in the northwestern United States, in both the coastal and interior regions. *To Fish in Common*, by Daniel L. Boxberger, is a very welcome addition to the sparse literature pertaining to today's Native American issues in this part of the country.

This well-written, carefully documented book traces the historical developments that have drastically affected salmon fishing among the Lummi Indians of Washington State. Boxberger utilizes ethnohistorical materials from several archival collections to piece together the evolution of Lummi salmon fishing from the prereservation days when the annual salmon harvest averaged six hundred pounds per person, through the invasion of Lummi fishing sites by commercial fishing and cannery operations, to the current attempts to reestablish a certain measure of economic autonomy through various fisheries-related projects.

Boxberger, who lived for many years on the Lummi Reservation on the northern Puget Sound and now teaches anthropology at Western Washington University, examines the ethnohistory of Lummi salmon fishing from a world-systems perspective, analyzing the many traumatic changes experienced by the Lummi Indians in terms of their increasing proletarianization and economic dependency, and their colonization by powerful capitalist interests. The book is divided into historical periods, beginning with an interesting description of early contact and prereservation days. It continues with the establishment and allotment of the reservation, the advent of commercial salmon fishing, the Indian Reorganization Act, the many subsequent shifts in United States government Indian policy, and the difficult economic conditions that have plagued the Lummis throughout the 1970s and 1980s.

Included, of course, is a discussion of the "Boldt Decision" of 1974, in which federal justice George Boldt ruled that not only do the nineteenth-century Indian treaties guarantee to native people access to certain fishing sites, they guarantee a specific percentage of the allowable harvest, set by Boldt at 50 percent. This infamous ruling provoked armed confrontations between Indian and non-Indian fishers, and led to numerous appeals in the courts—over thirty-five such appeals between 1974 and 1978. The Boldt Decision, upheld by the United States Supreme Court in 1979, has acquired an almost mythic quality in the history of relations between Indians and non-Indians in Washington State. Interestingly, according to Boxberger, the Lummis did not take immediate advantage of the Boldt ruling to develop their own tribal fishing enterprise, even though they were "suddenly faced with significant access to the most lucrative fishery in Western Washington" (p. 163). It would be many years before they would

increase their ability to harvest even a fraction of the estimated one million salmon now guaranteed to them by treaty.

Boxberger provides detailed technical information about the many ways of netting and trapping salmon, how these technologies are used, how they often compete with each other, and how fishing technologies have changed over time. The book contains numerous statistical tables with information pertaining to numbers and species of salmon caught or canned from year to year, average earnings of Lummi fishers, and so forth. There are also graphs illustrating such information as Lummi population growth, and a few closeup maps showing the placement of fish traps in the waters off the Lummi Reservation. One weakness of this book is the lack of more general maps showing the location of the Lummi Reservation relative to the rest of the state of Washington, or at least Washington's western coast, as well as the location of the many tribes, linguistic groups, and place names mentioned in the text.

*To Fish in Common* is probably too specialized for use in most lower division courses in anthropology or American Indian studies, but it would be an excellent case study to use in a more advanced course covering contemporary Native American issues, treaty rights, the economics of development and underdevelopment, or even a course on dependency theory and the world system. Often in college courses in the area of international development, peripheral groups within affluent countries are ignored and all attention is paid to the economic exploitation of Third World countries. Boxberger demonstrates that the experience of the Lummi Indians, and of Native Americans in general, is little different from the imperialist drama played out on the larger world stage.

As a case study focusing on the ethnohistory of the fishing activities of one Indian tribe, this book helps to illustrate and provide a deeper understanding of the issues covered in a more general way in recent publications like *Treaties on Trial: The Continuing Controversy over Northwest Indian Fishing Rights*, by Fay G. Cohen (1986), and a 1981 report by the United States Civil Rights Commission titled *Indian Tribes: A Continuing Quest for Survival*, which has a lengthy section on fishing rights in western Washington. Boxberger's study of the Lummi Indians puts that proverbial "human face" on the kinds of complex legal and political issues covered in these and other books.

The author writes with compassion and with obvious concern for the present and future of the Lummi Indians. He indicates in his preface that his own daughter is of Lummi descent and will make the author's "ties to the Lummi community last forever" (p. xiv). Boxberger also makes the important point that, despite all the political and economic transformations, the traumas and the upheavals that the Lummis have undergone over the past century-and-a-half, they are still Lummis—they retain their distinctive ethnicity and their "Indianness." To think that because they have changed, they therefore have lost some degree of validity as a separate people would be a grave mistake. As the author writes in his introduction, "A modern Indian society is no less 'real' than the precontact society it descended from" (p. 10).

One of Boxberger's persistent themes in *To Fish in Common* is the constant undermining of tribal fishing rights by the politicians, legislature, and judiciary in the state of Washington, often on behalf of private citizens or industries that refuse to recognize or respect Indian treaty rights. But an important event occurred in Washington State after this book was written that may have a major impact on the Lummi Indians in the future. This event was the signing of the Centennial Accord in the summer of 1989 by the governor of Washington and twenty-six federally recognized Indian tribes, including the Lummis. The Centennial Accord promotes government-to-government negotiations between the state and the tribes when conflicts arise between Indians and non-Indians, rather than the endless bitter court battles that have characterized these conflicts thus far. Boxberger points out that while Indians in Washington usually have lost their legal cases at the state level, they have won them in the federal courts. The Centennial Accord in Washington State is essentially a victory for the tribes, and a concession on the part of the state that may curtail the constant legal harassment suffered by the Lummis and other Indian tribes, and allow them to plot their own course into the future.

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