California also was the home of some of the nation's most innovative and successful programs to revive Native languages. A statewide activist group called Advocates for Indigenous California Language Survival (AICLS) set up two-member teams specializing in the Mohave, Yurok, Wintu, Hupa, and Yowlumni languages. Younger tribal members were matched with elders who were fluent in the language. This program of "master-apprentice" instruction was remarkably successful in increasing the number of speakers of endangered languages. Matt Vera (Yowlumni) was matched with a closely related "master"—his mother Agnes—on the Tule River reservation in California's San Joaquin Valley. Matt had grown up with English as his primary language. "I guess we took it for granted," he said. "It was an era of not being into cultural preservation of any kind." But then, when he was in his mid-thirties, he developed a passionate interest in learning more about his cultural and religious heritage. After studying with his mother in an intensive AICLS-sponsored workshop, Matt Vera became proficient in Yowlumni and experienced a new sense of fulfillment. "To me, the sound of my language was like a beautiful song filling the air." Additional teams, sponsored by the University of California's Master Apprenticeship Language Learning Program, targeted speakers of the Hupa, Karuk, Washo, Chemehuevi, and Tubatulabal languages.

Community-based programs flourished throughout the state. When Loren Bommelyn (Tolowa) realized that the language of his people was being spoken only by a few elders, he taught himself the language and then began offering classes in Tolowa at a local high school in Crescent City. In the northern Sacramento Valley, Mary Jones (Konkow) tape-recorded lessons in the phonetics of her language for linguist Brian Bibby who was developing an interactive computer program for teaching California Native languages. Along the north coast, the Karuk tribe ran a weekly transportation service to bring together its few remaining fluent elders. Nancy Richardson Riley, a semifluent Karuk speaker, worked with elders to preserve their language and make it available for younger tribal members. "Our languages define our whole world views," she explained. "We're trying to make our traditional ways fit into a modern and changing world. The only way we'll stay alive as a people is if we practice and live our culture."

The continuing vibrancy of "traditional ways" was also evident in the revival of various aspects of material culture. Traditional boatbuilding skills, for instance, were revitalized among Native peoples all along the Northwest coast. Aleuts rediscovered the technological secrets of their ancestors who for 5,000 years had built kayaks, or *baidarkas*, of animal skins and bone. Around the shores of Puget Sound, young members of twenty different tribes mastered the ancient art of carving dugout cedar canoes so that they might participate in a flotilla set to sail on the centennial of Washington statehood in 1989. The coordinator of the event was Emmett Oliver (Quinault), an educator who was determined to recreate a cherished feature of Northwest culture. He challenged his fellow Native Americans: "As important as the canoe is to the native lore and way of life, can you tolerate that it may be lost forever?" With special permission from the Forest Service, Indians felled 600-year-old cedars to carve their canoes. As the trees were cut, drumming and singing accompanied the work of the woodsmen. "I could see the old people again," mused Marya Moses (Tulalip). "I don't want to dwell on it. It is too moving for me." Using traditional methods, the Native craftsmen carved, painted, and outfitted their canoes. More than 700 Northwest Indians were on hand for the launching of the flotilla amidst a ceremonial potlatch of singing and dancing. One of the tribal leaders saw the larger significance of their accomplishment: "To lose a ceremony is to lose the past; to create a ceremony is to create the future."

Totem-pole carving also experienced something of a renaissance among Native artisans in the 1980s and 1990s. Master carver Norman Tait (Nisga'a) taught younger members of his tribe how to design and carve a forty-two-foot ceremonial doorway pole. By sharing his skill with the next generation, Tait also was able to teach them other lessons about traditional culture. "We're learning a little bit of everything on this pole," Tate's son observed in 1985. "It's all one big lesson!" When Tate's nephew succeeded in carving his own special part of the pole—the Whale's fin—he exclaimed, "Wow, I really *am* an Indian, I really *am* a Nisga'a." Likewise, a Tsimshian carver living near Kingston, Washington, taught his son the many steps involved in totem-pole making. "As I listen to the chanted songs and move to the ancient music of my ancestors, I am proud," the son remarked in 1990. "I am proud to have a father who can transform a straight cedar log into a magnificent totem pole. . . . I am proud of my people."

