Uplands Strategic Plan

dəxʷtiǰ dxʷ čəɬ ʔə ti ťaq̓t dxʷʔal ti ʔiɬlaq ʔaciɬtalbixʷ

Taking care of the uplands for our future generations

Tulalip Tribes Treaty Rights and Government Affairs
6406 Marine Dr, Tulalip, WA 98271

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In memory of

Terry R. Williams, “se’tal”

Founder, Tulalip Tribes Treaty Rights Office

(April 23, 1948 to July 19, 2022)

“Long before the Europeans came here, the whole Puget Sound basin was covered in ice; it was a glacier. As it melted, our people started moving in. We discovered that before the river itself actually settled down to where there was gravel for salmon to spawn for the first time, our people were already living here.

We were here to watch the forest grow, and in that period, the forest didn’t grow by itself, our ancestors worked with it. A forest just does what it does, but our people altered the forest to help make it easier for their own lives; they helped shape where the food sources were and fish were by helping to create the habitats necessary—whether they were for fish, birds, plants or animals, we helped to structure what this landscape looked like.

We have to know that all things are connected, and that the health of that connection is what’s important.”

—Terry Williams
(from “Wise Words of Terry Williams”,
Tulalip TV, September 2022)

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On cover:
Bradley Williams Jr., Tulalip tribal member, summer 2016 at **swədaʔx̌ali**
(photo by Libby Nelson)

Tulalip Tribes Treaty Rights Office prepared this document with subject matter expertise and contributions from many staff and tribal members, including:

TULALIP TREATY RIGHTS OFFICE AND INTERGOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS

Libby Nelson (Editor), Ryan Miller, Patti Gobin,
Andrew Gobin, Aaron Jones, Daryl Williams,
Phil North, Steve Hinton

TULALIP NATURAL AND CULTURAL RESOURCES DEPARTMENT

Tulalip Cultural Resources
Ray Fryberg, Richard Young, Inez Bill

Tulalip Environmental Division
Kurt Nelson, Brett Shattuck, Michelle Totman, Derek Marks

Tulalip Wildlife Program
Mike Sevigny, Molly Alves, Dylan Collins

Tulalip Forestry Program
Russell Moses, Nick Johnson

TULALIP LUSHOOTSEED DEPARTMENT

Michelle Balagot, Michelle Myles, Dave Sienko

TULALIP TRIBES OFFICE OF THE RESERVATION ATTORNEY

Tyler Eastman

Foreword

The Tulalip Tribes ʔah ti k̓ʷiʔat sʔəshigʷəd~ has a sacred trust to protect our lifeways and lands.~ tulʔal dxʷt̓aq̓t dxʷʔal dxʷčaʔkʷ ~ From whitecap to whitecap, the mountains to the Salish Sea ~ this responsibility has been handed down from generation to generation.

xʷdikʷ ʔə ti tuyəl̓yəlabčəɬ ~ our traditional teachings ~ tell us we are interconnected with everything in our environment. We are entrusted with the protection of our ancestral lands and waters that have shaped our people. tulʔal kʷi tushuy ʔə tiʔəʔ swatixʷtəd sʔahčəɬ ʔəsɬaɬlil ~ Since time immemorial we have lived here ~ We have thrived in this area, due in no small part to the abundance of resources.

ʔəsʔistəʔ dibəɬ gʷəl c̓uʔ ʔəsq̓ʷuʔ ʔə ti swatixʷtəd ʔi ti swətixʷtəd ~ We are an extension of our natural environment ~ and we understand the health of our people is interconnected with the environment we inhabit. Knowing that future generations depend on careful stewardship of the land, air, waters, plants, wildlife, birds, and the old ones, the cedar. All of these are where we come from and are deeply engrained in our spirit. ʔah čəɬ ti k̓ʷiʔat sʔəshigʷəd dxʷʔal kʷi gʷəstixʷdxʷčəɬ ti stabigʷs tulʔal ti tuyəl̓yəlabčəɬ ~ We have a sacred trust to care for and protect our gifts from our ancestors. ~

t̓aq̓t ~ the upland mountains ~ of our ancestors are sacred lands. From the high peaks and mountain passes, to the ~ baqʷab ~ meadow gathering places the rivers and streams, and the forested lowlands and valleys ~ ləskʷəd dibəɬ ti sčəɬx̌əčəb ʔə ti tuyəl̓yəlabčəɬ ~ we are committed to carrying on the teachings of our ancestors. These places will remain what our ancestors envisioned for us. The place that gives our people the sustenance and medicine we need, both spiritually and physically. ~ ɬaskʷədatəb ti k̓ʷiʔat sʔəshigʷəd ʔə ti ʔiɬlaq ʔaciɬtalbixʷ ~ Our children's children ~ will hold this sacred trust.

ʔaciɬtalbixʷ čəɬ čəɬa sbadbadil čəɬa x̌əpx̌payʔac čəɬa sq̓ʷəl̓ q̓ʷəlaɬəd čəɬa tatačulbixʷ čəɬa titčulbixʷ.

We are Coast Salish, we are the mountains, we are the cedar trees, the berries and wildlife. huyadadčəɬ ~ These are our ways. ~

— Patti Gobin, "sq̓ʷətalq" Tulalip Elder

With translations provided by Tulalip Lushootseed Language Department

Preface

A powerful United States and territorial government aiming to take our lands allowed and encouraged settlers to move onto our areas, claiming lands where we lived and stewarded for millennia. Deadly epidemics of new disease, like the 1850s influenza outbreak, had devastated our people. Rising tensions from settler claims disrupting all aspects of our way of life, threatened continued and escalated armed conflict...

Against this backdrop, our ancestors agreed to meet to consider our future relationship with the United States government, and the settlers moving into our country. On their minds must have been a deep concern for how they would sustain themselves, their families, communities, and our future generations in the rapidly changing landscape that constituted our homelands in 1855. On this uneven playing field that was **bəkʷəɬtiwʔ** (Muckl-te-oh or Mukilteo), our Indian people, as sovereign nations, came together from all over our territories to negotiate with the United States government. The primary intent of the proposed treaty was the removal and consolidation of all Indian people to a few small tracts of lands, called reservations. For many of our ancestors, that meant leaving our lands, our villages, our ancestors' graves, sources of our foods, culture, and livelihoods. They settled with other Indian peoples from diverse places and traditions, together on a small area prescribed by the government, sometimes at great distance from our home territories. While our ancestors were of several minds, and while our choices were few, they ensured the final signed treaty included our rights to continue to travel and to hunt, fish, and gather in the places we had always gone and were vital to our lifeways.

1855 Treaty of Point Elliott

ARTICLE V

The right of taking fish at usual and accustomed grounds and stations is further secured to said Indians in common with all citizens of the Territory, and of erecting temporary houses for the purpose of curing, together with the privilege of hunting and gathering roots and berries on open and unclaimed lands. (Excerpt from Article 5, Point Elliott Treaty of 1855)

In light of the millions of acres we gave up, and the sacrifices our people made to survive since the signing of the 1855 Treaty of Point Elliott, the rights we reserved, and outlined in Article 5, were a small but critical victory. These "reserved rights" provided a path for our people to survive physically and culturally across our ancestral homelands. While the treaty was signed over 165 years ago, these are inherent and perpetual rights that do not 'expire' with the passage of time. These rights were essential for our people at treaty times and remain essential for our people today. Still, over the past century and more, we have had to fight continually to exercise the reserved rights guaranteed in our treaty.

As proclaimed by the United States Constitution, treaties are "the supreme law of the land." Upholding the treaty for our people who sacrificed everything is not only a moral duty, but is a legal obligation that has been tested and continually reaffirmed in the courts.

"You know, for a lot of people, they assumed that through the treaties, the government gave us something. But the treaty itself said these rights were reserved. And that was defined in there too, that there was nothing ever granted to the tribes. These were rights that had always belonged to us, and they were further secured with the treaty."

—Tulalip Elder, Ray Fryberg Sr. "sdətalq"

We have tribal members at Tulalip whose great grandparents were in Mukilteo for the signing of the Point Elliott Treaty. Over this tiny slice of time in our peoples' history here in our homelands since its signing, our landscape has been dramatically altered. With that change, our health and our relationship to the plants, the animals, the minerals, the waters, and the skies have also dramatically changed.

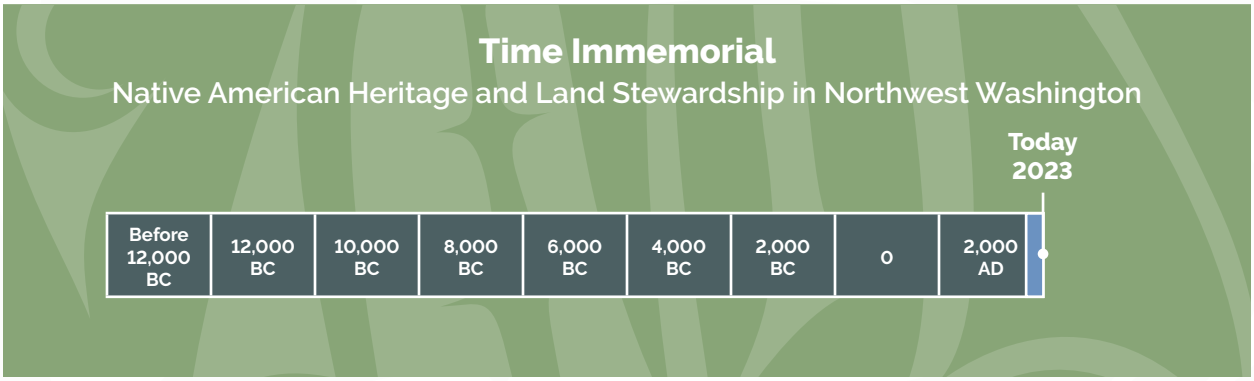
United States Constitution

ARTICLE VI
Clause 2: Supremacy Clause

This Constitution, and the Laws of the United States which shall be made in Pursuance thereof; and all Treaties made, or which shall be made, under the Authority of the United States, shall be the supreme Law of the Land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby…

This Uplands Strategic Plan takes a step back and consider all of these changes as they relate to promises made in the 1855 Treaty of Point Elliott to protect our rights to continue our culture and livelihood –to continue hunting, fishing, gathering, and to remain connected to our ancestors and our homelands. For this particular effort, our focus is on the "uplands": an area we are defining as the upriver valleys and mountains, which today constitute the vast majority of public lands in our homelands. In this strategic plan, and against a continually changing landscape, we outline what we believe is needed now to preserve and recover the upland resources and environmental conditions upon which our rights depend, our access to them, and our ability to participate in the continued stewardship and co-management of these lands. We fully expect this strategic plan will need revision, from time to time, in order to reflect our changing landscape and priorities.

Since "time immemorial", we have been here. This timeline helps to give readers a sense of the very deep history of our peoples' stewardship of the Salish Sea region, and, by contrast, the very brief period of time since western exploration and settlement. (Source: Tulalip Tribes website, https://www.tulaliptribes-nsn.gov/Dept/TreatyRightsAndGovernmentAffairs)



Legend

- Native American occupation
- Historical era, 1778–present. Period since contact with European explorers, traders, and settlers

In the pages that follow, we invite you to learn more about the "uplands" within our homelands—the hills, the mountains, the interior lands. These areas are significant—full of life and meaning to our people. Today, these lands are facing a range of threats from regional land management practices, overcrowding of our ancestral areas, to global climate change. We ask you, as a person living in, recreating on, or managing these lands, to work with us in the care of these places, for the benefit of future generations. As part of the Uplands Strategic Plan, we share key parts of our story so that readers can join us in the important work ahead.

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Executive Summary

The uplands constitute a vital portion of our homelands. They have sustained us since time immemorial by providing foods, shelter, material goods, and spiritual inspiration—while also being home to our ancestors, our villages and camps, and part of the vast landscape across which we lived, traveled, and remain connected to today. These areas are significant—full of life and meaning to our people.

Since treaty times, the upland landscapes, like the lowland and coastal areas, have changed greatly as the human population has swelled, habitat diversity has decreased, and plant and animal populations have been greatly diminished. These lands are facing a range of threats from regional land management practices, overcrowding of our ancestral areas, to global climate change. Still, the uplands, as the least developed terrestrial areas within our ancestral territories, have become increasingly important for our cultural, spiritual, and treaty-protected reserved activities. These upland areas are now managed by an array of state and federal agencies, local governments, timber companies, and other private landowners, in addition to tribal governments, and visited by a rapidly growing number of people each year.

The Uplands Strategic Plan was developed collaboratively, among our leadership and staff in multiple tribal government departments over the last two years. The plan will serve as a framework to guide our actions, both internally and in working with our external agency partners and trustees, to protect our culture and lifeways, and the health of the upland ecosystems they depend on.

In the pages that follow, we invite you to learn more about the "uplands" within our homeland—the hills, the mountains, the interior lands. We ask you, as a person living in, recreating on or managing these lands, to work with us in the care of these places, for the benefit of future generations. As part of the larger Uplands Strategy, this chapter will share key parts of our story so that readers can join us in the important work ahead.

The plan is comprised of five sections, each titled in Coast Salish Lushootseed, along with its approximate English translation. We have integrated our native language, in part, to demonstrate the very intimate relationship we have to all things in nature, and the seamless connection between us. As an example, Tulalip elders and language teachers explain that the word in our language for "river" is **stuləkʷ**, while the word for the veins and arteries circulating blood throughout bodies is a derivative of that word, **stuligʷəd**—or, "the river within." The rivers that we take our names from, live and travel on, and provide much of the food and water we need, both historically and today, are viewed as sacred and a powerful life force of nature that also lies within us. Rivers connect us to the natural world, and to the places of our ancestors, flowing forward, and connecting us to our future generations.

The Lushootseed name for this plan is framed around the word **“t̓aq̓t”** a directional word meaning “toward the mountains” or the “uplands,” and used by Lushootseed speakers to indicate whether they are going toward the “uplands” or away from them.

There are five sections of the strategy. Each section of the plan is an important part of our story, linking the history and lifeways of our ancestors to the present and future. The strategic plan is best read in its entirety, as each section provides the information needed to understand the subsequent sections. This Executive Summary provides key messages and examples from the strategic plan to provide the reader with a sense of what to expect and where to find different elements of the plan. In addition, all readers who open this document, whether it is to skim the Executive Summary or read the full plan, should start with the Foreword, which is an expression of why this plan is needed, a statement of our sovereignty, and a call to action.

This plan is Tulalip—our voice is heard through quotes interwoven throughout; our faces, some still with us and others who have passed, are seen in photographs; our art is shown through graphics and carvings; our perspective and relationship with the natural world are seen through integration of our language and our activities; and our intentions and expectations are shown through our vision and mission statement.

For years we have done the work to track, review, and comment on the plans of others. As the original stewards, we now present our own plan for “taking care of the uplands”—**dəxʷtiǩdxʷ čəɬ ʔə ti t̓aq̓t dxʷʔal ti ʔiɬlaq ʔaciɬtalbixʷ**. This plan seeks to protect the health of these upland areas and the fish, plants, and wildlife that depend on them, and, in doing so, help to sustain our culture.

Section I.

Introduction to Tulalip's Uplands Strategy

While many might think of the uplands as Mount Baker-Snoqualmie National Forest, or North Cascades and Mount Rainier National Parks, or state forestlands and parks, or even large industrial tree plantations, to us, these are the lands of our ancestors, lands we lived on and took care of for millennia. The uplands are part of the broader sweep of landscape that our ancestors lived on and traveled across, seeking diverse resources and trade, as part of a number of different tribal affiliations and family groups. We continue to be deeply connected to these lands.

What are the uplands? For purposes of this planning effort, we consider the uplands to be the mountains and inland valleys of the Cascade Range and foothills.

What is our vision for this plan? An ecologically restored, diverse, and resilient upland ecosystem that will allow for full utilization of the upland natural resources and places needed to support Tulalip tribal culture now and for our future generations.

What is our mission? Develop a strategic approach that: promotes our Vision of the uplands landscape to ensure that Tulalip uplands-based treaty and cultural rights are protected for future generations; guides and unifies our efforts in the Tulalip Treaty Rights Office and Natural and Cultural Resources Department; and communicates our concerns and expectations to public land managers.

The plan's "Focus Area" as we define it is the terrestrial upland and mountain landscapes of the western Cascades. This is a practical delineation for purposes of this particular effort since we acknowledge that Tulalip hunting and gathering areas and rights extend beyond this. The focus area overlaps large tracts of public federal and state lands that are 'open and unclaimed' lands for treaty purposes, as well as several large tracts of privately-owned industrial timberlands that are also "Open and Unclaimed". A set of guiding principles reflect our values for decision-making about the uplands and remain constant, even as the context changes, new information becomes available, and additional opportunities arise. These principles inform how this plan will be implemented over the long term.

Section II.

Our Connections to the Uplands

Our people have been here since time immemorial. Through our oral traditions, this vast history demonstrates a unique depth of connection and meaning, shaped by numerous generations of human relationships with the land. It is for this reason that certain traditional leaders suggest that "every stone and every stick carries the story of my people." Others say, "every living object has a spirit including rocks, and those spirits carry the history of our people." We believe that this connection to the uplands is inherently worthy of respect—by all people.

Many people assume that our ancestors all lived on the coastline, and that they did not occupy and use the uplands and mountain areas consistently. The uplands were not only visited, but occupied by permanent settlements, large and small. Each river valley shared a similar pattern, each with its own network of tribal villages—where we built and lived in longhouses facing the rivers, with large potlatch houses and smaller structures such as smokehouses nearby. Beyond these villages were seasonal camps and other traditionally occupied places, and an extensive system of trade among our people, all linked by navigable rivers and trails.

In many places through the uplands, as in the lowland areas too, our ancestors created and sustained meadows and prairies through the use of fire and other techniques. The open grasslands that supported our communities for millennia were, in the eyes of settlers, land to be claimed as homesteads and turned into farms, pastures, and towns. As regards the forests, "The forest didn't grow by itself, our ancestors worked with it." Many traditional methods of upland plant and forest enhancement are still used today, including burning, selective harvests, vegetative replanting and others. In addition, adhering to traditional teachings like "only take what you need" (x̌ʷulʼ kʷədad čəxʷ gʷəx̌aƛ̓txʷəxʷ), and "letting areas rest" (ɬuqaʔk̓ʷ), "leaving it alone" (ɬuɬəgʷɬ tiʔəʔ) and many others ensured conservation of those things our people needed.

In this section, we bring forward stories from the uplands, to give readers a sense of the history, richness and diversity of the landscape and how we worked to shape it to provide for our needs. We point to certain examples of those features, such as a network of berry patches maintained by family groups who returned year after year; upriver fishing areas and the variety of fish and techniques used to harvest them; hunting in our upland areas, like in the highly productive Sultan Elk Basin (later dammed and flooded for the Spada Lake Reservoir and hydroelectric project), the connected system of small and vast "prairies," created and sustained by burning, which our people used for hunting, and to support an array of food and medicinal plants; the high mountain peaks accessed by skilled mountain goat hunters of upland villages; and a large system of trails connecting villages and prairies, leading to the coast, or across mountain passes to tribes on the other side, supporting a vast network of trade and family connections with other Indian peoples.

At treaty times, life changed dramatically for our people. For many of us, this meant the loss of our home and required relocation to the reservation, leaving the places where our ancestors were buried. At the same time, we were discouraged or restricted from returning to the upriver and mountain areas, despite having reserved our rights to return to these areas by treaty. "…. if you desire to go back to the mountains and get your roots and your berries you can do so…" —Governor Isaac Stevens, speaking to tribal representatives at the Point Elliott Treaty Council, January 1855. These rights were openly disregarded for a long period of time.

We believe that readers need to understand this history and these connections and hear our stories in order to appreciate fully the lifeways of our people, the sacrifices our people made, and the radical changes we have endured since treaty times. "We proved to be resilient. We never let go of our culture. If our culture had to go in hiding when it was considered illegal to be Indian, it went in hiding, and that's why we have songs, dances, our history, and all that we know here from our grandparents passing it on. And so I'm very humbly honored and grateful for what our elders did to preserve this way of life for us." It is also important to comprehend the major changes to the landscape and the fish, plants, animals, and places we depended on since those times that continues up to the present.

In short, this section helps to set that historical context so readers can better understand the uplands as we see them, and how we view continued threats to these areas, as described in Section III.

Section III.

Navigating the Rising Challenges of Our Times

New threats from growing population and climate change compound existing threats, reducing our access and diminishing resources and the functions of an interconnected ecosystem.

The threats described include forestry practices that have altered the landscape in dramatic ways over the last 150 years; transportation corridors from the expansion of railroads and roads to the spiderweb network of smaller access roads and recreational trails taking people deeper and deeper into the uplands; population growth causing conversion of habitats, additional roads, changes to the hydrology in sensitive watersheds, and a feedback loop to more transportation and more recreation. Increased demand for recreation is often responded to by public land managers by adding more access points and transportation to them, while enforcement capacity remains minimal. Evaluation of the ecological and treaty impacts of recreation is rarely done by agencies under the assumption that more recreation is good, and that quieter, non-consumptive forms of recreation are environmentally benign. The often outdated and piecemeal plans and policies that have guided agency management of these lands focus largely on timber harvest and recreation. Agency missions, such as land management for timber production and sale, or for public recreation can conflict with agencies' obligations to treaty tribes. Public pressure and lack of political will have resulted in treaty responsibilities not being fulfilled. Climate change compounds threats to treaty tribes and our lifeways as additional stressors on the land and resources. Continued anticipated changes to water availability, hotter temperatures, more wildfires, invasive species, and shifts in the migration patterns and ranges of plants and animals have already been altered by the other threats during the last 150 years.

Section IV.

Protection Strategies

We encourage implementation of the strategies identified in this section to halt expansion of current threats, mitigate the impact of previous impacts, and protect the uplands and our lifeways. Some of the strategies are "general" in the sense that they may address multiple threats. They are organized by theme, and many are meant to be implemented by the agencies themselves, in collaboration with each other, and in many cases in partnership with us. Other strategies are for us to take on and demonstrate uplands management techniques similar to those used by our ancestors.

The strategic themes we build our general protection strategies around are:

- **Increasing agency commitment to treaty rights**, early and meaningful engagement, co-development of agency actions, tribal access, and enforcement.
- **Improving management of the uplands** by agencies and tribes together to increase biodiversity, landscape heterogeneity, and resilience that create the healthy environments needed to recover and sustain treaty resources.
- **Building awareness** of treaty rights and concerns across tribal and non-tribal communities and non-governmental organizations (NGOs).
- **Using legal authorities** and inter-jurisdictional coordination in support of treaty rights and the protection of tribal lifeways.

This section continues by providing specific strategies to support examples of Tulalip cultural activities in the uplands. One strategy outlined, for instance, is to address growing tribal concerns about availability and access to x̌payʔac—western redcedar, a resource of central importance to Tulalip culture, by developing a redcedar management plan on public and state upland forests to monitor its health, distribution, and abundance.

Section V.

Thinking about the Future

This plan is being created at a specific point in time when certain threats are at our doorstep, and certain opportunities are available to us to address them. Recent federal and state change in agency leadership has ushered in new understandings of the historic trauma to our communities, new interest in tribal rights and our traditional knowledge, and repatriation of lands. In addition, agencies have a better understanding of the growing pressures of recreational use on public lands in the uplands, as made more visible during the Covid pandemic, and overlap and affect our treaty-reserved areas. We expect our strategies to evolve as the threats change, and as new responses become apparent. Guiding principles highlighted in Section 1 can serve as guidance to future staff in navigating new challenges and approaches with agencies, land managers, NGOs, and the general public.

Tulalip Tribes has several other strategic plans and documents approved by the Board of Directors that inform or overlap with our approach to protect our treaty rights in the uplands. A Tulalip Salmon Strategy focuses on the marine/estuary and freshwater systems in the lowlands and mid-elevations. The Tulalip Climate Adaptation Strategy works across the full landscape. Our Restoration and Acquisition Strategy is in progress and outlines priority restoration and acquisition needs in support of treaty resources and healthy, biologically diverse ecosystems. These plans are intended to direct our internal work and resources.

This Uplands Strategic Plan presents a framework to guide our internal efforts as well as our collaboration with relevant land management agencies. A separate appendix entitled "Key Takeaways for Public Land Managing Agencies: What We Want You to Know" (Appendix A), includes expectations of public land managers' stewardship of these lands in light of their obligations to treaty tribes in the upland areas. We urge agencies to manage lands and projects affecting tribal interests consistent with our treaties, federal Indian law and policy, our government-to-government agreements, and with the priorities that we have identified in this strategic plan. We ask that such agencies review Appendix A closely and within the context of both legal obligations and appreciation for our history, lifeways, and vision for our future generations as expressed in the full document.

Section I.

syəhub ʔə ti dəxʷtixdxʷčəɬ ʔə ti t'aq̓t dxʷʔal ti ʔiɬlaq ʔaciɬtalbixʷ ʔə ti dxʷlilap

Introduction to Tulalip's Uplands Strategy

Section I.

Introduction to Tulalip's Uplands Strategy

Section Purpose: Explaining what the Uplands Strategic Plan is and providing a statement of our vision, mission and guiding principles.

The "uplands" we refer to in this strategic plan are comprised of the mountains and inland valleys of the Cascade Range and foothills. Many might think of the upland areas as public parks and forests like the Mt. Baker-Snoqualmie National Forest, or North Cascades and Mount Rainier National Parks, state recreation areas, or even large industrial tree plantations. To us, these are the lands of our ancestors, lands we lived on and took care of for millennia—sacred lands with their own intrinsic value and power. Being in these areas puts us in touch with our past—those who came before us, those who sacrificed so much so that we could still return.

The uplands are part of the broader sweep of landscape that our ancestors lived on and traveled across, seeking diverse resources and trade, as part of a number of different tribal affiliations and family groups. With the influx of settlers in the 1800s, our people were largely displaced from these upland areas, and resettled on the coastal Tulalip Reservation. However, in negotiating the 1855 Point Elliott Treaty with the federal government, our ancestors reserved our rights to fish in our "usual and accustomed areas" and continue to hunt and gather and maintain our access to "open and unclaimed lands" in perpetuity. These treaty-reserved rights included returning to our upland mountain areas for these purposes.

Today, Tulalip tribal members express concerns that urban and residential development, crowding, and environmental degradation are causing an accumulating loss of opportunity to engage in treaty fishing, hunting, and gathering and ceremonial activities. These activities are central to the cultural and spiritual identity of our people.

The uplands face continuing and mounting ecological stressors such as those associated with urban sprawl, rapidly growing recreation and ongoing and anticipated ecological effects of a warming climate. Planners generally agree that our region will see its population swell by 1.5 million by the year 2050, reaching a population of 5.8 million people. This continued rate of population growth will further exacerbate the problems that tribal members face in accessing treaty and culturally significant natural resources and sites. With this in mind, as well as concerns we are hearing from our membership, we feel it is essential to chart a strategic approach to protecting treaty-reserved and cultural rights and resources.

The Uplands Strategic Plan outlines our approach to protect, restore, and sustain treaty and cultural resources and access. The plan focuses on actions needed to support healthy, diverse, and resilient upland landscapes that in turn, support a diversity and abundance of plants and wildlife, and other materials and places. These intentions are outlined in our "Vision" and "Mission" statements for this plan.

A "core team" of dedicated Tulalip staff, representing multiple departments, including Treaty Rights and Intergovernmental Affairs, Natural and Cultural Resources, Forestry, and Language worked collaboratively to develop this plan. Tulalip leadership provided guidance throughout. We have attempted to integrate the best available science, and worked with our own climate program staff to ensure our approach addresses anticipated changes, as well as priority needs and vulnerabilities of species and habitats.

Vision:

An ecologically restored, diverse, and resilient uplands ecosystem that will allow for full utilization of the uplands natural resources and places needed to support Tulalip tribal culture now and for our future generations.

Mission:

Develop a strategic approach that a) promotes our vision of the uplands landscape to ensure Tulalip's upland-based treaty and cultural rights are protected for future generations, b) guides and unifies our efforts in Tulalip's Treaty Rights Office and Natural Resources Department and, c) communicates our concerns and expectations to public land managers.

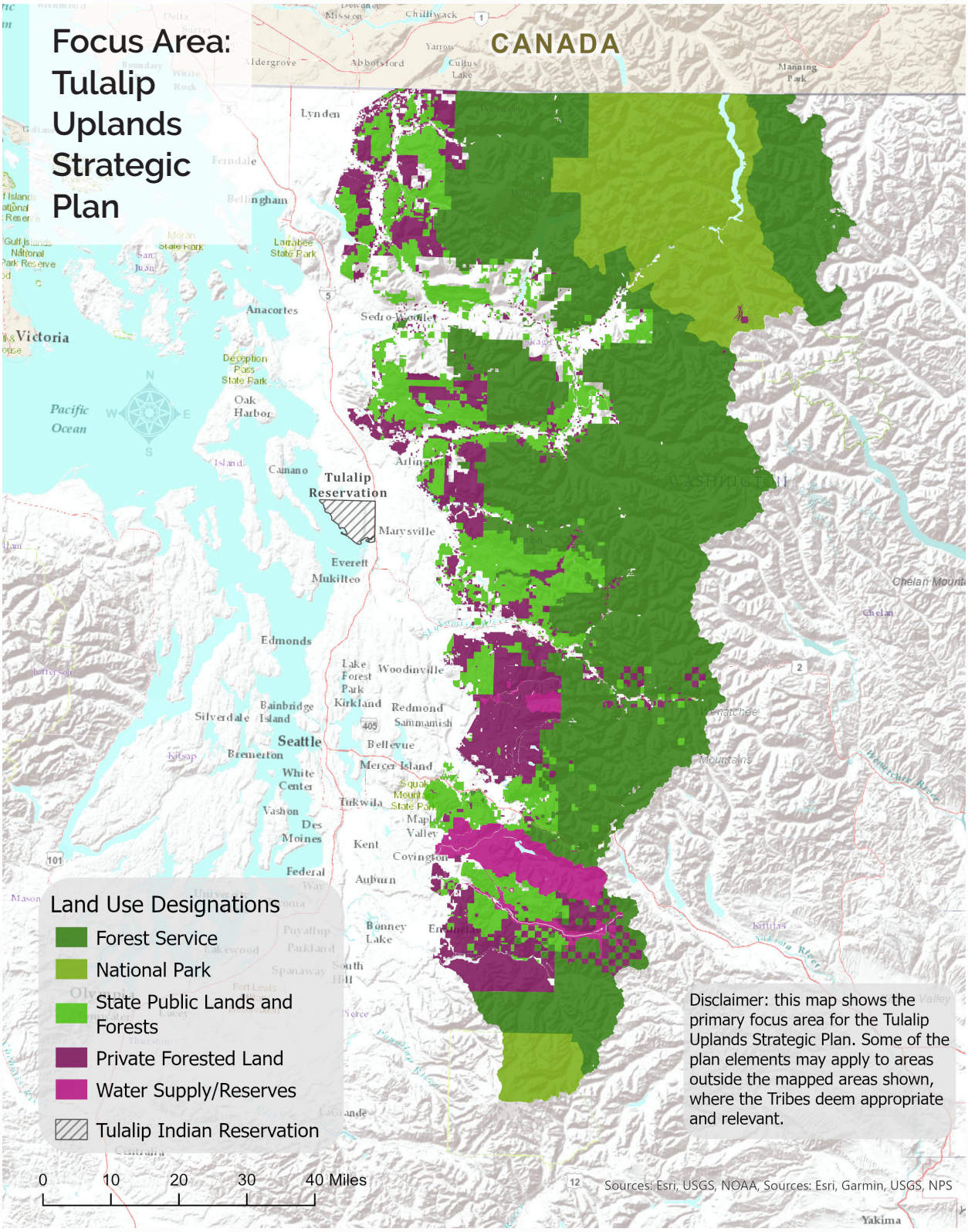

Figure 1.
The plan's 'Focus Area', as we define it for this strategy, overlaps large tracts of public federal and state lands as well as several large tracts of privately-owned industrial timberlands that are "Open and Unclaimed" for treaty purposes.

