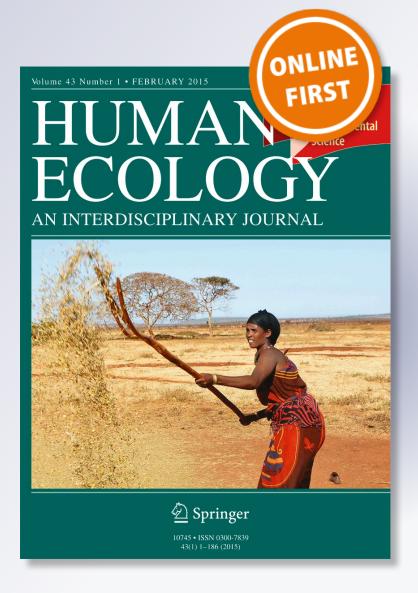
# Columbia Basin Heritage Fish Consumption Rates

## Barbara L. Harper & Deward E. Walker

**Human Ecology**An Interdisciplinary Journal

ISSN 0300-7839

Hum Ecol DOI 10.1007/s10745-015-9735-3





Your article is protected by copyright and all rights are held exclusively by Springer Science +Business Media New York. This e-offprint is for personal use only and shall not be selfarchived in electronic repositories. If you wish to self-archive your article, please use the accepted manuscript version for posting on your own website. You may further deposit the accepted manuscript version in any repository, provided it is only made publicly available 12 months after official publication or later and provided acknowledgement is given to the original source of publication and a link is inserted to the published article on Springer's website. The link must be accompanied by the following text: "The final publication is available at link.springer.com".



### **Columbia Basin Heritage Fish Consumption Rates**

Barbara L. Harper · Deward E. Walker Jr.

© Springer Science+Business Media New York 2015

**Abstract** The distinction between contemporary Native American fish consumption rates and original baseline heritage rates is important as heritage rates have long been recognized as a baseline relevant to the fishing tribes of the Pacific Northwest, and are generally protected by Treaties and case law. This paper reviews two approaches to accurately defining heritage fish consumption rates in the Columbia Basin. One approach is dietary reconstruction based on several lines of evidence (ethnographic, archaeological, historical ecology, nutritional) to estimate overall dietary composition and the caloric contribution of fish, especially salmon. The second approach is review of abundance, harvest, and consumption rates augmented with ethnographic and archaeological evidence over the same geographical area. The two methods independently arrive at the same range for heritage rates, and the wealth of evidence that has accumulated over 75 years of investigation suggests that these are robust conclusions.

 $\label{lem:keywords} \textbf{Keywords} \ \ \text{Fish consumption rates} \ \cdot \ \text{Columbia Basin} \ \cdot \ \text{Columbia River} \ \cdot \ \text{Pacific Northwest} \ \cdot \ \text{Native American} \ \cdot \ \text{Ethnographic surveys}$ 

#### The Concept of Heritage Fish Consumption Rates

The primary exposure parameter for evaluating human health risk from contaminants in fish is a daily fish consumption rate,

B. L. Harper (⊠)

School of Biological and Population Health Sciences, Oregon State University, Corvallis, OR 97331, USA e-mail: bharper@amerion.com

D. E. Walker Jr.

Published online: 31 March 2015

Walker Research Group, Ltd., University of Colorado Boulder, P.O Box 4147, Boulder, CO 80306-4147, USA

generally expressed as grams per day (gpd). Contemporary fish consumption rates are required if the goal is to understand current risks in order to design immediate intervention strategies such as fish advisories. However, if the goal is to protect Treaty rights or to understand what the human health risks would be if people ate fish as if they were uncontaminated (i.e., assuming that there are no impediments or restrictions on resource use), then a baseline or unrestricted fish consumption rate is needed. More specifically, if the regulatory goal is to improve water quality in order to protect the health of Native Americans whose traditional diets include fish, then the appropriate rate is an unrestricted traditional amount of fish consumption. The objective of the Clean Water Act is to "is to restore and maintain the chemical, physical, and biological integrity of the Nation's waters," thereby making greater amounts of fish safe to consume, so the policy question is where to base water quality standards along the gradient of contemporary suppressed rates to full heritage rates. The scientific question is how to verify the most accurate baseline traditional fish consumption rates.

Baseline traditional fish consumption rates are more appropriately termed heritage or rights-based rates. The concept of the heritage rate has been confirmed as a treaty-reserved rate through many court cases (Newell 1993; Ulrich 1999; O'Neill 2000, 2013; NEJAC 2002). The right to consume heritage amounts of fish extends to all members of a treaty tribe even if current circumstances prevent most from doing so. It is important to emphasize that tribes are not just communities of subsistence consumers or groups of more sensitive subpopulations; they are governments with treaty-protected rights to preserve their health and cultural practices, including eating fish at traditional rates. Treaties remain in force and are relevant to contemporary regulatory decision processes.

The initial methodology for obtaining fish consumption data was published as guidance for conducting contemporary fish consumption surveys (USEPA 1989, 1992, 1998, 2000,

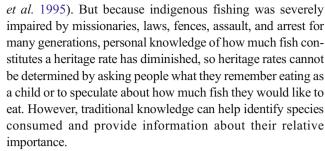


2011: Mova 2004) and assumed that the only information to be established is how much fish people are eating at present. Although many riverine and coastal tribes still eat more fish than the general population, contemporary fish consumption rates are nevertheless suppressed (O'Neill 2000, 2013; Donatuto and Harper 2008) due to habitat degradation, dams, and land development, as well as contaminant levels in fish that require fish advisories in order to protect human health. Thus, surveys of contemporary fish consumption rates may only confirm that fisheries are currently impaired or that people are heeding applicable fish advisories. The largest contemporary survey in the middle Columbia Basin, the Columbia River Inter-Tribal Fish Commission (CRITFC), surveyed four Native American tribes in 1991-1992 and found that the annual mean fish (all finfish) consumption rate for tribal adults (consumers and non-consumers) was 58.7 gpd. Excluding non-consumers of fish (7 % of surveyed adults), the mean fish consumption rate for surveyed tribal adult fish consumers was 63.7 gpd. The 95th percentile was 170 gpd and the 99th percentile was 389 gpd, and data from the highest consumers were considered outliers and eliminated from the analysis (CRITFC 1994). Reviewing two approaches to establishing baseline heritage fish consumption rates for the Columbia River Basin we show that even the contemporary 99th percentile of the CRITFC survey is lower than the average heritage rates for the Columbia River Basin.

