

# Appendix A

- **Makah Tribe's 2/11/2005 Request for a Waiver of the Marine Mammal Protection Act (MMPA) Take Moratorium**
- **Makah Tribe's 1/24/2006 Clarification of MMPA Waiver Request Application**
- **Management Plan for Makah Treaty Gray Whale Hunting for the Years 1998-2002 as Amended April 2001**



# MAKAH TRIBE

P.O. BOX 115 • NEAH BAY, WA 98357 • 360-645-2201



February 11, 2005

William T. Hogarth, Ph.D.  
Assistant Administrator  
National Oceanic and  
Atmospheric Administration  
Room 14636  
1315 East-West Hwy  
Silver Spring, MD 20910

**Re: Makah Tribe's Request for a Waiver of the Marine Mammal Protection Act (MMPA) Take Moratorium**

Dear Dr. Hogarth,

Under the 1855 Treaty of Neah Bay, the Makah Tribe secured an express right to hunt whales throughout its usual and accustomed grounds and stations. The Makah Tribe's express whaling rights have not been abrogated by any subsequent statute including the Marine Mammal Protection Act (MMPA). Nevertheless, the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals has held that, notwithstanding the Makah Tribe's express whaling rights under the Treaty of Neah Bay, the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA) must waive the MMPA take moratorium before the Tribe may exercise its Treaty whaling rights. *Anderson v. Evans*, 371 F.3d 475 (9<sup>th</sup> Cir. 2004).

Consider this letter and the attached application the Tribe's formal request for a waiver of the take moratorium under Section 101(a)(3) of the MMPA, 16 U.S.C. § 1371(a)(3), to allow a ceremonial and subsistence (C&S) harvest from the Eastern North Pacific stock of gray whales (*Eschrichtius robustus*) within the Makah Tribe's adjudicated usual and accustomed grounds. See *United States v. Washington*, 626 F.Supp. 1405, 1467 (W.D.Wash. 1985). The total take of gray whales for which the Tribe seeks a waiver is up to 20 gray whales in any five-year period subject to a maximum of five gray whales in any calendar year.

In accordance with Section 101(a)(3) of the MMPA, the Tribe asks you to determine that it is compatible with the Act to waive the moratorium to allow for the taking of whales requested in this letter and attached application, and to adopt suitable regulations and make determinations in accordance with Sections 102, 103, and 104 of the Act. We also ask you to simultaneously undertake a National Environmental Policy Act review of the Tribe's request.

The Tribe believes that approval of this request is consistent with the purposes and policies set forth in Section 2 of the MMPA and is necessary for the United States to fulfill its fiduciary obligations to the Tribe under the Treaty of Neah Bay. As shown in the attached

application, the Tribe's requested harvest of gray whales will ensure that gray whales remain a significant functioning element in the ecosystem and will not permit the Eastern North Pacific gray whale stock to fall below its optimum sustainable population.

The Tribe thanks you in advance for your attention to this important matter.

Sincerely,

MAKAH TRIBAL COUNCIL

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads "Ben Johnson, Jr." in a cursive script.

Ben Johnson, Jr.  
Chairman

CC: Rolland Schmitten, U.S. IWC Commissioner  
Laurie Allen, Director, NOAA Office of Protected Resources  
Karl Gleaves, General Counsel for NOAA/NMFS/OPR  
Robert Lohn, NOAA Fisheries Northwest Regional Administrator  
Joe Scordino, NOAA Fisheries Northwest Deputy Regional Administrator  
David Cottingham, Executive Director, Marine Mammal Commission  
Michael Gosliner, General Counsel, Marine Mammal Commission  
Stanley Speaks, BIA Northwest Regional Director

APPLICATION FOR A WAIVER OF THE  
MARINE MAMMAL PROTECTION ACT TAKE MORATORIUM  
TO EXERCISE GRAY WHALE HUNTING RIGHTS  
SECURED IN THE TREATY OF NEAH BAY

February 11, 2005



Makah Tribal Council  
P.O. Box 115  
Neah Bay, WA 98357

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## Executive Summary

This document constitutes the application of the Makah Indian Tribe (the “Tribe”) under Section 101(a)(3) of the Marine Mammal Protection Act (MMPA), 16 U.S.C. § 1371(a)(3), for a waiver of the moratorium on the taking of marine mammals which would allow the Tribe to conduct a Treaty ceremonial and subsistence (C&S) harvest of up to 20 gray whales from the Eastern North Pacific (ENP) stock in any five-year period, with a maximum of five whales per year. The proposed waiver would be subject to permanent regulations adopted by the Secretary of Commerce under Section 103 of the MMPA, 16 U.S.C. § 1373, which would authorize the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA) to issue the Tribe a renewable whaling permit of up to five years in duration under Section 104 of the MMPA, 16 U.S.C. § 1374, provided that the Tribe enacts, implements, and enforces Tribal regulations which meet minimum standards necessary to conserve the ENP stock, avoid local depletion, and ensure a safe and humane hunt. These standards will include:

- Limits on the total number of gray whales that may be struck in a calendar year;
- Time and area restrictions designed to avoid any intentional harvest of gray whales comprising the Pacific Coast Feeding Aggregation (PCFA);
- Monitoring and adaptive management measures designed to ensure that any incidental harvest of gray whales from the PCFA remains below an annual allowable bycatch level (ABL) that will be conservatively established by applying the MMPA’s potential biological removal (PBR) methodology to a conservative abundance estimate which is based on the number of gray whales that exhibit inter-annual site fidelity to the Oregon to Southern Vancouver Island (ORSVI) survey area;
- Measures that will ensure that the hunt is as humane as practicable consistent with the continued use of traditional hunting methods; and
- Measures to protect public safety.

The Makah Tribe has at least a 1,500-year-old whaling tradition and secured an express right to take whales under Article IV of the 1855 Treaty of Neah Bay. The Tribe’s Treaty whaling rights have not been abrogated by the MMPA or any other federal statute. Under well-established case law, these rights are subject to restriction only where necessary to prevent demonstrable harm to a particular stock or species of whales.

Nevertheless, in *Anderson v. Evans*, 371 F.3d 475 (9th Cir. 2004), the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals decided that the Tribe must obtain a waiver of the MMPA’s take moratorium before it may exercise its Treaty whaling rights. The Tribe strongly disagrees with the Court’s holding, but is filing this application to provide a legal framework that will allow for long-term exercise of its Treaty whaling rights consistent with the conservation needs of the gray whale. Approval of this waiver request is needed to meet the Tribe’s cultural and subsistence needs and to fulfill the

United States government's Treaty and trust obligations to the Tribe.

The population of Eastern North Pacific stock of gray whales is at its historic levels and within its optimum sustainable population (OSP). After accounting for the Makah whale hunt, the total human-caused mortality, which includes aboriginal subsistence harvest by native groups in Russia, will be just over a third of the stock's PBR level of 366 whales. The Scientific Committee of the IWC provided management advice in 2002 that a take of up to 463 whales per year is sustainable for at least the medium term (~30 years). This level of harvest is over 350 percent higher than the average annual joint US-Russian quota of 124 whales per year. Because there is no likelihood that the Makah whale hunt will cause the Eastern North Pacific stock to fall below OSP in the foreseeable future, the Tribe's waiver request is well within the Tribe's rights under the Treaty of Neah Bay and is consistent with the policies and requirements of the MMPA.

For the purposes of this application, the Pacific Coast Feeding Aggregation (PCFA) is defined as any whale found in NOAA's photo-identification database which has been observed south of Alaska from June 1 through November 30 in any year. The PCFA is not a discrete stock of whales for the purposes of the MMPA. Nevertheless, the Tribe has agreed to safeguards that will prevent any intentional harvest of gray whales that exhibit inter-annual site fidelity to the Pacific coast south of Alaska. The Tribe will allow whale hunting only during established gray whale migration periods (December 1 through May 31) and prohibit hunting in gray whale feeding grounds in the Strait of Juan de Fuca.

To minimize the risk of incidental harvest of whales from the PCFA and ensure that gray whales remain a functioning element of the ecosystem, the Tribe in consultation with NOAA will compare photographs of all landed whales with NOAA's photo-identification database for the PCFA. The Tribe will suspend the hunt in a calendar year if necessary to prevent the harvest of whales found in the PCFA database from exceeding an annual allowable bycatch level (ABL). The ABL will be calculated by applying the MMPA's PBR methodology to a conservative abundance estimate based on the number of gray whales that are seen in more than one year in the Oregon-Southern Vancouver Island (ORSVI) survey area between June 1 and November 30.

NOAA should approve the Tribe's request for a waiver and adopt regulations that permit the Tribe to exercise its treaty rights in the manner specified in this application. The proposed waiver is necessary for the United States government to fulfill its legal obligations to the Tribe under the Treaty of Neah Bay, will not disadvantage the ENP stock of gray whales, and will be consistent with the purposes and policies of the MMPA.

## **Definitions.**

**Allowable Bycatch Level (ABL):** the number of whales from the PCFA that may be taken incidental to a hunt directed at the migratory portion of the ENP stock of gray whales. The ABL is calculated using the MMPA's PBR approach but the minimum population estimate is calculated from the number of previously seen whales in the Oregon-Southern Vancouver Island (ORSVI) survey area.

**Harassment:** any act of pursuit, torment, or annoyance which— (i) has the potential to injure a marine mammal or marine mammal stock in the wild (referred to as Level A harassment); or (ii) has the potential to disturb a marine mammal or marine mammal stock in the wild by causing disruption of behavioral patterns, including, but not limited to, migration, breathing, nursing, breeding, feeding, or sheltering (referred to as Level B harassment). 16 U.S.C. § 1362(18).

**Humane Killing:** that method of taking which involves the least possible degree of pain and suffering practicable to the mammal involved. 16 U.S.C. § 1362(4).

**Optimum Sustainable Population (OSP):** is defined as “with respect to any population stock, the number of animals which will result in the maximum productivity of the population or the species, keeping in mind the carrying capacity of the habitat and the health of the ecosystem of which they form a constituent element.” 16 U.S.C. § 1362(9). NOAA has quantified OSP as a population size which ranges between a stock's maximum net productivity level (MNPL) and its carrying capacity (K). *See* 50 C.F.R. § 216.3.