The strategic plan also addresses tribal co-management, access and privacy, education and outreach, partnerships, and policy and regulatory changes needed to support tribal reserved rights in the uplands. While this document is meant to communicate Tulalips' intentions and expectations for all agencies and landholders of the uplands, we put special emphasis on the obligations held by federal and state agencies (see Appendix A).

Because of the inextricable relationships, both human and non-human, that exist on the landscape, and the interconnectedness between the uplands, lowlands and coastal areas, we had much discussion before defining the appropriate scope for our uplands plan. Ultimately, we determined our "Focus Area" to be the terrestrial upland and mountain landscapes of the western Cascades and other areas outside of mapped 'focus area' where tribes deem appropriate, such as federally-managed terrestrial lands in the San Juan Islands (Figure 1). This is a practical delineation for purposes of this particular effort since we acknowledge that Tulalip hunting and gathering areas and rights extend beyond this.

The uplands strategic plan attempts to translate some of the treaty rights outlined in the 1855 treaty into on-the-ground actions aimed at protecting tribal culture and sustainable use of natural resources in the uplands. The plan also reflects some of our expectations of how federal and state land managers should view their stewardship of these lands in light of their obligations to treaty tribes. A more detailed description of our intentions for this strategic plan are outlined below:

What this strategic plan IS:

- IS a plan aimed at protecting, recovering, and sustaining treaty resources in the uplands for Tulalip today and for future generations.
- IS based on the premise that the environment has always been the center of tribal culture and that protection and restoration of natural environmental processes is necessary for long-term preservation of tribal culture.
- IS a statement of Tulalip sovereignty, culture, and expectations as related to some of the actions needed to protect Tulalip interests and rights in the uplands.
- IS a set of a tools for outside entities (federal and state agencies, other regional and local jurisdictions, and non-profits) to consider in ensuring that treaty rights are part of all decisions regarding upland management.
- IS intended to complement and run parallel to other planning processes currently underway, including the Tulalip salmon strategy, climate adaptation strategy, and acquisition strategy.

What this strategic plan is NOT:

- IS NOT a legal interpretation or delineation by the Tulalip Tribes of treaty rights or their geographic extent
- IS NOT an ethnographic work, although is informed by the tribes' history and culture.
- IS NOT inclusive or indicative of the full range of treaty areas and treaty rights.
- IS NOT implying, by focusing on the uplands, that interconnected relationships with nature can be severed; Distinctions and separations made during the preparation of this document were done as a practical matter to ensure it is understood by external entities and used to address our immediate needs to protect and restore upland treaty areas and rights.
- IS NOT an exhaustive set of strategies and actions.
- IS NOT set in stone—the plan will be adaptive and evolve to reflect new environmental conditions and tribal needs.

Our Guiding Principles

Guiding principles reflect our values for decision-making about the uplands that will remain constant, even as the context changes, new information becomes available, and additional opportunities arise. These principles inform how this plan will be implemented and adaptively managed over the long term.

(Above from left to right) Tulalip Elders Lucy Charles McLean Young; Betsy Charles McLean (sq̓ʷətalq); and Agnes James (Lala-soot) (Source: Tulalip Tribes, 1915)

UPHOLD OUR TRADITIONAL TEACHINGS ɬušəqild čəɬ čəɬa ɬučalad ti xʷdikʷ tulʔal ti tuyəl̓ yəlabčəɬ

Our ancestors have always taught us that by learning and following our traditional teachings, nature will continue to regenerate her gifts for our people. We honor our spiritual connection with the land and our obligation to protect the plants, animals, the waters, and air that make up our sacred homelands, and to ensure our actions benefit future generations.

EXERT OUR SOVEREIGNTY, ENSURE OUR FEDERAL TRUSTEE FULFILLS THEIR OBLIGATIONS TO PROTECT TRIBAL RIGHTS AND INTERESTS

As a sovereign Indian nation and federally recognized tribe with off-reservation reserved treaty rights, and as co-manager of the region's natural resources, we use tribal, federal, state, and international authorities to amplify the tribal voice and increase our role in protection and stewardship of the lands and resources. We will set expectations and ensure that the federal government, as our federal trustee, fulfills its obligation to protect our rights and interests, including upland treaty resources.

CENTER DECISION-MAKING ON OUR PLACE-BASED ECOLOGICAL KNOWLEDGE AND SOUND SCIENCE

Using our deep knowledge of the environment, our culture, and sound science to guide our decisions will result in the best possible outcomes.

RECOGNIZE ECOLOGICAL HEALTH AND BIODIVERSITY AS DRIVERS OF A HEALTHY CULTURE AND THE EXERCISE OF TULALIP'S TREATY-RESERVED RIGHTS

Tulalip lifeways and the exercise of our treaty rights depend on the ecological integrity of the environment, and the availability of fish, wildlife, plants, and places that support tribal culture. "You can't have a healthy people, without a healthy environment" (**kwi tlum kadim**, Henry "Hank" Delano Gobin, Tulalip).

HALT ONGOING DEGRADATION; RECOVER HABITAT AND SPECIES ABUNDANCE; BUILD RESILIENT LANDSCAPES

Stop or slow further degradation of treaty resources and recover function and biodiversity needed to support tribal culture. Allow habitats to "rest and recuperate" where needed. Recovery envisions an ecosystem that can support tribal lifeways and meet treaty obligations while not using as a reference condition today's greatly diminished fish, plant, and wildlife populations, and degraded environment. Work to enhance ecosystem resilience to sustain the natural systems at the core of our identity as tribes, which are critical to sustaining us all.

"WHEN WE WIN, YOU WIN"—POTENTIAL FOR EDUCATION, COMMUNICATION, AND COLLABORATION TO IMPROVE UPLANDS PROTECTION

Education, effective communication, and collaborative partnerships may improve awareness and understanding of tribal history, culture, and rights within the broader community, as well as create goodwill. Outreach may help the public to understand that tribal goals align with environmental protection that serves everyone, not just tribes. Ongoing outreach may help to gain allies and leverage needed support in protecting the environment, recovering treaty resources and sustaining tribal lifeways, and sharing the burden of this enormous challenge in an increasingly crowded landscape.

NEXT SECTION

The cultural needs and rights of the Tulalip Tribes today do not exist in a vacuum but are intricately tied to who we are and the deep history and culture of our ancestors across our diverse traditional territories. To understand how Tulalip views the uplands today, it is important to understand the historical and cultural context provided in the next section (Section II).

Section II.

gʷəɬ dibəɬ gʷəl čuʔ ʔəsq̓ʷuʔ ʔə ti ťaq̓t

Our Connections to the Uplands

Section II.

Our Connections to the Uplands

Section Purpose: Understanding how our deep history and traditions shape our connections to and vision for uplands protection today. All footnotes from this section can be found in Appendix B.

Tulalip People, Tulalip Traditional Lands

"Berry Picker at Stevens Pass" (Seattle Times 1946)

We are the Tulalip Tribes. We are the direct descendants of and successors in interest to the Snohomish, Snoqualmie, Skykomish, and other allied tribes and bands signatory to the Point Elliott Treaty of 1855. For thousands of years, our Coast Salish ancestors relied on an expansive and diverse landscape and rich network of intertribal trade to secure resources and materials for our sustenance and culture. These resources were spread across the high mountains, inland freshwater river valleys, brackish estuaries and the tidal and coastal salt waters and islands of the Salish Sea.

We have lived together on the Tulalip Reservation since the 1855 Treaty of Point Elliott. As non-Native settlers moved into the Pacific Northwest, the United States government initiated this treaty—seeking to extinguish Indian people's claim to our homelands to enable non-Native settler occupation. With the signing of the treaty, our ancestors reluctantly agreed to relocate to the newly created reservation. The Tulalip Reservation became home to resident and displaced Snohomish, but also to displaced tribal people from many other nations in what is today western Washington State: Snoqualmie, Skykomish[1] and Stillaguamish peoples, but also entire families from Skagit, Duwamish, Suiattle, Samish, and other tribes[2]. Within a few years, we gathered together, forming an integrated Coast Salish community here, north of present-day Seattle, on a small reserved portion of traditional Snohomish lands[3]. We remain the successors in interest to multiple signatory tribes of the Treaty of Point Elliott.

1855 Treaty of Point Elliott Ceded Territories (approx. area in pink) Source: G.K. Warren, Ltd. Topographical Engineers, 1858

A Whirlwind Tour:

Treaty Making in Western Washington Territory

In western Washington, four treaties were hastily negotiated and signed under U.S.-appointed representative, Territorial Governor Isaac Stevens. In just 31 days, the U.S. extinguished Indian title to most of the land in the Washington Territory west of the Cascades.

Our ancestors only agreed to relocate—to leave their homes and the lands they loved—with recognition of our inherent rights, and firm guarantees that these rights would continue and be protected by the United States government. A legal contract binding both parties across time, the treaty secured certain promises to our people as partial compensation for the incalculable losses of forced removal. These promises include a range of rights that remain unextinguished within our vast traditional homelands far beyond the boundaries of our reservation. With the treaty, we reserve and further secured the right of taking fish and shellfish in common with non-Native people in our off-reservation waters, and to hunt and gather plants on all open and unclaimed lands. By protecting specific activities such as fishing, hunting, and plant gathering, the treaty protects a whole web of cultural and ecological relationships implied but unspoken in the treaty language. The treaty provides protection for those things that sustain both the living beings of the uplands and the cultural traditions of use and access, from water quality to traditional vegetation management. The right to take and harvest resources also brings with it a right to have those resources available in healthy, sustainable numbers—now and forever.

"...if you desire to go back to the mountains and get your roots and your berries you can do so... and have these rights, the great father desiring them."

—Governor Isaac Stevens, speaking to tribal representatives at the Point Elliott Treaty Council, January 1855

Despite many disruptions, we have regularly returned to our ancestral lands, including to the uplands—the hills, mountains, river valleys, and other places well inland from the Salish Sea coastline. Throughout our ancestral lands, we continue to hunt and fish, to gather plants and other culturally significant natural materials, to carry out sacred ceremonies and social gatherings, to carry on the teachings of our ancestors and hand them down to future generations.

The uplands remain vital to us. Our cultural, social, economic, and spiritual connections to these places are sustained not only by customary law and protocol, but also by the treaty and over a century and a half of legislation, case law, and other formal legal protections. Today, these connections are integral to the health and lifeways of our people.

"My father, Victor Moses Sr., used to say 'the hills are calling me' like he was homesick for the mountains."

(Photo: L. Nelson)

—Kelly R. Moses
sduux^{w} qidə (knife man)
Tulalip tribal member and traditional carver

A Deep and Ancient Connection

Our people have been here since time immemorial. Through our oral traditions, this vast history demonstrates a unique depth of connection and meaning, shaped by countless generations of human relationships with the land, water, and all living beings of the uplands. It is for this reason that certain traditional leaders suggest that "every stone and every stick carries the story of my people."[4] Others say, "every living object has a spirit including rocks and those spirits carry the history of our people." We believe that this connection to the uplands is inherently worthy of respect—by all people.

Archeological evidence provides important markers that our ancestors occupied this land even as glaciers retreated and landforms were born anew. Documented archaeological sites of approximately 12,000 years in age have been recovered in our lands. Sites such as the Bear Creek site only 25 miles south-southeast of the Tulalip Reservation are so ancient that they show signs of mastodon hunting and the use of some of the oldest stone tool styles known in North America.[5] These early dates align with scientists' estimates of the earliest glacial retreat and the reoccupation of the Salish Sea by salmon—though even older sites may yet be encountered. Upland archaeological sites are numerous: archaeologists have documented such sites across diverse landscapes from the valley floors to the mountain summits, each showing evidence of the specialized use of the uplands for social, subsistence, and ceremonial purposes over millennia, without interruption.[6] From sea level to Cascade mountain summits, we see archaeological evidence of our ancestors living in every valley, every landscape and habitat, across our homelands.

Our Lushootseed language itself, with its intimate connections to the landscape, describes in subtle and intricate ways the living beings and natural processes of the uplands. Elders and scientists agree that this language emerged and developed over thousands of years within our homelands. Our language is as diverse as the uplands. In hearing our language, we still hear the "words of the ancestors," who knew how to travel, live richly, and thrive in the very same uplands we spend time in today.

Our spiritual life is inextricably linked to the uplands—to sacred places along waterways, on mountaintops, along game trails, in certain groves of ancient forest, and many other places. People traditionally went to these specific places for spiritual reasons, where they might learn skills—from hunting or basket-making abilities to talents for healing or tribal leadership. These practices persist and remain highly important today. The uplands are "our cathedral, our temple…. We have to pray there…. Every family has their own prayers." Mountains figure prominently: "There are sacred places there. It is a pure place…. We need that purity." Others add: "Sacred places need a pure and pristine setting to pray, bathe and to gather medicinal plants, ceremonial and spiritual objects." Mountains at all elevations are significant, from low bluffs clear to the highest mountain peaks. Prominent healers and leaders within our community have gained insights during their spiritual work at specific places in the uplands—as needed to foster prosperity and to

bring our people through times of crisis. To this day, our people go to the high country with reverence and humility, to show respect for the power of the mountains.

So too, according to our teachings, every waterway is significant and has its own spiritual power. The waterways "had a lot of gifts" received by Skykomish peoples and others—contributing to the power of our people. Waterways are important in the high Cascades too: "lakes in the mountains are very powerful for us" and of unique importance.

The cleanliness of the landscape, the purity of air and water, and the absence of visual and noise pollution are key to the sanctity of these spiritual practices—and of the respect they deserved, historically and today. As one of our tribal elders notes, "The more pure, the cleaner, the better…the more powerful and successful the prayer will be." Today, it has become increasingly difficult to find places clean, and unaffected by noise and human activity that are needed to sustain the minimum spiritual needs of the tribe.

These longstanding relationships to the uplands are reflected not only in spiritual practice, but in core cultural values that shape every aspect of traditional land and resource use in the uplands. Our tribal elders today recall these core values, taught to them by people who bridged the early reservation period into modern times, such as Harriette Shelton Dover.[7] These elders seek to teach our values to tribal youth in both formal and informal settings into present times. Respect for the sacredness of all life, lands, and waters is key to the relationship the Tulalip Tribes has with the uplands: "Our teachings are all about respect." Respect is shown not only for the land itself, but for the living beings who dwell in the uplands: "Respect is key—respect of each other, oneself, of the plants and the animals." Respect is also essential if the landscape and the living beings within it are to continue to offer their many gifts to humanity—if the landscape is still to heal and empower, if the fish and game are to return: "If you disrespect those places, the spirit [can] go away."

For "Respect is the core of everything… everything! There are ramifications if you don't do it right…. Bad things will happen if you act without respect…. But if you show respect, that provides protection." Within Coast Salish tradition, if a person—even a person of high status—breaks such fundamental rules, they can lose rights and privileges, including rights to songs and other property. A person who does not observe these protocols is understood to be placing themselves and others at risk. In the language and oral tradition of our people, such people are compared to seagulls: "They have no manners, they steal each other's food, they push each other off their piling! … There are repercussions." And, if an entire community fails to show respect, they will feel the effects collectively—with the fish and game animals refusing to return, the important plants withering, the people suffering in many ways. This is not simply our belief but observable fact—made abundantly clear by the effects of disrespectful fishing, timber harvesting, mining, and other activities that demonstrably affect the land.

Concepts of respect guide traditional practices of sharing, ceremony, and economic exchange within and between communities. For example, according to our protocols, harvesters give plants, fish, or meat to those who are in need—knowing this is the right thing to do, but also that people may reciprocate someday when the harvester is in need. "Gathering is done with a good heart and a good mind. You respect the plants and don't harm them and you only harvest what you need. If you are having a bad day with bad thoughts, you do not harvest plants or cook for anyone." "Gathering is done with love. What we gather, we share with love." "These are our values." We know that we must pass on these values within the tribe, so that our people will continue to live with dignity and resilience.

When entering the uplands, outsiders step into an ancient and reciprocal relationship between humans and the natural world. "Disrespect" can harm the natural world and destabilize the balance between humanity and other living beings, regardless of whether a person is a resident or a visitor. For this

reason, our Coast Salish protocol requires that those traveling beyond their own territories follow the protocols and "rules" of the host community.[8] Those who visit from the outside must seek approval, and offer something in return, if they are to harvest resources on another tribe's lands. These protocols, our elders suggest, are as important today as they have ever been. Many of our tribal people today express the wish that non-Native people learn these values and abide by the protocols that have sustained balance between humans and the natural world across our ancestral lands. Our traditional protocols of showing respect for living beings and the landscape might be embodied in significant and systematic ways in western management of the landscape today—so that the gifts of the uplands will continue to flow to humanity and not be revoked. This perspective emerges from thousands of years of direct experience and reverence—from living in the uplands, observing natural patterns, and depending upon the resources of the uplands for survival.

The Uplands as a Home to the People

"People know we traveled the saltwater… but we also went to the mountains." "Our people not only traveled all over the Salish Sea to fish and trade but also traveled in the freshwater rivers up to the mountains to gather, hunt and trade." Many people assume that our ancestors all lived on the coastline, and that they did not occupy and use the uplands and mountain areas consistently. The uplands were not only visited, but occupied by permanent settlements, large and small. Each major valley shared a similar pattern, each with its own network of tribal villages—where we resided in established longhouses facing the rivers, with large potlatch houses and smaller structures such as smokehouses nearby. Beyond these villages were seasonal camps and other traditionally occupied places, all linked by networks of navigable rivers and trails.

Prior to the mid-19th century, some of our families existed largely in the upland valleys, with their major villages on the valley floors, their populations largely concentrated in these communities. Others had coastal villages and upland settlements, both permanent and seasonal. Today, the rivers are named for these peoples—the Snohomish, Snoqualmie, Skykomish, Stillaguamish, Skagit, Duwamish (Green), and others. All serve as a reminder that the basins were once permanent homes to entire communities, entire tribes. These lands and waters constitute the homelands of the many tribes and bands that are the Tulalip Tribes today.

Indian family upriver Snohomish
(Source: T. Pembroke, 1981)

Our villages existed up every river valley and at many elevations. Oral tradition describes "villages and graves…all the way up…up the rivers and into the mountains." Even well past the time of the treaty, "there used to be longhouses at places along the rivers." These villages and camps were hubs of social, economic, and spiritual activity. In some places, entire village "complexes" lined the riverfront, densely settled, with multiple villages sitting in close proximity—the Skykomish people, for example, had a dense constellation of villages lining the Skykomish River from approximately modern-day Sultan to Index and beyond, extending upriver on both the North and South Forks Skykomish. The Skykomish people in Index and extending above this area and into the slopes of Cascade mountains were known as the "Fern People." There were other Skykomish bands extending as far as the Foss River drainage. The

Snoqualmie had a similarly dense concentration of villages along certain reaches of the Snoqualmie and Tolt Rivers. Many other places in the uplands were also occupied.

The villages of the uplands were not merely small and peripheral places. Some were centers of social, economic, and political power. Upriver Skykomish villages held the same status as the saltwater Snohomish communities. Communities near Snoqualmie Falls were huge—such as the Snoqualmie village of Tultx, a community of no fewer than sixteen longhouses that served as the social and economic hub of a smaller-village constellation nearby. The name of this village is the origin of the modern name "Tolt," as applied to the river and other landmarks in the area. Nineteenth-century leaders such as Chief Patkanim coordinated strategic and diplomatic efforts from this village while sustaining a vast network of trade and cultural alliances that linked the Snoqualmie to the world beyond.[9]

Upland villages were not isolated places, limited in their social reach. Instead, many permanent villages served as hosts for people traveling to and through the uplands for spiritual, economic, subsistence, or other purposes. Villages such as **x̌əʔx̌asaltxʷ** near modern-day Index, at the junction of the North and South Fork Skykomish River, played such a role. It was a significant and permanent village with a potlatch house that served as a large social and ceremonial gathering place involving multiple tribes, and hosted tribes from downstream and along the sound who ascended into the uplands seasonally—"groups heading up the Cascade slopes in quest of mountain goat, other game, and huckleberries."[10] Feasts, and sharing of food with guests at these inland places, were standard: "The old people used to say… whenever you have visitors you feed them."

While these villages were permanent, they were especially significant in the winter months as our people gathered to participate in winter ceremonies and social events, to share stories, and to feast. Such villages were especially numerous where snowfall was limited and good fishing rivers were nearby.

As the weather warmed, our people prepared to move through a network of villages and campsites, centered at key hunting, fishing, and plant gathering sites, as well as at places suitable for certain social and ceremonial events following the "seasonal round" of our ancestors. Lower-elevation camps were situated at such places as productive fishing stations along each major river, allowing people to move in alignment with the movement of salmon, trout, and other species; as one writer noted of families moving along the Pilchuck River during fishing season: "they may be seen, with all their goods and chattles on their backs, moving to their camping ground, where they catch, dry and smoke enough to last them until the next season."[11] These were often salmon fishing sites, but many other fish were important too: tribal members recall the presence of villages such as **stʼəq̓taliǐjabs**, for example, where tribal members long fished for **stəšəb**, sometimes called "pickle"– probably the pea-nosed chub.[12] And even at the highest elevations, such as near Stevens Pass (**sqʷat Guardian of the snow**) people maintained regular camps that served as a base of operations for gathering berries and other plants, and hunting mountain goat into the late summer.[13] Mountain passes also served as locations where our families came together with our relations on the east side of the Cascade mountains, to visit with each other, while also harvesting and exchanging resources. "In the mountains, there is also laughter, and children." To these camps they returned each year. Throughout the uplands, grinding stones, cooking stones, even rock cairns can still be seen—signs of ancestral life at these camps.[14]

In some of these places, families maintained special rights of access. "There are protocols that every single family had that defined your access… to places, to resources, to knowledge." Families "had their own places they would use and occupy." People of high status had special access to certain harvest sites and the prized foods found there. Because of the abundance of the uplands and the economy of sharing, no upland person went without: "We had the elk and the deer, the berries…. Their strength came from working together, from sharing with each other."

Upland trails linked tribes and communities between valleys, and from the coast, to places far across the Cascade mountains. Some of the most prominent trails lined the river valleys and became the routes of today's modern highways. Snoqualmie Pass, for example, served as a trail corridor between the upper Snoqualmie villages and those of the Yakama and Wenatchi (also Wenatchee) people on the eastern Cascade slopes. Likewise, to the north, a well-used trail following the North Fork of the Skykomish River led east across the Cascades. Families traveled these trails for trade, visiting family, social events, and many other reasons. Snowshoes, cached along the trail, allowed passage even in the winter months. Early non-Native miners and settlers used these trails to enter the high Cascades in the 19th century.

Skykomish Indians poling in ƛ̓əlayʔ (shovel-nosed canoes) near Sultan, WA, 1909 (Photo: Sultan Historical Museum).

Rivers were the main transportation routes connecting our people from the uplands to the lowlands, and the saltwater. Specialized shallow-draught "shovel-nosed" canoes **(ƛ̓əlayʔ)** allowed people to pole and paddle up and down the rivers. Handled by skilled paddlers, these could even be maneuvered around narrows, or over shallow submerged logs and river stones. Families describe traveling large circuits along a combination of trails and river routes—paddling or poling up rivers to harvest resources and visit friends and family in other villages, then crossing trails into other drainages and drifting by canoe back toward home.[15]

Almost every low mountain pass has a trail route, linking saltwater drainages to the west with interior Columbia River drainages to the east.[16] Snoqualmie peoples and others traveled through high mountain trails to trade with the Yakama, Wenatchi and other inland peoples. Our ancestors brought with them clams, fish, dried berries, shell money, and wool from mountain goats and domestic "woolly dogs" **(sqixaʔ)**. "People on the east side would say, 'oh, I want some dried clams'…and they would travel those trade routes to get some." Our ancestors also brought and traded the edible grease of the oolichan fish, a prized food in our diet. For that reason, these montane trails are still sometimes called "grease trails." Special songs, still recalled by elders, commemorate the grease trade through these areas. Sometimes tribes from east of the Cascade Range would also cross the mountains on these trails, gathering for large multi-tribal trade and social gatherings hosted by local villages and leaders at special sites deep in our ancestral territories, such as near Snoqualmie Falls.

"Our language focuses on action… on travel, movement, and activities instead of things." Our people felt at home throughout their traditional homelands and at the various camps and culturally significant sites, as one might today feel "at home" in a single dwelling. "The places we traveled in the mountains, lowlands and the Salish Sea are our home, our territory." "Our house is in the mountains…. It is in the canoe…. It is not just in a building. It is all home." "Our community… we were the home…. We moved between places so that the whole homeland was 'our house.'" Named places and features relate to our ancestral knowledge and oral traditions—helping travelers navigate the dangers, potentials, and lessons of the landscape. Traditionally, even a person's name was commonly linked to a particular homeland, helping everyone understand the places one moved and where one had access to the land. In that traditional system of naming, "your name tells who you are…where you fished, where you hunted… where you hold rights" to use and occupy the land. Even today, songs, stories, and place names in our

Upriver Snohomish – Jimmicum Family, approx. 1890–1900; vicinity of Monroe, WA (Source: Monroe Historical Society).

Lushootseed language convey information relating to the uplands, as well as guidance on how to relate to those places. These lessons "are tied to harvests, to places, to the teachings" that sustained our ancestors. They remind us that all aspects of the uplands are connected functionally and spiritually, and that "everything out there has spirit."

Traditions of Plant Use, Management, and Care

Our ancestors used the wealth of plants found across our traditional lands to produce food, medicine, and materials to sustain our people in countless ways, and to meet many other cultural and spiritual needs. Each species of upland plant was known to the ancestors, and every widespread plant had its own significance and value. While ethnobotanical writings document around 500 plant species traditionally used by Northwest tribes, we know that these writings are selective and the actual number used by our ancestors was higher—reflecting millennia of relationships between our ancestors and the plant life of our aboriginal lands.[17]

Plants provide the raw materials for our daily life in remarkably diverse ways. This is well illustrated by the highly significant western redcedar that provides, for example, the boards and frame poles for houses; the raw material for canoes; the wood for bowls, tools, utensils, and many other items; bark that when pounded cottony soft serves as clothing, bedding, bandages, and more; branches used to make ropes, regalia, and many other items; and roots important in basketmaking and more. Traditional carvers and toolmakers sometimes seek out the wood of red and

yellow cedar, yew, ironwood, and other species from higher elevations where the wood grain is denser due to shallower soils and shorter growing seasons, providing the strongest woods required for durable digging sticks or oceangoing canoes.

At every elevation, traditionally-used plants were available in abundance, each within its appropriate habitat. An item as fundamental as a basket might contain items from plants gathered from such habitats in many parts of the homelands: for example, from sedges, rushes, or Sitka spruce roots and other plants gathered along low elevation marshes to vine maple, wild hazelnut **"ʔaqapuǩʷəc"**, or the dark stems of maidenhair ferns gathered on the riverbanks and brushy margins of mountain valleys, ornamented in white as provided by beargrass from the subalpine zone. Lichens or fungi might be used in dyes for basketmaking.[18] In this way, a single basket embodies movement of our people through the seasons, and their attachments to the different ecosystems that constituted our traditional lands. These baskets had many uses that remain important today—from storing everyday items to carrying goods, from use as trade items to use as objects of beauty.

Tulalip cedar weavers in front of temporary mat shelter, 1904. Annie's Katie (left) and unknown woman. (Photo by Norm Edson, University of WA Libraries Special Collection.)

Our people gather a similarly diverse range of plant species and habitats for the creation of traditional medicines. Our ancestors had extensive knowledge of plants utilized for medicines and many other purposes. As with plants used as materials, medicinal plants appear in nearly every habitat – each sought at the correct times and places from mountain summits to valley floors. In the spring and fall especially, our people gather roots for medicinal purposes, traveling into the uplands on specialized trips.

Medicinal plants were not only of a particular species, but at times needed to come from particular locations. Often, "those that we use are hard to get." In the course of mountain treks, people obtained plants said to be more useful in those locations—even if the plants were found in lower places as well. This is in part due to their association with places of significance in the high country.

As families traditionally moved between elevations over the course of the year, they have maintained access to a wide variety of plant habitats and species, allowing them to meet the many needs of our people. Over the course of a year, our ancestors visited every part of the landscape, harvesting plants in turn. Food plants came in many forms, from multiple species of edible berries, to leaves and shoots, to roots and bulbs, to nuts and seeds. Important food plants were found at every elevation: from camas meadows and salmonberry patches in the valleys, to middle-elevation huckleberry and elderberry patches, to the whitebark pine nut trees and edible bulbs on high alpine peaks. Each ecological zone provided its own kinds of flavors and sustenance, and the ancestors visited each of these places when the plant foods were at their peak.