There is a long history of dietary reconstruction in the fields of ethnobiology and nutritional anthropology that provides reasonable and supportable numerical descriptions of heritage food consumption. This work has generally taken one of two approaches: (1) reconstruction of the entire diet to ascertain the role of individual resources such as fish within the context of total caloric and other nutritional needs, generally at a level of detail approximating a food pyramid; or (2) evaluation of a specific resource abundance to ascertain harvest or catchment quantities relative to the amount consumed, traded, or used for other purposes, along with estimates of the population size that could be supported by that quantity of the resource. There are enough data for the Columbia Basin to support both approaches in a manner that is repeatable, verifiable, peer-reviewed, and corroborated by a variety of measures.

#### Approaches to Dietary Reconstruction

Due to the length of time that tribal fisheries and fish consumption have been blocked or impaired, most heritage rates must be determined through a multi-disciplinary approach that examines a broad range of evidence collected over almost a century. To some extent, contemporary statistical or ethnographic surveys of traditional peoples can inform the derivation of a true heritage rate if the people in question continue to use large parts of their traditional territory for subsistence (Wolfe and Walker 1987; Berkes 1979, 1983, 1990; Berkes



The field of ethnobiology describes general patterns of natural resource use (Anderson 2011) drawing on archaeology, anthropology, ecology, linguistics, nutrition, geology, and many other fields (Kelly 1986, 1995; Anderson 2011). Diets (nutritional requirements and energy budgets) have been a focus of hunter-gatherer studies for over five decades (Jenicke 2001; Boone 2002) and many investigators have reviewed and synthesized information on diet, physical activity and health of hunter-gatherers around the world (e.g., Lee et al. 1968; Winterhalder 1981; Cohen and Armelagos 1984; Cohen 1989; Kelly 1995;, Kuhnlein and Receveur 1996; Kuhnlein et al. 1996, 2006; Eaton et al. 1997).

A subset of this literature uses foraging theory models that are based on the premise that foragers' decisions are made in order to maximize short-term energy return rates while foraging. In general, labor cost is attained by multiplying minutes spent in a certain activity (e.g., paddling a canoe or digging roots) by standardized measures of energy expenditure from published sources (calorimetry measurement for various activities adjusted for age, weight, and gender). These methods map real non-random subsistence movement across actual landscapes and account for climate variation, knowledge of resource locations and real-time decisions based on needs and local annual conditions, seasonality, species variation, and kinship and trade relationships (Walker 1967).

Ethnobiology research into traditional diets encompasses a wide range of older ethnographic studies, ethnohistory, firsthand historical accounts, archaeology, food sale/purchase records, ecological history, geospatial history (maps, place names; Walker 1993a,b, 2010), family names, oral history, and data about nutrition, paleo-medicine, isotope analysis, and DNA analysis. This range of data can come together in a "convergence of several lines of evidence" (Trigger 1986; White 1999; Galloway 2006). For example, direct observations of fish harvest numbers, numbers of people splitting the harvest, family size, patterns of trade and sharing and other socio-cultural information can be cross-checked with biomedical information about grams of protein per fish and dietary recommendations for calories and nutrients, and further compared to archaeological evidence of nutritional adequacy from examination of skeletal remains and village sites and of seasonal abundance.

In the Pacific Northwest, anthropologists and archaeologists have long recognized Pacific salmon as the crucial food



resource that underpinned the complex foraging cultures of the Northwest Coast of North America, equivalent to the bison on the Plains, wild rice or *manoomin* in northern areas, maize and beans in the Southwest, and corn, beans and squash in the eastern woodlands (Coupland *et al.* 2010). As new faunal evidence continues to accumulate, it is increasingly clear that use of salmon was very highly specialized and was a critical component of the 'Developed Northwest Coast Pattern.' Indeed, some indigenous peoples on the Northwest Coast were among the most highly resource-specialized hunter—gatherer groups in the world (Coupland *et al.* 2010).

There are a multitude of studies of Pacific Northwest resource use, many of which examine coastal shellfish use. We describe a few examples in order to demonstrate the robustness of the data for northwest indigenous groups. Some groups made few moves away from their winter villages because resources were available throughout the year, while other groups employed a series of short-term camps, base camps, and summer, winter, and year-round villages, according to richness, degree of specialization, density, accessibility, reliability, and seasonality of local resources (Lepofsky and Lyons 2003). Middens from some coastal village sites indicate stable occupation for 7,000 to 10,000 years (Carlson 1979, 1998; Anderson 1981; Cannon 1991, 2000; Donald and Mitchell 1996; Cannon et al. 1999; Erlandson et al. 2008; Canon and Burchell 2009; Burchell et al. 2013). Along with archaeological context and ethnographic accounts of salmon species use and preference, seasonality of salmon use has been evaluated through analysis of ancient DNA from Pacific salmon vertebrae along with osteometric measurements such as vertebrae size to unambiguously identify individual salmonid species (Yang et al. 2004; Speller et al. 2005; Ewonus et al. 2011; Grier et al. 2013).

The general validity of ethnographic and historical research to quantify overall subsistence diets has been corroborated by modern analytical methods. The natural abundance of stable carbon, nitrogen, sulfur, and oxygen in foods varies as a function of the photosynthetic pathway of the floral food sources, the consumption of animal sources (including the animal source's floral diet), and the incorporation of terrestrial or marine foods in the diet (Hedges *et al.* 2004; Privat *et al.* 2007; Salamon *et al.* 2008). Analysis of both animal or human teeth and bone collagen provides evidence of long-term dietary behaviors.

For example, Jones and Quinn (2009) evaluated prehistoric Fijian diet and subsistence by integrating faunal and ethnographic evidence with stable isotopic analysis of human and animal skeletal material. Salamon and colleagues (2008) studied Mediterranean diets by comparing historical and isotopic results, and Petroutsa and Manolis (2010) examined Bronze Age Greek diets through stable isotope analysis in human and faunal remains combined with documentary and archaeological evidence. White (1999) reconstructed Ancient

Mayan diets using multiple methods, including traditional archaeology, paleopathology of human remains, paleoecology, social chronologies, and isotopic and elemental analysis. Oeggl and colleagues (2007) reported on the isotopic analysis of strontium, lead, and oxygen in the Iceman's (O'tzi's) teeth that confirmed his place of origin and early childhood, while his last few days were described through analyses of pollen and of the food residues in his intestines, which also provided information about historical plant associations. Williams *et al.* (2005) and Benson *et al.* (2007) used oxygen isotopes in cellulose remains to evaluate the seasonality of the water source used for maize cultivation in the Colorado Plateau.

There are no comparable studies in the southern Columbia River Basin, although stable isotopic evidence from the Kennewick Man (a 9000 year old skeleton found along the banks of the Columbia River near Kennewick, WA) indicated that he ate large amounts of salmon and other fish or animals that fed on the anadromous fish-based food chain (Schwarcz *et al.* 2014). Lovell *et al.* (1986) evaluated the historic utilization of migratory salmon by people who lived along the rivers of interior British Columbia by stable carbon isotope analysis of 44 skeletal samples up to 2,000 years old. They concluded that, on average, those groups with easy access to the salmon obtained about one-half to two-thirds of their protein from salmon.