**Oregon-Southern Vancouver Island (ORSVI) survey area:** the gray whale survey region from Oregon to Southern Vancouver Island for which abundance estimates of returning whales are used to develop the allowable bycatch level (ABL). This area was identified in Calambokidis et al. (2004) as the appropriate range to evaluate abundance estimates for the purposes of management of a Makah whale harvest and is based on gray whale interchange rates to survey areas adjacent to the Makah U&A.

**Pacific Coast Feeding Aggregation (PCFA):** any ENP gray whale found in the photo-identification database maintained by NOAA's National Marine Mammal Laboratory (NMML) which has been observed south of Alaska from June 1 through November 30 in any year.

**Potential Biological Removal (PBR):** the maximum number of animals, not including natural mortalities, that may be removed from a marine mammal stock while allowing that stock to reach or maintain its optimum sustainable population 16 U.S.C. § 1362(20). A total level of human-caused mortality that is less than the PBR is considered sustainable and consistent with the MMPA's goal of managing marine mammal stocks to achieve their OSP level. Under 16 U.S.C. § 1362(2), the PBR for a particular marine mammals stock is calculated by taking the product of the following factors: the minimum population of the stock ( $N_{\min}$ ); one-half the maximum theoretical or estimated net productivity rate of the stock at a small population size ( $R_{\max}$ ); and a recovery factor ( $F_r$ ) between 0.1 and 1.0.

**Strike:** means any blow or blows delivered to a whale by a harpoon, rifle or other weapon which may result in death to a whale. A harpoon blow counts as a strike if the harpoon is embedded in the whale. Any rifle shot which hits a whale counts as a strike. For the purpose of this request, multiple strikes on a single whale count as a single strike.

**Take:** as applied to the number of whales that may be harvested, “take” is defined in accordance with the regulations of the International Whaling Commission, “to flag, buoy or make fast to a whale catcher.” For all other purposes, “take” is defined according to the definition in the MMPA, which means to harass, hunt, capture, or kill, or attempt to harass, hunt capture, or kill any marine mammal. 16 U.S.C. § 1362(13).

## Acronyms.

ABL	Allowable Bycatch Level
C&S	Ceremonial and Subsistence
CV	Coefficient of Variation
ENP	Eastern North Pacific
$F_r$	Recovery factor
ICRW	International Convention on the Regulation of Whaling
IWC	International Whaling Commission
K	Carrying capacity
km	Kilometers
m	Meters
MMPA	Marine Mammal Protection Act
MNPL	Maximum Net Productivity Level
MRT	Minimum Residency Tenure
MSY	Maximum Sustained Yield
MSYL	Maximum Sustained Yield Level
n	Sample size
N	Population estimate
$N_{\min}$	Minimum population estimate
NEPA	National Environmental Policy Act
NMML	National Marine Mammal Laboratory
NOAA	National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration

ORSVI	Oregon-Southern Vancouver Island
OSP	Optimum Sustainable Population
PBR	Potential Biological Removal
PCFA	Pacific Coast Feeding Aggregation
$R_{\max}$	Maximum theoretical or estimated net productivity rate of a stock at small population size
SARs	Stock Assessment Reports
U&A	Makah Usual and Accustomed grounds and stations
WCA	Whaling Convention Act

## **I. Request for Waiver and Proposed Regulations.**

This document constitutes the application of the Makah Indian Tribe (the “Tribe”) under Section 101(a)(3) of the Marine Mammal Protection Act (MMPA), 16 U.S.C. § 1371(a)(3), for a waiver of the moratorium on the taking of marine mammals which would allow the Tribe to conduct a Treaty ceremonial and subsistence (C&S) harvest of up to 20 gray whales from the Eastern North Pacific (ENP) stock in any five-year period, with a maximum of five whales per year. The proposed waiver would be subject to permanent regulations adopted by the Secretary of Commerce under Section 103 of the MMPA, 16 U.S.C. § 1373, which would authorize the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA) to issue the Tribe a renewable whaling permit of up to five years in duration under Section 104 of the MMPA, 16 U.S.C. § 1374, provided that the Tribe enacts, implements, and enforces Tribal regulations which meet minimum standards necessary to conserve the ENP stock, to avoid local depletion, and to ensure a safe and humane hunt. The term of the initial permit should coincide with the current aboriginal subsistence quota for gray whales approved by the International Whaling Commission (IWC), which runs through 2007. Future permits would be issued in synchrony with IWC aboriginal quotas, which are currently set at five-year intervals.

As discussed in greater detail in Parts II and III of this application, the Makah Tribe has at least a 1,500-year-old whaling tradition and secured an express right to take whales under Article IV of the 1855 Treaty of Neah Bay. The Tribe’s Treaty whaling rights have not been abrogated by the MMPA or any other federal statute. Under well-established case law, these rights are subject to restriction only where necessary to prevent demonstrable harm to a particular stock or species of whales.

Nevertheless, in *Anderson v. Evans*, 371 F.3d 475 (9th Cir. 2004), the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals decided that the Tribe must obtain a waiver of the MMPA’s take moratorium before it may exercise its Treaty whaling rights. The Tribe strongly disagrees with the Court’s holding but is filing this application to provide a legal framework that will allow for long-term exercise of its treaty whaling rights consistent with the conservation needs of the gray whale. Approval of this waiver request is needed to meet the Tribe’s cultural and subsistence needs and to fulfill the United States government’s Treaty and trust obligations to the Tribe.

The Tribe proposes to manage the whale hunt under Tribal regulations which meet the following minimum standards:

### **A. Number of Gray Whales that May Be Taken.**

The Tribe’s regulations will limit the number of gray whales that may be “taken,” as that term is defined in IWC regulations, to no more than five in any calendar year, and to no more than 20 in any five-year period.<sup>1</sup> In addition, Tribal regulations will limit the number of gray whales that may be “struck,” a more inclusive term that encompasses all whales that are “taken,” to no

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<sup>1</sup> Under the IWC Schedule, the term “take” means to flag, buoy or make fast to a whale catcher.

more than seven in any calendar year.<sup>2</sup> The Tribe's regulations will limit the number of struck and lost whales to no more than three in any calendar year. The number of gray whale takes and strikes allowed by Tribal regulation will be subject to reduction if necessary to meet the international treaty obligations of the United States under the International Convention for the Regulation of Whaling (ICRW) or to prevent the abundance of the ENP stock from falling below its optimum sustainable population level (OSP). Tribal regulations will not allow the taking of any other species of whales except gray whales.

**B. Age, Size, and Sex of Gray Whales that May Be Taken.**

Tribal regulations will prohibit the striking of a whale calf, or any whale accompanied by a calf.

**C. Season When Gray Whales May Be Taken.**

The Tribe's regulations will prohibit the striking of a gray whale between June 1 and November 30 of any calendar year. The purpose of this restriction is to prevent the intentional harvest of whales that may be part of the Pacific Coast Feeding Aggregation (PCFA).

**D. Manner and Location in which Gray Whales May Be Taken.**

The Tribe's regulations will prohibit the striking of a gray whale outside of the Tribe's usual and accustomed (U&A) grounds as adjudicated in *United States v. Washington*, 626 F.Supp. 1405, 1467 (W.D. Wash. 1985). The Tribal regulations will also prohibit the striking of a gray whale within the Strait of Juan de Fuca. Hunting will only occur in the waters of the Pacific Ocean bounded by the following line: a line beginning at the northwestern tip of Cape Flattery running to the Tatoosh Island Lighthouse; from the Tatoosh Island Lighthouse to the buoy adjacent to Duntze Rock; from the buoy adjacent to Duntze Rock following a straight line to Bonilla Point on Vancouver Island but stopping at the Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ); tracking the EEZ boundary westward to 125° 44'00" longitude; south along 125° 44'00" longitude to 48° 02' 15" latitude; east along 48° 02' 15" latitude to shore; and then track the shoreline northward to point of origin at Cape Flattery.

To further reduce the risk of local depletion, Tribal regulations will provide for detailed photographic monitoring of all landed whales. As soon as practicable after a successful hunt, in consultation with scientists from NOAA's National Marine Mammal Laboratory (NMML) the Tribe will compare photographs of landed whales with the NMML photo-identification catalog for the Pacific Coast Feeding Aggregation (PCFA), which includes any gray whale that has been photographed south of Alaska between June 1 and November 30 in any year. The Tribe will cease hunting in a calendar year when photographic analysis indicates that suspension of the hunt

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<sup>2</sup> For the purposes of this request, the term "strike" means any blow or blows delivered to a whale by a harpoon, rifle or other weapon which may result in death to a whale. A harpoon blow counts as a strike if the harpoon is embedded in the whale. Any rifle shot which hits a whale counts as a strike. (Makah Tribal Council 2001).

is necessary to prevent the number of harvested whales from the PCFA catalog from exceeding an annual allowable bycatch level (ABL) for that year. The ABL will be calculated by applying the MMPA's PBR methodology to a conservative abundance estimate based on the number of gray whales that exhibit site fidelity (i.e., seen in more than one year) in the Oregon to Southern Vancouver Island (ORSVI) survey area between June 1 and November 30.

The Tribe's regulations will also include measures that will ensure that the hunt is conducted in the most humane manner practicable consistent with the Tribe's goal of providing opportunities for a traditional ceremonial and subsistence hunt. To this end, all whales will be harpooned with a toggle-point harpoon with floats attached before being dispatched with a .50 caliber rifle shot to the central nervous system (brain and upper spinal cord). During the 1999 hunt these methods resulted in a time to death of approximately 8 minutes. The Tribe anticipates that the time to death will improve as its hunters gain additional experience.

To address concerns about impacts to nesting seabirds, no whale may be struck within 200 yards of Tatoosh Island or White Rock during the month of May. The Tribal regulations will also include measures to ensure that the hunt is conducted in a manner which is at least as protective of public safety as the measures provided for in the Tribe's 2001 Gray Whale Management Plan (Makah Tribal Council 2001).<sup>3</sup> Further management measures to address public safety and possible impacts to other species may be developed based on the outcome of NOAA's National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) review of the Tribe's request.