In the springtime tall stalks of horsetail were peeled and eaten fresh, and together with the appearance of salmonberry blossoms and berries started off the seasonal round. "At the beginning of the season, we recognize the salmonberry, because it is the first to appear." Traditional teachings dictate that one should not pick or harm salmonberry blossoms, or the plants will not produce berries. In the spring, many

families still gather and consume the nutritious new shoots of berries, most from the genus Rubus: "In the spring we always went out to gather sprouts… wild blackberries, thimbleberries, blackcaps… gathering sprouts was part of everyone's childhood." Greens such as nettle and fireweed shoots are nutrient-rich and usually plentiful. Roots of certain plants gathered in the spring are used for food, as well as being of medicinal and spiritual value. Plants of springtime, the nutritious leaves and shoots and roots, are said to have a rejuvenating energy, suitable to this time of year. Some of the berries that arrive early in the season, such as salmonberry, are also said to have this quality. Our people traditionally harvested these berries in large quantities, and continue to do so during good berry years.

Summertime harvests focused predominantly on berries: mountain huckleberries, wild blueberries, blackcaps, wild trailing blackberries, wild raspberries, wild strawberries, thimbleberries, salal berries, elderberries, and many others. Much as they are today, berries were eaten fresh but also traditionally stored in myriad ways for use as a staple food throughout the year—in cakes, in fruit leathers, in an oil mixture that allows storage in cedar boxes, and more. People gathered at productive berry picking patches in the uplands, often for weeks or even months at a time—harvesting berries while members of the family fanned out to places nearby for hunting, fishing, and other activities. This was especially true in patches of mountain huckleberry and other species that abounded in the high country—in mountainous places near Index, Stevens Pass, the mountains along the Pilchuck River, and many other places throughout our ancestral lands. Families have camped at these places, focusing on huckleberries but also gathering other plants in the high country nearby, such as beargrass and blue elderberries.[19] Even as the summer gave way to fall, people continued to gather late-season plant materials such as root foods and the final mountain huckleberries of the season, and were able to continue harvesting tasty, small evergreen huckleberries that remain on bushes even into winter.

"Berry picking songs" accompanied our harvests at these places, and still do. Some songs had spiritual and educational value—and some served specifically to teach, entertain, and motivate children during the harvest. Still, some had other, very practical functions, such as discouraging conflict with bears that tended to gather at berry patches during peak harvest season: "The Skykomish and the Snoqualmie, they didn't need to hunt bears in the huckleberry patches…. The women going to pick berries would stop and drum. They had a special song for the bears, to show their respect to the bear's spirit and to avoid conflicts…. The bears would clear out when they heard that song."

People maintain traditional protocols for harvesting berries: "We didn't say we 'owned' the berries, but people had special rules, what you might call special protocols for picking berries on lands that

Sharing our traditional teachings at Tulalip's "Mountain Camp"—Tulalip Elders and teachers participate in Tulalip's tribal youth program "Mountain Camp" on our ancestral lands in the Mt. Baker-Snoqualmie National Forest (from left to right: Virginia Jones, Michelle Myles, Joy Lacy, Inez Bill)

were not our own. People from other places had to ask for permission to pick." Yet, especially near the boundaries between watersheds and tribal territories, certain berry patches were common property with access rights held by multiple families, villages, or tribes who picked together. Certain highly productive berry patches have served as campsites where people from multiple families—sometimes multiple villages or tribes—converged seasonally to pick berries for storage. At these sites, people also visited with old friends and socialized: "There were people from all over at some of these camps... The berry patches were where you might go to meet the person you were going to marry." "There was far more going on than just picking berries!" Many of our families within the Tulalip Tribes today have ancestry from the Wenatchi, Yakama, and other eastern Washington tribes, reflecting the deeper social significance of these mountain berry camps. Berries were also an important trade good historically. When non-Native settlers arrived, the sale of berries became an early way to take part in the cash economy. Indeed, the sale or trade of wild berries continues to supplement some tribal families' incomes today.

These are just examples of the wealth of plants we have harvested throughout our territories. Yet, this natural abundance depended on traditional stewardship. The ancestors taught us how to care for the plants, to look after their needs. Again, to understand the nature of these practices, one must begin with the concept of respect. To harvest traditionally means to show respect to the plants, and to give thanks for their abundance on the land: "When people take, they need to give something back." The ancestors have long understood that when people take care of patches of plants, these plants in turn take care of the people. Returning to the same harvest sites year after year reinforces this view, as families maintain relationships with particular patches of plants that are reciprocal and enduring. "When we teach young people to use a plant or animal, we have to also teach them how to respect that plant or animal... we have to teach them their responsibility." When harvesting from a place, people traditionally offer thanks and show respect, leaving "offerings" as a sign of respect at harvest sites "so you can return again, in a good way." So too, our people practice "first berry" traditions, such as when young people give away the first basket of wild blackberries they have gathered, often to elders in their community: "You give away those plant foods to those who need them."

Out of this kind of respect, our ancestors developed techniques to enhance culturally important species. Our people have cared for plants in myriad ways—by methods of tending and by avoiding overharvesting. We knew that if we helped the plants and showed them respect, the plants would be bountiful in return. Our ancestors burned on regular, often annual, cycles to create clearings rich in food and medicine plants and that served as good grazing places for elk and deer. They burned and created huckleberry patches dense with berries.[20] "People were taught to take care of the berries—how to use them, but also how to respect them." "People kept the prairies open, even way up in the mountains." They also burned to enhance the clearings, removing brushy or competing vegetation, and temporarily releasing nutrients into the soil. Especially in damp places or at lower elevations, people burned and used other techniques to enhance camas, with its edible bulbs, or other species such as nettle, bracken fern, and hazelnut that served as foods, medicines, and materials for traditional crafts.

Such traditionally managed places were historically dense in sites close to large and longstanding settlements in such places as near the Snoqualmie-Skykomish River confluence. Camas ovens, dug into the ground, are still sometimes detectable beside such special, tended places. Camas prairies and traditionally managed berry patches remain within the Tulalip ancestral homelands as reminders of their once prolific traditional management activities. So too, we find remnants of traditionally managed wild hazelnut orchards in the Monroe and Sultan areas, for example, and remnants of once vast, fire-managed prairies in the valleys around the

continues on page 30...

xəʔaʔxʷaʔšəd

“Step Lightly”

When Tulalip Tribes began co-managing the swədaʔxali area, our elders came together to give us these traditional teachings about how to live, behave, and interact with plants and animals while in the mountains:

- Give thanks to the mountain before you gather its resources.
- When picking huckleberries, treat them with respect; our elders always told us that if we don’t respect them, they “will go to sleep” and not be there for us in the future.
- Don’t pick all the berries off of one bush; leave some and move on.
- As you move through the brush, step lightly—don’t break the branches, or wear in noticeable trails; one elder reminds us “Don’t be a bear in the huckleberry bushes! After you leave, no one should even know that you have been there.”
- Bring your own food and water, and pack all your trash out with you. Please do not leave anything behind.
- If you have to smoke, please do so responsibly
- Keep the area free of contamination; use the portable toilets provided.
- Teach your children how to behave in these sacred areas.
- Gather berries for your family to use them over the winter; share them with elders who can’t pick berries anymore.

Above: Tulalip Elders, Russell Moses and Judy Patrick, picking mountain huckleberry (photo by L. Nelson)

Mount Si from Tollgate Farm Park, an altered remnant of the historical and vast Snoqualmie Prairie (Photo by Minna Rudd, Si View Metropolitan Park District)

Indian "Prairies" (**baqʷab**)

"It seemed to them as if nature had made the valley for the explicit purpose of planting crops, grazing livestock, and pleasing the eye.... Much less obvious to the pioneers was the fact that Indians had very consciously shaped this environment through fire."[21]

In many places through the uplands, our ancestors created and sustained prairies through the use of fire and other techniques. The open grasslands that sustained Indigenous communities for millennia were, in the eyes of settlers, land to be claimed as homesteads and turned into farms, pastures, and towns. Places such as Cochran and Woods prairies up in the Skykomish watershed, and the vast "Snoqualmie Prairie" near North Bend and many others, served multiple purposes: as productive deer and elk hunting grounds; as places for gathering camas, wild carrot, bracken fern, and other species; hazelnut orchards; and as open spaces for social and ceremonial events and seasonal camps.

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modern towns of North Bend and Snoqualmie. Early non-Native travelers often saw these landmarks but did not understand they were products of intentional management. Too often since the arrival of non-Native people, these well-tended clearings in the forests—assumed to be "natural"—have been overrun by settlers, industrialists, and modern developers.[22]

Another visible sign of the ancestors' handiwork are culturally modified trees found widely in the traditional lands of Tulalip peoples. In an effort to show respect, ancestors and elders typically refuse to kill a tree unnecessarily—but instead take only what they need from the tree. They might peel strips of cedar bark or even remove an entire plank off a living tree, leaving a scar that healed over with time. "There are protocols for stripping cedar.... You don't kill the tree... you have to 'give back' somehow, even if it is by showing your thanks in ceremony." These values are clearly inscribed on trees, visible to this day. Pitch "wells" and other signs of pitch gathering are also visible, such as on Sitka spruce, or on Douglas and true firs—with pitch, as a traditional sealant, or for use in torches and fires. We also see branches rearranged by years of holding hunting blinds, or for use in regalia or in tree burials. Every culturally modified tree was touched by the ancestors and, often, was prayed over; they are powerful places: "When you are there, you can feel it." Though many old culturally modified trees have been logged, many remain.[23]

Widely across our traditional lands, old meadows, berry patches, and culturally modified trees are still visible—physical markers of the respect from and relationships sustained by our ancestors for generations. The plant communities we see in the uplands today are, in part, an inheritance of this long history of human care. We still have a significant connection to plants and plant habitats that are used and valued into modern times. Every year we continue to ascend into the uplands to sustain this relationship and to realize the great plant wealth of our homelands.

Our Relationships with Animal Life

As with plants, our ancestors knew and valued every species of animals in the uplands—mammals, birds, fish and shellfish, even the insects and other small living things. As with plants, animals have filled our needs for food, materials, and medicine, and hold a key place in our cultural and spiritual traditions.

Upland fishing figures prominently in our subsistence traditions. On every major river and many streams descending from the mountains, our ancestors and

A grove of old-growth x̌payʔac (western redcedar) in the Skykomish Watershed uplands. The many "culturally modified" trees here show evidence of continued use over multiple centuries. (Photo by Ryan Miller)

Tulalip Elder Russell Moses "sx̌ədiwə" sharing his knowledge of native plants in the mountains.

families have maintained fishing stations. There, we harvest all five species of Pacific salmon: Chinook, coho, pink, sockeye, and chum. We also fish there for steelhead and other trout, Dolly Varden, suckers, chub, and several other species found in our traditional waterways. We gathered other resources, such as freshwater mussels, in large quantities in upland rivers.[24] Large fishing stations were located at key falls and riffles where fish were easily harvested in chutes and shallows, and where entire families and village communities were busy harvesting fish together. This was especially true at places and times when the salmon returned home to these rivers—with salmon stations being occupied at points upstream as people followed migrating fish. The extent of fishing stations upriver was limited only by natural barriers to fish passage, such as major waterfalls. Major villages, such as xaytəd (meaning "fish trap") near modern-day Goldbar—the origin of the modern placename "Sultan"—were located at prime fishing

stations along the rivers, while smaller fish camps were located on other reaches of the river.[25] Our people still visit and use some of these fishing stations today. Salmon and other species are eaten fresh, dried, smoked, and prepared in many ways—and are a staple in our culture and diet.

Fisheries of the uplands were distinctive. Our people placed fish traps, stationary nets, and weirs along and at the mouths of rivers, and could commonly spear fish where salmon and other species passed through natural chutes and narrows.[26] In many places, our ancestors used rocks to funnel fish in places where they were easily speared: "People tended the rivers…. They moved the rocks to shape the rivers, to make good fishing spots and deep pools for the fish… to make narrows where they could spear fish." We also moved rocks and other items to improve fish passage and habitat: "They would 'clean up the streams.' They would move things around…. They would take things out or put things in to give salmon what they need." We can see evidence of these rock structures in tributaries of the Skykomish and Snoqualmie Rivers, and others—especially where people fished large runs of salmon.

For Tulalip ancestors, traditions of upland hunting are also of tremendous importance. We traditionally hunt from the meadows and wetlands of the valley floors—where deer, elk, and waterfowl were plentiful—to the mountaintops, where our hunters have sought mountain goat and other species of the high country. In each habitat, we have hunted these animals and many more, such as bears, raccoons, river otters, martens, porcupines, rabbits, muskrats, beavers, marmot, even chipmunks and squirrels, as well as grouse, pigeon, waterfowl, and a number of other upland bird species. Our hunters understood the behaviors, patterns, and timing of the game that helped to increase their success in securing food. We altered and enhanced habitat and forage for game via burning and other techniques. Spiritual teachings guided hunters in choosing which animals were taken and which were spared. These values also guided the harvest of a wide range of small game species.

Elk hunting has been widespread across the uplands. Our people hunted meadow edges, along trails, and in other places, often in our family groups. Elk hunting sites change with the migratory routes and seasons, with some of the most intensive upland hunting occurring in the late summer and early fall. Elk meat has long been a dietary staple for us, but we have also used the hides for clothing and many other purposes; rendered the fat; and used organs, bone, and antlers in numerous ways. Like many plants, elk are a source of food, but also of medicine, materials, and cultural and spiritual sustenance. Elk meat and hides were trade goods, sometimes given in exchange for other items brought from distant tribes, as still happens today. Elders recall how people traditionally looked after the elk, were careful not to startle or overharvest elk, made small offerings when killing elk, and sometimes burned areas to create predictable grazing spots that could be hunted seasonally.

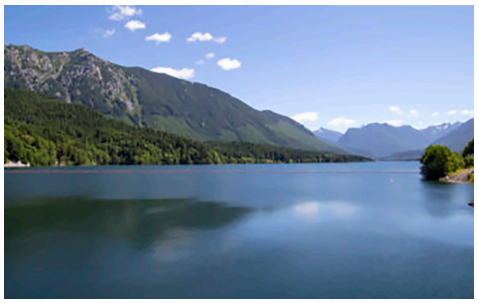
Elk herds have been greatly diminished since contact with early settlers. One of our best elk hunting areas historically was in the Sultan River basin in the Skykomish River watershed. At ʻxaytəd, the Skykomish Indian village near the present-day town of Gold Bar, the potlatch house constructed here was one of the largest on the river due to the great numbers of Indian people departing from this point on an Indian trail to hunt elk in the Sultan Basin.[16] This area, as well as others, were overhunted by settlers and miners in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The "Sultan Elk Basin" disappeared instantaneously with the construction of the Culmback Dam, flooding the valley to form Spada Lake. Despite their lower numbers, important traditions of elk hunting persist today. Most hunters today travel to the Nooksack River basin to the north, and the Greenwater and White to the south. Until recently, the Middle Fork Snoqualmie River basin served as a more easily accessible elk hunting area to our membership. High levels of recreation in the area have reduced its value for tribal elk hunting today.

The Sultan Elk Basin

Prime Indian Hunting Grounds to Mining District to Reservoir

Prior to mid-1800s, Pre-settlement: The 84 sq. mile Sultan Basin predates the last Ice Age. From August through October, Indian hunters pursued elk as well as deer and bear in the Sultan basin. Startup marked the beginning of the (Indian) trail along Olney Creek to the Sultan Basin hunting area (Photo: Sultan Basin from Olney Pass, before the dam and reservoir were created: 1945, Division of Mines and Geology, State of WA).

Late 1800s, Mining: Prospecting in the Sultan Basin began in the 1870s. The first major discovery was in 1891, mined by the Sultan Basin Mining Co., of Sultan, headed by George Startup, President. Over these years, elk were hunted to supply mining camps, and the elk population in the basin was greatly diminished. (Photo: "Bearded subsistence hunter poses with two elk he shot in the Sultan Basin. Hunter carries his rifle on a sling and wears a cartridge belt in this circa 1890 cabinet card"[27]).



Today, a Reservoir and Hydro-electric Project: In the early 1900s, engineers hiked into the foothills of the Cascade Mountains and, while scanning the Sultan Basin, realized they were looking at an ideal place to store water. Built in 1965, the Culmback Dam created the 1,870-acre Spada Lake Reservoir, inundating the long cherished elk habitat and vital hunting area of our peoples. (Photo: Snohomish County Public Utility District)

While elk hunting requires high levels of mobility and a knowledge of trails and grazing sites across the high country, our elders report that deer hunting is relatively widespread. Deer were prolific and do not travel in herds as elk do, so historically people hunted deer widely in the high country in summer when conditions were still moist and deer graze broadly. In the driest times of the year, as summer wears on into the fall, the geography of deer hunting formerly adapted to changing water and vegetation conditions: "You hunt along the stream bottoms because it's where the deer would be." As rains returned, deer hunting became widespread again into winter. In modern times, deer populations and movements have changed in response to dramatic changes in the landscape, and Tulalip people abide by regulations that echo historical patterns, returning to the uplands to hunt deer from mid-August through January. Our people groomed the landscape in many ways to make good habitat for deer, burning open prairies where they could be predictably hunted. Yet, burning was done cautiously to avoid impacting plants the deer relished. As our elders reported to anthropologists generations ago, "The old Skykomish chiefs ordered the people not to fire brush where red elderberries grew, because the deer ate the ripe

ones."[28] These berry patches not only drew the deer to predictable hunting locations, but also fed the deer and contributed to their overall success.

Mountain goats have also been of tremendous traditional importance and special skill of some of the upriver tribes and a cornerstone of hunting traditions in the high mountains. The hunt of mountain goats on high and forbidding peaks required specialized tools and skills. In fact, these special tools and skills are described in oral tradition as being ordained to certain people at the beginning of human time. As reported in classic anthropological accounts, based on the words of elders a century ago, the creator-transformer **dukwibəɬ** said to beings of the high Cascades: "I'm changing everything. I'll make you mountain goats. You will be here on the high rocky mountains. You'll be meat for the people who are coming soon. Your skin will be used for their clothes. Your fur will make good blankets for future people."[30] Later in the cycle, Father Mountain-goat asked **dukwibəɬ** "'What is going to be the spirit of the Skykomish [people]?' He gave them a kind of tsaiq spirit which helped the Skykomish be great hunters of the mountain-goat. He also made them great mountain climbers."[31] This was a distinguishing power of the Skykomish people, ordained from the beginning of human time.

Our people carried out mountain goat hunts as part of long-distance hunting treks in the late summer, often coordinating the hunt from specialized high-elevation camps. Places such as the mountains above Index, the higher peaks between the North and South Forks of the Skykomish River, along the high ridges near Stevens and Snoqualmie Passes, and many other rocky, mountainous places—these were centers of mountain goat hunts and camps. Sometimes men from multiple families, villages, or even tribes ascended the mountains together as part of joint hunting treks across our traditional lands.[32]

Families have also kept the wool from hunted animals, and traditionally gathered mountain goat wool while walking goat trails and picking the shedding winter fur from branches—a important fiber for traditional woven robes, capes, and clothing. The Skykomish, Snohomish, Snoqualmie, and other tribes combined goat wool with the fur of woolly coated domestic dogs kept for this purpose. "That mountain goat wool was a big trade item.... Many other tribes wanted it, or the things we made out of it... The blankets we made from that wool were traded up and down the coast, and with the tribes east of the Cascades." The Snoqualmie and Skykomish provided the wool to the Snohomish and traded with other tribes on the coast.[33] Mountain goat parts were used to make tools and ornaments important for ceremony, and to show family status. Hunting mountain goats is also linked to spiritual practices in the high mountains.[34]

Birds are hunted as a source of food and materials. Our people hunt birds for their meat, while other parts

Tribal Participation in Elk Recovery Efforts Today

The Tulalip Tribes continues to play an active and innovative role in protecting the long-term health of elk living across our traditional lands. In 2002, the Tulalip Wildlife Department participated in recovery efforts of the North Cascades Elk Herd (NCEH), working in cooperation with other Point Elliott Treaty tribes and the Washington Department of Fish and Wildlife. Together, these partners relocated 100 cow elk from the Mount Saint Helens area to the relatively understocked NCEH core area. Through the use of GPS tracking collars, Tulalip, along with other tribes monitor the movement of elk in the Skagit Valley. Tulalip has begun working with the U.S Forest Service to enhance meadow habitat for elk in the uplands, and to initiate elk recovery planning in the Mt. Baker-Snoqualmie NF. Tulalip is also working with the Washington Department of Natural Resources (DNR) on research contracted with the University of Washington to monitor impacts of recreation on elk in our region.

of the bird are also used—for regalia and bedding, tools, and spiritual purposes.[35] In the uplands, "bird hunting for [many families focused on] different kinds of grouse…and pigeons." Rough, blue, and spruce grouse, and both rock and band-tailed pigeons, are all widely hunted today for food. Historically, our people used different methods to hunt birds, including snares, projectiles, and sometimes nets strung between trees or poles along known flyways.[36] Today, these birds are commonly hunted in the valleys and low- to mid-elevation forests in the fall. Yet, as opportunities allow, hunters have pursued pigeons and grouse when they feed on berries and other food sources in other seasons. The pigeons feed heavily on elderberry, for example, so elderberry management and pigeon hunting are linked activities; families could easily harvest both pigeons and elderberry in the same places and at the same times.

The uplands also contain a wide variety of wetlands—some along rivers, some associated with lakes, and some standing alone. These wetlands not only attract deer but are major waterfowl hunting areas, and places for hunting and trapping beaver and other species. They also served as places for specialized harvesting of wetland plants to make mats, baskets, and other items, as well as for food. Wetlands were and remain centers of resource abundance and harvest.

Oral traditions remind us that plants and animals and other elements of nature and places have a spirit that is to be honored. Even the Salish word for animals contains a stem indicating that they are like humans. "The elk, the salmon… everything had spiritual significance, everything had cultural significance." Strict protocols and traditional teachings guide hunting. "We were taught to only kill with respect," to not unnecessarily scare or harm game species. If traditional protocols are not observed, the game will disappear. Our "first kill" traditions are still carried out by the tribe. Our young people show special respect to the first elk, deer, or other game they have killed—giving thanks and offerings, and sharing the food with their community rather than eating it themselves.

An Early Settler's Encounter with Snoqualmie Mountain Goat Hunters

"Before getting to sleep I was told that the Indians were approaching from the far end of the prairie and in the direction of the Mountains. … as the party neared us they appeared heavily packed and each carrying a gun… they were Snogualamis (Snoqualmie) who had been out for several days in the mountains on a hunting expedition after the Mountain Goat. They were then invited to come on to my camp which they did. I received them kindly and told them to take off their packs and be seated which they very readily complied with when they commenced recounting their adventures on the hunt…

I learned from them that the Mountain Goat were difficult to kill as they are so very wild and found only on the sides of precipitous and rocky mountains where it is almost impossible for any thing human to climb over, yet these Indians engage in the pursuit of this kind of game with great interests, and from all accounts quite successfully….this party of five had been out for three days and had procured twelve of these Goats du sheep in fine order, they said that they had seen a great many more but were unable to get 'near enough to secure them.'"[29]

(Above: carved mountain goat cedar spindle whorl design by Tulalip Tribal Member and artist, Jason Gobin, on display at Stevens Pass Resort)

Similarly, our first salmon ceremony gives thanks for their sacrifice, for the great gifts that help us to feed our families. The abundance of fish and game in the uplands, which surprised early American settlers, was no accident; it was the product of long-term care by our people of the animals and the habitats they relied on. We continue to value and respect the animals of the uplands, and to hunt and fish key species in season, in a manner responsive to our treaty rights and the management needs of fish and game.

Finally—though not plant or animal—we must mention how minerals carry much importance in the uplands. Stones of various kinds obtained in the uplands were used widely for tools—from arrowheads to hammerstones—and for many ceremonial purposes. Tulalip peoples have traditionally used certain stones, minerals, and soils in ceremonies and other contexts, such as for paints and pigments. "Even those pigments… everything was spiritual, everything is connected." Some mineral colors were associated with particular tribal communities, so that "when you travel, you could be recognized by the color of the paint."

Displacement and Endurance

Throughout the 19th and early-to-mid 20th centuries, Tulalip peoples experienced great hardships that challenged our ability to use and care for the uplands over time. Diseases decimated our people through the 1800s.[37] While some upland villages persisted, others collapsed entirely within only a few years—causing survivors to regroup with family and allies in other village communities. Early non-Native economies pulled our people away from the uplands and toward the coast, while placing new pressures on upland species, such as beaver, elk, mountain goats, and others.

"We didn't know so many of our songs in our language, because my grandmother had been punished for even speaking her Native tongue. And so she wouldn't teach me, her granddaughter the language or the songs because she didn't want me to be hurt the way she was hurt."

—Patti Gobin, sḍʷətalq, Tulalip Elder

1855 Stevens Treaty Councils: Drawing by Gustav Sohon. Courtesy of Washington State Historical Society. Reproduced in David L. Nicandri, Northwest Chiefs: Tacoma, 1986.

"I wish to speak my mind as to selling the land. Great chief! What shall we eat if we do so? Our only food is berries, deer, and salmon. Where then shall we find these? I don't want to sign away my right to the land… I am afraid that I shall become destitute and perish for want of food".

Che-lan-the-tat, Skokomish Elder speaking to Gov. Isaac Stevens at treaty negotiations, January 1855 (from Pacific Northwest Quarterly, 1955, Vol. 46, No. 2, p. 54)

In the 19th century, efforts by non-Native settlers to convert our people to new religions also worked to undermine our spiritual practices and customs, as well as resource management practices in the uplands: "We taught children never to harm the berries, the animals, so they would be abundant…. We taught respect, but the newcomers just saw it all as superstition."[38] The federal effort to forcibly remove Native children from their families, placing them in boarding schools, was devastating. There, our children were forced to assimilate to western ways and prohibited from using our own Lushootseed language, or our cultural customs and protocols. This included the Tulalip Indian Boarding School, which operated on the reservation from 1857 to 1932. "They tried to take away the language…. They put a dent in the culture [but did not break it]…. They separated us from the land when they said it would always be

there for our use." Some families attempted to hide their young children, teaching them tribal and family customs and protocols, healing practices, and more. These children were among the tribe's many cultural leaders in adulthood, sharing their knowledge with younger generations.

"Pack Train leaving from Index, Washington for the Mines" circa 1912. (Photo: Lee Pickett, University of Washington Digital Collection).

By the terms of the Point Elliott Treaty, we reluctantly agreed to relocate to a designated reservation but retained our rights to fish in usual and accustomed areas, and to hunt and gather on open and unclaimed lands. For many of us, this meant the loss of our home and required relocation to the reservation, leaving the places where our ancestors were buried—a loss that proved painful in immeasurable ways.[39] non-Native settlers' homestead claims soon filled the lowlands and valley floors, and mining claims and other extractive resource uses appeared for the first time in the uplands.[40] By the late 19th century, private investors and industrialists had claimed some of the most productive timber stands in our homelands for private forests, and by the 1890s, the Pacific and Washington Forest Reserves placed large portions of the high country under federal control—what later became today's national forests and parks of the Washington Cascades. The new public and private owners and managers occupied these lands and managed them in ways that eroded tribal access and diminished plant and animal communities that had been carefully stewarded by generations of our ancestors. Farms and towns filled the lowlands, while industrial logging dominated the hills and mountains. Also at this time, sheep herders were using the Cascade mountain uplands as summer grazing range for their animals. Herders often followed Indian trails into the high country, and the large numbers of sheep led to compacted soils, damage to native vegetation, and impacts to wildlife, wildlife habitat and available forage. Tulalip elders today recall hearing from their elders of the decimation of important huckleberry areas, and other important plants and animals, and the very negative impact sheep grazing had on tribes' uses and connections to the uplands for decades. New laws banning fires and managing the timing of hunting and fishing collided with our traditions and knowledge of our lands. Many of our villages, harvest sites, burial sites, and other special places were overrun and destroyed in the wake of new development, especially along the river valley floors.[41]

Indian agents sought to restrict our peoples' movements off-reservation, though with mixed results. State fish and game officers did not respect the treaty and unlawfully prohibited tribal members from exercising reserved rights to fish, hunt, and gather. Many of our ancestral lands outside of the reservation became inaccessible to tribal families. Elders of today note that leaders who negotiated the treaties had done so with the aim of sustaining "the wellness of the people" in every sense, for countless generations, but with only limited success: "We gave up so much in our treaty… but we lost even more in the years that followed."

Despite these many changes, our people continued to travel across the landscape and to harvest at remaining customary sites. "They tried to get us to just stay home [on the reservation] but we kept going back" to lands beyond the reservation. Tribal leaders who took part in treaty negotiations had understood that our people, and our descendants yet to come, would be able to hunt and gather on all open and unclaimed lands without interruption—so that all these lands identified in the treaty would still be accessible. They understood that the treaty language reserved our sovereign rights to go to the places we wished to go to fish, hunt, and gather berries and plants. "In the treaty, they made guarantees of access to all areas we traditionally used… even places

in the mountains." Through the treaty negotiations, our leaders sought to preserve access to the full range of lands and natural resources required to sustain our people: "They reserved those rights in treaty… so we could always live as Indians." It was because of this understanding that our ancestors agreed to sign and abide by the treaties and were able to sustain a legally protected connection to all the landscapes and living beings of the uplands.[42]

Tribal members recall from stories passed down to them some of their relatives, many who lived long after treaty times, traveling across our ancestral lands, visiting friends and family in villages throughout the uplands. For example, Sarah Sheldon, born in 1875, traveled widely with her family as a young person, poling canoes up rivers (including the Pilchuck and Stillaguamish) as her family then drifted down the rivers, visiting family and friends along the way, and hunting, fishing, and gathering plant materials along the river's edge. "Using those traditional places, those resources…. We never quit, even though the government put [limits] on us, we did all those things protected in treaty and we kept going back to those lands."

"Nobody gave us "sovereignty"—we had inherent sovereignty because we were always here!"

—Glen Gobin, ti čətx Tulalip tribal leader

Our reserved treaty rights were openly disregarded by the State of Washington for many decades. Still, the tribes persevered, bringing legal actions against the state to enforce the promises set forth in the treaty. The 1974 case of United States v. Washington ("Boldt Decision") recognized that the treaty remained the supreme law of the land and pre-empted state laws aimed at prohibiting the tribal exercise of fishing rights. Although the case focused on fishing, the principles upholding the continued force of the treaty are equally applicable to treaty rights to hunt and gather in the uplands.