#### Heritage Rates in the Columbia Basin

For thousands of years and continuing into the living memory of the current generations of tribal members, the Columbia Basin has been extremely productive and has supported large populations of people. Ethnohistory of the Columbia Basin includes reports of Lewis and Clark and other explorers, settlers, naturalists, artists and photographers, trappers, traders, missionaries, and early ethnographers (Krech 1991). The zone on the Columbia River around the Dalles and Celilo Falls was over many millennia a major trade center for fresh and dried salmon for many tribes (Anastasio 1985; Walker 1992; Boyd 1996). When Lewis and Clark explored the region in the early nineteenth century, huge numbers of salmon returned to spawn every year (Thwaites 1905). At that time, the Columbia and its tributaries provided 12,935 miles of pristine river habitat with abundant spawning areas (Craig and Hacker 1940).

Archaeological data extend the time scale of human resource use in the Columbia Basin back 10,000 years or more, illuminating how indigenous cultures evolved and how the climate and various food sources changed over time (Walker 1967; Cressman 1977; Marshall 1977; Northwest Power Planning Council (NPPC) 1986; Schalk 1986; Hunn 1990; Hewes 1998; Trosper 2002; Lyman 2003; Davis 2007; Gresh 2007 citing Ames and Marshall 1980). Some of the earliest evidence for aboriginal use of salmon has been found at major



rapids and falls, such as Five-Mile Rapids (Long Narrows) on the Columbia River near The Dalles, Oregon, and Kettle Falls/Spokane Valley (Cressman 1977; Schalk 1986). Salmon vertebrae have been recovered from The Dalles that are up to 10, 000 years old (Butler and O'Connor 2004), and from Kettle Falls from 7,000–9,000 years old. Large seasonal fisheries at Kettle Falls (northern Washington state) were reported to support eight tribes (Walker 1967), with equally large or larger numbers at the Dalles and Celilo Falls.

Peoples of the Pacific Northwest were fishing societies with unusually high population densities, complex social organization, large villages, and other features ordinarily found only among agricultural peoples (Ray 1939, 1977; Ames and Marshall 1980; Schalk 1986). Unlike the Euroamerican commercial fisheries that developed in the latter nineteenth century, the Native American fisheries were dispersed over thousands of rivers, streams, and creeks of the Columbia River watershed (Schalk 1986) in a single overall social and economic system (Schwede 1966, 1970; Walker 1967, 1993a, b, 1998, 2010; Anastasio 1985). As reported by Scholz et al. (1985), "Indian fishing activity was spread throughout the Columbia Basin and salmon fishing was as important to upriver tribes as it was to the lower river tribes on both the Snake and Columbia Rivers." In addition to the major harvest areas, many other fishing sites also were noted by Lewis and Clark and other early explorers, trappers, and traders, and included falls, spawning, and passage areas (Swindell 1942).

Salmon and steelhead were a major staple food, eaten fresh for as much as 6 months of the year and dried or smoked to store for the lean winter months, as well as used as a flavoring, thickener, and in other forms (Hunn 1990). The quantitative importance of salmonids in aboriginal subsistence varied from area to area within the Columbia drainage, but there was some degree of dependence upon salmon in virtually all areas of the Basin that provided accessible spawning habitat. Resident fish (sturgeon, suckers, whitefish, others) were also readily available. More broadly, the salmon fisheries from northern California (Hewes 1947, 1973; Baumhoff 1963; McEvoy 1986) northward through British Columbia and Alaska have provided sustained yields for at least several thousand years (Newell 1993; Trosper 2002).

There is a general consensus that fish, particularly salmon, formed from one-third to one-half of the food supply of Columbia Basin tribes (Walker 1967; Hunn 1981, 1990; Anastasio 1985; Hewes 1998). This amount falls in the range of 700–1000 kcal/day per person based on a total of 2000–2500 kcal/day, or approximately 600–850 gpd (1.3 to 1.8 lbs/day) assuming 117 kcal/100 g of smoked chinook salmon (http://ndb.nal.usda.gov/ndb/foods/show/4532). If salmon supplied one-third to one-half of the daily protein, based on a recommendation of 50 g protein/d (http://www.cdc.gov/nutrition/everyone/basics/protein.html) and assuming 19 g protein/100 g of smoked chinook salmon, then a much smaller

amount of salmon would have supplied adequate protein, provided that the caloric difference was replaced by much larger quantities of *Lomatium* roots, the other major staple (Hunn 1981).

Per Capita Fish Consumption – Early Estimates Through 1974

There have been many estimates of total salmonid abundance, harvest, and/or consumption for different tribal groups within the Columbia Basin and throughout the entire salmon region from California to Alaska (Craig and Hacker 1940; Griswold 1953; Baumhoff 1963; Walker 1967, 1993a,b, 2010; Hewes 1973; Scholz *et al.* 1985; Schalk 1986; NPPC 1986; Lichatowich 1999; Finney *et al.* 2000; Gresh *et al.* 2000; Meengs and Lackey 2005; Davis 2007).

Gresh et al. (2000) estimated the historic biomass of salmon returning annually to the Pacific Northwest (Washington, Oregon, Idaho, and California) to be 350 to 500 million pounds. More recently Meengs and Lackey (2005) estimated the annual aboriginal harvest to have been about 10 million pounds per year, or 1.75 to 5.36 million fish of all anadromous species. The NPPC (1986) estimated that average annual salmon runs before development of the basin ranged from about 10 to 16 million fish. Commercial harvests of spring, summer, and fall chinook salmon, not including aboriginal harvest, reached an all-time high of nearly 43 million pounds in 1883, and varied between 17 and 37 million pounds between 1890 and 1920 (Fulton 1968, 1970). Chapman (1986) estimated peak-period commercial catches from mean catch weights during the five consecutive years of greatest total harvest, and from mean weights of fish reported in the early literature. These catches were 1,700,000 summer chinook salmon (1881–1885), 382, 000 steelhead (1892-1896), 1,100,000 fall chinook salmon (1915–1919), 400,000 spring chinook salmon, 476,000 coho salmon (1894-1898), 1,915,000 sockeye salmon (1883-1887), and 359,000 chum salmon (1915–1919).

Most of the earlier authors who considered per capita fish consumption rates assumed 2000 calories per day as the total human requirement. The earliest catch and consumption estimates, developed by Craig and Hacker (1940), posited an average annual per capita consumption rate of 365 lb (1 lb/day or 454 gpd) for the entire region. Hewes (1947, 1973), using ethnographic data from central California to Alaska and the Yukon estimated a total annual salmon catch of 127,775, 800 lb for the entire area based on a human requirement of 2, 000 kcal/day and 900 kcal/lb of salmon. Within the Columbia Basin, Hewes' estimates of per capita consumption range from 50 to 100 lb on the uppermost reaches of Columbia River tributaries, to 500–600 lb on Columbia River mainstem fisheries, with some areas even higher (Table 1).