#### **E. Other requirements.**

The Tribe's regulations will restrict the use of whale products to local consumption and ceremonial purposes in accordance with section 102(f) of the MMPA, 16 U.S.C. § 1372(f). No whale products will be sold or offered for sale, except that traditional handicrafts (including artwork) made from non-edible whale products may be sold or offered for sale within the United States. The Tribe requests a limited waiver from the MMPA's prohibition on the sale of marine mammal products for the purposes of selling such traditional handicrafts. The requested waiver would be similar to, but more restrictive than, the exemption for Alaska native handicrafts provided in Section 101(b)(2) of the MMPA, 16 U.S.C. § 1371(b)(2).

The Tribe's regulations will include a permit system which provides that no Tribal member may engage in whaling except under the control of a whaling captain who is in possession of a valid whaling permit issued by the Makah Tribal Council. Whaling permits issued by the Council must incorporate and require compliance with all of the requirements of the Tribe's regulations.

Tribal regulations will provide for a training and certification process for all members who

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<sup>3</sup> These measures authorized the discharge of firearms when whaling only when the shooter was within 30 feet of the target area of the whale and the shooter's field of view was clear of all persons, vessels and other objects that could result in injury or loss of human life. The measures also set minimum visibility standards for the hunt. (Makah Tribal Council 2001).

participate in whaling.

Tribal regulations will offer accommodations for a NOAA Fisheries observer during all hunts, including providing the designated observer from NOAA Fisheries with at least 24 hours notice of the issuance of any whaling permit unless the observer is already present on the Makah Reservation. The regulations will also allow NOAA Fisheries to collect specimen material from landed whales, including ovaries, ear plugs, baleen plates, stomach contents, and other tissue samples.

Tribal regulations will include provisions for Tribal monitoring of all hunts and annual reporting of all monitoring data to NOAA Fisheries. At a minimum, Tribal monitoring will include maintaining accurate records of the time, date, and location of all strikes; the body length, fluke width, and sex of all landed whales and any fetus found in a landed whale; and the time to death for all whales killed. As indicated previously, all landed whales will be photographed to allow comparison with the NMML photographic database compiled for the PCFA.

Tribal regulations will include provisions requiring Tribal enforcement of the regulations. The enforcement regulations shall include criminal sanctions, including fines and imprisonment, up to the limits imposed by the Indian Civil Rights Act.

## **II. Purpose of and Need for the Waiver Request.**

The purpose of the Tribe's application for a waiver of the take moratorium is to obtain authorization under the MMPA for a Treaty C&S harvest of up to 20 gray whales in any five-year period from the Eastern North Pacific (ENP) stock, with a maximum of five gray whales per year. As decided by the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals in *Anderson v. Evans*, 371 F.3d 475 (9th Cir. 2004), a waiver of the MMPA's take moratorium is necessary for the Tribe to exercise its express whaling rights under Article IV of the Treaty of Neah Bay. Approval of this request is needed to satisfy the United States government's obligations to the Tribe under the 1855 Treaty of Neah Bay and the federal trust responsibility, and to fulfill the Tribe's cultural and subsistence needs which are discussed below and in the attached need statement submitted to the IWC in 2002 (Appendix A; Renker 2002).

### **A. The Tribe's Cultural and Subsistence Needs.**

As discussed in further detail in Appendix A, the Tribe has at least a 1,500-year whaling tradition. Whaling was central to the Tribe's way of life, providing a primary means of subsistence as well as essential social and cultural functions.<sup>4</sup> Whaling was so important to the Tribe that it expressly reserved whaling rights in the 1855 Treaty of Neah Bay. Although Makah whaling declined in the decades after the Treaty due to forces beyond the Tribe's control, the Makah people have never forgot their whaling traditions. Over the past two decades, the Tribe has begun to restore its language, songs and dances and many other cultural traditions. The resumption of whaling in the late 1990s has brought the Tribe significant cultural and social benefits as well as a badly needed subsistence resource. Approval of this waiver application, which seeks a harvest of up to five gray whales per year from the ENP stock, would enable the Tribe to continue its cultural renaissance and provide significant nutritional resources to an economically deprived community.

#### **1. The Makah Tribe's Whaling Tradition.**

The relationship between the Makah people and whaling is of great antiquity. The Ozette archeological site on the northern Washington coast contains evidence of some 1,500 years of continuous whaling. Archeological and ethnohistorical data demonstrate that the Makah hunted gray whales as well as other whale species. The number of whales taken by Makah whalers varied from year to year. Based on historic documents, it is estimated that Makah whalers averaged about 5.5 whales per year between 1889 through 1892, a time when the gray whale population had already been substantially reduced by non-Indian commercial whaling. Whaling for gray whales occurred during both the fall and spring migrations, with some hunts occurring 30 or more miles from shore.

The Makah hunted whales from giant canoes, approximately 36 feet long and more than 5

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<sup>4</sup> The discussion in this section is taken from Renker (2002). Readers are directed to Appendix A for a list of references for this section.

feet wide, which were carved from a single cedar log. Other equipment included mussel-shell harpoons, sealskin floats, fathoms of line made from whale sinew and cedar, and a variety of knives. Whaling equipment and methods were constantly evolving. After contact with Euro-Americans, Makah whalers began to use metal harpoon heads at the ends of their traditional wood harpoons and accepted tows from steamers to and from the whaling grounds.

A whaling crew consisted of a chief, or “whaler,” and seven men. The whaler owned the canoe and the whaling equipment and acted as the sole harpooner. Other crew members included a steersman, a man responsible for managing the lines and buoys, numerous paddlers, and a man who had the unique responsibility of diving into the water and fastening the whale’s mouth shut after the whale was killed.

The whale was initially harpooned behind the front flipper. Once the first harpoon had been driven into the whale and the first set of floats attached, the whale was pursued and killed with a long wooden lance. The process of killing a whale could take up to three to four days. Once killed, the whaling crew had to tow the animal back to land, a process which could take another two days. Whales were butchered according to strict protocols, which identified the sequence of the butchering, the portions of the whale reserved for ceremonial use, and the portions to be distributed to the crew and other village inhabitants.

Positions on whaling crews were restricted to men who could withstand the rigors of intensive ritualized training, possessed the hereditary access to the position and its ritualized knowledge, or underwent a supernatural encounter which engendered the gift of whaling ability. All crew members undertook rigorous ceremonial and spiritual preparations prior to the hunt; the success of the hunt depended as much on the observance of rituals as the strength and skill of the whalers. The families of the whalers were also expected to observe rituals to ensure the safety and success of the hunters.

Whaling was the keystone of traditional Makah society. Makah society was mirrored in the structure of the whale hunt, including ceremonial preparation, the hunt itself, and the ultimate acts of butchering and distribution. Whalers, or headmen, were ranked at the top of the social pyramid. Whaling success translated into physical wealth and social prestige for the headman. Women married to whalers likewise dominated the top of the female status pyramid. Ceremonies to prepare whalers and their families for the hunt provided the Makah with a social framework that contributed to governmental, social, and spiritual stability.

In addition to its cultural and social benefits, whaling provided the Makah with an essential subsistence resource. Archeological studies show that as much as 85 percent of the Makah pre-contact diet could have been composed of whale meat, oil and other food products. Whale blubber and oil also provided an important source of trade goods. Whale products insured that the Makah enjoyed a high standard of living and a diversified economy.

## **2. The Treaty of Neah Bay.**

In the early 19th century, as non-Indian traders and explorers entered the waters of the

Northwest, the Makah experienced increasing demand for whale products. The Makah expanded their trade in whale oil and other whale products in response to this demand, selling whale oil to the Hudson's Bay Company and other trading outfits.

In early 1855, the Makah were approached by the United States government, through Washington Territorial Governor Isaac Stevens, for the purpose of negotiating a treaty of land cession. From the government's perspective, the purpose of the treaty was to gain title to the region's rich lands and resources in order to make way for non-Indian settlement. While the Makah were willing to sell most of their lands to the United States, the Tribe insisted on retaining its rights to harvest the bountiful marine resources upon which it depended for its existence. To gain Makah acceptance of the treaty, Governor Stevens repeatedly insisted that the government did not intend to stop the Makah from whaling, sealing and fishing, but in fact would help them to develop these pursuits.

Much of the official record of the treaty negotiations reflects this dialogue. At the outset of the discussions, Governor Stevens proposed to buy Makah lands and establish a small reservation at the site of present-day Neah Bay. The first Makah chief to speak, Klachote, responded that the treaty must also protect his "right to fish, and take whales and get food when he liked." The next chief, Keh-tchook, seconded this demand. Governor Stevens acceded to the Makahs' demand, replying that "so far from wishing to stop their fisheries, he wished to send them oil kettles, and fishing apparatus." Governor Stevens reassured the Makah:

I saw the Great Father a short time since and [he] sent me here to see you and give you his mind. The Whites are crowding in upon you and the Great Father wishes to give you your homes. He wants to buy your land and give you a fair price but leaving you enough to live on and raise your potatoes. He knows what whalers you are, how you go far to sea, to take whales. He will send you barrels in which to put your oil, kettles to try it out, lines and implements to fish with — . . . [T]his will be done if we sign it [the treaty]. If it is good I shall send it to the Great Father, and if he likes it he will send it back with his name. When it is agreed to it is a bargain.

Based on the government's assurances that their whaling rights would be protected, the Makah's agreed to sign the 1855 Treaty of Neah Bay, 12 Stat. 939 (Jan. 31, 1855) (Appendix B). The Treaty was ratified, without alterations, on March 8, 1859. From the Makah perspective, the critical clause of the treaty was Article IV, which provides:

The right of taking fish *and of whaling* or sealing at usual and accustomed grounds and stations is further secured to said Indians in common with all citizens of the United States. . . [emphasis added].

Governor Stevens' promise of government assistance with their whaling, sealing and fishing industries was also a significant inducement to the Makah because it allowed for further expansion of the Tribe's existing whaling and fishing enterprises. Significantly, of all of the many Stevens Treaties -- and of all treaties between the United States and Indian tribes -- the Treaty of

Neah Bay is the only one which expressly secures tribal whaling rights.