Despite these disruptions, the significance of the off-reservation uplands endures: "All of our lands are significant to us… every part of our traditional lands." To this day, we continue to access the uplands for many reasons. Some return to hunt elk and deer and other species—maintaining subsistence hunting practices while also sustaining our families with food. Some return to fishing stations, maintaining the connection and stewardship of the waterways. Some return to harvest plant resources, maintaining our footprint and revitalizing our traditions of resource management. We return for cultural and spiritual reasons, to conduct ceremonies, and to visit sites of deep importance. We also return for the teaching of our children—teaching done by individual families and sometimes as part of group educational programs managed by the tribe.

Lushootseed Placenames

Many landmarks in the western Washington uplands have Lushootseed names that provide descriptions of the attributes of the landscape, or of oral traditions describing the histories and potentials of the land. There were thousands of these place names in every river basin of western Washington—many of these still known and used by tribal members today. Each name reflects generations of knowledge and experience with these landscapes. A few examples:

təqʷuʔbəd
Glacier Peak, meaning "mountain that is always covered with snow."

sqʷat
Stevens Pass, meaning "Guardian Spirit of Snow."

dxʷbadiʔəb
Sultan River, meaning "steelhead river" (from xu'badi, the summer steelhead salmon).

x̌aytəd (meaning "fish trap")
A village at the present town site of Gold Bar, extending to the confluence of the Wallace River with the Skykomish.

Modern Placenames

In the western Washington, many landmarks in the uplands are still widely known by names that come from our Lushootseed language. These words remain in everyday use among Native and non-Native people alike, still echoing the words of our ancestors. They include such examples as:

Sultan (River and town): comes from **səlʼtəd**, a personal name of a chief; also applied to a village near modern-day Sultan that was his home.

Wallace (River, Lake, town, and Falls): derived from **kwayaylsh**, a personal name; these places were named for Skykomish tribal members, Joe and Sarah Kwayaylsh, who maintained a homestead near the town also named "Wallace" before it was changed to Startup, Washington.

Tolt (River, village, original name for town of Carnation) **tultxʷʷ** meaning "River of swift waters" where the Tolt River joins the Snoqualmie River. Originally, a Snoqualmie village site—Tolt remained the name for the area even after non-Native settlement, before the name was changed to Carnation.

Pilchuck (River, mountain) Pilchuck means red water in Chinook Jargon. Lushootseed: **bəlalgʷəʔ; dxʷkʷiƛʼəbabš** meaning the direction toward the "Red River People" or Pilchuck River People.

In all activities, we continue to respect the uplands and the plant and animal life it contains—working individually, with our families, and in tribal resource-management programs. In all of these efforts, we work to sustain not only the health of the land and our relationship to it for the benefit of present and future generations, but the integrity of our knowledge of the land, handed down to us by our ancestors. Of the land, we say: "It is alive for us" even if the landscape may just be a material thing to others. "Every part of the landscape is the result of tribal people caring for it, year after year.... Every species, every [waterway] is the way it is today because of tribal people [caring for it] generation after generation."

Use of upland foods is a key part of our knowledge of and interrelationship with the uplands. Upland foods "feed the spirit of our people." Indeed, "there are things we still use today that have always been part of the culture." These include the berries, deer meat, salmon, and other goods obtained from the uplands for our families, ceremonial events, and social events: "We have to retain all of those foods to retain our identity." Families still visit certain berry patches, continuing to harvest and tend the same bushes year after year, generation after generation. Today, areas like the berry patches in the Skykomish, Sauk, Suiattle, Snoqualmie, and Stillaguamish River basin mountains receive especially focused attention. Elders report that "my family members have specific areas they went to every year."

Tulalip Elder, Gerald Fryberg Sr., picking huckleberries, with cedar berry basket. September 2008 (photo by L. Nelson with family's permission)

Our traditional activities sustain not only our bodies, but our minds and spirits: "You don't just 'go pick berries'—it's a spiritual thing. You don't just 'go dig

roots'—it's a spiritual thing…. With each plant, you show respect and you remember the teachings of your grandparents and of your ancestors." "You can feel the presence of our ancestors when you are at sacred picking spots… that is their spirit… everything we do in life, a little piece of us is left behind, that is part of what you feel." In other places, far from gathering sites, the very presence of the ancestors is evident on the land: "Our ancestors have lived here… the top layer of the land, the soil, contains the ancestors' bodies… You can feel that they are there." Such places are shown their own special respect, including the avoidance of food harvests and disrespectful behavior. The long-term stewardship by our ancestors is evident on the landscape—from culturally modified trees to fire-managed meadows to fishing stations with carefully placed rocks. Our ancestors' actions and values are inscribed on the land. These visible patterns of our management and care we consider as signs of the ancestors to be sacred and inspiring, calling upon us to manage those places with special care in modern times.

Our stories are often linked to key landmarks that carry the voices of the ancestors and continue to instruct and inform us today in our history and traditional values. "It is like the ancestors are still there, teaching us" through their words, with the mountains and valleys serving as the reminders of the ancestral stories and teachings in the absence of a written text. "When we are out with the rivers and the trees, we can feel it. We can feel that we are in alignment with what the ancestors would want of us.

Patti Gobin sharing traditional teachings with tribal youth at Tulalip's Mountain Camp, 2016. (Photo: L. Nelson)

> "We proved to be resilient. We never let go of our culture. If our culture had to go in hiding when it was considered illegal to be Indian, it went in hiding, and that's why we have songs, dances, our history, and all that we know here from our grandparents passing it on. And so I'm very humbly honored and grateful for what our elders did to preserve this way of life for us."
>
> **—Patti Gobin, sq̓ʷətalq, Tulalip Elder**

It tells you that you are on the right track. You want to thank them as you move along." "As we believe we are put here by the Creator, our ancestors felt the most important aspects of our culture that symbolize our power and peace are sacred sites and areas imbued by the nurturing of our land and water. … There will always be songs from those areas, and the land and water will always be alive."

Many of our tribal members continue to revisit old village sites and burial sites, looking after them, but also carrying out ceremonies and teaching tribal youth about their heritage. This teaching is fundamental to who we are as Coast Salish peoples. Our elders always say "never forget who you are and where you come from." "That is where our ancestors lived, and we still have that strong connection to the places where their bones still lie." The villages may have been overgrown and become largely archaeological places rather than living settlements, but they are still visited and valued today. The same is true for the many ceremonial sites found throughout the mountains, even far from the old village sites. As today's elders remind us, "our sites are sacred to us." Our ancestors are still said to "be watching," in those places where they lived and traveled long ago.

Wish to Learn More About the Language, Culture, and Homelands of the Tulalip Tribes?

Please visit these websites for more information:

The Hibulb Cultural Center and National History Preserve:
https://www.hibulbculturalcenter.org/

The Tulalip Lushootseed language program:
https://tulaliplushootseed.com/

Tulalip Tribes Natural Resources Department:
https://nr.tulaliptribes.com/

Tulalip Land-Based Treaty Rights:
https://nr.tulaliptribes.com/Topics/LandBasedTreatyRights

Understanding Tribal Treaty Rights in Western Washington:
Understanding-treaty-rights-final.pdf (nwifc.org)

"We've been learning that this is the land where our ancestors were raised, grew up, and lived. They hunted, they ate, they slept, they did everything on this land right here. It feels good, like I'm doing something they would want me to do."

—Sunny Kennebrew, Tulalip Tribes "Mountain Camp" at swədaʔx̌ali, 2015

NEXT SECTION

It is important to understand what threats to the uplands the tribes have been experiencing—from historic use and injustices to modern-day patterns of development and decisions by land-managing agencies A clear but not comprehensive assessment of those threats is articulated in Section III as a way to gain common understanding before solutions are introduced in Section IV.

Section III.

ʔuduk^{w}ildx^{w} ʔəsq̓^{w}uʔ ʔə ti tlitičəɬ ʔi ti x^{w}dik^{w}čəɬ

Navigating the Rising Challenges of Our Times

Section III.

Navigating the Rising Challenges of Our Times

Section Purpose: Provide a summary of our concerns for the uplands today and some ongoing as well as uniquely modern threats to our lifeways and rights.

"And so, my heartfelt tribute to my fore-fathers, who tried, so bravely, to meet the onslaught of a mighty, crashing, crushing wave of the Unknown."

—Harriette Shelton Dover 'hayalc̓a'
(1904–1991)

The uplands, and our people who depend on them, face new threats—some as challenging as those of past times. Many may think of tribal displacement as something of the past, but development and other activities continue to diminish tribal access, and the resources and landscapes on which tribal cultural activity depend. With so much of the Puget Sound basin's lowlands developed and many areas polluted, we look to the less disturbed, less developed upland areas more than ever to support our spiritual and material cultural needs **(Figure 2)**. But even these upland areas have been highly affected by the historical legacy of logging, mining, transportation corridors, and water supply and energy projects, and development continues to move into the uplands, with the growth of cities and towns.

Over the last century, development and other disruptions continue to push tribal members to the margins, and to increasingly remote and inaccessible parts of the upland areas we use. Visitors and new residential developments now overrun certain sensitive cultural areas and affect the availability of fish and the migration of game. Traditionally significant lands and resources are threatened in new ways, as is the ability of tribal members to visit lands and use the resources. Elders point out that when the land and resources suffer from change, the people suffer too: "We are an extension of the natural environment." Therefore, access to the land and the natural wealth of that land remains key to tribal members' physical, mental, and spiritual health, while damage to the uplands undermines these things in countless ways.

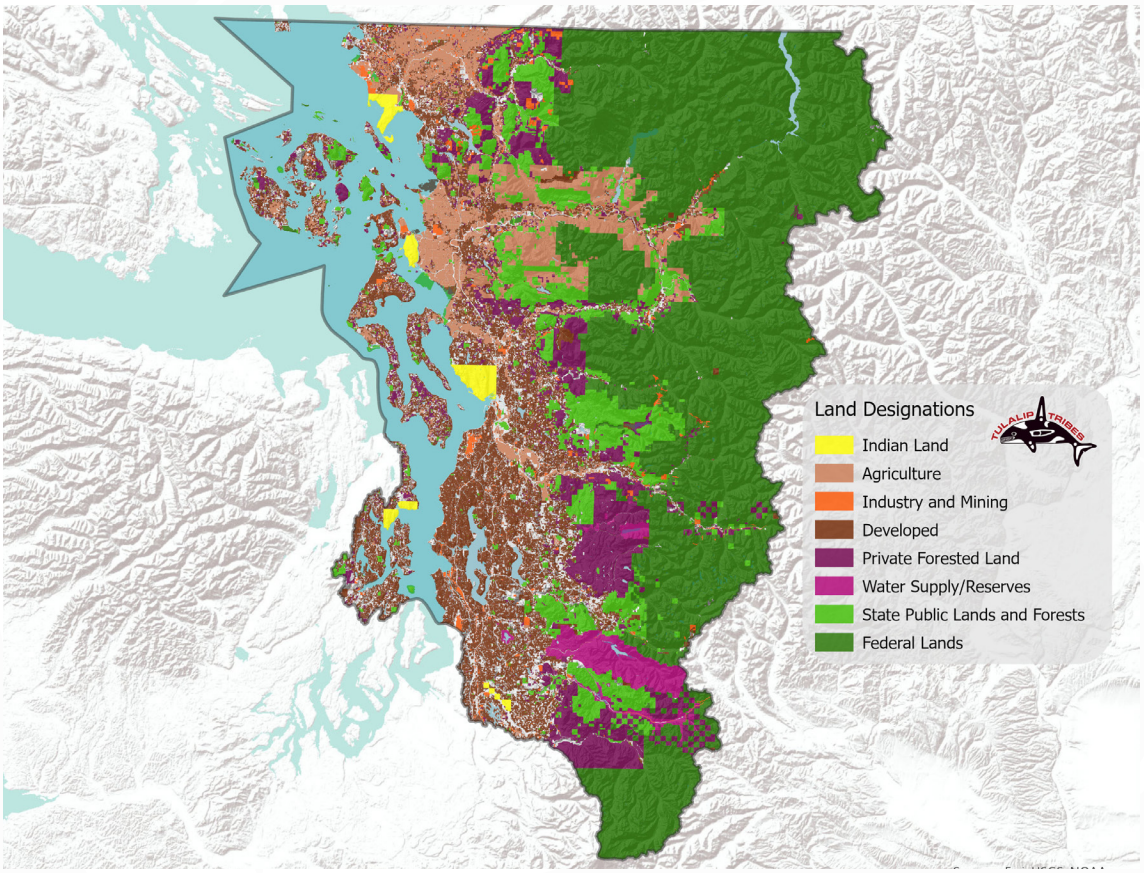


FIGURE 2.
Map of the 1855 Point Elliott Treaty ceded territory and its land use status today—As the lowlands have been largely converted to agricultural and urban and residential development, the less disturbed upland areas take on increasing importance to tribes to support cultural resources. Still, these lands face increasing pressures as our regional populations grows briskly, and our climate warms. Note that this map does not depict, identify, or define the scope or extent of any legal entitlement of rights of the Tulalip Tribes under the 1855 Treaty of Point Elliott, inherent, or otherwise. (See map disclaimer in Appendix B)

Recreational use of the uplands has spiked to levels unimaginable a generation ago, with visitors hiking, biking, and skiing; fishing and hunting for sport; collecting plants, rocks, and other materials; running snowmobiles, off-road vehicles, and small aircraft; target shooting; and more. While sustainable in small numbers, these activities have had astonishing cumulative impacts in light of millions of people now living in the metropolitan areas and traveling to vacation in western Washington—all within, and perhaps because of proximity to, the uplands. So too, recreational hunting and fishing has only intensified with the population growth of our region—despite state regulations. This has placed great pressure on fish and game populations while also changing the movement of these animals—upsetting ancient balances between humans and the living beings on which they depend.

Though recreational uses of the uplands appear to be less destructive than industrial forestry and mining, recreational activities have clear and widespread ecological effects. Recreational uses of the uplands often displace traditional spiritual practices or adversely affect natural resources—by the trampling of culturally significant plant communities or by the altering of elk herd movements as they shift locations to avoid disturbance from human activity. In addition, recreation can lead to a significant reduction in the privacy required for traditional cultural activities:

"People ask you what you're gathering, why you're gathering…. Some think it might not be legal and want to confront you about it or call the authorities… It is hard." Ceremonies require privacy, to preserve the silence and solemnity of the tribe's most important spiritual practices. "It is all tied to our spirituality…. We need to have the ability to still find places to do ceremonies [along rivers, and in the mountains]…. That is still a core part of the culture…. People see us driving cars and using phones and assume that we don't do that anymore… but we do. And we need traditional foods for spiritual and cultural gatherings."

Even efforts to sustain and restore the environment can have complex and sometimes negative effects. The seasonality of hunting and fishing regulations often conflicts with traditional harvest times and locations. Conservation areas—on agency lands, or even in the care of modern environmental nonprofits—have sometimes been established in ways that forbid and displace longstanding forms of traditional resource use and management. And there are the roads—managed by public and private land managers rather than tribes—that have supplanted tribal trails. While roads can be destructive at times, road decommissioning on timberland can be a double-edged sword—protecting some areas while making others less accessible to tribal members for spiritual, cultural, and subsistence purposes. "Our cultural persistence is tied to access along the roads, but the roads are often changing" "How can you pass on those family teachings when you don't have access to the place?"

All the while, climate change transforms plant and animal life throughout our traditional lands. Elk and deer migrations have changed, while warm and low water conditions imperil fish populations in new ways. "We are trying to respond to the effects of climate change. How are we going to exist if the salmon are gone? … The salmon not only nourishes our body, but feeds our spirit." Climate change also increases the risk of catastrophic fires, compounding the effects of intensive logging and generations of fire suppression. So too, invasive species have become a growing concern, especially in places with development, tourism, and industrial-scale forestry and agriculture.

In the summary below, we examine more closely some of these current threats to our culture and our reserved treaty rights in the uplands. Many threats to the uplands started long ago and continue, while others are new or have been exacerbated in recent years. Some of the same threats exist in the lowlands as well.

Fir log at the Wallace Lumber Co. Mill, Startup, approximately 1911. (Photo: Lee Pickett, University of Washington Digital Collections.)

Forestry Practices

With the arrival of non-Native settlers in the mid to late 1800s, the large-scale harvest of timber resources began. Timber was cleared to make way for agriculture and towns, and for exporting to California and later to Alaska during gold rush times. With the completion of multiple cross-Cascades railroads, Washington became a primary supplier of timber to the nation. And with money to be made, more settlers were drawn here. Logging became, and has remained, a primary industry in the region. Over time and with new and more efficient machinery, diverse old-growth forest types were harvested, and in their place single-species monocultures arrived. These dense, single-aged monotypic stands can be more susceptible to invasion by unwanted plants, pests, and pathogens and lack the necessary habitat diversity needed for certain types of wildlife species to thrive. Industrial logging became the most common activity in the uplands—on private land and on federal and state lands leased for the purpose of logging the forests for economic gain. Apparently,

little thought was given to broad ecological impacts, including a total transformation of the native vegetation communities and their subsistence and cultural values to the Coast Salish peoples, and virtually no thought to treaty obligations or how our ancestors managed the same forest.

The once common practice by our ancestors of using fire to manage the landscape was severely reduced (with the exception of broadcast burning in the early years for natural regeneration) as we were relocated to reservations, and then halted as the various agencies began managing the landscape with a policy of putting out all fires. The combination of the monocultures resulting from industrial logging and a lack of fire in our forests has resulted in dense forest stands that are more susceptible to massive and destructive fires.

Index-Galena Road Re-Opening: A Mixed Bag for Tribes

Map Source:
Snohomish County Public Works Department.

Changes contemplated or underway on nearby road systems within public national forest lands include the re-opening of the Index-Galena Road, fall 2023, as well as planned improvements to the Mt. Loop Highway. While expanding access for tribal members, this road work will likely lead to a significant new influx of forest users in the uplands, and associated environmental impacts.

The timber companies continue to follow a harvest rotation schedule that maximizes profits and, at times, results in a lack of hydrologic function at the catchment or sub-basin scale, as well as the absence of large-diameter trees that are a signature of the Northwest, and a loss of biodiversity. More recently, longstanding landowner companies began selling their lands to timber investment management organizations (TIMOs), an investment tool that focuses solely on maximizing profits without interest in longer land stewardship, needs of the community, the uplands, or the region.

As agencies manage for forest health, they need to consider the potential conflicts between dual mandates for conservation and timber production. We believe that management plans and policies should reflect a paradigm that manages for biodiversity and better supports treaty rights.

Transportation

Railroads were one of the earliest ways that a settler system of transport bisected the uplands, carried more people to the region and more of our natural resources out of the region, including timber, fish, and minerals. Construction of railroads led to the establishment of permanent structures along rivers, hardening of river channels and creating obstacles for fish and wildlife passage, and for the next 150 years altered the landscape in unimaginable ways. The primary rail line out of Puget Sound to the east (Chicago) starts in Everett and moves along the Snohomish and Skykomish Rivers to Stevens Pass before descending into eastern Washington and beyond. These tracks are still used today, moving coal and oil trains into the region. Railroads operate under their own regulatory system, not subject to most state environmental regulations and largely unencumbered by a commitment to treaty rights or requirements of federal agencies through their establishment as private corporations. Even where rail lines have been retired, old infrastructure remains as trails, and pavement, bridges, and hardened features remain as a recreational feature.

The uplands today are also bisected by major interstate highways, state roads, and railroads. These provide entry points and access to the uplands by numbers of people and cars not seen anywhere else in Washington. In addition to state routes and county roads that bisect uplands, the east-west interstate highways in Washington, including Interstate 90 and Highway 2, divide the uplands and in most locations form a complete barrier to animal movement. Recent improvements (including wildlife over- and under-passes) are helpful mitigation measures, but the size and permanence of these highway systems bring more threats through additional people, recreationists, and motorists in the uplands. Railroads, including those that are currently used as well as those that are abandoned, also bisect uplands, continuing a legacy of impacts. Large rock placed on river banks to protect roads and railroads infrastructure confine the river channel, alter river hydrology, and cause major impacts downstream.

Throughout its development, road infrastructure in the uplands has created additional challenges and impacts on fish passage and water quality. However, the State of Washington was mandated by court order in United States v. Washington to redesign and reconstruct offending culverts on state lands. This is an important victory for salmon in Washington, but only represents the tip of the iceberg in addressing road-related ecological impacts.

Major roads provide easy access to people who travel farther into the uplands through state roads, county roads, and Forest Service roads, farther and farther into the areas previously accessible only by foot. Newer 4-wheel drive on cars and trucks coupled with off-road vehicles allow people to access areas even deeper into the uplands.

Roads not only provide access points for people, they also create a barrier to wildlife movement that can be lethal. An estimated 1 million vertebrates are killed per day on U.S. roads and highways.[43] The order of magnitude of this harm is supported by Loss et al.[44], who estimated that 87 to 340 million birds are killed per year on roads in the U.S. (9,834,000 square kilometers). It then seems possible that hundreds of millions of vertebrates (birds, reptiles, amphibians, and mammals) are killed per year on U.S. roadways.[45] There is a need for road managers to incorporate crossing structures wherever possible into current and future roadway planning and road upgrades.

Despite their ecological impacts, roads across the uplands create vital access for treaty tribes. Finding an effective means to maintain roads for tribal members to exercise their treaty rights, while at the same time minimizing ecological impacts and not creating situations where the public and tribes compete for access for different purposes, is challenging. Tribal treaty and cultural/ceremonial activities are often negatively affected by the number of people in the area that can, for example, displace wildlife, create safety concerns for hunting, disturb cultural sites, or disrupt needed privacy.

Population Growth

As the region continues to shatter population growth records and attempts to accommodate the growth in urban centers per the Puget Sound Regional Council (PSRC) plans and county comprehensive plans. In 2020, "Vision 2050" was released by Puget Sound Regional Council, projecting a population in the four-county central Puget Sound region of 5.8 million people by 2050.[46] The current (2021) population according to census data is 4.345 million. We are currently at 87% of the projected growth with 20 years left to the target date. It is clear that housing, roads and transit, schools, health care, and other services lag behind the actual growth. The impact is not contained to the I-5 corridor or along the valleys in small cities; the upland areas are being directly and severely impacted by this growth through both conversion of habitat for rural residential development and by recreationists looking for an escape from the urban centers.

Urban sprawl in western Washington. (Photo: Joe Mabel, Flckr.com)

Urban Growth: At What Cost to Tribal Treaty Rights?

Off-reservation lands contain important natural resources guaranteed to the tribes by treaty. Many of these resources have already been greatly diminished in our region. Continued anticipated growth further threatens these resources.

Puget Sound counties are not only allowing development outside the urban growth areas, but are planning it. This growth will directly impact the uplands by expanding the wildland-urban interface and the multitude of associated impacts and threats for water, fish, wildlife, plants, cultural resources, and traditional vegetation management methods like fire. None of the projected growth considered the potential increased pace of population growth due to the societal shifts seen during the pandemic—with more people able to work remotely and live far away from their jobs in urban centers. Similarly, these projects have not accounted for the presumed increase in people moving from other states, leaving areas with more severe and immediate climate impacts like wildfire and drought.

As the population grows on the landscape, the amount of impervious surface expands and impacts water quality; bisects wildlife migration areas; fragments habitat; and decreases the hydrologic function of uplands, rivers, and streams and thereby overall ecosystem health. These cascading impacts may be beyond the scope of what upland managers can tackle, but the interconnected biodiversity threats to the uplands are important to understand as a foundation for larger change and action. The population growth impacts on treaty resources and on culturally sensitive sites in the uplands have already been felt through intense recreation pressure and increased movement of goods and people across the landscape, and more is yet to come. The impacts are moving farther into the uplands – areas where residents were previously limited by season, time of day, or difficulty accessing, are now commonly and easily reached.

Skykomish River, Summer 2020, Mt. Baker-Snoqualmie National Forest. (Photo by A. Bryden, USFS.)

In 2012, the Forest Service Planning Rule defined sustainable recreation as "the set of recreation settings and opportunities on the National Forest System that is ecologically, economically, and socially sustainable for present and future generations."
(Forest Service 36 CFR Part 219, National Forest System Land Management Planning)

Recreation

Tulalip and other western Washington tribes are concerned about the impact of recreation on the environment and, in turn, the implications for the exercise of treaty rights on public lands and waters, now and for future generations. In responding to this increased demand, land management agencies have expanded parking lots, added new access points, increased miles of new trails and improved existing ones, and installed more sanitary facilities and other recreational infrastructure. However, there has been little effort to evaluate the intensifying human footprint on the health of these public lands in western Washington and, in turn, the impacts that recreation may be having on tribal treaty rights and lifeways that depend on healthy and diverse ecosystems and privacy for spiritual and cultural activities. Increased recreation can also lead to disturbance of archaeological and living cultural sites. In addition to more front-country access points and crowding, there has been a steady march of sanctioned and unsanctioned recreational use farther into the backcountry. Recent increases in recreationists may be due to a multitude of factors, from population growth, as previously described, to deliberate actions by state and local government to "grow the outdoor recreation economy" in Washington, to social media use, to advances in outdoor gear and vehicles. All have resulted in more people accessing areas farther into the backcountry at all times of day and all seasons. Based on a recent study co-published by the U.S. Forest Service PNW Research Station, the Mount Baker-Snoqualmie National Forest, and the Tulalip Tribes, a 63% increase in recreational site visits forest-wide occurred between the survey year 2005, and the survey year 2015 based on data from the Forest Service national visitor use monitoring surveys. This continuous, heavy use negatively impacts wildlife, which has been documented by the tribes in a recent report.[47] It also means that the strategy of tribal members to time their cultural and spiritual activities in the uplands around what were previously less popular times of the day or week for recreationists is no longer proving to be effective. Privacy from others while practicing traditional activities is reported by tribal members to be increasingly difficult to find. Likewise, increasing public use can and does lead to increases in potential disturbance of important archaeological and other living cultural and spiritual sites, and is associated with increases in anthropogenic wildfire.[48]

"Trailhead Direct"

King County has begun, after a two-year pilot effort, providing seasonal city bus transportation from Seattle direct to several trailheads on state and federal public lands in the Snoqualmie corridor. While this bus service helps to reduce automobile traffic and parking needs, while helping to accommodate a wide variety of users, it also adds to the volume of trail users within an already crowded area. Until recently, this area served as an important treaty hunting area for Tulalip hunters, who now find it too crowded, and wildlife too scarce.

How is Increasing Recreation Affecting Tribal Activities on Treaty-protected areas?

SOME EXAMPLES:

- Degradation of culturally sensitive areas and natural resources from crowding, noise, trampling, intrusion on spiritual activities, and contamination from human and animal waste and litter
- Disturbance to wildlife from habitat fragmentation, increased vehicular use, vehicular collisions, noise and human presence
- Tribal members feeling displaced from areas they previously used for exercising treaty rights and cultural/spiritual purposes
- Rivers overcrowded by tubers, swimmers during sensitive salmon spawning seasons
- Removal of large woody debris essential to salmon recovery because of recreational safety concerns
- Vandalism of old growth cedar and maple theft
- The risks of recreation-associated fires, and associated losses of resources and special places

"When we need to pray in the mountains… we can't because of the intrusion by campers and recreationists, and sometimes their garbage, in areas where we need to say our prayers at all times of the day."

—Russell Moses, Tulalip Elder

Management Practices and Policies on Public Lands

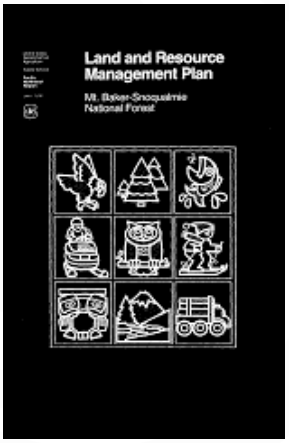
Agencies responsible for managing the uplands often operate under outdated plans developed with little consideration of treaty rights obligations. Each agency has different approaches, goals, and mandates, often resulting in a lack of coordinated planning across entities and jurisdictions. Counties manage lands through the Growth Management Act, multi-county planning policies, and local comprehensive plans. These county-level plans generally direct growth. Even the Shoreline Master Programs and Critical Areas Ordinances focus on where development can happen rather than serving as guides to preserving resources. Many lands under state and county management are designated as public parks with developed amenities that encourage recreation and access. Rarely are they managed as natural areas, and tribal activities like hunting or gathering are typically not allowed. As counties seek grants to add lands to their parks and open space, funding sources often require public access as a stipulation of the grant funds, whether or not such access is ecologically or treaty-rights compatible.

State and federal upland areas are primarily managed for both forestry practices and recreation, and increasingly more for the latter. Lack of coordination between counties, state and federal land managers is a concern, with each entity often creating separate plans with different policies and levels of enforcement. This leaves large gaps in the protection of certain habitat types (alpine lakes, meadows) and species (non-game animals; harvested fruits, nuts, roots; invasive species) that are often ignored or invisible to agency managers focused on those issues and species that are mandated to have management plans and funded monitoring programs. In some cases, non-profit organizations, volunteer groups, and citizen scientists attempt to fill gaps left by the agencies due to limited budgets or simply agency policy, but

these efforts may be out of alignment with tribal priorities, ad as non-governmental entities, are not subject to tribal consultation requirements. This leads to inconsistent and unpredictable management of habitats important to treaty-reserved resources and culturally sensitive areas.

Lands managed by federal, state, non-profit, or other private entities are rarely managed in a manner that is conducive to the full exercise of treaty and cultural rights. From land exchanges, to the development of the uplands through recreational infrastructure and unfettered access, to the complete lack of public education about tribal history and rights, land management policies in our region have transformed the landscape, affecting our connection to these places. The upland landscapes present with many of the threats and pressures long experienced in the lowlands.

In some cases, agencies are not updating land management plans needed to better reflect the current landscape conditions, as well as their obligations to treaty and federally-recognized tribes. For example, the "Land and Resource Management Plan" for the Mt. Baker-Snoqualmie National Forest was developed in 1990 and is now over 32 years old.[49] Agencies are not fully enforcing the existing regulations meant to protect the resources under their charge, and critically needed to fulfill their trust responsibilities to tribes. While agencies have often cited funding as the reason, political will and public pressure appear to be large factors in how agencies spend funding and direct staff time.