In 1974, Judge George Boldt reaffirmed the right of most Washington tribes to act as "co-managers" of salmon



Table 1 Aboriginal fish consumption rate estimates. All units are per capita consumption in pounds/year, as originally reported. gpd = grams per day

| Native group or tribe   | Hewes 1947,<br>1973 | Adjusted for<br>calorie loss and<br>waste. Schalk 1986 | Walker 1985 as cited in<br>Scholz <i>et al.</i> (1985)   | Other   |
|---|---------------------|--|--|---|
| Klickitat, Yakama, Wanapum,<br>Wishram, Palouse               | 400                 | 863  | 1200 of which 900 are anadromous salmonid  |   |
| Tenino Umatilla Walla Walla                                   | 500                 | 744  | 1000 of which 750 are anadromous salmonid  |   |
| Cayuse  | 365                 | 564  | Not discussed separately   |   |
| Wenatchi, Sinkiuse,<br>Methow, Nespelem,<br>Sanpoil. Colville | 500                 | 976  | 1200 of which 1080 are anadromous salmonid   | Walker 1967 adjusted Hewes to 950;<br>Scholz adjusted Hewes to 976  |
| Spokane   | 500                 | 976  | Scholz <i>et al.</i> (1985)=948<br>Walker 1967 = 965<br>Walker 1985=1080<br>(1200 of which 1080 are anadromous salmonid)                       | Harper et al. (2002)=865 gpd  |
| Kalispel, Coeur d'Alene,                                      | 100                 | 219  | Scholz <i>et al.</i> (1985)=658; Walker 1967 = 584;<br>Walker 1985=750 (1000 total fish of<br>which 750 are anadromous salmonid)               |   |
| Pend d'Oeille, Flathead                                       | 100                 | 219  | Walker 1985=400 (800 total fish of which 400 are anadromous salmonid)  |   |
| Okanagon, Lakes   | 500                 | 1250   | Walker 1985=1000 total fish of which 750 are anadromous salmonids  |   |
| Kutenai   | 300                 | 481  | Scholz et al. (1985)=658<br>Walker 1967 = 584<br>Walker 1985=900 (1000 of which 900<br>are salmonid, and the rest resident fish)               | Scholz <i>et al.</i> (1985) 300–365;<br>Walker 1967 adjusted Hewes to<br>584 Walker; Scholz adjusted<br>Hewes to 982.                                 |
| Nez Perce   | 300                 | 646  | Walker 1985=1000 total fish of which 900 are anadromous salmonid   | Walker 1967 = 582 as cited by<br>Hunn 1990 Table 13, the<br>median for Plateau tribes.  |
| Bannock, Northern Paiute,<br>Northern Shoshone                | 50                  | 179  | Shoshone Paiute=400 total fish of which 300 are anadromous salmonids;<br>Shoshone Bannock=800 total fish of which 600 are anadromous salmonids | Walker 1993a, b Shoshone-Bannock<br>Minimum river use average<br>64 lbs/year Median river user:<br>282 lbs/year                                       |
| Average Columbia-Fraser<br>Plateau                            | 365 or 438          |  |  | Walker 1967 says the average may<br>be 365 lbs but the median<br>(583 lbs.) should be used as<br>more realistic, with a range<br>from 365 to 800 lbs. |

Hewes 1947, 1973 labels his tables as consumption (based on population size and calories)

Schalk 1986 cites Hewes table as being catch as well as consumption. Schalk adjusts for migration calorie loss as well as for waste (citing Hunn 1981 that 80 % of the weight of the fish is edible). The total catch would have been larger for dog food and trade with some use for fuel Walker 1985 as cited by Scholz is labeled consumption, not catch

alongside the State, and to continue to harvest them (*United States v. Washington*, 384 F. Supp. 312). Forty-nine academic and tribal experts testified to the importance of salmon and the amounts caught and eaten. The court cited 500 lb per capita as a reasonable amount for salmon consumption on the Columbia River mainstem, in addition to recognizing that resident species were eaten in addition to anadromous species.

#### Per Capita Consumption—Improved Estimates

Estimates of Native American fish consumption have continued to improve through the recognition that a primary stimulus to extensive Plateau travel was the quality of salmon at

different points on the Columbia River. Although the flesh of salmon is rich and oily in the lower reaches of the river, it becomes less so as they ascend the river since they do not feed during the spawning runs, and expend much energy on the long journey, thus making fishing and trading more attractive in the Celilo area, as well as available earlier in the season. Most Native informants are well aware of this and have different words for salmon quality at various locations (Walker 1967). The indigenous inhabitants selected specific salmon for different purposes; those taken earlier in the spawning run were used for food, fuel, preservation by smoking, making pemmican, and immediate trade, while salmon with lower oil content were easier to air-dry for longer term storage or lighter



in weight to carry; different species might be selected for feeding dogs or for other reasons (Walker 1967, 1997).

Two authors (Walker and Hunn) have conducted original and intensive ethnographic field research regarding fish consumption rates, and others (Scholz and Schalk, among others) have compiled and evaluated consumption rates and other evidence. There is agreement that Hewes' total harvest estimates were too low (Walker 1967; Hunn 1981; Walker 1985 as cited in Scholz et al. 1985, Schalk 1986; NPPC 1986) because he assumed a caloric content for salmon throughout the entire region based upon fish as they enter freshwater in prime condition. As reported by the Northwest Power Planning Council (1986), a general average per capita consumption rate of 500 lb per capita is a reasonable estimate, but "the total annual per capita estimate for fish consumed rises significantly when a migration calorie-loss factor is included." Several authors have adjusted Hewes' estimates to account for the fact that salmonids lose up to 75 % of their caloric content during migration to the furthest spawning grounds (Idler and Clemens 1959; Hunn 1981) based on the distance traveled upstream (Table 1). Schalk (1986) also concluded that increasing the Hewes per capita estimates was more consistent with the ethnographic and ethnohistoric data.

For the Dalles region, Walker (1967, 1986) raised the Craig and Hacker and Hewes estimates of 365 to 500 lb per capita per year based on river miles and calorie loss. Walker also states that, in light of the known annual dietary dependence on fish among indigenous societies of the Plateau, it seems reasonable to conclude that the Plateau fish consumption range was between 365 and 800 lbs. per capita with the annual average probably close to 583 lbs or 725 gpd.<sup>1</sup>

#### Conclusion

The approach of dietary reconstruction, augmented with a large variety of ethnographic, archaeological, and biomedical data, and the approach of evaluating abundance and harvest data, augmented with population estimates and migratory calorie loss both support a range of 500 to 583 lb per capita per year (620 to 725 gpd) as the average heritage rate for the Columbia River mainstem. This convergence of conclusions by multiple authors reflects the robustness of the data.