### **3. The Decline of Makah Whaling.**

Despite Governor Stevens' promises, the United States failed to provide support for Makah fishing, whaling and sealing. Government assistance emphasized agricultural implements rather than items that could have supported the active components of the Makah's maritime economy. Instead of whaling and fishing tools, the Makah received pitchforks, scythes, hoes and sickles. Since the Makah Reservation was unsuited to cultivation, the Makah converted the tines of the pitchforks into fish hooks, the scythes into blubber knives, and the sickles into arrowheads.

Federal Indian policy in the late 19th century was devoted to changing the Makah and other Indians from self-sufficient hunter-gatherers into farmers, dependent on the government for tools and instruction. Indian policy was also designed to assimilate Indian people through an education system that prohibited use of Indian languages or the exercise of cultural rituals. Despite the Treaty of Neah Bay's recognition of whaling as an important facet of Makah life, the United States government chose not to support the Tribe's well-developed practice.

Indoctrination in government-run boarding schools also worked against traditional subsistence whaling, as did epidemics and government bans on ceremonial activities. Potlaches and secret societies were prohibited, disrupting the Makah system of proprietary rights over dances, songs, and other ceremonies. At the same time that government policy was aimed at converting the Makah to agriculturalists, Pacific whale populations were declining as a result of increased commercial whaling by non-Indians. In 1854, Captain Charles Scammon discovered the Mexican breeding grounds of the gray whale. Gray whale cows and calves were slaughtered in the breeding lagoons bringing about the decimation of the Eastern North Pacific gray whale stock over the next few decades.

During this time, whale hunting remained the symbolic heart of Makah culture but continued to diminish in frequency as it became cost-prohibitive. As whale populations declined, the Makah shifted their resources to pursue more lucrative seal hunting. By the 1890s, Makah schooners were hunting fur seals along the Washington coast and as far north as the Bering Sea.

In short, boarding-school indoctrination and government acculturation policies, combined with a series of devastating epidemics, drastically changed the delicate and complex social dynamic which had supported the traditional Makah whale hunt. These factors, especially when juxtaposed with the severe decline in whale populations, served to discourage the Makah from making the substantial investments needed to pursue traditional whaling.

### **4. The Tribe's Present Cultural and Subsistence Need for Whaling.**

Despite the decline of whaling, the Makah Tribe's interest in retaining their whaling rights and traditions never dissipated. Families passed on whaling stories, traditions, and secrets. The Makah never stopped educating their children about their family whaling traditions. Public schools on the reservation have included whaling in their curricula since the 1960s, with

continuous efforts since 1981. Whaling designs and crests still decorate public buildings and private homes. The whaling displays in the Makah Tribe's museum have kept the tradition of whaling alive.

For the past three decades, the Makah have been engaged in a concerted effort to revive their cultural traditions. The Tribe believes that revival of these traditions is needed to combat the social disruption resulting from the rapid changes of the past century and a half. Teenage pregnancies, high school dropouts, substance abuse problems, and an increasing juvenile crime rate indicate that the Makah community is still in flux and that the enormous social disruption caused by epidemics, boarding schools, and federal acculturation policy is still not over. Entire social, cultural, subsistence, and ceremonial institutions were repressed, eradicated, or decimated; without substitution of structural equivalents.

To reverse these disturbing trends, the Makah have reinstated numerous song, dance and artistic traditions and operated a program to restore the Makah language to spoken proficiency on the reservation. The Makah Cultural and Research Center has been instrumental in the revival of many cultural traditions. Given the centrality of whaling to the Tribe's culture, a revival of subsistence whaling is necessary for the Makah to complete this spiritual renaissance and repair the damage done to the Tribe's social structure during the years of forced assimilation. A recent survey showed that this view is supported by a majority of Makah households.<sup>5</sup>

Continuation and expansion of subsistence whaling will also help address the socioeconomic deprivation experienced by many tribal members. The seasonal unemployment rate on the Makah Reservation is 51 percent, with almost 49 percent of Makah households living in poverty and 59 percent living in substandard housing. According to the 2000 census, median household income on the reservation is approximately \$24,000 compared with \$46,000 for Washington state as a whole.

Both historically and today, the Makah have addressed economic deprivation by relying on the sea for subsistence. Currently, 85 percent of Makah households have someone in their household who fishes and 63 percent of these households list fishing as the major occupation in their home. Even households without a fisherman derive food, money, or other goods from a fisherman who is a relative or a friend. Fish is a medium of exchange on the reservation and all Makah households participate in reciprocal networks that involve fish at some level of exchange.

A majority of Makah households use traditional Makah foods at least once a week. These include such unique traditional foods as fermented salmon eggs, smoked fish heads and backbones, halibut cheeks and gills, and dried fish. According to a recent analysis, the Makah's annual per capita consumption of fish is 126 pounds, some eight times higher than for the average American. While seafood comprises 55 percent of the Makah diet, it represents only 7 percent of the diet of the average American.

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<sup>5</sup> According to the 2000 census, there are 1356 Makahs living in 471 households on the Reservation. Another 1,117 Makahs live off the Reservation.

Information regarding the Tribe's successful whale hunt in 1999 illustrates the potential for wide-ranging cultural and subsistence benefits from whaling. Thirty-nine percent of households indicated that they participated in whaling-related ceremonial activities, 30 percent of households have cooked whale meat, and 81 percent of Tribal members reported having eaten whale products. An overwhelming number of community members were present when the first whale was landed at Neah Bay in 1999 and 80 percent attended the Tribal celebration of the first whale hunt. Most Makah surveyed felt that the restoration of whaling had improved social and cultural conditions on the Reservation. These data demonstrate that the Makah are fully capable of restoring subsistence whaling to a central place in their culture, economy, and way of life.

#### **B. The Tribe's Recent Efforts to Exercise Its Whaling Rights.**

Gray whales were first given international protection from commercial whaling in 1937. By 1993, NOAA determined that the Eastern North Pacific (ENP) stock of gray whales had recovered to near its estimated original population size. 58 Fed. Reg. 3121 (Jan. 7, 1993). NOAA removed the ENP stock from its list of endangered and threatened species on June 16, 1994. 59 Fed. Reg. 21,094.

Once NOAA determined that the protections of the Endangered Species Act were no longer necessary, the Tribe notified NOAA that it wished to reinstate a ceremonial and subsistence gray whale hunt. Although the Tribe had an express treaty right, the Tribe chose to move forward in cooperation with the United States government and seek an aboriginal subsistence whaling quota from the IWC. In 1996, NOAA agreed to seek IWC approval of a quota of five gray whales per year for the Tribe. The Tribe agreed in turn that if the IWC granted the quota, the Tribe would use the whales only for subsistence purposes and would cooperatively manage the hunt with the Federal government. The United States presented the Tribe's quota request to the IWC at its 1996 meeting but the IWC failed to approve the proposal.

In 1997, NOAA entered into a new agreement with the Makah Tribe. To address public concerns about so-called "resident" whales, the new agreement provided that whaling would occur only in the "open waters of the Pacific Ocean." NOAA also published an environmental assessment (EA) which concluded that the Makah whaling proposal would result in no significant environmental impacts.

At the 1997 IWC meeting, the Tribe's quota request was included as part of a joint United States-Russian proposal for a block quota of 620 whales over the five year period from 1998 through 2002. The United States and Russia explained to the IWC that 20 whales from this joint quota would be made available to the Makah Tribe subject to a cap of five whales per year. On October 23, 1997, the IWC approved the joint quota request by consensus. The IWC renewed the joint quota for another five years (2003-2007) at its 2002 meeting.

After the IWC approved the quota, the Makah Tribe adopted a gray whale management plan that included measures to ensure a humane hunt, such as requiring the use of a high-powered rifle, as well as training requirements, a permit system, and monitoring and enforcement

provisions. In 1998, NOAA published a domestic quota of five gray whales per year for the Makah Tribe. 63 Fed. Reg. 16,701 (Apr. 6, 1998). Tribal whalers began preparing for the hunt in 1998 but no hunting occurred until the spring of 1999. In May 1999, a Tribal whaling crew hunted on four occasions and struck one gray whale. Once struck, the whale was dispatched eight minutes later with a high-powered rifle. The whale was towed back to Neah Bay where ceremonies were held, the whale was butchered, and the meat and blubber were distributed and consumed throughout the community. No additional whale hunting occurred in 1999. Two crews hunted on at least seven different occasions during the spring of 2000 but no whales were struck or landed.

On June 9, 2000, a divided panel of the Ninth Circuit reversed an earlier district court decision and held that NOAA violated the National Environmental Policy Act by entering into an agreement with the Tribe committing the government to support the Tribe's whaling proposal before the government had completed an EA. *Metcalf v. Daley*, 214 F.3d 1135, 1145 & n.3 (9th Cir. 2000). The majority did not identify any specific deficiency in the government's environmental analysis. As a remedy, the Court ordered NOAA to "suspend implementation" of the cooperative agreement, and "prepare a new EA." *Id.* at 1146.

The Tribe suspended its hunt immediately after the Ninth Circuit's ruling. NOAA rescinded the cooperative agreement and began work on a new EA. In response to public comments, NOAA consulted with the Tribe and expressed concerns about the impact of the hunt on the Pacific Coast Feeding Aggregation (PCFA), a group of approximately 200 to 250 gray whales that forage in the summer along the Pacific coast rather than migrating to more northerly feeding grounds in the Bering Sea. Although NOAA found no scientific basis to treat the PCFA as a discrete stock of marine mammals, NOAA advised the Tribe that it intended to evaluate the impacts of the Tribe's hunt on the PCFA. The Tribe addressed these concerns by revising its Management Plan to limit the number of whales that could be struck outside of whale migration periods or in the Strait of Juan de Fuca to a maximum of five strikes during the years 2001 and 2002 combined (or 2.5 strikes per year) – the low end of the PBR limit for the PCFA calculated by NOAA in its 2001 EA (NMFS 2001). The Tribe also adopted additional measures in its revised Management Plan to address public concerns about the safety of the hunt (Makah Tribal Council 2001).