The very dated 1990 U.S. Forest Service Plan, together with the Northwest Forest Plan, set the overall management direction on the Mt. Baker-Snoqualmie National Forest. The plan was developed at a time when tribal capacity to engage in such planning efforts was very minimal; as a result, tribal interests and actions to address them are poorly represented.

Climate Change

"There is no escaping it. It is impacting our local area, our country and the entire world… As native people, we live closer to nature than anybody else, and that means that we are going to feel the effects of climate change before anybody else does. If we don't prepare for them, our way of life will disappear" —Ryan Miller, Executive Director, Tulalip Tribes Department Treaty Rights and Government Affairs

This table shows the change (as a percentage) in seasonal precipitation at Everett, WA between 1980 and 2021.[50]

Winter → Spring	Spring → Summer	Summer → Fall
+10.9%	+16.2%	-31.7% → -1.2%

Water and Temperature

Climate change is resulting in major impacts on the uplands, and we are seeing and feeling those changes sooner than models predicted. Change in the timing of the availability of water in the uplands and increased air temperature are our primary concerns. The uplands are the source of water for the plants and animals and for our rivers and streams, but climate change means less water and higher temperatures during critical times of the year. Our summers are already noticeably warmer and with less rain, and winter storms are more intense.

In the past, more of the rain fell as prolonged misty drizzle that had a chance to soak into the ground. Snow accumulated over the winter and, at higher elevations, lasted well into the summer. Now, more of the rain comes in the form of intense storms that deliver a lot of precipitation all at once. Water has less chance to soak into the ground, and so it runs off the land. The warmer days and nights throughout the year cause the snowline to rise and the snow to melt earlier in the season. With faster melt, less of it soaks into the ground. Less groundwater means that less cold water is flowing into streams in the summer. The water running off the land also leaves less water and more stress for plants, animals, and fish and a longer dry season with greater wildfire risk.

The Challenge of a Changing Climate—What Can We Do? There may be actions we can take to delay the worst effects of climate change.

Our people maintained habitats by careful use of fire and manipulation of natural features of streams. Reintroduction of our practices, adapted to our current world, could help to 're-adapt' the landscape to some of today's stresses. Traditional stewardship techniques may aid in restoring ecosystem services and biodiversity, while reducing the potential for catastrophic wildfire and flooding.

For the past couple of decades, we have been combining our traditional practices with more recently developed tools, such as fire trucks and computer-based ecosystem models.

We have reintroduced huckleberry management by working with the U.S. Forest Service to control the natural invasion of trees into huckleberry fields, as we have done for thousands of years. Our teams have thinned conifer seedlings and burned portions of the fields to maintain productive huckleberry bushes. We can apply our traditional land management practices over the landscape to achieve a greater variety of habitats.

We have also been working with the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), the University of Washington (UW), and others to explore how land management, particularly our traditional practices, can affect hydrology, mitigate climate damage to plant and animal habitats, improve water quality and quantity for salmon, and slow climate change by capturing carbon on the land. These efforts can lead to restoration of our reciprocal relation to the land where we take care of land and it, in turn, supports us.

Anticipating Impacts of a Changing Climate—Will our cultural foods still be accessible?

Example: "Big Huckleberry" (swədaʔǰ) (Vaccinium membranaceum)

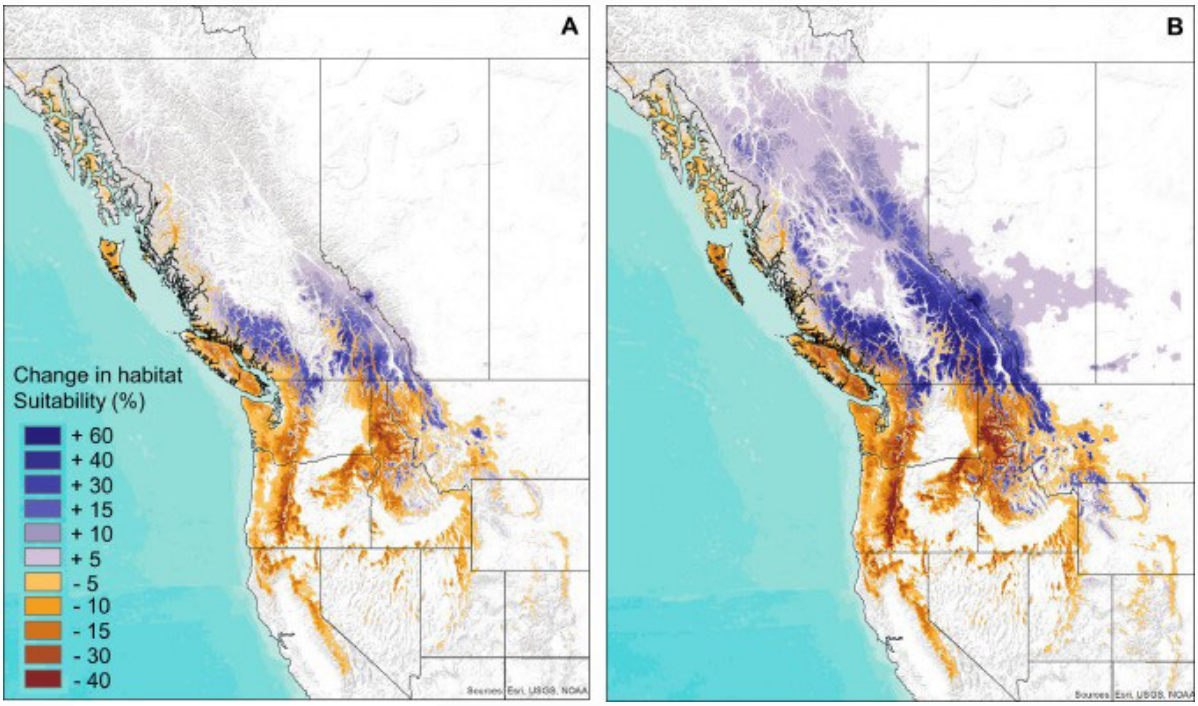


Figure 3.

Predictive models show how climate change may impact the range of different plants and animals. Under this model, and two climate change scenarios (A: RCP 4.5, B: RCP 8.5), suitable huckleberry habitat is likely to respond to climatic warming scenarios in our region by shifting upward (in elevation) and northward (in latitude) by the end of the 21st century.[51]

These changes are creating an overall warmer and drier landscape. Plants, which support all other life, are stressed from a lack of water. Many of the plants will not be able to survive in the same areas we have always known them to grow. For example, Douglas fir and western redcedar may not be able to exist in the lowlands around Puget Sound in the future. It is likely these species will seek higher elevations in the mountains. Once at the high end of their elevation range, Douglas Fir and western redcedar will have to compete with trees that already occupy those places. Many of the plants will not be able to survive in the same areas we have always known them to grow. Changes in our climate are already stressing Douglas fir and western redcedar in the lowlands around Puget Sound. As time progresses, these species will only grow at higher elevations. In turn, trees currently found a these higher elevations—subalpine fir, mountain hemlock, and lodgepole pine—will also be climate-stressed. Likewise, mountain huckleberry habitat value may be reduced at their current locations. Huckleberry are dependent on snow cover in the winter to protect them from freezing conditions, and less snow through the winter may adversely affect them. Preferred habitat for high elevation plants, such as huckleberry and many others is expected to shift to higher elevations as the climate warms.[51] Eventually, habitat required by these plants may no longer be available in our area.

Dying western redcedar. (Photo: Oregon State University on Flickr.com)

Western Redcedar: An Uncertain Future in Western Washington

x̌pay̓ac, **Western redcedar** is central to Tulalip and other Northwest Tribes' culture. Scientists from different agencies and academic institutions in Washington and Oregon have been studying the apparent recent dieback of the western redcedar west of the Cascades. While the exact cause is still not known, they believe that prolonged drought, changes in snowpack, and other variables associated with a changing climate may be responsible. Climate scientists have modeled the anticipated future range for western redcedar. According to their predictions, many of the areas where redcedar is currently found, including in our region of the western Cascades, will not support cedar in the future. As for many species, a range shift upward and northward is predicted, under multiple greenhouse gas emissions scenarios.

Plant Pathogens

Stress on plants from extended drought and higher temperatures creates greater susceptibility to pathogens such as fungus and viruses, and reduces their ability to fight off insect pests. Patches of dead trees throughout the landscape are testament to the stress they are experiencing now. Throughout western North America, and including within our treaty areas, drought pathogens and insects are affecting plants that are important to us. Researchers are trying to gain a better understanding of how these predators, prey, and host relationships are shifting, but agree that these changes are expected to amplify under continued climate-related stressors.

Wildfire

As the summer drought extends and the land dries, wildfire will become a greater risk. Climate change compounds the changes wrought by Euro-American colonization. Prior to the arrival of western settlers, specialized members of our communities maintained habitats across the land by the skilled use of fire. They burned specific locations at the right time of year to enhance habitat for plants and for animals. When Euro-American colonists changed management of forests and meadows from sustained habitats to commodities managed to maximize profit, we were forced to discontinue our land practices. Now the risk of wildfire is growing with climate change, and current land management practices are setting up conditions where catastrophic wildfire is more likely. This trend will be exacerbated by rising numbers of recreation users on the landscape, leading to more human-caused wildfire.[48] Wildfire affects all people in the region, not just our tribal people. Out-of-control wildfires burn homes indiscriminately. Flood and landslides often follow fires when the soil and water holding vegetation is removed.

Upland management strategies brought by settlers changed the nature of our treaty lands. Those changes brought wealth to some people, but reduced the resilience of the land. Exacerbated by climate change, the risk of catastrophic events is greater for everyone.

West Side Fire

The vast majority of wildfires in Washington State happen east of the mountains. However, extended summer drought, a product of climate change, appears to be causing an increasing number of fires on the west side of the Cascade mountain range. In 2022, following a drought lasting through late October, the 2022 Bolt Creek Fire burned nearly 15,000 acres of west-side upland forest lands in the Skykomish River watershed.

Bolt Creek Fire, Skykomish Watershed, September 10, 2022 (Photo: Joe Neal, U.S. Forest Service).

Food Security

There are a number of factors that affect access and abundance of treaty-reserved resources and cultural resources, which our people depend on for our health and well-being. Many of the environmental stressors described throughout this plan are expected to be compounded by climate change. A warming climate and associated extreme events will affect the lands and waters in a variety of complex ways. One example is "range shift"—i.e., where a change in climate affects the habitat suitability for plants and animals, causing them to migrate over time to areas that are more favorable for them. In some cases, range shifts for treaty-reserved resources, like huckleberry and others, may result in our people not being able to continue to access these resources.

"You know, it is well known that our people suffer from much higher rates of diabetes and heart disease. It is because we were steered away from our traditional diet. Now it is more western like everybody else. This diet is foreign to us. A big part of the problem is that we can't access all those things we reserved by treaty."

—Tulalip Elder and Historian, Ray Fryberg Sr. "sdətalq"

NEXT SECTION

To address the threats described here, the next section identifies the strategies and actions necessary to halt the expansion of current threats, mitigate the impacts of past threats, and protect the uplands and our lifeways.

Section IV.

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Protection Strategies

Section IV.

Protection Strategies

Section Purpose: Outlining strategic approaches to address contemporary concerns and threats—both general and tied to specific examples of treaty cultural activities.

Tulalip youth helped to initiate our ten-year plan to restore and enhance mountain huckleberry at swədaxali, Tulalip-Forest Service co-management area on the Mt. Baker-Snoqualmie National Forest, 2016 (Photo: L. Nelson).

Considering so much change continues across the landscape, ensuring that our longstanding connections to the uplands remain intact for our future generations will require proactive and strategic planning on our part and on the part of local, state, and federal land managers and other partners to secure that future. Our approach needs to account for not only the profound changes across the landscapes of Tulalip ancestral lands and upland treaty areas since treaty times, but anticipate further change, including continued population growth and impacts from rapid climate change. Efforts to both sustain and restore the special places, resources, and ecosystems that form the basis for Tulalip material culture and identity, and that constitute our treaty-reserved rights, need to be clearly identified and implemented.

As noted in the previous section on threats, our upland resources are fragmented and degraded due to decades of logging, fire suppression, and development. Additional threats of increased outdoor recreation and climate change further threaten our natural, cultural, historic, and spiritual resources. We believe that both general or landscape scale strategies, as well as more specific activity-focused strategies will be required to protect and honor the tribes' cultural and treaty interests for future generations.

General Strategies by Theme. This section outlines strategies that apply generally to tribal rights and interests across the landscape. Their purpose is to maintain and restore biodiversity and the overall ecological integrity and resilience that we believe is necessary to support our culture and rights over time. These general strategies often address multiple threats described in Section 3 and include those to be taken by the Tribe and/or by upland land managers. Strategies are organized by themes rather than by threat or location. For a specific list of our expectations for federal and state land-managing agencies, see Appendix A.

Themes include:

- **Increasing agency commitment to treaty rights**, early and meaningful engagement, and co-development of agency actions, tribal access, and enforcement.
- **Improving management of the uplands** by agencies and tribes together to increase biodiversity, landscape heterogeneity, and resilience that creates the healthy environments needed to recover and sustain treaty resources.
- **Building awareness** of treaty rights and concerns across tribal and non-tribal communities and NGOs.
- **Using legal authorities and inter-jurisdictional coordination** to support treaty rights and protect of tribal lifeways.

General Strategies

Theme: Increase Agency Commitment

- Continue to build and strengthen a proactive trustee relationship to increase efficiency and effectiveness; tribes and trust agencies advocate for sufficient funding for enforcement to fulfill trust responsibilities, and address conflicts within agency missions that are negatively impacting treaty rights and protection of cultural sites and spiritual practices.
- Track, monitor, and prioritize agencies' land management policies and plans to ensure they reflect tribal priorities and interests (U.S. Forest Service, National Park Service, counties, and municipalities).
- For agency-proposed actions subject to the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA), insist that the point of engagement with Tulalip is early, beginning with the co-development of a proposal's Purpose and Need statement. Ensure a common understanding of tribal expectations and interests to reduce the burden on the tribe to hold agencies accountable to their obligations. As co-managers, offer affected treaty tribes participation in internal ID teams for NEPA evaluation purposes. Tribes should also recommend needed federal actions under NEPA by proposing project purpose and need to agencies to address tribal priorities.

- Confirm that cultural resources and sacred area inventories on public lands are correct and up to date. Analyze impacts on cultural sites that may not have been evaluated through formal consultation under the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA), such as recent expanding recreation and crowding on public lands. Explore designation of Tulalip ancestral areas as traditional cultural properties and landscapes as eligible under the National Register of Historic Places, for better protection. Ensure that the rules governing access, uses, and application of these inventories have safeguards for culturally sensitive knowledge and information and that such safeguards be developed and implemented in conjunction with the Tulalip Tribes, in accordance with Tulalip laws, codes, customs, and protocols.
- Ensure that public land managers monitor, alter policies where needed, and enforce rules that allow for or regulate non-tribal use and harvest of non-timber special forest products to ensure that tribal treaty rights are prioritized and tribes' needs are being met. Ensure that areas where cultural practices can continue to occur are available and accessible; and monitor upland resources and impacts (e.g., climate impacts, visitorship, and illegal activity).
- Remain vigilant in monitoring potential land exchanges by local, state, and federal governments where treaty lands and rights may be affected, and work with these governments to ensure such exchanges do not go forward without tribal consultation and approval.
- Safeguard sensitive and/or tribally owned data and cultural knowledge through formal memoranda of understanding (MOUs) and data-sharing agreements when tribes believe it is warranted.

Theme: Improved Management

Field site coordinator, Ross Fenton, former Tulalip forestry staff gathers conifer seedlings thinned to maintain open conditions needed for mountain huckleberry.

- Build upon coordinated landscape-scale planning by federal and state land management agencies to restore landscape processes to protect and restore biodiversity, cultural sustainability, and account for climate impacts and to address recreation impacts.
- Update outdated agency land management plans in coordination with tribes to better address tribal interests and concerns, and meet agency obligations and trust responsibilities to tribes (Example: the Mt. Baker-Snoqualmie National Forest 1990 "Land and Resource Management Plan").
- Insist that federal and state agencies manage recreation in a way that will not lead to a further diminishment of the tribes' treaty rights; seek funding and take actions to restore ecosystem health, tribal access, and treaty resource abundance; and develop better baseline information on recreational use in our area, identifying data gaps and finding effective tools to manage it sustainably.
- Use modeling approaches and existing data to assess climate impacts and limits to resource availability; such modeling approaches may be adapted to provide information on the health, availability and sustainability of treaty resources. For this effort, utilize the work that Tulalip Tribes has done using the Ecosystem Management Decision Support System (EMDS) and EPA's Visualizing Ecosystem Land Management Assessments (VELMA).

On the Mend... In 2012, Tulalip natural resources and treaty rights staff received a small grant to restore a subalpine huckleberry meadow damaged by illegal off-road use on the Mt. Baker-Snoqualmie National Forest (top photo, 2012, bottom photo 2017).

- Conduct research and address land uses, including the impacts of recreation, that impede tribal member access to the uplands and threaten treaty-reserved rights.
- Identify and protect highly vulnerable upland and alpine habitats, including meadows and wetlands that support biodiversity and ecological function; ensure improved protection for headwater streams and other upland waterways that support downstream habitat types and sustain these critical natural and cultural resources.
- Work toward restoration of cultural landscapes; develop recovery, implementation, and monitoring plans for key upland species (e.g., huckleberry, beargrass, elk, mountain goat, and beaver). Support the reintroduction of key species and restoration of habitats that support them.
- As consistent with traditional tribal stewardship of the uplands, encourage the use of prescribed burns, forest thinning, and other means to achieve a mosaic of habitat types, enhanced biodiversity and resilience of the upland landscape.

Tulalip Forestry staff, Angela Peltier, helps to enhance huckleberry growth by thinning encroaching trees, reducing shading.

- Implement and/or increase tribal-agency co-management of lands and resources consistent with Joint Secretarial Order 3403; encourage managing lands in a manner that better supports tribal treaty rights, resources, culture, and lifeways.
- Limit non-tribal access in sensitive areas or those degraded by overuse through a variety of mechanisms such as temporary or permanent closures, limiting parking, or establishing quotas and permit systems; consider designation of refuge areas for the recovery of sensitive habitats, species, or as more permanent ecological reserves to help sustain biodiversity.
- Insist on adequate agency capacity to enforce existing regulations, and to develop effective new rules to address negative ecological and treaty rights impacts due to the expanding number of recreational users on public lands.
- Increase access for tribal members (e.g., agencies could provide keys to gates, seasonal closures for non-tribal members at specific locations, etc.).
- Expand recreational ecology research, particularly as it relates to human-wildlife interactions and impacts on public lands.
- Ensure that tribes are consulted early by agencies, including the Washington State Department of Transportation (WSDOT) and PSRC, in consideration of all transportation expansion or improvement projects that increase public access in the uplands; enhance wildlife corridors through overpasses and underpasses.
- Develop recommendations for wildlife passage locations as informed by studies of multiple species. Inform highway modification plans to ensure the safe passage and migration corridors for wildlife.
- Cooperatively research and manage recovering carnivore species (grizzly bear, gray wolf, wolverine, fisher) to ensure the coexistence of treaty resources and carnivores into the future.
- Use traditional knowledge and land management practices to help restore ecosystem diversity, to increase access to traditional resources of plants and animals, provide cold water to streams for salmon, and potentially delay the impacts of climate change.
- Tribes acquire and manage uplands proactively or opportunistically, through donation/transfer, or direct tribal purchase, as consistent with the Tulalip approved acquisition strategy. To the degree possible, manage these lands to better support tribal treaty rights and culture, and to mitigate climate impacts.

Theme: Awareness across Tribal and Non-tribal Communities and NGOs

- Continue ongoing efforts and further develop effective means of outreach and education (e.g., social media/website, public workshops, on-site docents, interpretive sites, tribal leaflets) to teach the public about tribal history and treaty rights and to share, with appropriate safeguards, protections and permissions, Tulalip culture, and aspirations, and seek community goodwill for tribal goals.
- With private landowners, identify areas of mutual interest and agreement that will support tribal interests, such as improved access for tribal members and enhanced landscape resilience.
- Secure assurances and commitments from non-profit partners to center their conservation and other work in the uplands around an understanding of their role in upholding treaty rights; seek recognition by Tulalip non-tribal neighbors and partners that actions taken by Tulalip toward sustainability of the natural resources necessary to support tribal culture are part of what is necessary to sustain the ecosystems that support all of us; distribute this strategic uplands plan and follow up with direct outreach to select NGOs
- Conduct internal outreach and education with tribal members.

Tulalip tribal treaty rights and forestry staff complete installation of interpretive signage to inform tribal members and the public about the ongoing role of tribal stewardship on off-reservation public lands.

Theme: Legal Authorities, Inter-agency Coordination

- Ensure agency consistency with tribal policy as found in federal statutes, executive orders and memoranda, and agency regulations and guidelines. Actively track state and federal policy and legislation for policies that do not reflect obligations to treaty rights.
- Evaluate and develop incentives and fee structures for non-consumptive use of public lands.
- Continue coordination with other tribes in addressing recreation and its impacts on public lands and treaty rights, and insist that federal and state land-managers take effective actions to protect the environment and tribal treaty rights and access. Participate in intertribal coordination to address upland issues and management (such as the Northwest Indian Fisheries Commission [NWIFC]-coordinated recreation workgroup).
- Survey block or change conveyances to prevent land from moving away from authorities with treaty responsibilities (federal, state) to those more removed from treaty obligations (local jurisdictions, NGOs, or private ownership).
- Change federal and state regulations and funding program guidelines to ensure that tribal acquisitions are allowed and supported.
- Participate in intertribal coordination to address upland issues and management (such as the NWIFC recreation group)

How, when, and where these general strategies are implemented to protect upland treaty rights will go beyond the pages of this plan and, in some cases, shall not be made public. The examples shown below are meant to illustrate the approach that the tribes have taken—and will continue to take—to protect access, resources, sites, species, and a way of knowing that is integral to the cultural and spiritual well-being of the tribal members. These examples are not intended to note the most important or the only activities that require protective action; rather, they are illustrative of a more complete set of interconnected activities, lifeways, and ways of knowing that only the uplands provide. These examples are appropriate for sharing with an external audience to provide clarity around expectations and approach as others make decisions and manage the uplands.

"Using those traditional places, those resources… We never quit, even though the government put [limits] on us, we did all those things protected in treaty and we kept going back to those lands."

Strategies to Support Tulalip Cultural Activities

(Some Key Examples)

Despite many disruptions, our people remain critically connected to the upland mountains and valleys of our ancestors, where we retained our rights reserved by treaty. We return for many reasons—to hunt deer, elk, birds, and mountain goat; to gather plant foods and medicines; to peel cedar bark and harvest weaving materials; and to bring together our families and teach our youth about our rich culture and identity as Coast Salish peoples.

Our reserved treaty rights encompass more than an opportunity to gather plants, hunt game, or harvest fish. Having a meaningful role on the ground in the stewardship of these resources, as we have for millennia, helps revitalize our peoples' connection to these lands, and the reciprocal relationships we maintain in caring for the natural world.

Below are several important examples of activities we continue in the uplands. For each of the following examples, we suggest some strategic approaches that lead to a more ecologically diverse and resilient landscape where we can sustain a relationship of reciprocity between our people and the plants and animals, and all in our environment. Note that these are only examples, and meant to illustrate a few of the ways we exercise our treaty-reserved rights and continue our culture. Some of these activities only occur in the uplands because the resources they depend on require the higher elevation habitats and climate. In other cases, the uplands may represent the only remaining undisturbed areas where the resources are currently found, even though historically they may have also been found in lower

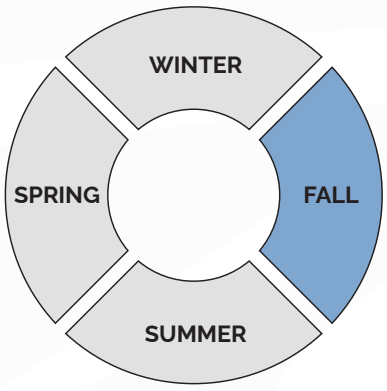
elevations. Some of the cultural activities described are also tied to ancestral sites in the uplands, or rely on the particular settings and privacy that are only found in the protected areas like those on federal and state public lands. We consider many of the activities described below, and the resources, habitats, and places they depend on, to be vulnerable given the current trends in population growth, volume of recreational users and associated disturbances, and changing climate conditions. Refer to Section 2, "Our Connections to the Uplands" for a more comprehensive, detailed description of the examples given here.

Elk Hunting

kʷagʷičəd (elk) *Cervus canadensis*

Tulalip tribal member and hunter Amanda Shelton with elk.

Like many resources, elk are a source of food, medicine, materials, and even cultural and spiritual sustenance. Elk meat has long been a dietary staple for us, but we have also used the hides for clothing and many other purposes; rendered the fat; and used organs, bone, and antlers in numerous ways.



Current Use and Seasonality:

Elk hunting today occurs across the uplands. Our people hunt along trails, meadow edges, and other places. Elk hunting sites change with the seasons, with some of the most intensive upland hunting occurring in the late summer and early fall.

Elk herds are much smaller now and their distribution is very different today than at treaty times. Elk abundance is greatly diminished in the Skykomish and Snoqualmie River watersheds, closest to the Tulalip Reservation. Today, most Tulalip elk hunters must travel significant distances to harvest elk. Due to a number of anthropogenic factors over the past several decades, most elk are harvested in the Nooksack River watershed to the north, and the Greenwater and White River watersheds to the south.

Obstacles and Concerns:

As traders and settlers moved west into the Pacific Northwest, elk numbers declined, and reductions in their distribution and the extirpation of populations and entire subspecies occurred. Excessive hunting and habitat degradation caused by overgrazing of livestock and conversion of habitat to agriculture and urban areas led to these broad-scale declines and population losses. More recently, increasing volumes of recreational users across public lands and elk habitat have led to increasing disturbance and habitat encroachment, likely affecting elk reproduction and general health and abundance in our area.

STRATEGIC APPROACHES:

- Develop a cross-jurisdictional elk recovery plan.
- Continue Tulalip elk monitoring efforts in the Skagit and Greenwater River watersheds to assess habitat use and survival, as well as continued habitat enhancement activities in the Snoqualmie River watershed and throughout elk range where needed.
- Review and make necessary changes to harvest regulations based on best available science.
- Promote elk research by land management agencies and participate in studies that include recreation impacts on elk.
- Strategic acquisition of lands for elk habitat enhancement.
- Work with NGOs to develop and support changes to forest plan, elk recovery planning, and new legislation that includes wildlife corridors.
- Increase tribal member access/hunting opportunities.
- Explore use of seasonal closures and directing recreation away from known summer elk habitat to reduce disturbance.

Mountain Goat Hunting and Gathering Wool

sx̌ʷíƛ̓ əyʔ (mountain goat); **x̌ʷíƛ̓ əyʔəlqìd** (wool); *Oreamnos americanus*

Mountain goat at Stevens Pass, 1930. Mt. goats in this area are rare today, if not extirpated. (Photo, Lee Pickett, University of Washington Digital Collections.)

x̌ʷíƛ̓ əyʔəlqìd (Mt. Goat wool) Source: Univ. British Columbia

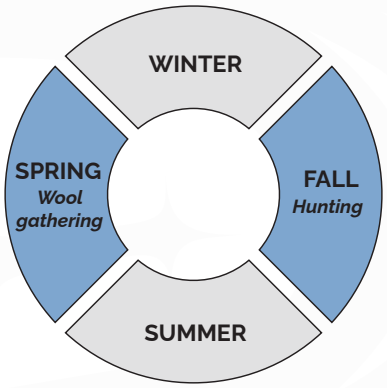
Mountain goats are native to the Cascade Range, and have been prominent in our lifeways as an essential subsistence food resource, for their prized wool and hide to make clothing and weave blankets, and for horn and bone to make tools and ceremonial objects. Mountain goat wool, blankets, and tools were also crucial for inter-tribal commerce. Goat hunting sites changed with the seasons, with most hunting occurring in

the late summer and early fall. Traditionally, tribal members collected goat wool in close timing with the animals' life cycles (i.e., when they are at the woolliest in late winter and spring) and snowmelt in the mountains. The use of mountain goat wool mixed with other fibers provided the means for Tulalip ancestors to build a reputation as some of the finest in the region for many generations. This wool was a valuable trade resource regionally, including trade with Canadian and Alaskan tribes, and used, among other things, for the highly valuable Chilkat woven blankets. The near loss of this resource and the loss of the "woolly dog" significantly impact the Tulalip members' ability to access traditional weaving resources. The mountain goat, and its association with the rugged alpine terrain, also carried important spiritual meaning in our culture.

Current Use and Seasonality:

Following a steep population decline, tribal mountain goat harvest in the North Cascades temporarily ceased in the mid-1980s. The Tulalip Tribes is currently actively monitoring Cascade mountain goat populations, in partnership with other tribes, including surveying their abundance, their movements, habitat selection and connectivity, survivorship, and effects of changing climate conditions. The Tulalip Tribes is also involved in the capture and transfer of mountain goats from the Olympic Peninsula to sites within the Point Elliott Treaty area. Currently, most mountain goat populations in the state appear to be in decline, which is of critical concern. Mountain goat populations on the west side of the Cascades are greatly diminished, except at Mount Baker. Tulalip has successfully taken one goat from Mount Baker in the past three years. Over the last several years, population surveys confirm that mountain goat numbers have declined. Reasons for the lower numbers are not yet well understood.

Hunting: As previously explained, mountain goat abundance is greatly diminished in the Stillaguamish, Skykomish, and Snoqualmie River watersheds. As a result of some recent improvement in goat population numbers, a small number of permits for hunts for male goats is available to members of Point Elliott Treaty tribes, though most Tulalip goat hunters must travel significant distances for goats. For the last two decades, goats have been harvested from the North Rainier goat herd to the south and the North Cascades goat herd to the north. Both of these herds continue to face obstacles in their recovery. In recent years, one permit is made available yearly to Tulalip hunters in the Mount Baker Goat Units, and Tulalip has successfully taken one goat in the past three years.