The data compiled for this paper also show that heritage fish consumption rates for the 15 tribes located within the Columbia River watershed are substantially higher than contemporary averages. The average contemporary fish consumption rate for the four CRITFC Tribes is roughly 10 times

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Scholz *et al.* (1985:73) comment, "Walker (1967) estimated that the average annual per capita consumption for the Columbia Basin Tribes was 584 pounds. We deliberately used Hewes' [lower] figures to maintain a conservative bias in developing our estimation of consumption, even though Walker's figures are likely more accurate."



lower than the amount eaten by some of today's traditional fishermen (540 gpd, from Harris and Harper 2007), the adjudicated rate of 620 gpd, and the 725–1000 gpd estimated by Walker (1985). The 99th percentile of contemporary consumption (389 gpd) measured in the CRITFC study is still somewhat less than the lower end of the documented range of average traditional fish consumption (454 gpd or 1 lb per day).

These methods have also been supported by the US Environmental Protection Agency (USEPA), which approved the Spokane Tribe's water quality standards in 2013 using their heritage fish consumption rate of 865 gpd (Harper *et al.* 2002), the only tribe thus far using a full heritage rate. As acknowledged by USEPA in the letter approving the Spokane Tribe's standards, the methodology for using multiple lines of evidence including both dietary reconstruction and estimates of abundance near the Tribe's location to determine heritage rates are valid and protective of the Spokane Tribe's traditional lifestyle (USEPA 2013).

This review describes the range of traditional fish consumption rates and provides general estimates that are reasonable, supportable, and (through the Boldt decision) already adjudicated. Additionally, these catch estimates have been used by the federal government and courts to calculate the amount of salmon lost due to dam construction. Further considerations for more localized estimates would be selection of a salmon-only or an all-fish (or finfish plus shellfish) value, and whether the particular application requires a basin-wide average or a tribespecific value that might require additional intensive research. It is our recommendation that deriving a single heritage fish consumption rate for a large area that includes a wide range of salmon habitats (e.g., Columbia River mainstem, or major and minor tributaries) be considered very carefully, although a supportable default assumption for the entire Columbia Basin is in the range of 500 to 583 pounds per capita per year.

**Acknowledgments** The authors with to thank Catherine O'Neil, Jamie Donatuto, Pat Cirone, Craig McCormack, and Diane Barton for their thoughtful insights and comments.

**Disclaimer** The material presented in this article represents the opinions of the author and does not necessarily reflect official tribal or university policy.

Compliance with Ethical Standards The authors declare that they have no conflicts of interest. This paper is a companion paper to Harper and Walker, "Comparison of Contemporary and Heritage Fish Consumption Rates in the Columbia River Basin." No animal research or human subjects were involved in the development of this paper. This work was not supported by a grant or consultation fees. A portion of this work was presented as:

B Harper. Heritage or Rights-Based Fish consumption Rates in the Columbia Basin. 2013 Tribal Leaders Summit, October 7–11, 2013. Northern Quest Resort & Casino, Spokane WA. Invited presentation, posted at http://tels.kalispeltribe.com/

#### References

- [CRITFC] Columbia River Inter-Tribal Fish Commission (1994). A Fish Consumption Survey of the Umatilla, Nez Perce, Yakama, and Warm Springs Tribes of the Columbia River Basin. Technical Report no. 94–3. Columbia River Intertribal Fish Commission, Oregon. Abstract posted at: http://www.critfc.org/reports/a-fishconsumption-survey-of-the-umatilla-nez-perce-yakama-and-warmsprings-tribes-of-the-columbia-river-basin/.
- [NPPC] Northwest Power Planning Council. (1986). Compilation of information on salmon and steelhead total run size, catch, and hydropower related losses in the upper Columbia River Basin, above Grand Coulee Dam. Upper Columbia United Tribes Fisheries Technical Report #2 http://www.nwcouncil.org/reports/1985/ucut-fisheries-technical-report/ Last accessed 10/20/14.
- [USEPA] US Environmental Protection Agency. (1989). Assessing Human Health Risjs fro Chemically Contaminated Fish and Shellfish: A Guidance Manual. EPA-503/8-89-002. Available online from http://nepis.epa.gov/EPA/ Last accessed 10/20/14.
- [USEPA] US Environmental Protection Agency. (1992). Consumption Surveys for Fish and Shellfish: A Review and Analysis of Survey Methods. EPA 822/R-92-001. Posted at http://nepis.epa.gov/Exe/ ZyPDF.cgi?Dockey=20003KQE.PDF Last accessed 10/20/14.
- [USEPA] US Environmental Protection Agency. (1998). Guidance for Conducting Fish and Wildlife Consumption Surveys. EPA-823-B-98-007. EPA Office of Water, November 1998. Posted at http:// water.epa.gov/scitech/swguidance/fishshellfish/techguidance/ upload/1999\_11\_03\_fish\_survey methods.pdf Last accessed 10/20/ 14
- [USEPA] US Environmental Protection Agency. (2000). Methodology for Deriving Ambient Water Quality Criteria for the Protection of Human Health. http://water.epa.gov/scitech/swguidance/standards/ criteria/health/methodology/ Last accessed 10/20/14.
- [USEPA] US Environmental Protection Agency. (2011). Exposure Factors Handbook 2011 Edition (Final). USEPA National Center for Environmental Assessment, Office of Research and Development EPA/600/R-09/052F. http://cfpub.epa.gov/ncea/risk/ recordisplay.cfm?deid=236252. First published in 1989 and later updated in 1997. Last accessed 10/20/14.
- [USEPA] US Environmental Protection Agency, Region 10. Correspondence to The Honorable Rudy People, Chairman of the Spokane Tribe of Indians, from Danial Opalski, Director, Office of Water and Watersheds, December 19, 2013. http://www.epa.gov/ region10/pdf/water/wqs/spokane\_cover\_letter\_TSD\_Dec192013. pdf Last accessed 10/20/14.
- Ames, K. M., and Marshall, A. G. (1980). Villages, Demography and Subsistence Intensification on the Southern Columbia Plateau. North American Archaeologist 2: 25–52.
- Anastasio, A. (1985). The Southern Plateau: An Ecological analysis of Intergroup Relations. Northwest Anthropology Research Notes (no citation). Second textbook edition, University of Idaho: Revised from Northwest Anthropological Research Notes 6: 109–229, 1972.
- Anderson, A. J. (1981). A Model of Prehistoric Collecting on the Rocky Shore. Journal of Archaeological Science 8: 109–120.
- Anderson, E. N. (2011). Ethnobiology: Overview of a Growing Field. In Anderson, E. N., Pearsall, D., Hunn, E., and Turner, N. (eds.), Ethnobiology. Wiley-Blackwell, Hoboken, pp. 1–14.
- Baumhoff, M. A. (1963). Ecological determinants of aboriginal California populations. University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology 49(2): 155–236. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Benson, L. V., Berry, M. S., Jolie, E. A., Spangler, J. D., Stahle, D. W., and Hattori, E. M. (2007). Possible Impacts of Early-11th-, Middle-12th-, and Late-13th-Century Droughts on Western Native