Even the diet of Native Americans showed evidence of the resurgence of interest in traditional cultures. While most Indian people in the late twentieth century consumed foods that were no different from those of their non-Indian neighbors—and used such modern food

preparation processes as blenders and microwave ovens—many also enjoyed traditional food items. In 1990 nutritionists among the Pimas of Arizona urged tribal members to return to traditional plant foods as a way of reducing the world's highest incidence of diabetes. Among the Walker River Paiutes of western Nevada, the gathering and eating of pine nuts gained popularity in the early 1990s. Anita Whitefeather Collins, the chairwoman of the Walker River tribe, encouraged local families to go into the pine forests of the high country to gather this traditional food staple. Collecting pine nuts, she believed, was a good way for her people to keep the old ways alive. "It's all part of holding our community together and keeping us in touch with our ancestors." In the far north, Ellen Paneok (Inupiat) was an Alaskan bush pilot and accomplished scrimshaw artist who still enjoyed the taste of traditional food items. "There is nothing better tasting than walrus flipper," she commented in 1991. "On second thought, bear paw is better. The meat is so tender when boiled."

One of the most ambitious efforts to revive Native American material culture was the rebuilding of the buffalo (or bison) herds of the Great Plains. Twenty-seven tribes joined forces in the early 1990s to form the Inter Tribal Bison Cooperative (ITBC) to bring the buffalo back to the nation's Indian reservations. Whereas sixty million buffalo once had roamed the plains, by the early 1900s only twenty individuals were known to be alive. Protected by federal law, these few survivors were the ancestors of the large herds now found in several state and national parks. "The story of the buffalo is also the story of the Cheyenne," observed Ernie Robinson (Northern Cheyenne), vice president of the ITBC. "They were almost extinct, but now they're coming back strong. They're survivors—just like us." The return of the buffalo to the reservations spurred a revival of such traditional arts as the fashioning of buffalo robes and rattles. Buffalo meat—leaner and more protein-rich than beef—grew in popularity as a food item. Lakota spiritual leader Lester Ducheneaux looked forward to a renewal of the ceremonial life associated with the buffalo. "I want to recreate the spiritual relationship we had with the buffalo," he said. "Then, all things are possible. Then we can become a great and powerful nation again."

The renewed interest in preserving traditional Native cultures spawned a wide range of successful activities and programs. Many individual tribes established offices of cultural preservation to work with elders who could contribute to an accurate understanding of tribal

culture. Pomo leaders in Sonoma County, California, founded the Ya-Ka-Ama Center, hosting an annual springtime festival of traditional dances, games, and foods. Farther south, on the Morongo reservation in Riverside County, Katherine Saubel and other tribal leaders established the Malki Museum as a repository for Cahuilla artifacts and ethnographic information. In 1988 the Nez Perce tribe formed a Cultural Resources Program to preserve its unique language, history, and arts. Chris Webb, the director of the program, fostered the revival of Nez Perce beadwork, painting, buckskin tanning, and the weaving of cornhusk baskets. He also began work on a language curriculum and audiovisual program for Nez Perce schoolchildren. "We have a real problem here as far as our culture dying out," said Diane Miles (Nez Perce/Paiute/Shoshone), a ranger at the Nez Perce National Historic Park in Spalding, Idaho. "But my kids want to know more about the culture. They want to know the language. They want to know what things meant." Likewise, the Hopi tribe established a Cultural Preservation Office and began working closely with archaeologists from Arizona State University to help preserve and interpret local archaeological sites. The director of the office, Leigh Jenkins, brought together tribal elders and university experts in a unique joint venture for the study of Hopi artifacts and oral traditions.

Native Americans also helped preserve traditional cultures by working closely with local museums. In Oregon, members of the Confederated Tribes of the Siletz and Grand Ronde cooperated with the Tillamook County Museum to mount an exhibit in 1994 on the culture of the Tillamook and Nehalem people. Tribal members welcomed the exhibit as a way of bringing together the fragmentary evidence of the ways of their ancestors. Joe Scovell (Tillamook) helped identify the origin and function of many items on display, bringing back memories of a way of life that many had forgotten. "We lost some culture to assimilation," he said with regret. "The word 'assimilation' is kind of a bad word among people who cling to close cultural ties." A far more ambitious program at the Heard Museum in Phoenix, Arizona, brought together Native American high-school students from various tribes to learn about and to share their ancestors' traditions. Coordinator Roger McKinney (Kickapoo) developed the program as a way to encourage youngsters to appreciate their heritage and also to give museum-goers a more authentic experience. Once the teens completed their training, they became student guides at the museum. Tara Kisto (Pima), a seventeen-year-old high-school junior, said that becoming a