Wool Collection: Goats shed their winter wool starting in late spring into the summer. Some tribal members pick wool from bushes, rubbing spots, and along trails as was traditionally done, for weaving and other purposes.

Obstacles and Concerns: Hunting:

Mountain goat population declines over the past 50 years have raised concerns about managing this species. Overharvest likely played a role in apparent decreases, along with other factors including habitat fragmentation caused by major roads and interstates, disease and parasitism, disturbance caused by recreational activities (especially during critical reproductive seasons), winter habitat degradation through timber harvest, predation, and loss of habitat due to conifer intrusion into alpine meadows as a result of fire suppression. Against this backdrop of an already diminished population, additional stressors today include climate change, diminished snowpack, and further increases in human disturbance to

goats, goat habitats, and goat habituation from expanding recreation in the high country. Recent species vulnerability assessments identify mountain goats at moderate to high risk from climate change. Decreased snowpack and forecasted earlier melting times could potentially affect vegetation patterns in the alpine and, in turn, affect goat use of the habitat.

Obstacles and Concerns: Wool Collection:
The lack of mountain goat wool during the regular hunting season, combined with limited knowledge of shed areas, makes it difficult to collect significant quantities for tribal purposes.

STRATEGIC APPROACHES:

- Track mountain goats to improve our understanding of seasonal movement, habitat use, and mortality, and to identify mountain goat habitat or potential habitat in areas closest to Tulalip that could become hunting areas.
- Maintain habitat connectivity across the landscape; review road policy to minimize disturbance near habitat or potential habitat.
- Identify and monitor relevant climate data to inform management of mountain goat and habitat; establish snow telemetry instruments in the Skykomish River watershed to monitor temperature and snow depth; model mountain goat vulnerability to climate impacts; support snowpack retention.
- Develop and implement protection measures for identified habitat in highly vulnerable areas due to climate, uses, or proposed uses in the uplands.
- Consider closures from recreation of degraded areas for recovery of habitat.
- Assess opportunity to establish harvestable populations in areas within closer proximity of Tulalip Reservation.
- Continue to provide the Tulalip Hibulb Cultural Center with wool as well as other gathered mountain goat parts for use by tribal weavers and carvers, from deceased collared goats when recovered by Tulalip Wildlife staff; explore other ways to increase the availability of mountain goat and mountain goat parts to the tribal membership.
- Work with the Washington Department of Fish and Wildlife (WDFW) to discuss and determine the reasons for recent declines in goat populations, initiate hunting limitations in areas where populations remain unstable, and develop other appropriate management strategies for goat recovery in the Point Elliott ceded territory.

Accessing Family Historical and Sacred Sites

dəxʷxaʔxaʔ Protecting our Cultural Resources

Tulalip tribal member Gene Enick and old-growth cedar tree, Skykomish River watershed. (Photo by Richard Young)

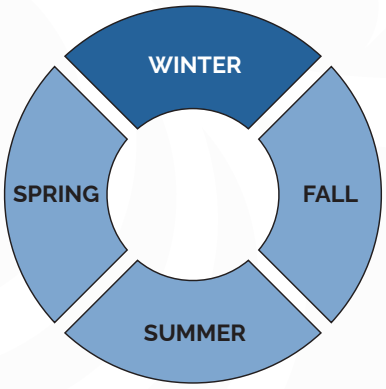
Many of our tribal members continue to revisit old village sites, burial sites, and other sacred places. As described in Section 2, we believe it is important to continue to look after these places, or to visit these places to carry on ceremonies, bring our families together, and teach our tribal youth about their heritage. Our elders always say "never forget who you are and where you came from." "That is where our ancestors lived, and we still have that strong connection to the places where their bones still lie." The villages may have been overgrown and become largely archaeological places rather than living settlements, but they are still visited and valued today. This holds true for many ceremonial

sites and other cultural resources found throughout the mountains, even far from the old village sites. As today's elders remind us, "our sites are sacred to us." Our ancestors are still said to "be watching" in those places where they lived and traveled long ago.

Cultural resources are the landscape features, places, or objects that are important to, representative of, or contain information tied to our culture. Cultural resources include traditional places and materials (identified through oral tradition and/or physical evidence), historic sites and structures, and archeological resources. Cultural resources are integral and necessary to cultural practices and activities of the Tulalip Tribes now and in the future. Today, our aboriginal territory includes both public and private lands managed by a number of different agencies, businesses, and individuals.

Current Use and Seasonality:

Today, many tribal members continue to visit or seek out special areas for spiritual and traditional purposes. Because Tulalip is comprised of multiple tribes from different areas across western Washington and beyond, family groups may visit areas traditional or sacred to their own families spread across a wide geographic area. In other cases, community members within Tulalip may visit individually or as a group certain special sites to carry out particular cultural and ceremonial activities. While visiting upland areas for these multiple purposes occurs throughout the year, many of the spiritual activities occur during the winter months.



Obstacles and Concerns:

Although some of the Tulalip cultural/ceremonial and archaeological sites were documented on U.S. Forest Service public lands areas in the early 1980s yielding a partial inventory of use, much time has since passed and the condition of many of these sites is unknown. Sites may have experienced changes from naturally occurring events and processes. In other cases, past and ongoing land management activities have likely affected these areas, or access to them, due to changing road conditions or closures. As the regional population in western Washington has grown dramatically over the last two decades, increasing numbers of visitors to public lands threaten the integrity of living cultural/archaeological sites; access, privacy, and the pristine nature of some of these areas; and their general suitability for tribal spiritual and ceremonial activities. Tribal consultation, as required under Section 106 of the NHPA, serves as a trigger to review federal agency action effects on historic properties, and properties to which tribes attach cultural or spiritual significance. As more and more people visit public lands where such sites exist, more subtle effects of accumulating disturbance on these lands may not be captured consistently under the Section 106 consultation and review requirement.

STRATEGIC APPROACHES:

- Update the Mount Baker-Snoqualmie National Forest cultural resources inventory, and assess the condition of existing sites. Tulalip Cultural Resource staff will work in coordination with the Mount Baker-Snoqualmie National Forest, Washington State Department of Natural Resources (DNR), and others to assess the current conditions of these sites. Ensure the Tulalip Tribes is consulted in determining appropriate updates, implementation, interpretation of tribal information and data, and appropriate access to these databases. Tribes should also be consulted regarding how the database uses, stores, and safeguards information in accordance with our laws, codes, customs, and protocols, and that these databases allow the Tulalip Tribes access to review, correct, or remove inaccurate, false,

misleading, or sacred information and data related to cultural resources and archaeological sites. Include in this effort consideration of sites Tulalip wants to see designated as "areas of tribal importance" (as per the meaning of the U.S. Forest Service 2012 Planning Rule) and associated access routes as information needed for Tulalip to be prepared to participate in and advocate for tribal interests in new Forest Plan revision on the Mount Baker-Snoqualmie National Forest.

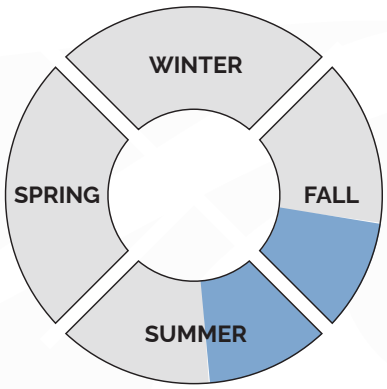
- Invoke the Cooperative Heritage Authority for U.S. Forest Service lands, where and when deemed appropriate, to close specific areas temporarily as needed for privacy and to avoid public disclosure of sensitive tribal information associated with such sites.
- Designate additional tribal co-management areas on public lands to protect and provide more areas for tribal cultural and ceremonial purposes; identify any cultural properties where pursuant to 23 U.S.C. 202(b)(7), a federal agency could transfer property to tribes to take on their stewardship and oversight, or co-manage with agencies.
- Explore and plan for specific designation of Tulalip Traditional Cultural Properties and/or Landscapes (TCPs and TCLs) under the NHPA if deemed appropriate and advantageous for their protection.
- Continued advocacy for maintaining the best form of access to areas of tribal cultural/spiritual importance, including planned road maintenance schedules to ensure consistency in access.

Above (from left to right): Betsy Charles McLean, Lucy McLean Young, Alex Young, Albert "Zip" Young, Bill Steve (behind), Sebastian Williams, Wilfred Steve, and Helen Young (Source: Young Family photo, 1930s)

Gathering Mountain Huckleberry

swədaʔx̌ (huckleberry) *Vaccinium membranaceum* and other *Vaccinium* species)

For thousands of years, **swədaʔx̌** has served as an essential food, medicine, and trade good to the tribal Coast Salish peoples of this region, including Tulalip ancestors. Annual gathering and processing of large quantities of mountain huckleberries was an integral part of the seasonal round of food gathering activities as well as their social, cultural, and spiritual lives. Family groups often returned to a known huckleberry patch or rotated among a number of known huckleberry areas. Berry picking often coincided with hunting in the mountains in the late summer and fall. Tribes from both sides of the mountains gathered at mountain passes for berry picking and other activities, like Stevens and



"I was preparing for a memorial ceremony and had the opportunity to go to Mount Adams to pick huckleberries. I was alarmed to see for myself that this area, the gathering area of the Yakama Nation for generations, was desecrated. The damage was very evident. Without having to leave my vehicle, you could see plants that were destroyed to create harvest trails. There were tribal members there trying to harvest berries to put away for the year.

We were told that there were commercial harvesters getting coolers full of berries to sell to restaurants so they could serve huckleberry pancakes or pies. I was very disturbed by this and want to be sure this won't happen here in our area…"

—Tulalip Elder, Inez Bill, in "Distribution and Recreation Harvest of Mountain Huckleberry,"[52]

Snoqualmie Pass, and other high-elevation areas throughout Washington. Tulalip Tribes Treaty Rights staff conducted research on huckleberry habitat and non-tribal recreational harvest of huckleberries in 2015.

Current Use and Seasonality:

Until fairly recently, tribal families traveled to and camped for several days to a few weeks in areas now within the national forests and state public forest lands, gathering and processing huckleberries on site. Huckleberries are typically gathered as soon as they are ripe, which varies, most often beginning in mid-August and continuing through September. Big huckleberry (V. membranaceum) and Cascade huckleberry (V. deliciosum) are found in the subalpine mountain areas, between 4,500 and 6,000 feet in elevation. Tribal members and family groups typically make day trips to areas they have long visited, as well as new areas where berries are available and accessible. Other culturally important plants that grow with or near huckleberries, or are found along the way to huckleberry meadows, are also often collected on berry picking trips. The Tulalip Natural Resources Department has worked over the last 15 years with the U.S. Forest Service to identify, maintain, and enhance huckleberries at multiple sites to support member harvest.

Obstacles and Concerns:

Factors affecting current and future abundance and access to mountain huckleberry include: conifer encroachment into formerly productive meadows – absence of forest disturbance – by fire, weather, or logging; constraints due to current land management designations (i.e., Wilderness, Administratively Withdrawn, or Late-Successional Reserves) that do not permit active management for huckleberries, and that comprise 95% of the high potential huckleberry habitat; loss of access to productive meadows due to road closures; competition between harvesting groups in the remaining productive, accessible harvesting sites; lack of an agency plan to manage huckleberries; recreational

Tulalip Elder Rose Kempf checking on berry ripeness, swədaʔx̌ali, 2015 (Photo: L. Nelson with permission from earlier interview)

harvester lack of awareness of harvest regulations; agency lack of knowledge or monitoring of amounts of huckleberries removed from public state and federal lands; illegal "commercial" harvest on public lands; lack of enforcement of permits for huckleberry harvest by land managing agencies; future climate impacts on berry productivity, habitat suitability, and geographic shifts that may make berries less accessible to Tulalip tribal members in the future.

STRATEGIC APPROACHES:

- Develop a multi-jurisdictional huckleberry management plan; increase active management for these resources; create additional co-management areas with tribes; integrate prescribed burning, including broadcast burn to open additional areas. Use completed huckleberry habitat modeling for our area.[52]
- Monitor current and potential habitat areas; ground-check identified high-potential huckleberry habitat areas in the Tulalip 2015 huckleberry study, with road access and prioritize for huckleberry.
- Designate tribal-only use areas modeled after Yakama "Handshake Agreements," by administrative closures, or by invoking the USDA Cooperative Heritage Authority for temporary closures.

Tulalip youth work with our Forestry and Treaty Rights Office to co-manage mountain huckleberry in the Skykomish watershed on national forest lands. (Photo by Libby Nelson)

- Maintain roads and gates, as needed, in support of tribal treaty use.
- Work with local ski areas on federal lands to grow and enhance huckleberry, beargrass, and other species in support of tribal needs, and provide access for tribal members.
- Reduce and/or restrict non-tribal harvest where warranted, and where consistent with trust obligations to treaty tribes.
- Install a climate-monitoring station at the Tulalip huckleberry co-management area, **swədaʔx̌ali**, to monitor snowpack, temperatures, and other measurements needed to track climate trends for high elevation habitat.

Using fire to shape our environment and provide our foods. Prescribed burning is one means of maintaining and enhancing huckleberry in the Tulalip co-management area, swədaxali, in partnership with the U.S. Forest Service. (Photo by Ross Fenton)

Upland Bird Hunting

sbək̓ʷbək̓ʷ (spruce grouse, ruffed grouse, and blue grouse; Pacific Coast band-tailed pigeon)

Sooty Grouse (photo by Jim Greer, Oregon Birding Organization, 2022)

Bird hunting has also been of longstanding importance and valued as a source of food and materials. Tulalip peoples have used birds for their meat, but also for other parts of the bird—feathers for regalia and bedding, and bones for tools or spiritual purposes. In the uplands, "bird hunting for many families focused on different kinds of grouse… and pigeons." Rough, blue (recently renamed as "Sooty Grouse"), and spruce grouse, and both rock and band-tailed pigeons, all made outstanding food and are still hunted today, when possible. Spruce and ruffed grouse are found in the forested lower-mid elevations and wetlands, while blue grouse are found in the high, open country—"When (cascade) huckleberry (Vaccinium deliciosum) ripened, that's when our people would hunt blue grouse; they were bigger, tastier but harder to catch."

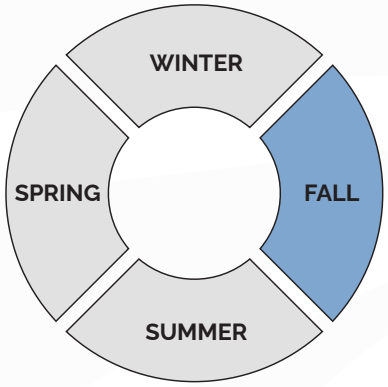
Current Use and Seasonality:

These birds are commonly hunted in the fall, often opportunistically. Hunters may pursue pigeons and grouse when they feed on berries and other food sources in other seasons. The pigeons feed heavily on elderberry "scabt", for example, so elderberry management and pigeon hunting were linked activities; families could easily harvest both pigeons and elderberry in the same places and at the same times. In the fall, band-tailed pigeons flock together before migrating south and were often hunted when they gathered in these larger groups.

"September time of year, our family hunted band-tail pigeons. Large flocks would gather in fall to eat red elderberry in higher elevations where trees had been harvested…. They (the pigeons) posted lookout to watch for hunters while the rest of the pigeons could eat. They sent in decoys ahead of the main flock and if we shot at them they could tell the big flocks where the hunters were. The main flock would come into the clearcut and circle. The decoys met them and would flinch and the rest of the flock would know where the hunters were hiding.

Band-tail was the only pigeon we hunted. Rock dove we see, however we never hunted them—I think they are a small bird. It would take five band-tails to make a meal for our family. Boiled them long enough to pull meat off the bone then added to gravy mix over rice or potatoes."

—Tulalip Elder, Russell Moses, sx̌ədiwə



Pacific band-tailed pigeon (Photo courtesy of U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service)

Obstacles and Concerns:

Data on forest grouse species and band-tailed pigeons are very limited. Liberal sport hunting regulations for band-tailed pigeons led to a declining population in the 1980s, and the sport season closed in Washington from 1991 to 2001 to let the population recover. Band-tailed pigeon populations are assumed to have recovered somewhat from their very low numbers in the 1980s and following hunting closures to protect them, but biologists believe that the population remains in decline. Band-tailed pigeons are currently open for state hunters from September 17–25. Again, very little is known about forest grouse populations, but State of Washington surveys are showing some decline, based on hunter return of bird parts.

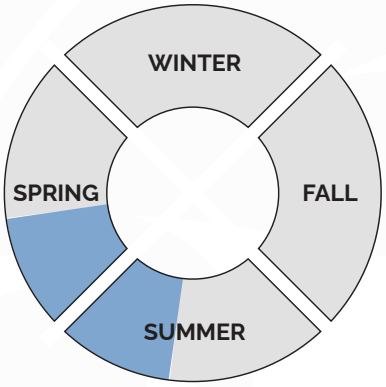
STRATEGIC APPROACHES

- Establish baseline data for forest grouse and band-tailed pigeon hunter effort and success (state and tribal); discuss current population status with Tulalip hunters.
- Determine the feasibility of band-tailed pigeon mineral site surveys and deployment of Autonomous Recording Units (ARUs) for forest grouse monitoring; consider augmentation of forest grouse species dependent on findings of baseline study/survey data.
- Where possible, manage for early seral stage forests and allow clearings to naturally reforest over time and integrate prescribed burning; early seral stage habitat provides favorable forage and breeding habitat for forest grouse species.
- Explore recreation effects on grouse distribution, particularly in areas where trails intersect optimal habitat for the species, and explore ways other state wildlife programs may be addressing recreational impacts on upland bird populations.

Collecting Beargrass

čətuɬ̓ bixʷ (beargrass) *Xerophyllum tenax*

Tribes have long used beargrass for weaving. Traditionally, tribes used prescribed burns to maintain beargrass, which grows well following a fire. While gathering beargrass, other mid–high elevation plants and foods are often collected for food, medicinal, or ceremonial purposes. In the western Cascades, beargrass is usually found in the subalpine zone as an understory plant on upper slopes under a canopy of conifers, or in subalpine meadows in which there is full sunlight.



Current Use and Seasonality:

Beargrass is harvested primarily during spring and summer, after snowmelt and when accessible, with special focus given to areas that have recently burned. Historically, it was also harvested in the late summer/early fall in conjunction with hunting and berry picking trips to the high country. While beargrass can be found in the mountains in the Skykomish River watershed, it does not grow in abundance. Finding beargrass usually requires traveling farther south and into the mountains, to open or partially open meadows where it is more common.

Obstacles and Concerns:

Finding adequate and accessible quantities of beargrass in our area is a challenge to Tulalip tribal members. Beargrass in our area is at the northern extent of its natural range. Fire suppression and management focus on late successional forest habitats, likely hindering beargrass growth and abundance. We remain concerned about demand for and illegal commercial use and harvest for floral industries on treaty areas, as well as the lack of agency knowledge of plant locations and status; inadequate monitoring or enforcement of illegal harvest by federal and state land management agencies.

STRATEGIC APPROACHES:

- Preserve, protect, and enhance beargrass on federal and state lands (and on private lands where possible) for tribal harvest; designate specific areas across public lands for beargrass enhancement and tribal treaty access.
- Obtain appropriate seed and attempt to establish beargrass on Tulalip upland properties, and at **swədaʔx̌ali** where easily accessible by tribal membership; use prescribed burning to create and maintain beargrass habitat where there is accessibility for tribal members and elder; explore development of native plant nursery at Tulalip to support plants needed for Tulalip recovery projects.
- Federal agencies work with tribes to inventory and map beargrass across public lands; monitor status of and removal of beargrass from federal and state lands.
- Maintain roads to beargrass areas.
- Access beargrass for harvest on national park lands, in coordination with National Park Service staff, including Mount Rainier National Park where beargrass grows in abundance, and where Tulalip maintains treaty gathering rights.
- Research successful propagation conditions and techniques to attempt propagation and enhance beargrass availability in the community.

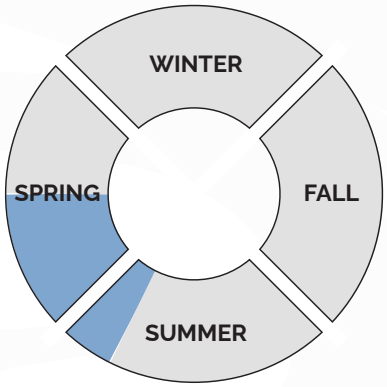
Coast Salish cedar basket imbricated with bear grass design from the Moses family, circa 1960s. (Photo: J. Gobin)

Harvesting Cedar Bark and Wood

x̌pay̓ac (Western redcedar) *Thuja plicata*

Tulalip Elder Clarissa Johnny splits suay (cedar inner bark) after long strips are peeled from the tree. Traditional cedar bark stripping methods do not affect the health of the tree.

Cedar is vital to Tulalip material and spiritual culture. As described in Section 2, western redcedar provides for boards, roofing, and frame poles for houses; the raw material for canoes; the wood for bowls, tools, utensils, and many other items; bark that when pounded cottony soft serves as clothing, bedding, bandages, and more; branches used to make rope, fish weirs, regalia, and many other items; and roots important in basketmaking and more. Traditional rules about how much wood or bark can be taken without harming the tree are carefully followed. While these trees were at one time abundant at lower elevations, they were also sought in higher places, where the wood grain is denser from shallower soils and shorter growing seasons, providing the strongest wood required for such items as durable digging sticks or certain kinds of oceangoing canoes. Tree scars from historic peeling of bark strips or planks from cedar trees can still be seen in the uplands today on living trees.



Current Use and Seasonality:

Cedar continues to be sought by Tulalip carvers for artwork and for canoe making. A new generation of basketmakers and weavers count on regularly replenishing a supply of cedar bark and roots in a sustainable way, as needed for basketry, jewelry, regalia, clothing, and other items. Cedar bark is typically harvested in the late spring, as shown in graphic, depending on temperatures. Family groups often work together to peel, split, and roll the bark for transporting home.

Because the lowlands have been largely developed, the majority of western redcedar grows in the uplands on state and federal public lands. Tulalip Tribes Forestry, Natural Resources, and Treaty Rights staff work with federal and state land management agencies to identify cedar bark harvesting opportunities—particularly those prior to commercial timber sales where more bark can be harvested. Cedar bark is typically harvested from spring to early summer, weather dependent, and when the tree sap is running.

Obstacles and Concerns:

Continued health and abundance of cedar on public lands; access to sufficient supply of cedar wood, bark, and roots for treaty tribes; need clear and simple process for tribal members to harvest cedar bark and wood on state and federal lands for treaty purposes.

STRATEGIC APPROACHES:

- Develop a western redcedar management plan on public lands and state forests to monitor its health, distribution, and abundance, and to ensure its long-term sustainability and accessibility for treaty tribes. Collaborate, where appropriate, with research institutions engaged in ongoing study of redcedar.
- Ensure that federal and state public land managers look for opportunities and notify the Tulalip Tribes of the availability and any specific opportunities to obtain cedar materials, including logs, blocks, bark, roots, and boughs; ensure that administrative processes for obtaining redcedar are straightforward and not burdensome on the tribes.
- Monitor tribal harvest of cedar to ensure Tulalip tribal members are able to exercise their treaty rights for gathering; work cooperatively in research, inventory, and monitoring to ensure the long-term sustainability of cedar and other plant resources.
- Pursue agreements with timber companies and other private forest owners to obtain cedar materials, including opportunities to harvest bark and roots prior to any to commercial harvest.

Teaching our next generation: Tulalip tribal youth, Kane Hots, learning to pull cedar. Photo: Tulalip Communications Department, 2018.

NEXT SECTION

Section 5 focuses on how the strategies identified in Section 4 should be shared and implemented, as well as how they integrate with existing work and other plans developed by Tulalip Tribes.

Section V.

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Thinking About the Future

Section V.

Thinking About the Future

Section Purpose: To explain how we intend to operationalize the strategies described above and work within and across existing plans and processes.

"It's critical that we never lose our right to access our traditional foods and materials we gather—our fish and wildlife, and all those things from the land and water that our people are spiritually connected to and define us and our living culture."

—Ray Fryberg Sr., "sdətalq", Tulalip Elder and Tribal Research Historian

As we have shared in this strategic plan, the uplands constitute a vital portion of our homelands. They have sustained our people since time immemorial by providing foods, shelter, material goods, and spiritual inspiration—while also being home to our ancestors, our villages and camps, and part of the vast landscape across which we travel and remain connected. Since treaty times, the upland landscapes, like the lowland and coastal areas, have greatly changed as habitat diversity has decreased, and plant and animal abundance has greatly diminished. The uplands are now managed by an array of state and federal agencies, local governments, timber companies, other private landowners in addition to tribal governments, and visited by a rapidly growing number of people each year. In recognizing that animals and plants don't care about the different jurisdictions and custodial lines on a map, we know we need to work together if we are going to be effective in sustaining them, and this landscape we hold so dear. In developing and sharing this strategic plan publicly, our hope is to contribute toward building a vision of stewardship that includes our perspective as the original stewards of these lands, with an ancient connection to them, and with a deep commitment to and investment in their long-term future well-being.

It should be kept in mind that this plan is being created at a specific point in time when certain threats are at our doorstep and specific opportunities are now possible with recent federal and state change in agency leadership, new understandings of the historic trauma to our communities, new funding sources, interest in the repatriation of lands, and a new understanding of overuse in the uplands laid bare by crowds during the Covid pandemic. This strategic plan will evolve and change as the threats change and as new responses are conceived of, and as new opportunities present themselves to protect Tulalip Tribes' treaty rights and cultural lifeways. Guiding principles highlighted in Section 1 can serve as sideboards and guideposts to future staff, tribal members, and the Board of Directors as they navigate new challenges and new pathways with agencies, land managers, NGOs, and the general public.

This plan is informed by and in alignment with several Tulalip plans, both internal and externally available, as well as tribal policies and programs spanning Tulalip ancestral coastal and riverine areas to the uplands. These plans have been reviewed by the Tulalip Board of Directors, including:

- **Tulalip Tribes Climate Adaptation Program Strategy**. This effort includes work on the reservation as well as extensive measures off-reservation to maintain the health and well-being of Tulalip people and the culture in spite of the adverse effects of climate change. The plan considers the risks to, and strategies for, protecting health, economy, and natural and cultural resources as well as infrastructure. The plan is not available for external audiences, but the Climate Change Adaptation website is accessible: https://nr.tulaliptribes.com/Topics/ClimateChange.
- **Tulalip Tribes Salmon Recovery Strategy**. Tribal staff are members and leaders of several Watershed Forums and regional groups that collectively develop and manage plans to restore salmon habitat and populations. These plans are all publicly available, and meetings are open to the public. Several issues (such as forest management, riparian buffers, conversion of habitat, and protecting uplands to increase and improve hydrology for the benefit of fish) overlap with issues and approaches identified in the Uplands Strategic Plan. The Tulalip Tribes has also developed an internal Salmon Strategy to guide our own work on habitat, water, foodweb, hatchery, and harvest matters. This plan is not available to an external audience.
- **Tulalip Tribes Restoration and Acquisition Strategy (in progress)**. This internal Tulalip plan outlines priority restoration and acquisition needs in support of treaty resources and healthy, diverse ecosystems.

Other agreements, plans, and past and ongoing efforts relevant to this uplands work include:

- **Memorandum of Agreement between the Tulalip Tribes and the U.S. Forest Service**, and Appendices 1–4. This MOA will be expanded based on provisions of this Uplands Strategic Plan. The current version, as amended and approved in 2011, is available to external audiences: https://nr.tulaliptribes.com/Base/File/NR-PDF-TopicsLandBasedTreatyRights-MOA.
- **Tulalip Tribes Report on Recreation Impacts to Wildlife.** The Tulalip Tribes Treaty Rights Office and Wildlife Program undertook a literature review and report on recreation impacts on wildlife, and tribal treaty rights implications and recommendations. The report is available to external audiences: The "Recreation Boom" on Public Lands in Western Washington: Impacts to Wildlife and Implications for Treaty Tribes A Summary of Current Literature: https://nr.tulaliptribes.com/Base/File/NR-Tulalip-Recreation-Impacts-to-Wildlife-2-28-21-v2.
- **Recreation Working Group**. NWIFC-coordinated working group comprised of the 20 western Washington treaty tribes concerned with recreation impacts on tribal rights and interests.

- **Recreation Use on the Skykomish Ranger District**: Data compilation and management strategies to inform collaborative recreation planning: https://nr.tulaliptribes.com/Base/File/NR-20211214-Forterra-final-report-Recreation-use-on-the-Skykomish-Ranger-District.
- **Distribution and Recreational Harvest of Big Huckleberry**. This report produced and edited by the Tulalip Tribes in 2015, with contributing authors, shows results of modeling to evaluate the presence of mountain huckleberry habitat across the Mt. baker-Snoqualmie National Forest, and evaluates recreational harvest through user surveys. https://nr.tulaliptribes.com/Base/File/NR-PDF-TopicsLandBasedTreatyRights-HuckleberryReport.
- **Timber Fish and Wildlife Program (TFW)** began with 1987 TFW Agreement and later, with the Forests and Fish Agreement (1999). Tribes work with forest landowners, DNR, and other local, state, and federal agencies to review proposed forest practices in Tulalip Tribes' treaty-protected areas. https://nr.tulaliptribes.com/Programs/TimberFishAndWildlife

This tribal plan is not a comprehensive list of all strategies needed; rather, it is an organizing framework and a communications tool for improving, understanding, and identifying actions of our partners and external agencies who manage land, people, and wildlife on our ancestral lands and to some of the areas where we retain treaty and cultural rights.

Internally, this Uplands Strategic Plan will serve to guide Tulalip's future actions to protect, conserve, and recover our treaty-reserved rights. We hope too that it will help to ensure that future generations are able to exercise these rights and maintain deep connections to our ancestral upland areas. Tulalip will continue to develop internal work plans for each relevant program and for tribal staff whose daily work is to protect and restore our lifeways.