- Americans and the Mississippian Cahokians. Quaternary Science Reviews 26: 336–350.
- Berkes, F. (1979). An Investigation of Cree Indian Domestic Fisheries in Northern Quebec. Arctic 32(1): 46–70.
- Berkes, F. (1983). Quantifying the Harvest of Native Subsistence Fisheries. In Wein, R. W., Riewe, R. R., and Methven, L. R. (eds.), Resources and Dynamics of the Boreal Zone. Association of Canadian Universities for Northern Studies, Ottawa, pp. 346– 363.
- Berkes, F. (1990). Native Subsistence Fisheries: A Synthesis of Harvest Studies in Canada. Arctic 43(1): 35–42.
- Berkes, F., Hughes, A., George, P. J., Preston, R. J., Cummins, B. D., and Turner, N. J. (1995). The Persistence of Aboriginal Land Use: Fish and Wildlife Harvest Areas in the Hudson and James Bay Lowland, Ontario. Arctic 48(1): 81–93.
- Boone, J. L. (2002). Subsistence Strategies and Early Human Population History: an Evolutionary Ecological Perspective. World Archaeology 34(1): 6–25.
- Boyd, R. (1996). People of The Dalles: The Indians of Wascopam Mission. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.
- Burchell, M., Cannon, A., Hallmann, N., Schwarcz, H. P., and Schöne, B. R. (2013). Inter-Site Variability in the Season of Shellfish Collection on the Central Coast of British Columbia. Journal of Archaeological Science 40: 626–636.
- Butler, V. L., and O'Connor, J. E. (2004). 9000 Years of Salmon Fishing on the Columbia River, North America. Quaternary Research 62(1): 1–8.
- Cannon, A. (1991). The Economic Prehistory of Namu: Patterns in Vertebrate Fauna. Department of Archaeology, Simon Fraser University, Publication 19. Simon Fraser University, Burnaby.
- Cannon, A. (2000). Assessing Variability in Northwest Coast Salmon and Herring Fisheries: Bucket-Auger Sampling of Shell Midden Sites on the Central Coast of British Columbia. Journal of Archaeological Science 27: 725–737.
- Cannon, A., Schwarcz, H. P., and Knyf, M. (1999). Marine-Based Subsistence Trends and the Stable Isotope Analysis of Dog Bones from Namu, British Columbia. Journal of Archaeological Science 26: 399–407.
- Canon, A., and Burchell, M. (2009). Clam Growth-Stage Profiles as a Measure of Harvest Intensity and Resource Management on the Central Coast of British Columbia. Journal of Archaeological Science 36: 1050–1060.
- Carlson, C. C. (1979). The Early Component at Bear Cove. Canadian Journal of Archaeology 3: 177–194.
- Carlson, R. (1998). Coastal British Columbia in the Light of North Pacific Maritime Adaptations. Arctic Anthropology 35: 23–35.
- Chapman, D. W. (1986). Salmon and Steelhead Abundance in the Columbia River in the Nineteenth Century. Transactions of the American Fisheries Society 115(5): 662–670.
- Cohen, M. N. (1989). Health and the Rise of Civilization. Yale University Press, New Haven.
- Cohen, M. N., and Armelago, G. J. (eds.) (1984). Paleopathology and the Origins of Agriculture. Academic Press, Orlando.
- Coupland, G., Stewart, K., and Patton, K. (2010). Do you Never Get Tired of Salmon? Evidence for Extreme Salmon Specialization at Prince Rupert Harbour, British Columbia. Journal of Anthropological Archaeology 29: 189–207.
- Craig, J. A., and Hacker, R. L. (1940). History and Development of the Fisheries of the Columbia River. Bulletin No. 32 in Bulletin of the U. S. Bureau of Fisheries 49: 133–216. Available online at http:// docs.lib.noaa.gov/rescue/Fish\_Commission\_Bulletins/data\_rescue\_ fish\_commission\_bulletins.html.
- Cressman, L. S. (1977). Prehistory of the Far West: Homes of Vanished Peoples. University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City.
- Davis, L. G. (2007). Paleoseismicity, Ecological Change, and Prehistoric Exploitation of Anadromous Fishes in the Salmon River Basin,