After the Tribe adopted its revised Management Plan, NOAA published a second EA which found that the Makah whale hunt, conducted in accordance with the revised Management Plan, would have no significant environmental impacts (NMFS 2001). After the publication of the second EA, NOAA and the Tribe negotiated a new cooperative agreement and on December 7, 2001, NOAA published a quota of five gray whales for the Makah Tribe for the year 2002. 66 Fed. Reg. 64,378 (Dec. 13, 2001).

The new EA and quota were challenged in *Anderson v. Evans*, 371 F.3d 475 (9th Cir. 2004). The United States District Court for the Western District of Washington upheld NOAA's issuance of the quota and the second EA. However, the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals reversed. The Ninth Circuit held that, notwithstanding the Tribe's whaling rights under the Treaty of Neah Bay, the Secretary of Commerce must waive the MMPA moratorium on taking marine mammals

and a issue a permit under the MMPA before NOAA can authorize a tribal harvest of gray whales for ceremonial and subsistence purposes. In addition, the court held that NOAA should have prepared an Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) before authorizing a Makah gray whale quota because there were questions over the local impacts of the hunt on the gray whales that feed off of the Washington coast. The Court emphasized that it was *not* holding that the Tribe's treaty right to take whales had been abrogated, but only that NOAA must follow the MMPA waiver and/or permit process before permitting the Tribe to exercise that right. This waiver application is intended to address the requirements imposed by the *Anderson* decision.

### III. Applicable Law.

#### A. Treaty of Neah Bay.

The Treaty of Neah Bay (Appendix B) is the only treaty between the United States and an Indian Tribe which expressly reserves the right to hunt marine mammals. Article IV of the Treaty of Neah Bay provides:

The right of taking fish *and of whaling* or sealing at usual and accustomed grounds and stations is further secured to said Indians in common with all citizens of the United States. . .

12 Stat. at 939 (emphasis added).

The Tribe's whaling and sealing rights under the Treaty of Neah Bay have not been abrogated by the MMPA. "Absent explicit statutory language, [the Supreme Court] has been extremely reluctant to find congressional abrogation of treaty rights." *Washington v. Washington Commercial Passenger Fishing Vessel Ass'n*, 443 U.S. 658, 690 (1979). In order to abrogate Indian treaty rights, Congress must make its intention to abrogate those rights "clear and plain." *United States v. Dion*, 476 U.S. 734, 738-39 (1986). Thus, where a statute does not expressly abrogate Indian treaty rights, "[w]hat is essential is *clear evidence* that Congress *actually considered* the conflict between its intended action on the one hand and Indian treaty rights on the other, and *chose* to resolve that conflict by abrogating the treaty." *Id.* at 740 (emphasis added); *see also Minnesota v. Mille Lacs Band*, 526 U.S. 172, 202 (1999).

There is no evidence that Congress was even aware of the Makah Tribe's unique treaty right to take marine mammals when it enacted the MMPA, much less that it *chose* to abrogate those rights. On the contrary, neither the MMPA nor its legislative history even mention Indian treaty rights until Congress amended the MMPA in 1994. Far from abrogating those rights, the 1994 Amendments expressly preserved them. Section 14 of the 1994 Amendments provides: "Nothing in this Act including any amendments to the Marine Mammal Protection Act of 1972 made by this Act alters or is intended to alter any treaty between the United States and one or more Indian Tribes." Pub. L. 103-238, § 14 (Apr. 30, 1994); *see* Historical and Statutory Notes to 16 U.S.C. § 1361. Congress' stated intent in enacting this disclaimer was to "reaffirm that the MMPA does not in any way diminish or abrogate protected Indian treaty fishing or hunting rights." S. Rep. No. 220, 103rd Cong., 2nd Sess, 1994 USCCAN 514, 534. The language and legislative history of the MMPA thus evince absolutely *no* Congressional intent to abrogate the Tribe's Treaty right to take marine mammals.

It has been argued that the MMPA abrogates Indian treaty rights because it provides an exemption only for Alaska Natives but not other native groups. This argument misses the mark because Alaska Natives have no *treaty* rights to take marine mammals. The enactment of a special provision granting Native Alaskans special hunting rights cannot by negative implication abrogate the rights of other native groups that were already guaranteed such rights by treaty. In

*United States v. Bresette*, 761 F. Supp. 658, 663 (D. Minn. 1991), it was held that a similar Alaska Native exception in the Migratory Bird Treaty Act (MBTA) did *not* abrogate Indian *treaty* rights.<sup>6</sup>

Under well-established case law, the Tribe's unabrogated rights to take marine mammals are subject to regulation only where "necessary for conservation" of a particular marine mammal stock or species. *Washington v. Washington Passenger Fishing Vessel Assn.*, 443 U.S. 658, 682 (1979) ("treaty fishermen immune from all regulation save that required for conservation"); *Puyallup Tribe v. Department of Game*, 391 U.S. 392, 401 n.14 (1968) (power of the State to impose time and area restrictions on treaty right fishing is "measured by whether regulations are 'necessary' for the conservation of fish"); *Tulee v. Washington*, 315 U.S. 681, 684-85 (1942) (State may regulate the exercise of treaty fishing rights only if regulations are "necessary for the conservation of fish"). Federal courts have applied the conservation necessity principle to both state and federal regulations. *Anderson*, 371 F.3d at 497, n.21; *see also Midwater Trawlers Cooperative v. Dept. of Commerce*, 282 F.3d 710, 718-19 (9th Cir. 2002) (United States must employ conservation necessity principle when setting tribal fishing allocations); *United States v. Williams*, 898 F.2d 727, 730 & n.4 (9th Cir. 1990) ("government [has] the burden of establishing the conservation necessity of state *and federal* wildlife laws against members of tribes with hunting and fishing treaty rights").

The "conservation necessity" principle is not weakened by the "in common with" language in the Treaty. The purpose of that language was to secure access for non-Indians to the Tribe's usual and accustomed grounds, not to provide a basis for restricting the Tribe's hunting and fishing rights. *United States v. Washington*, 384 F. Supp. 312, 357 (W.D. Wash. 1974) (nothing to indicate that Tribe was "told that its existing fishing activities or tribal control over them would in any way be restricted or impaired by the treaty"), *aff'd*, 520 F.2d 676 (9th Cir. 1975), *cert. denied*, 423 U.S. 1086 (1976).

In the Indian treaty rights context, the term "conservation" is defined restrictively to mean "those measures which are reasonable and necessary to the *perpetuation of a particular run or species.*" *Id.* at 342 (emphasis added). The *government* has the "burden of proof" in demonstrating a "conservation necessity" exists. *Id.* To carry its burden, the government must show that:

- a "specific statute or regulation is required to prevent demonstrable harm to the actual conservation of fish,"

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<sup>6</sup> The Bald Eagle Protection Act (BEPA) which was held to abrogate treaty rights in *United States v. Dion*, 476 U.S. 734, 740-43 (1986), is distinguishable from the MMPA. The BEPA contains a sweeping prohibition on the taking of eagles with a narrow exception allowing the Secretary of the Interior to issue permits allowing eagles to be taken "for the religious purposes of Indian tribes." *Dion*, 476 U.S. at 740, citing 16 U.S.C. § 668a. The legislative history of the BEPA clearly showed that Congress was aware of Indian on-reservation hunting of eagles, considered such hunting to be part of the problem calling for the legislation, and "expressly chose to set in place a regime in which the Secretary of the Interior had control over Indian hunting, rather than one in which Indian on-reservation hunting was unrestricted." *Dion*, 476 U.S. at 743. By contrast, the MMPA provides numerous exceptions to the moratorium on taking marine mammals and contains *no* provisions addressing Indian *treaty* harvests.

- “existing tribal regulation or enforcement is inadequate to prevent demonstrable harm to the actual conservation of fish,” and,
- “the conservation required cannot be achieved to the full extent necessary . . . by other less restrictive means or methods.”

*Id.* at 415. Since *United States v. Washington*, these standards have been accepted and applied as established law. See *Midwater Trawlers*, 282 F. 3d at 718-19; *Shoshone-Bannock Tribes v. Fish and Game Comm’n*, 42 F.3d 1278, 1283 (9th Cir. 1994); *Williams*, 898 F.2d at 730; *United States v. Oregon*, 718 F.2d 299, 304 (9th Cir. 1983); *United States v. Michigan*, 653 F.2d 277, 279 (6th Cir.), *cert. denied*, 454 U.S. 1124 (1981); *Lac Courte Oreilles Band v. Wisconsin*, 668 F. Supp. 1233, 1236, 1241 (W.D. Wis. 1987); *Mille Lacs Band v. Minnesota*, 952 F. Supp. 1362, 1380 (D. Minn.), *aff’d*, 124 F.3d 905 (8th Cir. 1997), *aff’d*, 526 U.S. 172 (1999).

In sum, the Treaty of Neah Bay has not been abrogated and provides the Makah Tribe with special whaling rights not shared by other United States citizens. NOAA may regulate the exercise of these rights only if it can demonstrate that its regulations are necessary for conservation. To satisfy the “conservation necessity” standard, federal regulations restricting the Tribe’s whaling rights may be promulgated only where necessary to preserve a particular species or stock of whales and, taking existing Tribal regulations into consideration, where they are the least restrictive means available to achieve this purpose.

## **B. Federal Trust Responsibility.**

Courts have long recognized that a “special relationship” exists between the United States and Indian tribes which provide the Constitutional basis for legislation, treaties, and Executive Orders that grant unique rights to Indian tribes. *Morton v. Mancari*, 417 U.S. 535, 551-53 (1974). This relationship imposes fiduciary duties upon the government to faithfully carry out treaty and other legal mandates enacted for the benefit of Indian tribes. *Seminole Nation v. United States*, 316 U.S. 286, 296-97 (1942) *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia*, 30 U.S. 1(5 Pet.) (1831); see also Chambers, *Judicial Enforcement of the Federal Trust Responsibility*, 27 Stan. L. Rev. 1213 (1975); Cohen, *Handbook of Federal Indian Law* 220-21 (1982 ed.). These fiduciary obligations are especially strict where they involve implementation of treaty provisions:

In carrying out its treaty obligations with the Indian tribes, the Government is something more than a mere contracting party. Under a humane and self-imposed policy which has found expression in many acts of Congress and numerous decisions of [the Supreme] Court, it has charged itself with moral obligations of the highest responsibility and trust.