Appendices

Appendices

Appendix A: Key Takeaways for Public Land Managing Agencies

What We Want You to Know

This 2023 Tulalip Tribes Uplands Strategic Plan, Appendix A, outlines expectations we have for those agencies charged with managing the uplands, including the plants, animals, and places we depend on to sustain our deep connections to them, and to exercise our treaty-reserved and cultural rights. There are numerous statutes and policies that direct land managing agencies to co-manage, co-develop, consult and collaborate closely with tribes in order to protect tribal interests and treaty rights on public lands. In many cases, these are outlined in agencies' own tribal relations policies (see Appendix C). We respectfully request you acknowledge and take action on the following:

- **Read this Tulalip Tribes Uplands Strategic Plan,** to protect upland treaty and cultural rights. Meet with Tulalip to discuss the plan, and identify both immediate and longer-term actions your agency can take in support of its priorities and implementation.
- **Ensure timely and meaningful consultation** with the Tulalip Tribes on any proposed agency action that may affect tribal interests or impact tribal treaty rights. This is consistent with the "2021 Memorandum of Understanding Regarding Interagency Coordination and Collaboration For the Protection of Tribal Treaty Rights" requiring agencies demonstrate that commitment through early consideration of treaty and reserved rights in agency decision-making and regulatory processes.

  For example, in relation to agency-proposed projects subject to the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA), tribal consultation should begin before development of the "Purpose and Need" and alternatives, and be co-developed with affected tribes, integrating tribal interests, treaty rights, and traditional knowledge.
- **To protect treaty resources, know the status of treaty resources and manage them to meet tribal needs and ensure their conservation.** Public land managers must inventory, evaluate, and monitor such resources and habitats, so that their status is known. There must be a baseline knowledge that an adequate surplus exists, after accounting for the tribal exercise of treaty rights, before harvest of such resources by non-tribal users is permitted by public land managers. Treaty tribes should be consulted to make the baseline determinations and any non-treaty harvests must be permitted, the terms of such permits must be enforced, and the impacts of

such harvests must be monitored. As affirmed in U.S. v. Washington (Phase II, 1980), for the treaty fishing right to have meaning, fish must be available for harvest. Likewise, plants and animals must be available and accessible by tribal members to harvest for our reserved hunting and gathering treaty rights.

- **Ensure meaningful tribal access.** Public land managers should consult with treaty tribes to protect tribal access to treaty resources. Work with tribes to establish effective means to address and resolve the conflicts that arise when roads provide both recreation and treaty access, and to ensure that treaty tribes can exercise their treaty rights without undue interference from non-tribal public land users.
- **Recognize and account for impacts of growing public use and recreation** on our shared landscapes, and its ecological impacts and impacts on our treaty and cultural resources, our access, and our success in being able to exercise our rights and sustain our culture. Undertake holistic recreation management planning, with consulting tribes, to understand the impacts of recreation are on tribes' ability to exercise their treaty rights and protect our cultural resources before any further expansion of recreation is considered. Inventory unsanctioned trail network. Conduct ongoing monitoring of visitor use and develop responses when needed to safeguard our rights and the resources and places upon which those rights depend.
- **Treaty Rights Staff Training** - Improve your staff's understanding of tribal rights and culture, agency obligations and policies with respect to tribes, existing agreements with tribes, and of this plan and others that address public land management.
- **Improve public understanding of treaty rights** and federal agency trust responsibilities and what this means on the ground, and for visitors to these public lands. This may be accomplished in numerous ways, in consultation with treaty tribes and through communications and interaction with the public (Examples: Develop a website page on agency's tribal relations and treaty rights; create signage at trailheads and public lands entry points explaining that public lands lie within the treaty-protected area of Point Elliott tribes; explain how visitors to public lands can be respectful of these rights.)
- **Update land management plans to better reflect tribal interests and rights, and agency obligations to them.** For example, the National Forest Management Act requires the Forest Service to revise its forest plans at least every 15 years. The Mount Baker-Snoqualmie National Forest continues to operate on a forest plan developed in 1990.
- **Secure adequate funding for responsible stewardship of lands you manage, and to fulfill your obligations to treaty tribes.** Lack of funding is not a valid reason for lack of action by land management agencies when needed to safeguard treaty and cultural resources, and provide for tribal members' exercise of our reserved rights.
- **Support a more active role of tribes in the planning for and on-the-ground management and public use of federal lands in our region.** Resource decisions should be made cooperatively by treaty tribes and land management agencies, after consultation and agreement by affected treaty and other federally recognized tribes. Co-developing agency plans and enhancing opportunities for shared implementation of plans and ongoing management produces better outcomes, and promotes justice and reconciliation. Enhance use of tribal agency agreements and cooperative management authorities. (Example: Tribal Forest Protection Act (TFPA) authority).
- **Protect cultural and archaeological sites in the uplands.** Working with tribal cultural resource staff to update inventory of cultural sites and evaluate site conditions on public lands.

Joe Neal, Skykomish District Ranger, USFS Mt. Baker-Snoqualmie National Forest, talks with Tulalip tribal youth and staff at "Mountain Camp" 2016. (Photo by L. Nelson)

- Working in partnership with treaty tribes, **preserve, enhance, and designate special tribal areas on public lands for access to resource and places of special concern.**
- **Improve enforcement** of existing regulations, and promulgate new and needed regulations to protect tribal treaty rights. Enhance enforcement capacity accordingly to meet this obligation.
- **Hire knowledgeable tribal liaisons for your agency** who report directly to leadership and work with tribes who have legal interests on agency-managed lands. While not taking the place of direct government-to-government consultation, or locally-based agency contacts, Tribal liaisons can help to keep tribes informed of matters of tribal interests in the agency, including regional and national level issues, as well as keep agency leadership aware of tribal needs, tribal policies, and concerns.

Appendix B:
Citations, Notes and Disclaimers

1. Tribal members often note that the Skykomish were in some respects an upriver extension of the Snohomish—some even call them the "upriver Snohomish." They were the only inland tribe of the area with the high status usually conferred to coastal tribes. Their nobility had flattened heads, a sign of high rank at birth. And they held chiefly names and titles—some persisting into present day. After the treaty, they were under the leadership of traditional chief and treaty signer Shoolt Soot.

2. Though each was a distinct tribal community historically, all of these communities have connections extending far back in time. Indeed, the Tulalip Tribe has ties to many tribes well beyond those mentioned here. Elders note that Tulalip ancestors have always traveled—along the coast, far up the rivers, into eastern Washington, and into places now within British Columbia and Oregon. They married into tribes, so that "all families are connected" somehow between the tribes of the region. The "boundaries they show on maps between tribes…those aren't real."

3. A vast literature covers the identities and histories of these tribes, with detailed accounts spanning over a century and a half. For a few reference points, see George Gibbs 1856. Tribes of Western Washington and Northwestern Oregon, Volume II. Department of the Interior, U.S. Geographical and Geological Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region, pp. 157-241; Myron Eells 1887. The Indians of Puget Sound. The American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal 9(1):1-9, 9(2):97-104, 9(4):211-219; Hermann Haeberlin and Erna Gunther 1930. The Indians of Puget Sound. The University of Washington Publications in Anthropology 4(1):1-84; Marian W. Smith 1941. The Coast Salish of Puget Sound. American Anthropologist, New Series 43(2):197-211; Wayne Suttles 1987. Coast Salish Essays. Vancouver, BC: Talonbooks; Alexandra Harmon 1995. A different kind of Indians: Negotiating the meanings of "Indian" and "tribe" in the Puget Sound region, 1820s-1970s. PhD Dissertation, University of Washington; Bradley Asher 1996. Coming Under the Law: Indian-White Relations and Legal Change in Washington Territory, 1853-1889. PhD Dissertation, University of Chicago.

4. This statement by a Tulalip tribal elder intentionally invokes the famous 1854 speech of Chief Seattle during negotiations with a party including Washington Territorial Governor, Isaac Stevens. See Albert Furtwangler 1997. Answering Chief Seattle. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

5. Archaeological evidence of diverse antiquity supports this view. For a few recent references to early sites in Tulalip traditional lands such as the Bear Creek site, see Robert Kopperl, Amanda K. Taylor, Christian J. Miss, Kenneth M. Ames, and Charles M. Hodges 2015. The Bear Creek Site (45KI839), a Late Pleistocene–Holocene Transition Occupation in the Puget Sound Lowland, King County, Washington. PaleoAmerica 1(1):116-20; Robert Kopperl, Christian Miss, and Charles Hodges 2010. Results of Testing at Bear Creek, Site 45-839, Redmond, King County, Washington. NWAA Seattle report submitted to DEA, Inc.; See also Dale R. Croes, S. Williams, L. Ross, M. Collard, C. Dennler and B. Varge 2008. The projectile point sequences in the Puget Sound Region. In R. Carlson and M. Magne, eds. Projectile point sequences in northwestern North America. Simon Fraser University Archaeology Press, pp. 105-130; Michael R. Waters, T.W. Stafford, Jr. H.G. McDonald, C. Gustafson, M. Rasmussen, E. Cappellini, J.V.

Olsen, D. Szklarczyk, L.J. Jensen, M. Thomas, P. Gilbert, and E. Willerslev 2011. Pre-Clovis Mastodon Hunting 13,800 Years Ago at the Manis Site, Washington. Science 334(6054):351-53; Daniel L. Boxberger and David Schaepe 2001. The land and people—Glaciation to Contact. In Keith Carlson, ed. A Stó:lō-Coast Salish Historical Atlas, pp. 12-19; Douglas McIntyre/Stó:lō Heritage Trust/ University of Washington Press, Seattle; Julie K. Stein 2000. Exploring Coast Salish Prehistory: The Archaeology of San Juan Island. Seattle: Burke Museum and University of Washington Press.

6. Timothy J. Beechie, Brian D. Collins, and George R. Pess 2001. Holocene and Recent Geomorphic Processes, Land Use, and Salmonid Habitat in Two North Puget Sound River Basins. In J.B. Dorava, D.R. Montgomery, F. Fitzpatrick, and B. Palcsak, eds. Geomorphic Processes and Riverine Habitat, Water Science and Applications, Vol. 4. Washington, D.C.: American Geophysical Union, pp. 37-54.

7. Discussions of the nature and endurance of these core cultural values are available in many sources. See, e.g., Darlene Kelly 2017. Feed the People and You Will Never Go Hungry: Illuminating Coast Salish Economy of Affection. Unpublished Ph.D. dis., University of Aukland; Naxaxalhts'I, Albert (Sonny) McHalsie 2007. We Have to Take Care of Everything that Belongs to Us. In B.G. Miller, ed. Be of Good Mind: Essays on the Coast Salish. Vancouver: UBC Press, pp. 82-130; Crisca Bierwert 1999. Brushed by cedar, living by the river: Coast Salish figures of power. University of Arizona Press; Lawrence David Rygg 1977. The Continuation of Upper Class Snohomish Coast Salish Attitudes and Deportment As Seen Through the Life History of a Snohomish Coast Salish Woman. Unpublished M.A. thesis, Western Washington State College; Sally Snyder, 1964. Skagit Society and its Existential Bases: an Ethnofolkloristic Reconstruction. Unpublished Ph.D. dis. Dept. of Anthropology, University of Washington.

8. On the responsibilities and protocols associated with traveling outside of one's own territory in Coast Salish contexts, see e.g. Brian Thom 2021. Entanglements in Coast Salish Ancestral Territories. In Entangled Territorialities. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, pp. 140-162; Brian Thom 2009. The Paradox of Boundaries in Coast Salish Territories. Cultural Geographies 16(2):179-205; Bruce Granville Miller 2001. The Problem of Justice: Tradition and law in the Coast Salish World. University of Nebraska Press; Emily Mansfield 1993. Balance and Harmony: Peacemaking in Coast Salish Tribes of the Pacific Northwest. Mediation Quarterly 10(4):339; Wayne Suttles 1963. The Persistence of Intervillage Ties among the Coast Salish. Ethnology 2(4):512-25; Wayne Suttles 1960. Affinal Ties, Subsistence, and Prestige among the Coast Salish. American Anthropologist 62(2):296-305.

9. Edmond S. Meany 1924. Chief Patkanim. The Washington Historical Quarterly, 15(3):187-198.

10. Jan L. Hollenbeck 1987. Cultural resource overview: prehistory, ethnography and history: Mt. Baker-Snoqualmie National Forest. United States Department of Agriculture, Forest Service, pp. 163; Colin E. Tweddell 1953. A Historical and Ethnological Study of the Snohomish Indian People: A Report Specifically Covering their Aboriginal and Continued Existence and their Effective Occupation of a Definable Territory. Docket No. 125, Indian Claims Commission (Reprinted in D.A. Horr, ed., 1974. American Indian Ethnohistory: Indians of the Northwest. New York: Garland Publishing); Marian W. Smith 1941. The Coast Salish of Puget Sound. American Anthropologist, New Series 43(2):197-211.

11. Glenwilde Ranche 1876. The Stream and Valley of Pill Chuck. The Northern Star 1(4, 5) February 1876.

12. Walter Hathaway, in Tweddell, A Historical and Ethnological Study of the Snohomish Indian People, 653-54.

13. Warren Carlson and the Skykomish Historical Society 2009. Upper Skykomish Valley. Charleston, S.C.: Arcadia Publishing, pp. 11-13; Federal Energy Regulatory Commission 1981. Final Environmental Impact Statement: Sultan River Project, FERC No. 2157—Washington. Federal Energy Regulatory Commission, Office of Electric Power Regulation, Vol. 2, p. 58; Tweddell 1953:55.

14. As Hollenbeck (1987: 167) notes, "Piles of cooking rocks remain as evidence of the food processing activities that took place at the temporary camps. Locations of rock piles have been described for their associations with berry patches, nut trees, fish traps and seasonal camping grounds."

15. Elders have recalled that Snoqualmie groups sometimes crossed into the uplands above Index when hunting "and then the Skykomish would lend them canoes to take downriver to the forks and back home, up the Snoqualmie River" (Hollenbeck 1987:167). See also Tweddell 1953:126.

16. Hollenbeck 1987:104; Tweddell 1953.

17. This number has been proposed by Nancy Turner on the basis of a comprehensive overview of Pacific Northwest ethnobotanical writings. Nancy Turner pers. comm. 2021; Nancy Turner 2014. Ancestral Pathways, Ancestral Knowledge: Ethnobotany and Ecological Wisdom of Indigenous Peoples of Northwestern North America. Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press. Coast Salish ethnobotanical literature is vast and growing. For a basic introduction see, e.g., papers in Douglas Deur and Nancy Turner, eds. 2005. Keeping it Living: Traditions of Plant Use and Cultivation on the Northwest Coast of North America. Seattle: University of Washington Press; Daniel Moermann 1998. Native American Ethnobotany. Portland, OR: Timber Press; Nancy Turner and Marcus Bell 1971. The Ethnobotany of the Coast Salish Indians of Vancouver Island. Economic Botany 25: 63-99; Erna Gunther 1945. Ethnobotany of Western Washington. University of Washington Publications in Anthropology 10(1):1-62.

18. As reported to Erna Gunther, "Bracket Fungus. Snohomish: **p'lōlqwat** Both the Chehalis and Snohomish use the fungus as a target for archery." Gunther 1945:50.

19. Citing Tweddell (1953) and interviews with 20th century elders, Hollenbeck (1987:167) reports "The vicinity of Stevens Pass was noted for mountain huckleberries and blue elderberries. Groups would travel to this area in August and camp at the pass to pick berries on the sidehills. At the same time of year, women collected beargrass around the pass for baskets."

20. See, e.g., Joyce K. LeCompte-Mastenbrook 2015. Restoring Coast Salish Foods and Landscapes: A More-than-human politics of place, history and becoming. Unpublished PhD Diss., University of Washington; D. Lepofsky, D. Hallett, K. Lertzman, K. Washbrook, S. McHalsie, and R. Mathewes 2005. Documenting precontact plant management on the Northwest Coast: An example of prescribed burning in the central and upper Fraser Valley, British Columbia. In Deur and Turner 2005, pp. 218-39; D. Lepofsky, E. K. Heyerdahl, K. Lertzman, D. Schaepe, and B. Mierendorf 2003. Historical meadow dynamics in southwest British Columbia: A multidisciplinary analysis. Conservation Ecology 7(3):5; Hollenbeck 1987:174; Snyder 1964:31.

21. University of Washington, Center for the Study of the Pacific Northwest: Lines on the Land, Pacific Northwest Quarterly, Volume 105, Number 1, Winter 2013/2014

22. This misunderstanding of the uplands is apparent in some of the earliest non-Native settlers' writings related to the uplands. For example, during some of the earliest surveys of the lands ascending from the lower Snoqualmie River toward Stevens Pass in the 1850s, a party accompanied by Major J.J.H. Van Bokkelen followed well-established tribal trails through a succession of traditionally managed prairies. Assembling near modern-day North Bend at "Ranger's prairie, sending the pack train with Company I and H by the horse trail on Cedar Creek. After traveling a mile through the bottom I came into prairie of fine grass, about two

and one-half miles long and three-fourths wide. After leaving the prairie I went through the timber for a mile and struck a burnt prairie with rock soil about three miles long, after leaving which I commenced a gradual rise to the summit of the pass." J.J.H. Van Bokkelen 1856. Letter from Major J.J.H. Van Bokkelen to Adj't General James Tilton, June 24, 1856. In Message of the Governor of Washington Territory, 1857. Olympia, WA: Edward Furste Printer, pp. 341-42.

23. See, e.g., British Columbia, Archaeology Branch 2001. Culturally Modified Trees of British Columbia. A Handbook for the Identification and Recording of Culturally Modified Trees. Victoria, BC: Ministry of Small Business, Tourism and Culture, Archaeology Branch, Resources Inventory Committee; C. Mobley and M. Eldridge 1992. Culturally Modified Trees in the Pacific Northwest. Arctic Anthropology 29(2):91-110; C.A. Mack and B.J. Hollenbeck 1985. Peeled Cedar Management Plan. Vancouver, WA: USDA National Forest Service, Gifford Pinchot National Forest.

24. Hollenbeck 1987:163,168.

25. Hollenbeck 1987:162-63. As FERC reports summarize the data, "Many (if not all) of the Snoqualmie and Skykomish villages were located at the confluence of a tributary with the Skykomish or Snoqualmie Rivers in order to take advantage of salmon runs." Federal Energy Regulatory Commission 1987. Snohomish River Basin, Washington, Seven Hydroelectric Projects, Docket No. EL85-19-101. Final Environmental Impact Statement. Federal Energy Regulatory Commission, Office of Hydropower Licensing, Vol. 3: 77.

26. Tweddell 1953; Haeberlin and Gunther 1930.

27. Haller, L. 2005. A Nation of Hunters. True West Magazine; November 1, 2005.

28. Gunther 1945:47.

29. Hancock, S. 1923. Thirteen years on the Northwest Coast, 1818-1883; 193-194 [Ed.] George Verne Blue.

30. Snyder 1964:30.

31. Later in the narrative it states, "He told them to make staffs of fir-wood but not of hemlock. On account of this the Skykomish are the only tribe that kill the mountain-goat," though it is clear that other tribes of the region hunted mountain goat in later times. The account also notes that "Before the old mountain-goat was changed into a mountain-goat he gave **Dō'kuibeł** a trap for catching mountain-goats and told him to give it to the future Skykomish so that they might catch mountain-goats. The Skykomish are the only tribe that use this trap. It consists of a loop of cedar rope, one end of which is attached to a rock and this contracts as the goat runs into it. The loop strangles the goat" (p. 385). Recorded in Hermann Haeberlin and Franz Boas 1924. Mythology of Puget Sound. The Journal of American Folklore 37(145/146):371- 438

32. Hariette Shelton Dover 2013. Tulalip, From My Heart. Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, p.263; Hollenbeck 1987; Tweddell 1953; Haeberlin and Gunther 1930.

33. Haeberlin and Gunther 1930; Tweddell 1953:208; Indian Claims Commission 1974:396-397.

34. Erna Gunther 1927. Klallam Ethnography. University of Washington Publications in Anthropology 1(5):171-314, p. 225. Haeberlin and Gunther 1930:38.

35. Elders recalled of the Skykomish, "Blankets **(sta'tek!u)** were made of the soft down duck feathers, stripped from the quills and pounded with a hardwood stick. Then they were mixed with the downy fibres of the giant fireweed (Epilobium angustifolium) **(xa'tc!t)**. This mixture was spun into thread by twisting on the thigh and this thread was used as the weft of the blanket. The warp was made of nettle bark. The blanket was woven on the same loom as the mountain-goat wool blanket and closely resembled the finished product, except that it was darker in color." In Haeberlin and Gunther 1930:30.

36. Elders recall that the Snohomish "used a large duck net…These nets (tuku'b) were hung between two tall, lone-standing trees" Haeberlin and Gunther 1930:25-26.

37. Some estimates suggest that the ancestral tribes of the Tulalip lost over 90% of their population between the first arrival of European diseases and the nadir of tribal population at the beginning of the 20th century. See Robert Boyd 1999. The Coming of the Spirit of Pestilence: Introduced Infectious Diseases and Population Decline among Northwest Coast Indians, 1774-1874. Seattle: University of Washington Press; Robert Boyd 1990. Demographic History, 1774-1874. In W. Suttles, ed. Handbook of North American Indians, Volume 7, Northwest Coast, pp. 135-48. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution

38. Many found a "middle ground," reconciling traditional and introduced religious practices and concepts within the Indian Shaker Church.

39. The loss of control over burials and the eventual development of burial sites were among the many forms of trauma described during this period: "one of the big sacrifices of leaving the homeland was that their family, their ancestors, had been buried there."

40. See, e.g., discussions of 19th century homesteading and mining claims in William Sidney Shiach 1906. History of Skagit and Snohomish County History. Chicago: Interstate Publishing Company.

41. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, lands just beyond the reservation were extensively overrun by non-Native settlers and developers. Areas intermediately between the reservation and mountains were increasingly inaccessible, and natural landscapes transformed. This had profound implications for traditional resource use just beyond the reservation's edge. Lakes and wetlands immediately inland from the modern reservation had once been used extensively for waterfowl harvests, deer hunting, specialized plant gathering, and more. But the loss of access to these lands suppressed many of these practices, pushing water-based activities onto the reservation or up into the river valleys where similar resources were found. Furthermore, the resettlement of the interior and the rise of industrial forestry and agriculture all contributed to the decimation of traditionally harvested elk herds.

42. Modern tribal members note that the U.S. was almost as motivated to negotiate treaties as the tribes were because the tribes posed a genuine strategic threat. At the time of the treaties, the tribes of the Pacific Northwest were still large, powerful, and strategically imposing to the United States. The tribes east of the Cascades were in open revolt, and wars threatened U.S. interests on this distant and poorly provisioned edge of the nation's reach. For these reasons, the U.S. was motivated to sign treaties as much as the tribes were motivated.

43. Forman R.T.T. and L.E. Alexander. 1998. Roads and their major ecological effects. Annual Review of Ecology and Systematics, Vol. 29, pp. 207-231

44. Loss, S.R., Will, T., Marra, P.P. 2014. Estimation of bird-vehicle collision mortality on U.S. roads. Journal of Wildlife Management 78 (5): 763–771.

45. Shilling, F., T. Nguyen, M. Saleh, M. Khant Kyaw, K. Tapia, G. Trujillo, M. Bejarano, D. Waetjen, J. Peterson, G. Kalisz, R. Sejour, S. Croston, and E. Ham 2021. A Reprieve from U.S. wildlife mortality on roads during the COVID-19 pandemic. Elsevier. Biological Conservation 256.

46. Puget Sound Regional Council. 2020. Vision 2050: A plan for the Central Puget Sound Region. Seattle, WA. 160 pp.

47. United States Forest Service, Mt. Baker-Snoqualmie National Forest: Pacific Northwest Research Station and the Tulalip Tribes. 2021. Monika Derrien M., Cerveny L., and M. Schlafmann, editors. Recreation use on the Skykomish Ranger District: Data compilation and

management strategies to inform collaborative recreation planning. https://nr.tulaliptribes.com/Base/File/NR-20211214-Forterra-final-report-Recreation-use-on-the-Skykomish-Ranger-District.

48. USDA Forest Service. 1990. Land and Resource Management Plan: Final Environmental Impact Statement Mt. Baker-Snoqualmie National Forest. Seattle, WA 189 pp

49. Benefield, A. and J. Chen. 2021. Examining the influence of outdoor recreation on anthropogenic wildfire regime of the southern Rocky Mountains. Natural Hazards 111: 523–545.

50. Office of the Washington State Climatologist. Accessed December 2022. PNW Temperature, Precipitation and SWE Trend Analysis Tool. PNW Temperature, Precipitation, and SWE Trend Analysis Tool | Office of the Washington State Climatologist

51. Prevey, J., L. Parker, C. Harrington, C. Lamg, and M.F. Proctor. 2020. Climate changes shifts in habitat suitability and phenology of huckleberry (Vaccinium membranaceaum). Agricultural and Forest Meteorology, volume 280:7. Puget Sound Regional Council, 2020. VISION 2050: A Plan for the Central Puget Sound Region. Seattle, WA. 160 pp.

52. Tulalip Tribes. 2015. Distribution and Recreational Harvest of Mountain Huckleberry **“swədaʔx̌”** in the Mount Baker-Snoqualmie National Forest, L. Nelson, Editor, Tulalip, Wa. https://nr.tulaliptribes.com/Base/File/NR-PDF-TopicsLandBasedTreatyRights-HuckleberryReport

Disclaimer:

Figure 2. This map is a product of the Tulalip Tribes Natural and Cultural Resources Department who make no claim as to the accuracy, completeness, or content of the data herein. This map does not depict, identify, or define the scope or extent of any legal entitlement of rights of the Tulalip Tribes under the 1855 Treaty of Point Elliott, inherent, or otherwise. The Tulalip Tribes reserves all rights and claims with respect to all such rights, including but not limited to the location of usual and accustomed fishing areas, location of hunting and gathering places, and the allocation of harvest opportunities. Nothing in this map shall affect any such rights or claims of the Tulalip Tribes and any use or construction of this map to affect such rights or claims or to use such as precedent is unauthorized and improper. The ceded area was digitized by the Washington State Department of Ecology (Ecology) following the verbiage outlined in the Treaty of Point Elliott, 1855. Simplified land use designations used in this map are interpretations by Tulalip Tribes staff of publicly available land use data. Sources include: Ecology, Washington State Geospatial Program, U.S. Geological Survey (USGS), Snohomish County, Skagit County GIS, King County, Whatcom County, Island County, San Juan County, Kitsap County, and Pierce County. All data were publicly available between January 2010 and December 2017. While efforts were taken to obtain accurate data and make appropriate interpretations, all data displayed in this map are subject to errors inherited from their original source, as well as the potential error of misinterpretation by Tulalip staff. Locational accuracy is inherited from the original dataset. All “blank” spaces within the ceded area are lacking clear land use data. All warranties of fitness for a particular purpose and of merchantability are hereby disclaimed. No part of this document may be reproduced without prior consent of the Tulalip Tribes. For additional questions or comments relating to this map, please contact the Natural Resources GIS Program (**NRGIS@tulaliptribes-nsn.gov**).

Appendix C: Compendium of Federal Laws and Policies Pertaining to Tribes, Treaty Rights, and Upland Land Management

The following is a partial list of federal statutes and policies relevant to management of public lands, protection of tribal treaty rights and other interests and opportunities

Constitution of the United States

Article II, Section 2, Clause 2: Provides that the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate, has the power to make treaties on behalf of the United States.

Article VI, Clause 2: Provides that all treaties made under the authority of the United States "shall be the supreme Law of the land" and that judges in every state shall be bound thereby.

Treaty of Point Elliott, 12 Stat. 927: Entered between the political predecessors to the Tulalip Tribes, among others, and the United States. The Treaty ceded millions of acres of land to the United States in exchange for reserved tracts of land, money, and protection by the United States government.

Article 5: The signatory tribes' reserved immemorial rights to fish in usual and accustomed grounds and stations and to hunt and gather in open and unclaimed lands.

Statutes *(in chronological order)*

- **The Antiquities Act of 1906:** Authorizes the President to proclaim national monuments on federal lands that contain "historic landmarks, historic and prehistoric structures, and other objects of historic or scientific interest. It was the first U.S. law to provide general legal protection of cultural and natural resources of historic or scientific interest on federal lands. The Act gives the President of the United States the authority to create national monuments from federal lands to protect significant natural, cultural, or scientific feature" Antiquities Act of 1906 - Archeology (U.S. National Park Service) (nps.gov)
- **National Park Service Organic Act of 1916:** The 'Organic Act' established the National Park Service (NPS), an agency of the United States Department of the Interior. Under the Act, the National Park Service shall promote and regulate the use of the Federal areas such as national parks, monuments, and reservations with the purpose to conserve the scenery and the natural and historic objects and the wildlife therein and to provide for the enjoyment of the same in such manner and by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations. https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/COMPS-1725/pdf/COMPS-1725.pdf
- **The Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 (IRA or Wheeler-Howard):** This law was passed in 1934 to return Native American tribes more control over their own affairs. It recognizes the sovereignty of tribes, and later became instrumental in the interpretation and management of treaty rights and natural resource management. https://uscode.house.gov/view.xhtml?path=/prelim@title25/chapter45&edition=prelim
- **The Multiple Use - Sustained Yield Act of 1960 (MUSYA):** This law authorizes and directs the Secretary of Agriculture to develop and administer

the renewable resources of timber, range, water, a recreation and wildlife on the national forests for multiple use and sustained yield of the products and services. https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/COMPS-1125/pdf/COMPS-1125.pdf

- **The Wilderness Act of 1964** established the National Wilderness Preservation System and authorizes Congress to designate wilderness areas in order to 'preserve and protect certain lands in "their natural condition" and to secure for present and future generations the benefits of wilderness'. The Act directed that designated wilderness areas "shall be administered for the use and enjoyment of the American people in such manner as will leave them unimpaired for future use and enjoyment as wilderness, and so as to provide for the protection of these areas, the preservation of their wilderness character, and for the gathering and dissemination of information regarding their use and enjoyment as wilderness." https://www.justice.gov/enrd/wilderness-act-1964#:~:text=Congress%20passed%20the,enjoyment%20as%20wilderness

- **The National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 (NHPA):** This law protects historic sites, buildings, and structures on public lands. It requires federal agencies to consult with Native American tribes before conducting any activities on historic sites and to consider their treaty rights and traditional knowledge. Web Link: https://www.nps.gov/nhpa/index.htm

- **The Wild and Scenic Rivers Act of 1968:** This act authorizes Congress to preserve certain rivers with outstanding natural, cultural, and recreational values in a free-flowing condition for the enjoyment of present and future generations. It safeguards the special character of these rivers, while also recognizing the potential for their appropriate use and development. It encourages river management that crosses political boundaries and promotes public participation in developing goals for river protection.