- Western Idaho, USA. North American Archaeologist 28(3): 233-263
- Donald, L., and Mitchell, D. H. (1996). Nature and Culture on the Northwest Coast of North America: The Case of Wakashan Salmon Resources. In Burch, E. S., and Ellanna, L. J. (eds.), Key Issues in Hunter-Gatherer Research. Berg Publishing, Washington, D.C, pp. 95–117.
- Donatuto, J., and Harper, B. L. (2008). Issues in Evaluating Fish Consumption Rates for Native American Tribes. Risk Analysis 28(6): 1497–1506.
- Eaton, S. B., Eaton, S. B., and Konner, M. J. (1997). Paleolithic Nutrition Revisited: A Twelve-Year Retrospective on its Nature and Implications. European Journal of Clinical Nutrition 51: 207–216.
- Erlandson, J. M., Moss, M. L., and Des, L. M. (2008). Life on the Edge: Early Maritime Cultures of the Pacific Coast of North America. Quaternary Science Reviews 27: 2232–2245.
- Ewonus, P. A., Cannon, A., and Yang, D. Y. (2011). Addressing Seasonal Site Use Through Ancient DNA Species Identification of Pacific Salmon at Dionisio Point, Galiano Island, British Columbia. Journal of Archaeological Science 38: 2536–2546.
- Finney, B. P., Gregory-Eaves, I., Sweetman, J., Douglas, M. S. V., and Smol, J. P. (2000). Impacts of Climatic Change and Fishing on Pacific Salmon Abundance Over the Past 300 Years. Science 290: 795–799.
- Fulton, L. A. (1968). Spawning areas and abundance of Chinook salmon (Oncorhynchus tshawytscha) in the Columbia River Basin – past and present. U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service Special Scientific Report: Fisheries, No. 571.
- Fulton, L. A. (1970). Spawning areas and abundance of steelhead trout and coho, sockeye, and chum salmon in the Columbia River Basin – past and present. National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration Special Scientific Report: Fisheries No. 618.
- Galloway, P. (2006). Practicing Ethnohistory: Mining Archives, Hearing Testimony, Constructing Narrative. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, NE.
- Gresh, T., Lichatowich, J., and Schoonmaker, P. (2000). An Estimation of Historic and Current Levels of Salmon Production in the Northeast Pacific Ecosystem: Evidence of a Nutrient Deficit in the Freshwater Systems of the Pacific Northwest. Fisheries 25(1): 15–21.
- Grier, C., Flanigan, K., Winters, M., Jordan, L. G., Lukowski, S., and Kemp, B. M. (2013). Using Ancient DNA Identification and Osteometric Measures of Archaeological Pacific Salmon Vertebrae for Reconstructing Salmon Fisheries and Site Seasonality at Dionisio Point, British Columbia. Journal of Archaeological Science 40: 544–555.
- Griswold, F. (1953). Aboriginal patterns of trade between the Columbia Basin and the Northwest Plains. M.A. Theses, Montana State University, Missoula, MT.
- Harper, B. L., Flett, B., Harris, S., and Abeyta, K. F. (2002). The Spokane Tribe's Multipathway Subsistence Exposure Scenario and Screening Level RME. Risk Analysis 22: 513–526.
- Harris, S. G., and Harper BL. (1997). A Native American Exposure Scenario. Risk Analysis 17: 789–795.
- Hedges, R. E. M., Stevens, R. E., and Richards, M. P. (2004). Bone as a Stable Isotope Archive for Local Climatic Information. Quaternary Science Reviews 23: 959–965.
- Hewes, G. W. (1947). Aboriginal use of fishery resources in northwestern North America. Doctoral dissertation, University of California Berkeley.
- Hewes, G. W. (1973). Indian Fisheries Productivity in pre-Contact Times in the Pacific Salmon Area. Northwest Anthropological Research Notes 7(2): 133–155.
- Hewes, G. W. (1998). Fishing. In Walker Jr., D. E. (ed.), Handbook of North American Indians, Volume 12: Plateau. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC, pp. 620–640.

- Hunn, E. S. (1981). On the Relative Contribution of Men and Women to Subsistence Among Hunter-Gatherers of the Columbia Plateau: A Comparison With Ethnographic Atlas Summaries. Journal of Ethnobiology 1(1): 124–134.
- Hunn, E. S. (1990). NCh'i-Wana, The Big River: Mid-Columbia Indians and Their Land. University of Washington Press, Seattle.
- Idler, D. R., Clemens, W. A. (1959). The energy expenditure of Fraser River sockeye salmon during the spawning migration to Chilko and Stuart Lakes. Internation Pacific Salmon fisheries Commission, Progress report No. 6, New Westminster, British Columbia.
- Jenicke, M. R. (2001). Nutritional ecology: Diet, Physical Activities, and Body Size. In Painter-Brick, C., Layton, R. H., and Rowley-Conwy (eds.), Hunter-gatherers: and Interdisciplinary Perspective. Cambridge University Press: New York and Cambridge UK, pp. 205–238
- Jones, S., and Quinn, R. L. (2009). Prehistoric Fijian Diet and Subsistence: Integration of Faunal, Ethnographic, and Stable Isotopic Evidence from the Lau Island Group. Journal of Archaeological Science 36: 2742–2754.
- Kelly, K. (1986). Navajo Land Use: An Ethnoarchaeological Study. Academic, Orlando, FL.
- Kelly, R. L. (1995). The Foraging Spectrum: Diversity in Hunter-Gatherer Lifeways. Smithsonian Press, Washington DC.
- Krech, S. (1991). The State of Ethnohistory. Annual Review of Anthropology 20: 345–375.
- Kuhnlein, H. V., and Receveur, O. (1996). Dietary Change and Traditional Food Systems of Indigenous Peoples. Annual Review of Nutrition 16: 417–442.
- Kuhnlein, H. V., Soueida, R., and Receveur, O. (1996). Dietary Nutrient Profiles of Canadian Baffin Island Inuit Differ by Food Source, Season, and Age. Journal of the American Dietetic Association 96(2): 155–162.
- Kuhnlein, H. V., Smitasiri, S., Yesudas, S., Bhattacharjee, L., Dan, L., and Ahmid, S. (2006). Documenting Traditional Food Systems of Indigenous Peoples: International Case Studies. Centre for Indigenous Peoples' Nutrition and Environment. McGill University, Toronto. Posted at: http://www.cine.mcgill.ca/ documents/manual.pdf.
- Lee, R. B., et al. (1968). What Hunters do for a Living, or, How to Make out on Scarce Resources. In Lee, R. B., and DeVore, I. (eds.), Man the Hunter. Aldine, Chicago, pp. 30–42.
- Lepofsky, D., and Lyons, N. (2003). Modeling Ancient Plant Use on the Northwest Coast: Towards an Understanding of Mobility and Sedentism. Journal of Archaeological Science 30: 1357–1371.
- Lichatowich, J. (1999). Salmon Without Rivers: A History of the Pacific Salmon Crisis. Island Press, Washington, D.C.
- Lovell, N. C., Chisholm, B. S., Nelson, D. E., and Schwarcz, H. P. (1986).
  Prehistoric Salmon Consumption in Interior British Columbia.
  Canadian Journal of Archaeology 10: 99–106.
- Lyman, R. L. (2003). The Influence of Time Averaging and Space Averaging on the Application of Foraging Theory in Zooarchaeology. Journal of Archaeological Science 30: 595–610.
- Marshall, A. G. (1977). Nez Perce social groups: An ecological interpretation. Doctoral dissertation, Washington State University, Pullman WA.
- McEvoy, A. F. (1986). The Fisherman's Problem: Ecology and Law in the California Fisheries, 1850–1980. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Meengs, C. C., and Lackey, R. T. (2005). Estimating the Size of Historical Oregon Salmon Runs. Reviews in Fisheries Science 13(1): 51–66.
- Moya, J. (2004). Overview of Fish Consumption Rates in the United States. Human and Ecological Risk Assessment 10: 1195–1211.
- NEJAC (2002). Fish consumption and environmental justice. USEPA: National Environmental Justice Advisory Council. Posted at http://www.epa.gov/environmentaljustice/resources/publications/nejac/fish-consump-report 1102.pdf.