*Seminole*, 316 U.S. at 296-97.

The scope of the Federal trust relationship is broad and applies to all federal agencies. *Pyramid Lake Paiute Tribe v. United States Navy*, 898 F.2d 1410, 1420 (9th Cir. 1990); *Nance v.*

*Environmental Protection Agency*, 645 F.2d 701, 711 (9th Cir.), *cert. denied*, 454 U.S. 1081 (1981). The United States government has an obligation to protect tribal property, including Indian hunting and fishing rights. *Lincoln v. Vigil*, 508 U.S. 182, 194 (1993) (“The law is ‘well established that the Government in its dealings with Indian tribal property acts in a fiduciary capacity.’”) (quoting *United States v. Cherokee Nation*, 480 U.S. 700, 707 (1987)); *Pyramid Lake*, 898 F.2d at 1420. Federal agencies have a duty to “represent the Tribe’s interests forcefully despite [their] other representative obligations.”<sup>7</sup> *White Mountain Apache Tribe v. Hodel*, 784 F.2d 921, 925 (9th Cir.) *cert. denied*, 479 U.S. 1006 (1986).

The requirements of the general trust responsibility are enhanced by the language and negotiating history of the Treaty of Neah Bay. Article IV of the Treaty of Neah Bay “secures” to the Tribe the right of whaling at usual and accustomed grounds and stations. In the treaty negotiations, the Tribe was “invited by the white negotiators to rely and in fact did rely on the good faith of the United States to protect that right.” *Fishing Vessel*, 443 U.S. at 667. The government’s “promise that the treaties would protect [the Tribe’s] source of food and commerce were crucial in obtaining the Indian’s assent.” *Id.* at 676. In short, NOAA has a special obligation to consider and protect the treaty whaling rights of the Makah Tribe when it considers the Tribe’s request for a waiver from the MMPA take moratorium.

### **C. International Convention on the Regulation of Whaling.**

The International Convention on the Regulation of Whaling (ICRW) was signed in 1946 to “provide for the proper conservation of whale stocks and thus make possible the orderly development of the whaling industry.” 62 Stat. 1716 (Dec. 2, 1946). The ICRW establishes the IWC, which is composed of one member from each signatory government, whose primary function is to adopt whaling regulations known as the “Schedule.” The Schedule and all amendments thereto are deemed to be part of the ICRW itself. Arts. I, III, V. Amendments to the Schedule may not allocate quotas to any group of whalers. Art. V, § 2.

The original Schedule prohibited the harvest of gray whales, “except when the meat and products of such whales are to be used exclusively for local consumption by the aborigines.” 62 Stat. at 1723. Since the late 1970s, aboriginal subsistence whaling has been subject to quotas and other regulations adopted by the IWC. Paragraph 13 of the Schedule sets strict guidelines for the setting of aboriginal subsistence whaling quotas. For stocks at or above a maximum sustained yield level (MSYL), aboriginal subsistence catches are permitted so long as total removals do not exceed 90 per cent of maximum sustained yield (MSY). For stocks below the MSYL but above a

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<sup>7</sup> These trust obligations have been implemented in Secretarial Order No. 3206, issued June 5, 1997 and signed by the Secretaries of Interior and Commerce, which directs NOAA to carry out its responsibilities under the Endangered Species Act in a manner that harmonizes the Federal trust responsibility to tribes, tribal sovereignty, and NOAA’s statutory missions, so as to avoid or minimize the potential for conflict and confrontation. Executive Order 13175, dated November 6, 2000, requires agency policy making to be guided by principles of respect for Indian treaty rights and responsibilities that arise from the unique legal relationship between the Federal Government and Indian tribal governments. On issues relating to treaty rights, the Executive Order directs each agency to explore and, where appropriate, use consensual mechanisms for developing regulations.

certain minimum level, aboriginal subsistence catches are permitted so long as they are set at levels which will allow whale stocks to move to the MSYL.<sup>8</sup>

In 2002, the IWC renewed the aboriginal subsistence gray whale quota for the Eastern North Pacific stock and authorized the taking of up to 620 gray whales between 2003 and 2007, with a maximum of 140 in any one year. By bilateral agreement between the United States and the Russian Federation, up to 20 whales may be taken by the Makah Tribe over the five year quota period, with a maximum of five whales in any one year. The IWC Schedule also prohibits the taking of a gray whale calf or a gray whale accompanied by a calf.

The United States has implemented the ICRW through the Whaling Convention Act (WCA). 16 U.S.C. §§ 916 *et seq.* Pursuant to the WCA, NOAA has adopted aboriginal subsistence whaling regulations which are set out at 50 C.F.R. Part 230. The regulations permit whaling captains designated by a Native American whaling organization which has been recognized by NOAA to engage in subsistence whaling in accordance with IWC quotas and regulations. 50 C.F.R. §§ 230.5, 230.6. NOAA has entered into three cooperative agreements with the Tribe (in 1996, 1997, and 2001) recognizing the Makah Tribal Council as a Native American whaling organization and permitting the Council to issue permits to whaling captains consistent with IWC quotas and regulations.

#### **D. MMPA.**

##### **1. Policies and Purposes of the Act.**

The MMPA was adopted in 1972 out of concern that “certain species and population stocks of marine mammals are, or may be, in danger of extinction or depletion as a result of man’s activities.” 16 U.S.C. § 1361(1). It is the goal of the MMPA that marine mammal “species and population stocks should not be permitted to diminish beyond the point at which they cease to be a significant functioning element in the ecosystem of which they are a part.” *Id.* § 1361(2). Consistent with this major objective, species and population stocks “should not be permitted to diminish below their optimum sustainable population.” *Id.* The MMPA defines the term “optimum sustainable population” to mean:

with respect to any population stock, the number of animals which will result in the maximum productivity of the population or the species, keeping in mind the carrying capacity of the habitat and health of the ecosystem of which they form a constituent element.

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<sup>8</sup> Paragraph 10(a) of the Schedule defines a “Sustained Management Stock” (SMS) as any “stock which is not more than 10 per cent of Maximum Sustainable Yield (hereinafter referred to as MSY) stock level below MSY stock level, and not more than 20 per cent above that level; MSY being determined on the basis of the number of whales.”

16 U.S.C. § 1362(9).

## 2. Waiver and Permit Requirements.

Section 101(a) of the MMPA imposes a moratorium on the taking of marine mammals, except under regulations and permits adopted by the Secretary of Commerce under the Act. 16 U.S.C. § 1371(a). However, the Secretary may waive the moratorium if he determines, “on the basis of the best scientific information available,” in consultation with the Marine Mammal Commission, and “having due regard for the distribution, abundance, breeding habits and times and lines of migratory movements” of the animals in question, that a waiver is “compatible” with the MMPA. *Id.* § 1371(a)(3)(A). To waive the moratorium, the Secretary must also “be assured that the taking of such marine mammals is in accord with sound principles of resource protection and conservation as provided in the purposes and policies” of the Act. *Id.* A waiver of the moratorium requires the promulgation of regulations and in some cases may also require the issuance of permits. *Id.*

The process for adopting regulations authorizing the taking of marine mammals is set out in Section 103 of the MMPA, 16 U.S.C. § 1373. Such regulations must be promulgated “on the basis of the best scientific evidence available” and in consultation with the Marine Mammal Commission. 16 U.S.C. § 1373(a). The regulations must “insure that such taking will not be to the disadvantage of those species and population stocks, and will be consistent with the purposes and policies” of the Act. *Id.* In prescribing such regulations, the Secretary must give full consideration to all relevant factors, including the effect of such regulations on existing and future levels of marine mammal species and population stocks; the government’s existing international treaty and agreement obligations; the marine ecosystem and related environmental considerations; the conservation, development and utilization of fishery resources; and the economic and technological feasibility of implementation. *Id.* § 1373(b).

MMPA take regulations may include restrictions on the number of animals which may be taken by permit in any calendar year; the age, size or sex of the animals which may be taken; the season or other time period within which animals may be taken; and the manner and locations in which animals may be taken. 16 U.S.C. § 1373(c). Any such regulations must be made “on the record after opportunity for an agency hearing on both the Secretary’s determination to waive the moratorium . . . and on such regulations.” *Id.* § 1373(d). In addition to other requirements imposed by law with respect to agency rulemaking, the Secretary must publish and make available to the public before or concurrent with the publication in the Federal Register of his intention to prescribe regulations a statement setting forth:

- (1) the estimated existing levels of the species and population stocks of the marine mammal concerned;
- (2) the expected impact of the proposed regulations on the optimum sustainable population of such species or population stock;
- (3) the evidence before the Secretary upon which he proposes to base such

regulations; and

- (4) any studies or recommendations made by or for the Secretary or the Marine Mammal Commission that relate to the establishment of such regulations.

*Id.* The process for issuing permits is set out in Section 104 of the MMPA, 16 U.S.C. § 1374. Any permit issued under Section 104 of MMPA must be consistent with the regulations promulgated under Section 103 and specify the number and kind of animals which are authorized to be taken, the location and manner in which they may be taken, the period during which the permit is valid, and any other terms and conditions deemed appropriate by the Secretary. *Id.* § 1374(b). To issue a permit, the Secretary must also determine that the proposed manner of taking will be humane.

### **3. The Potential Biological Removal (PBR) Approach to Achieving Optimum Sustainable Population Levels.**

In 1994, Congress amended the MMPA to incorporate the potential biological removal (PBR) approach to measuring effects of marine mammal takes on the optimum sustainable population (OSP) of stocks and populations. The need for the PBR approach was brought on by the decision in *Kokechik Fishermen's Ass'n v. Secretary of Commerce*, 839 F.2d 795 (D.C. Cir. 1988), which held that NOAA could not issue a permit for the incidental taking of one marine mammal species in a commercial fishery where the fishing operation also incidentally took other species and insufficient information existed to determine the population status of those species.

Following *Kokechik*, Congress amended the MMPA to establish a five-year interim exemption from the Act's prohibition on taking marine mammals incidental to most U.S. commercial fishery operations, while directing NOAA to use the five-year period to collect data on marine mammal stocks and the extent of commercial fishery interactions with those stocks, and to develop a proposed regime to govern interactions between commercial fishing operations and marine mammals after the exemption expired.