- **The National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 (NEPA):** This law protects the environment and ensure that public lands are managed in an environmentally responsible manner. It requires federal agencies to consider the impacts of their activities on the environment, through environmental assessment and public review process. https://www.epa.gov/nepa

- **The Endangered Species Act of 1973 (ESA):** This is the primary law in the United States for protecting imperiled species. The act obligates federal and state government to protect all species threatened with extinction that fall within the borders of the United State and its outlying territories https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/STATUTE-87/pdf/STATUTE-87-Pg884.pdf

- **The Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act of 1975 (ISDEAA):** This law gives Native American tribes more control over their own affairs and to provide them with funding for education and health care. It emphasizes tribal self-determination and self-governance "in planning, conduct, and administration" of certain federal programs. Title I of ISDEAA authorized the Departments of the Interior (DOI) and Health and Human Services (HHS) to contract with tribes to assume planning and administering certain federal services and programs with federal funding, referred to as 638 contracts or self-determination contracts. In 1994, the Tribal Self-Governance Act (TSGA; P.L. 103- 413, 25 U.S.C. §§5361 et seq.) amended ISDEAA and added a new Title IV authorizing DOI to enter into self-governance compacts with tribes. Approved compacts allow tribes to assume funding of, and control over some federal programs, services, functions, or activities (PFSAs) that DOI otherwise would provide directly to tribes. The passage of the 2018 Farm Bill provided, for the first time, authority for the Forest Service to execute "638" agreements to undertake TFPA work under the Indian Self-Determination Education and Assistance Act (Public Law 93-638).

- **The National Forest Management Act of 1976 (NFMA):** This law requires the Secretary of Agriculture to assess forest lands, develop a

management program based on multiple-use, sustained-yield principles, and implement a resource management plan for each unit of the National Forest System. Of note, the management plans must, among other things, provide for diversity of plant and animal communities based on the suitability and capability of the specific land area in order to meet overall multiple-use objectives; ensure research and evaluation (including continuous monitoring and assessment in the field) of the effects of each management system to the end that it will not produce substantial and permanent impairment of the productivity of the land. https://www.fs.usda.gov/emc/nfma/includes/NFMA1976.pdf

- **The Federal Land Policy and Management Act of 1976 (FLPMA)** is a United States federal law that governs the way in which the public lands administered by the Bureau of Land Management are managed 1. FLPMA directs the agency to carry out a dual mandate: that of managing public land for multiple uses while conserving natural, historical, and cultural resources. In the language of FLPMA, the BLM is to administer public lands "on the basis of multiple use and sustained yield" of resources addresses topics such as land-use planning, land acquisition, fees and payments, administration of federal land, range management, and right-of-ways on federal land. The law requires that the Forest Service coordinate land use plans with the land use planning and management programs of and for Indian tribes. https://www.fs.usda.gov/Internt/FSE_DOCUMENTS/fseprd488457.pdf

- **The American Indian Religious Freedom Act of 1978 (AIRFA):** This law protects the right of Native Americans to practice their religious beliefs, including those related to their use of public lands. It requires federal agencies to accommodate Native American religious practices and to protect sacred sites on public lands. https://www.nps.gov/airfa/

- **The Archaeological Resources Protection Act of 1979 (ARPA):** This law was passed in 1979 to protect archaeological sites on public lands and to ensure that they are managed in a responsible manner. It requires federal agencies to consult with Native American tribes before conducting any activities on archaeological sites. https://www.nps.gov/archeology/tools/laws/arpa.htm

- **The Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1990 (NAGPRA):** This law was passed to protect Native American graves and cultural items on public land and to enable repatriation of objects to their rightful tribes. It requires federal agencies and museums to inventory and return any human remains and cultural objects of Native American origin to the appropriate tribe. https://www.nps.gov/nagpra/

- **Tribal Forest Protection Act of 2004:** The Tribal Forest Protection Act of 2004 (TFPA) authorizes the Secretary of Agriculture and the Secretary of Interior to enter into agreements or contracts with Indian tribes to carry out projects to protect Indian forest land or rangeland. This includes projects to restore Federal land that borders on or is adjacent to such land. The Act allows tribes to propose projects on Forest Service or Bureau of Land Management (BLM) lands bordering or adjacent to their own lands, in order to protect their trust resources from fire, disease, or other threats coming off those federal lands. E:\PUBLAW\PUBL278.108 (congress.gov)

- **Cultural and Heritage Cooperation Authority** *under the* **Food Conservation and Energy Act of 2008 ("The Farm Bill")** requires Forest Service to consult with affected Indian Tribes before releasing culturally-sensitive information. It also includes provisions for reburial of human remains and cultural items, temporary closures for traditional and cultural purposes, forest products for traditional and cultural purposes, and prohibition on disclosure of information, and exemption from FOIA where provided for under this Act. Under the Act, Forest Service may provide federal financial assistance to Indian tribes for certain outlined programs. 25 USC Ch. 32A: CULTURAL AND HERITAGE COOPERATION AUTHORITY (house.gov)

Executive Orders

- **Executive Order 12898 on Environmental Justice (1994):** This order ensures that federal agencies consider the impacts of their activities on vulnerable populations, including Native American tribes. It requires federal agencies to consider the impacts of their activities on treaty rights and traditional knowledge, and to ensure that those rights are respected and protected. https://www.epa.gov/laws-regulations/summary-executive-order-12898-federal-actions-address-environmental-justice

- **Executive Order 13007: Indian Sacred Sites (1996):** This order directs each executive branch agency with statutory or administrative responsibility for the management of Federal lands to the extent practicable, permitted by law, and not clearly inconsistent with essential agency functions, (1) accommodate access to and ceremonial use of Indian sacred sites by Indian religious practitioners and (2) avoid adversely affecting the physical integrity of such sacred sites. Where appropriate, agencies shall maintain the confidentiality of sacred sites. https://www.doi.gov/pmb/cadr/programs/native/Executive-Order-13007

- **Executive Order 13175: Consultation and Coordination with Indian Tribal Governments (2000):** This order was issued to strengthen the government-to-government relationship between the United States and Native American tribes. It requires federal agencies to consult with tribes and to consider their treaty rights and traditional knowledge when making decisions on public lands. https://www.federalregister.gov/documents/2000/11/09/00-29003/consultation-and-coordination-with-indian-tribal-governments

- **Executive Order 13647: Establishing the White House Council on Native American Affairs (2013):** This order establishes a national policy to ensure that the Federal Government engages in a true and lasting government-to-government relationship with federally recognized tribes in a more coordinated and effective manner, including by better carrying out its trust responsibilities. This policy is established as a means of promoting and sustaining prosperous and resilient tribal communities. Greater engagement and meaningful consultation with tribes is of paramount importance in developing any policies affecting tribal nations. https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/executive-order-13647-establishing-the-white-house-council-native-american-affairs

- **Executive Order 13985: Advancing Racial Equity and Support for Underserved Communities Through the Federal Government (2021):** This order requires the Federal Government pursue a comprehensive approach to advance equity for people of color and those who have been historically underserved, marginalized, and adversely affected by persistent poverty and inequity. Executive Order on Further Advancing Racial Equity and Support for Underserved Communities Through The Federal Government | The White House

- **Executive Order 14008: Tackling the Climate Crisis at Home and Abroad (2021):** This Plan – the first of its kind in the U.S. government – focuses on international climate finance. For the purposes of this Plan, "climate finance" refers in part to the provision or mobilization of financial resources to assist developing countries to reduce and/or avoid greenhouse gas emissions and build resilience and adapt to the impacts of climate change. Sec. 216 requires departments of Commerce, Agriculture, and Interior to work with tribes regarding conserving the nation's lands and waters. It specifically directs NOAA to collect recommendations on how to make fisheries and protected resources more resilient to climate change EXECUTIVE SUMMARY: U.S. International Climate Finance Plan | The White House

Executive Memoranda

- **President's Memorandum Government-to-Government Relations with Native American Tribal Governments" (1994)** states that the United States Government has a unique legal relationship with Native American tribal governments as set forth

in the Constitution of the United States, treaties, statutes, and court decisions. It directs each executive department and agency to consult, to the greatest extent possible, with tribal governments prior to taking actions that affect federally recognized tribal governments. Government-to-Government Relations with Native American Tribal Governments | U.S. Department of the Interior (doi.gov)

- **Presidential Memorandum on Tribal Consultation and Strengthening Nation-to-Nation Relationships (2021)** Executive Order 13175 of November 6, 2000 (Consultation and Coordination With Indian Tribal Governments), charges all executive departments and agencies with engaging in regular, meaningful, and robust consultation with Tribal officials in the development of Federal policies that have Tribal implications. Tribal consultation under this order strengthens the Nation-to-Nation relationship between the United States and Tribal Nations. The Presidential Memorandum of November 5, 2009 (Tribal Consultation), requires each agency to prepare and periodically update a detailed plan of action to implement the policies and directives of Executive Order 13175. This memorandum reaffirms the policy announced in that memorandum. https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/presidential-actions/2021/01/26/memorandum-on-tribal-consultation-and-strengthening-nation-to-nation-relationships/

- **Presidential Memorandum on Indigenous Traditional Ecological Knowledge and Federal Decision Making (2021):** Commits to elevating Indigenous Traditional Ecological Knowledge (ITEK) in federal scientific and policy processes. ITEK is a body of observations, oral and written knowledge, practices, and beliefs that promotes environmental sustainability and the responsible stewardship of natural resources through relationships between humans and environmental systems. It is applied to phenomena across biological, physical, cultural and spiritual systems. This announcement coincides with the Biden-Harris Administration's inaugural Tribal Nations Summit and comes as the Administration continues to expand its efforts to highlight Native voices across the Federal Government. https://www.whitehouse.gov/ostp/news-updates/2021/11/15/white-house-commits-to-elevating-indigenous-knowledge-in-federal-policy-decisions

Secretarial Orders

- **Secretarial Order 3206, American Indian Tribal Rights, Federal-Tribal Trust Responsibilities, and the Endangered Species Act (1997)** is a joint order issued by the Secretary of Interior and the Secretary of Commerce on June 5, 1997. It clarifies the responsibilities of their respective departments when actions taken under authority of the Endangered Species Act (ESA) affect Indian lands, tribal trust resources, or exercise of American Indian tribal rights 1. The order acknowledges that these departments have a federal trust responsibility to tribes and treaty obligations towards them. It also states that these departments will carry out their responsibilities under ESA in a manner that harmonizes their federal trust responsibility to tribes with their statutory missions. https://www.fs.usda.gov/r6/reo/monitoring/downloads/reports/secretarial-order-3206.htm

- **Secretarial Order 3215: Principles for the Discharge of the Secretary's Trust Responsibility (2000):** The order provides guidance to employees of the Department of Interior who are responsible for carrying out the Secretary's trust responsibility as it pertains to Indian trust assets. The order sets forth principles for discharging this responsibility with a high degree of skill, care, and loyalty. These principles include protecting and preserving Indian trust assets from loss or damage; promoting tribal control and self-determination over tribal trust lands and resources; providing oversight and review of performance; maintaining a verifiable system of records; investing tribal funds prudently; among others. https://www.bia.gov/as-ia/opa/online-press-release/secretary-jewell-issues-secretarial-order-affirming-american-indian

- **Secretarial Order 3289 (2012):** This order was issued to protect Native American sacred sites

on federal lands. It requires federal agencies to consult with tribes before conducting any activities on sacred sites and to consider their treaty rights and traditional knowledge. https://www.adaptationclearinghouse.org/resources/doi-secretarial-order-3289-2010-addressing-the-impacts-of-climate-change-on-america-s-water-land-and-other-natural-and-cultural-resources.html

- **Secretarial Order 3335: Reaffirmation of the Federal Trust Responsibility to Federally Recognized Indian Tribes and Individual Indian Beneficiaries (2014).** This Order sets forth guiding principles that bureaus and offices will follow to ensure that the Department of the Interior (Department) fulfills its trust responsibility. Pursuant to the final report from the Secretarial Commission on Indian Trust Administration and Reform. https://www.doi.gov/sites/doi.gov/files/migrated/news/pressreleases/upload/Signed-SO-3335.pdf

- **Joint Secretarial Order 3403: Fulfilling the Trust Responsibility to Indian Tribes in the Stewardship of Federal Lands and Waters (2021)** was issued by Secretaries of Interior and Agriculture directing their component Bureaus and Offices to manage Federal lands and waters in a manner that seeks to protect the treaty, religious, subsistence, and cultural interests of federally recognized Indian Tribes. Specifically, the order direct agencies to make agreements with Indian Tribes to collaborate in the co-stewardship of Federal lands and waters under the Departments' jurisdiction, including for wildlife and its habitat, and to identify and support Tribal opportunities to consolidate Tribal homelands and empower Tribal stewardship of those lands. The Secretaries acknowledge that federal lands were previously owned and managed by Indian Tribes and that these lands and waters contain cultural and natural resources of significance and value to Indian Tribes and their citizens; including sacred religious sites, burial sites, wildlife, and sources of Indigenous foods and medicines. In addition, many of those federal lands and waters lie within areas where Indian Tribes have the reserved right to hunt, fish, gather, and pray pursuant to ratified treaties and agreements with the United States. resource https://www.doi.gov/sites/doi.gov/files/elips/documents/so-3403-joint-secretarial-order-on-fulfilling-the-trust-responsibility-to-indian-tribes-in-the-stewardship-of-federal-lands-and-waters.pdf

Departmental and Agency Memoranda

- **EPA Memorandum on Treaty Rights (2015):** The EPA Memorandum on Treaty Rights was issued to ensure that the Environmental Protection Agency considers the views of Native American tribes when making decisions on public lands. It requires the agency to consult with tribes and to consider their treaty rights and traditional knowledge. It also requires the agency to develop policies to promote meaningful consultation and collaboration with tribes. https://www.epa.gov/tribal/tribal-treaty-rights

Select Agency Rules, Directives and Guidance

Multi-Agency:

- **Memorandum of Understanding Regarding Interagency Coordination and Collaboration For the Protection of Tribal Treaty Rights and Reserved (2021):** The seventeen signatory federal agencies, including the U.S, Departments of Agriculture and Interior and the Environmental Protection Agency, entered into a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) to affirm their commitment to protect tribal treaty rights, reserved rights and similar tribal rights to natural and cultural resources. The Parties intend to demonstrate that commitment through early consideration of treaty and reserved rights in agency decision-making and regulatory processes. The Parties intend to enhance interagency coordination and collaboration to protect such treaty and reserved rights and to fully implement federal government treaty obligations. https://www.doi.gov/sites/doi.gov/files/interagency-mou-protecting-tribal-treaty-and-reserved-rights-11-15-2021.pdf

U.S. Forest Service:

- **Sale and Disposal of National Forest System Timber; Special Forest Products and Forest Botanical Products (2008):** The US Forest Service (USFS) allows visitors to harvest special forest products in reasonable amounts for personal use without a permit, such as collecting firewood for use at a campsite. However, harvesting more than small amounts requires a permit, and in some cases may require a contract. The Forest Service sells timber and special forest products on a variety of contract and permit forms based on the complexity and/or value of the sale. Permit form FS-2400-1 is used to collect fees and to authorize both personal and commercial use forest product removal that is expected to have limited resource impacts. The permit allows removal of timber and special forest products, such as fuelwood, transplants, and mushrooms **Relatedly, § 223.15 Provision of trees, portions of trees, or forest products to Indian tribes for traditional and cultural purposes** and pursuant to section 8105 of the Food, Conservation, and Energy Act of 2008 (Pub. L. 110-246, 122 Stat. 1651) [hereinafter the "2008 Farm Bill"], Regional Foresters or designated Forest Officers may, at their discretion, provide trees, portions of trees, or forest products to Indian tribes free of charge for traditional and cultural purposes Federal Register: Sale and Disposal of National Forest System Timber; Special Forest Products and Forest Botanical Products

- **The Forest Planning Rule (2012)** provides direction for the national forest system land management planning. Section 219.4 of the rule requires opportunities for public and tribal participation and coordination throughout the planning process. Of particular note, Section 219.10(b)(1)(ii) requires plan components for a new plan or plan revision to provide for "protection of cultural and historic resources," and "management of areas of tribal importance." https://ww.fs.usda.gov/detail/planningrule/home/?cid=stelprd3828310

- **Tribal Relations and Consultation Directives (2016):** These directives outline Forest Service's policy on relations with American Indian and Alaska Native tribes, and institutionalize the agency-wide practices of tribal consultation and engagement. They are found in the Forest Service Manual (FSM1500-Chapter 1560-20160309) and Handbook (FSH1509-13 Chapter10-20160309) The directives set forth direction beyond consultation to include coordination and collaboration, and federal trust and obligations to treaty tribes, and to protection of treaty rights. The updated directives clearly emphasize that tribal relations are embedded across the agency and that working with tribes is part of every employee's job. Federal Register: Final Directives on American Indian and Alaska Native Relations Forest Service Manual 1500, Chapter 1560, and Forest Service Handbook 1509.13, Chapter 10

- **Mt. Baker-Snoqualmie (MBS) National Forest - Special Forest Products Summary of Use *(current as of 2023):*** The MBS currently provides for visitor use of non-timber forest products on the forest, through incidental take and personal use permits, with allowed quantities varying by species. Gathering, harvesting, or collecting is prohibited inside the Legislated Wilderness Areas, Research Natural Areas, Experimental Forests, and other administratively closed areas. Harvesting rare, threatened or endangered plants is Illegal. See link for specific allowed amounts. This program and permit requirements do not apply to federally recognized tribes with treaty rights on the MBS. https://www.fs.usda.gov/detail/mbs/passes-permits/forestproducts/?cid=fseprd500021

- **"Strengthening Tribal Consultations and Nation-to-Nation Relationships: A USDA Forest Service Action Plan" (2023):** This agency action plan recognizes the role tribal governments play in decision-making about Forest Service-managed lands and waters through co-stewardship, consultation, capacity-building, and by other means. The plan emphasizes the agency's unique, shared responsibility to ensure that decisions relating to federal stewardship of lands, waters and wildlife

include consideration of how to safeguard the treaty rights and spiritual, subsistence and cultural interests of any federally recognized Tribe. The action plan provides steps that can be implemented through existing programs and processes based on four focus areas, including, strengthening relationships between Indian Tribes and the USDA Forest Service, fulfilling trust and treaty obligations, enhancing co-stewardship of national forests and grasslands, and advancing tribal relations. USDA Forest Service Releases Action Plan to Advance Nation-to-Nation Relations | US Forest Service

National Park Service:

- **Gathering of Certain Plants or Plant Parts by Federally Recognized Indian Tribes for Traditional Purposes (2016):** This is a management framework to allow the gathering and removal of plants or plant parts by enrolled members of federally recognized Indian tribes for traditional purposes. The rule authorizes agreements between the National Park Service and federally recognized tribes that will facilitate the continuation of tribal cultural practices on lands within areas of the National Park System where those practices traditionally occurred, without causing a significant adverse impact to park resources or values. The gathering and removal allowed by the rule would be governed by agreements that may be entered into between the National Park Service and the tribes, and would be subject to permits that identify the tribal members who may conduct these activities. Note that this rule does not affect any existing statutory or treaty right to gather plants within areas of the National Park System, who are exempt from permit requirements. https://www.federalregister.gov/documents/2016/07/12/2016-16434/gathering-of-certain-plants-or-plant-parts-by-federally-recognized-indian-tribes-for-traditional

- **Fulfilling the National Park Service Trust Responsibility to Indian Tribes, Alaska Natives, and Native Hawaiians in the Stewardship of Federal Lands and Waters (2022):** The NPS released this new guidance to new guidance to improve federal stewardship of national park lands and waters by strengthening the role of American Indian and Alaska Native Tribes, Alaska Natives entities, and the Native Hawaiian Community in federal land management1. The new co-stewardship policy provides a stronger framework – beyond traditional consultation – to help park managers facilitate and support working relationships with Tribes. The NPS recognizes and supports the unique, nation-to-nation relationship that exists with Indian and Alaska Native Tribes that is based in the U.S. Constitution, treaties, statutes, and judicial decisions. In managing Federal lands and waters, the NPS is required to honor its treaty and trust responsibilities to protect Tribal interests, pursue an open and collaborative relationship with Indian and Alaska Native Tribes, and provide access to park resources and places so Indian and Alaska Native Tribes can maintain their cultural and spiritual practices. Policy Memorandum 22-03: Fulfilling the National Park Service Trust Responsibility to Indian Tribes in the Stewardship of Federal Lands and Waters (nps.gov)

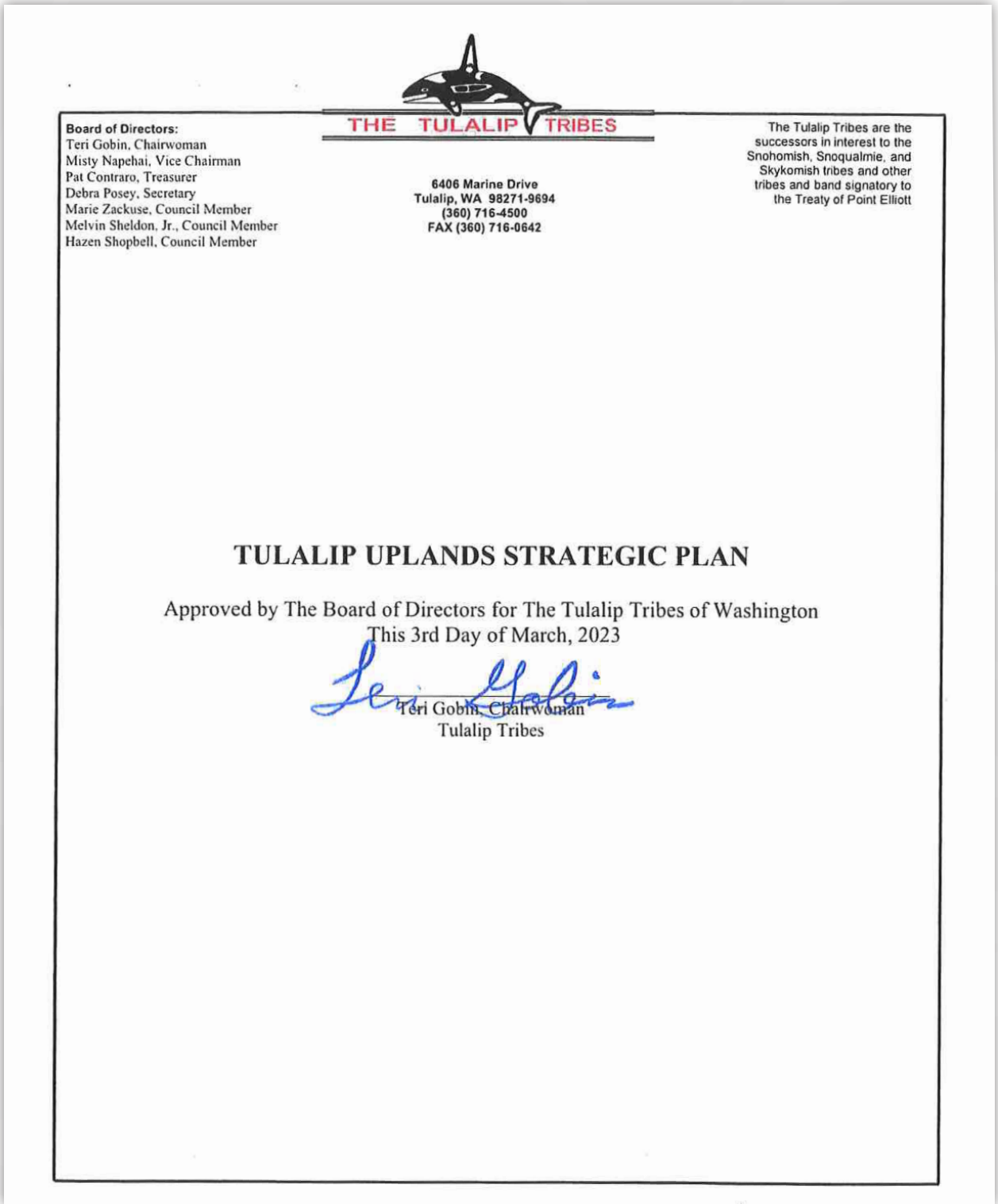
- **NPS Director's Statement on Tribal Co-Management of Federal Lands (2022):** Statement outlining the National Park Service (NPS) commitment to seeking ways to increase opportunities for co-stewardship with Tribes in the interest of all peoples of the United States and in accordance with the laws and policies governing the NPS. The NPS works cooperatively with Tribes in the stewardship of national parks. Co-stewardship is stated to take many forms, including co-management obligations in law, collaborative and cooperative agreements, and self-governance agreements. The statement includes NPS pledge to review its sources of authority to enter into the full range of co-stewardship agreements, inclusive of but not limited to formal co-management. The NPS is also assessing its Tribal consultation processes to ensure that parks and regional offices have the necessary support and guidance to work with Tribal Nations on these agreements and to enhance Tribal member opportunities to work in and connect to national park sites that hold significant cultural and

spiritual importance. https://www.doi.gov/ocl/tribal-co-management-federal-lands

Bureau of Land Management:

- **BLM Tribal Relations Manual and Handbook (2016):** These documents outline BLM's agency guidance for improving and sustaining tribal relationships. Tribal relations and consultation policy are outlined in these documents, with the intent of seeking to identify the cultural values, religious beliefs, traditional practices, and the legal rights of Native American people, which could be affected by BLM actions on public lands. https://www.blm.gov/sites/blm.gov/files/uploads/MS%201780.pdf https://www.blm.gov/sites/blm.gov/files/uploads/H-1780-1__0.pdf
- **Co-Stewardship with Federally Recognized Indian and Alaska Native Tribes Pursuant to Secretary's Order 3403 (2022):** BLM's guidance outlines specific policies and guidelines for managing federal lands and waters "in a manner that seeks to protect the treaty, religious, subsistence, and cultural interests of federally recognized Tribes" consistent with the BLM's mission and applicable law. The BLM will adhere to the principles set forth in the Joint Secretarial Order to engage Tribes in meaningful consultation at the earliest phases of planning and decision-making in order to provide an opportunity for Tribes to shape the direction of the BLM's land management activities. Co-stewardship refers to a broad range of working relationships with American Indian and Alaska Native Tribes, as well as Tribal consortia and tribally led entities exercising the delegated authority of federally recognized Tribes. Co-stewardship can include co-management, collaborative and cooperative management, and tribally led stewardship, and can be implemented through cooperative agreements, memoranda of understanding, self-governance agreements, and other mechanisms. https://www.blm.gov/sites/default/files/docs/2022-09/PIM2022-011%20+%20attachment.pdf

Appendix C: Tulalip Tribes Board of Directors Adoption of Tulalip Uplands Strategic Plan



THE TULALIP TRIBES

Board of Directors:
Teri Gobin, Chairwoman
Misty Napehai, Vice Chairman
Pat Contraro, Treasurer
Debra Posey, Secretary
Marie Zackuse, Council Member
Melvin Sheldon, Jr., Council Member
Hazen Shopbell, Council Member

6406 Marine Drive
Tulalip, WA 98271-9694
(360) 716-4500
FAX (360) 716-0642

The Tulalip Tribes are the successors in interest to the Snohomish, Snoqualmie, and Skykomish tribes and other tribes and band signatory to the Treaty of Point Elliott

TULALIP UPLANDS STRATEGIC PLAN

Approved by The Board of Directors for The Tulalip Tribes of Washington
This 3rd Day of March, 2023

Teri Gobin, Chairwoman
Tulalip Tribes

THE TULALIP TRIBES OF WASHINGTON
RESOLUTION 2023 – 123

Tulalip Tribes Upland Strategy Plan

WHEREAS, the Board of Directors is the governing body of the Tulalip Tribes under the Constitution and Bylaws of the Tribes approved by the United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs and the Secretary of the Interior on January 24, 1936, pursuant to the Act of June 18, 1934 (48 Stat. 984, 25 U.S.C. 5123);

WHEREAS, the Tulalip Board of Directors under Art. VI, Sec. 1 of the Tribal Constitution desire to safeguard and promote the community's peace, safety and general welfare;

WHEREAS, as the Salish Sea region continues to increase in population, the upland landscapes, like the lowlands and coastal areas, face continuing and mounting ecological stress associated with urban sprawl, rapidly growing recreation and crowding, and ongoing and anticipated ecological effects from a warming climate;

WHEREAS, these impacts to Tulalip's ancestral upland areas affect Tulalip's ability to access reserved treaty resources and exercise reserved treaty rights that depend on the health of the ecosystem, the sustainability and abundance of fish, wildlife and plant species, as well as our cultural resources;

WHEREAS, as the original stewards of our ancestral uplands, it is essential that Tulalip chart a strategic approach for their wise management, and the protection of our off-reservation treaty rights and tribal culture for our future generations; and

WHEREAS, Tulalip's Treaty Rights Office developed a strategic approach, the *Tulalip Uplands Strategic Plan*, to serve as a framework to coordinate and guide actions that affect Tulalip's reserved treaty and cultural rights in the uplands. The *Tulalip Uplands Strategic Plan* integrates Tulalip's traditional ecological knowledge and perspective, prioritizes Tulalip's efforts, and complements other approved Tulalip environmental strategic plans; and

WHEREAS, the *Tulalip Uplands Strategic Plan* expresses expectations of Tulalip's federal trustees and state land managing agencies to integrate traditional ecological knowledge to ensure that these upland areas and Tulalip's treaty and cultural rights are protected and sustained, and that as a "tribal plan," it will be considered and adhered to when federal and state agencies' plans and policies defer to tribal plans.

NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, the Board of Directors of the Tulalip Tribes of Washington hereby approves the *Tulalip Uplands Strategic Plan* and authorizes the Tribal chair or in their absence, the Vice-Chair, to sign the Board of Directors Statement within the *Tulalip Uplands Strategic Plan*.

THE TULALIP TRIBES OF WASHINGTON
RESOLUTION 2023 - 123

ADOPTED by the Board of Directors of the Tulalip Tribes of Washington at a regular board meeting assembled on the 3rd day of March, 2023, with a quorum present, by a vote of 6 For, 0 Against, and 0 Abstain.

THE TULALIP TRIBES OF WASHINGTON

Teri Gobin, Chair

ATTEST:

Debra Posey, Secretary