- Newell, D. (1993). Tangled Webs of History: Indians and the Law in Canada's. Pacific Coast Fisheries. University of Toronto Press, Toronto.
- O'Neil, C. (2000). Variable Justice: Environmental Standards, Contaminated Fish, and "Acceptable" Risk to Native Peoples. Stanford Envtl. Law Journal 19, issue 3.
- O'Neill, C. (2013). Fishable Waters. American Indian Law Journal 1(2): 181–284.
- Oeggl, K., Kofler, W., Schmidl, A., Dickson, J. H., Egarter-Vigl, E., and Gaber, O. (2007). The Reconstruction of the Last Itinerary of "O'tzi", the Neolithic Iceman, by Pollen Analyses from Sequentially Sampled gut Extracts. Quaternary Science Reviews 26: 853–861.
- Petroutsa, E. I., and Manolis, S. K. (2010). Reconstructing Late Bronze Age Diet in Mainland Greece Using Stable Isotope Analysis. Journal of Archaeological Science 37: 614–620.
- Privat, K. L., O'Connell, T. C., and Hedges, R. E. M. (2007). The Distinction Between Freshwater- and Terrestrial-Based Diets: Methodological Concerns and Archaeological Applications of Sulphur Stable Isotope Analysis. Journal of Archaeological Science 34: 1197–1204.
- Ray, V. F. (1939). Cultural Relations in the Plateau of Northwestern America. Publications of the Frederick Webb Hodge Anniversary Publication Fund, Vol. III. Los Angeles.
- Ray, V. F. (1977). Ethnic Impact of the events incident to federal power development on the Colville and Spokane Indian reservations. Report prepared for the Confederated Tribes of the Colville Reservation and the Spokane Tribe of Indians, Nespelem, WA. Also cited in Confederated Tribes of the Colville Reservation v. United States, 43 Indian Claims Commission 505: 592–605 (1978).
- Salamon, M., Coppa, A., McCormick, M., Rubini, R., Vargiu, R., and Tuross, N. (2008). The Consilience of Historical and Isotopic Approaches in Reconstructing the Medieval Mediterranean Diet. Journal of Archaeological Science 35: 1667–1672.
- Schalk, R. F. (1986). Estimating Salmon and Steelhead Usage in the Columbia Basin Before 1850: The Anthropological Perspective. Northwest Environmental Journal 2(2): 1–26.
- Scholz, A., O'Laughlin, K., Geist, D., Peone, D., Uehara, J., Fields, L., Kleist, T., Zozaya, I., Peone, T., Teesatuskie, K. (1985). Compilation of information on salmon and steelhead total run size, catch and hydropower related losses in the upper Columbia Basin above Grand Coulee dam. Fisheries Technical Report No. 2. Upper Columbia United Tribes fisheries Center, Eastern Washington University, Cheney, WA.
- Schwarcz, H. P., Stafford, T. W., Knyf, M., Chisholm, B., Longstaffe, F. J., Chatters, J. C., and Owsley, D. W. (2014). Stable Isotopic Evidence for Diet and Origin. In Owsley, D. W., and Jantz, R. L. (eds.), Kennewick Man: The Scientific Investigation of an Ancient American Skeleton. Texas A&M University Press, College Station, pp. 310–322.
- Schwede, M. L. (1966). An ecological Sstudy of Nez Perce settlement patterns. Masters thesis, Washington State University, Pullman.
- Schwede, M. L. (1970). The Relationship of Aboriginal Nez Perce Settlement Patterns to Physical Environment and to Generalized Distribution of Food Resources. Northwest Anthropological Research Notes 4: 129–136.
- Speller, C. F., Yang, D. Y., and Hayden, B. (2005). Ancient DNA Investigation of Prehistoric Salmon Resource Utilization at Keatley Creek, British Columbia. Canada Journal of Archaeological Science 32: 1378-1389.

- Swindell, E. G. (1942). Report on the Source, Nature, and Extent of the Fishing, Hunting, and Miscellaneous Related Rights of Certain Indian Tribes in Washington and Oregon Together With Affidavits Showing Location of a Number of Usual and Accustomed Fishing Grounds and Stations. United States Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Branch of Land Services, Portland, Oregon.
- Thwaites, R. (1905). Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804–1805, vol. 8. Arthur H. Clark Co., New York.
- Trigger, B. (1986). Ethnohistory: The Unfinished Edifice. Ethnohistory 33(3): 253–267.
- Trosper, R. L. (2002). Northwest Coast Indigenous Institutions That Supported Resilience and Sustainability. Ecological Economics 41: 329–344.
- Ulrich, R. (1999). Empty Nets: Indians, Dams, and the Columbia River. University of Oregon Press, Corvallis.
- Walker, D. E. (1967). Mutual cross-utilization of economic resources in the Plateau: an example from aboriginal Nez Perce fishing practices. Washington State University Laboratory of Anthropology Report of Investigations No. 41.
- Walker, D. E. (1992). Productivity of Tribal Dipnet Fishermen at Celilo Falls: Analysis of the Joe Pinkham Fish Buying Records. Northwest Anthropological Research Notes 26(2): 123–135.
- Walker, D. E. (1993a). The Shoshone-Bannock: An Anthropological Reassessment. Northwest Anthropological Research Notes 27(2): 139–160.
- Walker, D. E. (1993b). Lemhi Shoshone-Bannock Reliance on Anadromous and other Fish Resources. Northwest Anthropological Research Notes 27(2): 215–250. Use for riverine grouping along with Anastasio.
- Walker, D. E. (1997). The Yakama System of Trade and Exchange. Northwest Anthropological Research Notes 31(1-2): 71-95.
- Walker, D. E. (1998). Nez Perce. In Walker Jr., D. E. (ed.), Handbook of North American Indians, Volume 12: Plateau, vol. 12. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC, pp. 420–438.
- Walker, D. E. (2010). Traditional Fishing Practices Among the Northern Shoshone, Northern Paiute, and Bannock of the Duck Valley Indian Reservation: A Progress Report. Journal of Northwest Anthropology 44(1): 53–62.
- White, C. D. (1999). Introduction: Ancient Maya diet. Pages ix xxvii in CD White, ed. Reconstructing Ancient Maya Diet. The University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City.
- Williams, D. G., Coltrain, J. B., Lott, M., English, N. B., and Ehleringer, J. R. (2005). Oxygen Isotopes in Cellulose Identify Source Water for Archaeological Maize in the American Southwest. Journal of Archaeological Science 32: 931–939.
- Winterhalder, B. (1981). Foraging Strategies in the Boreal Forest: An Analysis of Cree Hunting and Gathering. In Winterhalder, B., and Smith, E. A. (eds.), Hunter-Gatherer Foraging Strategies: Ethnographic and Archaeological Analyses. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, pp. 66–98.
- Wolfe, R. J., and Walker, R. J. (1987). Subsistence Economics in Alaska: Productivity, Geography, and Development Impacts. Arctic Anthropology 24: 56–81.
- Yang, D. Y., Cannon, A., and Saunders, S. R. (2004). DNA Species Identification of Archaeological Salmon Bone from the Pacific Northwest Coast of North America. Journal of Archaeological Science 31: 619–631.