NOAA issued its proposed regime along with a legislative environmental impact statement in November 1992. As explained by the House Committee which reported out the 1994 Amendments to the MMPA:

The goal of the proposal – like the goal of the Act – was to have all marine mammal stocks reach their optimum sustainable population [OSP]. NMFS proposed that levels of incidental take quotas be determined based on the concept of “Potential Biological Removal” (PBR): the maximum number of animals, excluding natural mortalities, that may be removed from a population without affecting its ability to reach or maintain OSP.

H.R. Rep. No. 439, 103rd Cong., 2d Sess. (Mar. 21, 1994).

Congress enacted the PBR approach into law in the 1994 Amendments to the MMPA.

Pub. L. 103-238, 108 Stat. 544 (Apr. 30, 1994). The 1994 Amendments incorporate the following definition into Section 3 of the Act:

The term “potential biological removal level” means the maximum number of animals, not including natural mortalities, that may be removed from a marine mammal stock while allowing that stock to reach or maintain its optimum sustainable population. The potential biological removal level is the product of the following factors:

- (A) The minimum population estimate of the stock.
- (B) One-half the maximum theoretical or estimated net productivity rate of the stock at a small population size.
- (C) A recovery factor of between 0.1 and 1.0.

16 U.S.C. § 1362(20).

The 1994 Amendments also required NOAA to produce stock assessment reports (SARs) for each marine mammal stock which occurs in waters under the jurisdiction of the United States. These SARs must be based on the best scientific information available and describe for each stock, *inter alia*, its geographic range, including any seasonal or temporal variation in its range; an estimate of the stock’s minimum population size, its current and maximum net productivity rates and current population trend; an estimate of the annual human-caused mortality and serious injury of the stock by source; and an estimate of the potential biological removal level for the stock, describing the information used to calculate it, including the recovery factor. 16 U.S.C. § 1386(a). SARs must be revised at least once every three years.<sup>9</sup> *Id.* § 1386(c).

In accordance with the 1994 Amendments to the MMPA, NOAA currently evaluates all human-caused mortalities in relation to a stock’s PBR level. The PBR approach is NOAA’s established management strategy for achieving the primary goal of the MMPA, which is to prevent any marine mammal stock from being reduced below its OSP level.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Congress addressed the issue of takings incidental to commercial fisheries by requiring the development of incidental take plans designed to reduce incidental takes of stocks below the PBR level. *See* 16 U.S.C § 1387(f). Subsistence harvests of marine mammals by Alaska Natives were not affected by the PBR calculations. *Id.* § 1386(e).

<sup>10</sup> NOAA’s most recent stock assessment for the Eastern North Pacific stock of gray whales is for 2003 (Angliss and Lodge 2004). The stock assessment is available at: [http://www.nmfs.noaa.gov/prot\\_res/readingrm/MMSARS/sar2003akfinal.pdf](http://www.nmfs.noaa.gov/prot_res/readingrm/MMSARS/sar2003akfinal.pdf)

#### **IV. Life History and Population Status of the Eastern North Pacific Stock of Gray Whales.**

##### **A. General Life History and Distribution.**

Gray whales (*Eschrichtius robustus*) are baleen whales classified in the suborder Mysticeti and are the only species in the monotypic family Eschrichtiidae. The generic name, *Eschrichtius*, was given in recognition of Daniel Eschricht, a 19<sup>th</sup> century zoologist, and the specific name *robustus* is Latin for “oaken” or “strong.” Gray whale nomenclature is further reviewed in Rice and Wolman (1971) and the fossil record and evolution of gray whales is described in Barnes and McLeod (1984).

Gray whales historically existed in both the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans. The Atlantic population was extirpated by the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> Century (Mead and Mitchell 1984). Gray whales in the Pacific Ocean are divided into two distinct stocks: the Eastern North Pacific gray whale stock (sometimes referred to as the Chukchi-California stock), which is fully recovered from exploitation by commercial whaling and migrates from the Bering and Chukchi Seas to Baja Mexico (Swartz 1986); and the critically depleted Western North Pacific stock (also referred to as the “Korean-Okhotsk” stock) which migrates along the east coast of Asia (Rice and Wolman 1971).

Gray whales are easily distinguished from other whales. Gray whales are gray in coloration and have patches of lice and barnacles, giving them a mottled appearance. They lack a dorsal fin. However, they have a dorsal hump which is followed by a series of knobs or “knuckles” which are distinctly visible as they arch. Adult gray whales are between 11 and 15 m in length, with females being larger than males.

##### **B. Migration.**

The Eastern North Pacific stock of gray whales feeds in the summer in the northern Bering and Chukchi Seas and winters off of Baja California, Mexico (Scammon 1874). Wintering gray whales are found within the lagoons and protected waters of the western Baja Peninsula and, to some extent, along the Mexican mainland and in the Gulf of California (Swartz et al. 2000). The northbound migration begins with newly pregnant females, adult males, anestrus females and immature whales of both sexes which leave the wintering grounds around mid- to late-February (Poole 1984) and begin to arrive in the Bering Sea from late-March through May (Braham 1984). Females with calves are the last to leave southern waters and depart between late-March and May (Swartz et al. 2000). Females with calves travel more slowly than whales without calves to accommodate nursing as well as the slower swimming speed of the calves (NMFS 2001). Cow-calf pairs enter the Bering Sea from May through June (Braham 1984).

The southbound migration also occurs in phases. Gray whales are moving out of the Bering Sea by late-November, beginning with near-term pregnant females and followed by oestrus females, mature males, and then juveniles of both sexes (Swartz et al. 2000). Gray whales

begin to arrive in the waters off Baja in late-December and reach highest densities by mid-February (Jones and Swartz 1984). The gray whale migration is approximately 10,000 km each way (Scammon 1874).

The timing of migration at certain points along the Pacific coast is more thoroughly presented in Pike (1962), Swartz (1986), Rugh et al. (1999), and Swartz et al. (2000). According to this data, southbound whales are present along the Washington coast beginning in early December, peaking around 5 January, and ending in the first week of February. Northbound whales are present from late-February into June (NMFS 2001).

On both the northbound and southbound migration, gray whales tend to follow the shoreline, although they also traverse larger expanses of open water. In Washington, northbound migrants averaged 11.9 km from shore (Green et al. 1995), while southbound migrants have been seen up to 47 km from shore (Shelden et al. 1999), with an average distance of 25.2 km from shore (Green et al. 1995). A hypothesis explaining why gray whales are farther offshore during the southbound migration in Washington is that gray whales may take a more direct route from central Vancouver Island to the mouth of the Columbia River, instead of taking the longer route following the coast line (Green et al. 1995). Also, gray whales may feed during the northward migration and therefore travel closer to the coast, while during the southbound migration they already have a positive energy balance when they depart from the Arctic feeding grounds.

### **C. Reproduction.**

Both male and female gray whales become sexually mature between 5 and 11 years of age, with an average of 8 years (Rice and Wolman 1971). Mature females breed in two year cycles, producing a calf every other year (Swartz 1986). Breeding occurs during the southward migration, with a mean conception date of 5 December (Rice and Wolman 1971). Females that have not successfully bred may enter a second estrus phase approximately 40 days later (Rice and Wolman 1971). Gestation lasts 418 days (Rice 1983) with a median birth date of 27 January (Rice et al. 1981). Calves are approximately 4.57 m long at birth (Rice 1983). The sex ratio of calves is 1:1 (Jones and Swartz 1984; Rice and Wolman 1971). Gray whale calves wean in August (Rice and Wolman 1971).

### **D. Feeding Behavior and Prey.**

Gray whales employ a variety of foraging methods including benthic suction, engulfing, and skimming and feed on a wide variety of prey (Nerini 1984). Nerini (1984) reviewed reports on gray whale stomach analyses and listed the presence of over 90 genera. Gray whales primarily feed on benthic invertebrates. In the Arctic, the most common prey item is benthic tube-dwelling amphipods which can be found at densities as high as 23,780 individuals per square meter (Nerini 1984). The benthic foraging behavior is disruptive to the benthos (Oliver and Slattery 1985) and may be considered a specialized type of niche construction (Odling-Smee et al. 1996). The gray whales' ability to use different foraging methods and their ability to prey upon a variety of species may account for their more rapid recovery from commercial whaling in comparison with other great whale species (Nerini 1984; Moore et al. 2001).

Gray whales do not feed significantly during their southbound migration (Perryman and Lynn 2002). Oliver et al. (1983) did not find compelling evidence of benthic feeding in the winter grounds. There are reports of mud plumes observed on the calving grounds (e.g., Norris et al. 1977), but for the most part, it appears that gray whales fast during the winter (Perryman and Lynn 2002) and can lose 11-29% of their weight between the south- and northbound migrations (Rice and Wolman 1971).

#### **E. Natural and Human-Related Mortality.**

Natural mortality of gray whales includes predation by killer whales (*Orcinus orca*) (Baldrige 1972; Goley and Straley 1994), disease, entrapment in ice (IWC 2003), starvation, and old age. NOAA Fisheries maintains a stranding database of marine mammals. The average number of gray whales reported as stranded between 1995 and 1998 was 38 per year (Angliss and Lodge 2004). In 1999 and 2000, the stranding rate increased to 273 and 355, respectively (Angliss and Lodge 2004). The actual cause of death for these stranded whales is largely unknown (IWC 2003). Since 2000, the stranding rate has returned to pre-1999 levels (Angliss and Lodge 2004).

Eastern North Pacific gray whales have been traditionally hunted by Eskimos and Chukotka Natives in the Arctic, and by several Tribes from the Aleutians to California (O'Leary 1984). Shore-based commercial whaling occurred in California and Baja California from about the mid-1800's to 1900 (Henderson 1984; Sayers 1984). Modern whaling from ocean-going vessels occurred from 1914 to 1946 and was pursued by the United States, Japan, Norway, and the Soviet Union (Reeves 1984). Gray whales were afforded some protection from commercial harvest by nations that were signatory to the 1937 International Agreement for the Regulation of Whaling and received more complete protection under the 1946 International Convention for the Regulation of Whaling (ICRW) (Reeves 1984). The ICRW banned all commercial harvest of gray whales while continuing to allow for aboriginal subsistence use. From 1959 until 1969, 316 gray whales were taken under scientific research permits issued by the United States Bureau of Commercial Fisheries (now called NOAA Fisheries) (Rice and Wolman 1971; Perryman and Lynn 2002).

Data on aboriginal subsistence gray whale harvest is available on the IWC website ([http://www.iwcoffice.org/\\_documents/table\\_aboriginal.htm](http://www.iwcoffice.org/_documents/table_aboriginal.htm)). The Soviet Union operated a large whale catcher ship on behalf of Chukotka Natives between 1967 and 1991, harvesting gray whales at an average rate of 165 gray whales per year from 1985 through 1991. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, aborigines in Chukotka resumed hunting using traditional methods from their own small craft, and averaged an annual harvest of 96 gray whales from 1994 through 2002. Aboriginal hunters in Alaska harvested one gray whale in 1985, two in 1986, one each in years 1988 and 1989, and two in 1995. The Makah Tribe harvested one gray whale in the spring of 1999. As indicated in Section III.C, in 2002, the IWC renewed the gray whale quota for the Eastern North Pacific stock and authorized the taking of up to 620 gray whales between 2003 and 2007, with a maximum of 140 in any one year. By bilateral agreement between the United States

and the Russian Federation, up to 20 whales may be taken by the Makah Tribe over the five year quota period, with a maximum of five whales in any one year (IWC 2002).

Aside from aboriginal harvest, other sources of human-related mortality and serious injury of gray whales include ship strikes (average of 1.2 gray whales per year) and incidental catch in commercial fisheries (average of 8.9 gray whales per year) (Angliss and Lodge 2004).

## **F. Abundance.**

The Eastern North Pacific gray whale stock is considered to be one of the best studied cetacean populations in the world (Swartz 1986) largely because of the stock's close proximity to shore throughout its range. Because the stock migrates close to shore and has a predictable migration window, it is feasible to conduct shore-based sighting surveys to estimate abundance. Gray whales have been surveyed during their southbound migration at or near Granite Canyon, California since 1967 (Buckland and Breiwick 2002; Angliss and Lodge 2004). The raw count data is then transformed into an abundance estimate after accounting for the following factors: a correction for missed whales; a correction for whales passing during periods when no observers are present; differential sightability by observers, pod size, distance offshore, and environmental conditions; errors in pod size estimation; covariance within the corrections due to variable sightability by pod size; and a correction for a difference between diurnal and nocturnal travel rates (Hobbs and Rugh 1999; Rugh et al. 2003).

The population estimate used in the most recent NOAA Stock Assessment Report (Angliss and Lodge 2004) for Eastern North Pacific gray whales is 26,635 (CV = 10.06%; 95% log normal confidence interval = 21,878 to 32,427), which was based on the 1997/98 southbound migrant observation season (Hobbs and Rugh 1999). The population had an intrinsic growth rate of 2.5% (SE = 0.3%) from 1967/68 to 1995/96 (Buckland and Breiwick 2002), despite the annual removal of up to 165 whales by, or on behalf of, Russian natives. Similar abundance surveys were also conducted in the 2000/2001 and 2001/2002 seasons which resulted in abundance estimates of 18,761 (CV = 10%; 95% log-normal confidence interval = 15,249 to 22,812) and 17,414 (CV = 10.06%; 95% log-normal confidence interval = 14,322 to 21,174), respectively (Rugh et al. 2002). Rugh et al. (2003) recalculated the three most recent abundance estimates due to a new computer program for matching sightings and the use of an alternative observation station in 1998 (due to a storm washing out an access road to the usual observation station). The revised estimates are: 27,958 in 1997/98 (CV = 10.21%; 95% log-normal confidence interval = 22,901 to 34,131), 18,246 in 2000/01 (CV = 9.36%; 95% log-normal confidence interval = 15,195 to 21,910), and 16,848 in 2001/02 (CV = 9.49%; 95% log-normal confidence interval = 13,995 to 20,283). The corrected 2001/02 estimate reported in Rugh et al. (2003) is the most reliable and current abundance estimate for this stock, and will be used in the remainder of this document rather than the 1997/98 abundance estimate reported in the most recent NOAA Stock Assessment Report (Angliss and Lodge 2004).

Trends in gray whale calf production have been monitored using three methods: surveying for calves from shore and from aircraft in central California during the northbound migration (Perryman et al. 2002; Perryman et al. 2004); counting calves from shore at Granite

Canyon, California, during the southbound migration (Shelden and Rugh 2001); and conducting aerial and vessel surveys for calves in the breeding lagoons of Baja California (Urban et al. 2003). Calf production is used in modeling population dynamics of gray whales (Wade and Perryman 2002). Gray whale calf production has also been correlated with the distribution of seasonal ice in the Arctic (Perryman et al. 2002).

Wade and Perryman (2002) calculated the carrying capacity (K) for this stock to be approximately 22,000 gray whales. Therefore, the population likely surpassed its carrying capacity in the late 1990's when it reached an estimated abundance of almost 28,000 whales (Rugh et al. 2003). The increased stranding rate observed in 1999 and 2000 (Le Boeuf et al. 2000; Angliss and Lodge 2004), as well as the low calf production observed over this time period (Le Boeuf et al. 2000; Perryman et al. 2002) were probably symptoms of the fact that the Eastern North Pacific stock of gray whales had exceeded its carrying capacity. The stranding rate has returned to normal levels (Angliss and Lodge 2004) as has calf production. The 2004 calf production estimate was greater than any other recorded (Perryman et al. 2004). As noted by Perryman et al. (2004), the ENP population might actually be higher than the most recent abundance estimates because some animals may not have migrated as far south as Granite Canyon in 2000/01 or 2001/02 (Rugh et al. 2003).

#### **G. Pacific Coast Feeding Aggregation.**

Most gray whales from the Eastern North Pacific stock migrate north of the Aleutian chain to feed during the summer and fall. However, some gray whales do not make a full migration and have been observed from Kodiak, Alaska to California during non-migratory periods (Calambokidis et al. 2003). Whales in this group arrive and depart from their wintering grounds concurrently with the overall population that migrates to the Arctic (Calambokidis et al. 2002a). Pike (1962) referred to this group as "summer residents." Because the term "summer resident" is a misnomer, NMFS (2001) referred to this group as the Pacific Coast Feeding Aggregation (PCFA). For the purposes of this request, the "PCFA" is defined as any whale found in the photo-identification database maintained by NOAA's National Marine Mammal Laboratory (NMML) which has been observed south of Alaska from June 1 through November 30 in any year.

Photo-identification studies of gray whales in the PCFA have been undertaken since 1970 (Hatler and Darling 1974) using unique markings on the sides of the gray whale which are revealed as the whales arch (Darling 1984). Darling (1984) hypothesized that gray whales seen along the coast of British Columbia were apart of a larger 'northwest coast' group that numbered at least 100 animals. Calambokidis et al. (2002a) reported that there were approximately 180 gray whales in the PCFA based on a mark-recapture abundance estimate for 1998. Calambokidis et al. (2002b), using a similar approach, reported an abundance estimate for the PCFA of 322 gray whales for 2001; and reported approximately 270 gray whales for 2002 (Calambokidis et al. 2003) (both papers only use whales seen after June 1 because whales that are seen prior to that date are typically never seen again). Calambokidis et al. (2004) used a dataset from 1998-2003 from California to Northern Vancouver Island and whales observed after June 1 and used an open population model approach to derive an abundance estimate of 200 gray whales (CV = 10.3%) for

2003, with a 2003 estimate of 176 whales (CV = 11.6%) based strictly on whales that were seen in multiple years.

In addition to the utility of photo-identification for mark-recapture population analyses and abundance estimates, the ability to identify individual gray whales through photo-identification also provides an opportunity to assess movement, tenure, and site fidelity to the Pacific coast south of Alaska. Those gray whales from the PCFA that have longer interannual sighting histories also tend to be seen in multiple survey regions throughout the PCFA (Calambokidis et al. 2004). As an example of the wide-ranging movements made by PCFA whales, a single whale observed in Kodiak, Alaska in 2002 had previously been seen along the west coast of Vancouver Island in 1999, as early as 1995 in the Cape Caution, BC area, and as early as 1992 in the Clayoquot Sound, BC survey area (Calambokidis et al. 2003). Another whale observed off southern Vancouver Island on 6 July 2003 was later seen in Kodiak on 9 August 2003; corresponding to a direct route movement of 1,104 nautical miles in 34 days (Calambokidis et al. 2004)

Calambokidis et al. (2004) reported that the length of time a whale was observed within a season proved to be a valuable tool in understanding the overall dynamics of the PCFA. A minimum residency tenure (MRT), defined as the time between first and last dates photographed within a year, was calculated to examine the likelihood that a particular whale would be seen the following year. Sixty-eight percent of the whales with a MRT of one week or less were seen during July-September, well outside the migration time period. Whales with longer MRTs in their first year observed were more likely to return in subsequent years. The authors suggested that the mechanism for whales with longer MRTs, and thus higher probability of returning the following year, is likely related to the foraging success that they encounter during the previous year.

Calambokidis et al. (2004) noted that while it makes logical sense when comparing interchange rates of gray whales between survey regions south of the Aleutian Island chain that immediately adjacent survey areas show stronger interchange rates in comparison with interchange rates between survey areas further to the north or south of the site, these results also suggest that individual gray whales regularly return to particular feeding areas. Gray whales in the PCFA were most likely to be re-sighted in adjacent survey area, thus indicating fidelity to an area that is smaller than the PCFA region as a whole, but larger than a single survey region (Calambokidis et al. 2004). The area to the north of the Makah U&A (i.e., the Southern Vancouver Island survey area) as well as the survey area to the south of the Makah U&A (i.e., the Oregon survey area) exhibit the highest degree of interchange. Thus, the authors recommended combining these regions as the appropriate geographic range for assessing local impacts and establishing subquotas for the PCFA (Calambokidis et al. 2004). The three survey regions of Oregon, Northern Washington and the Strait of Juan de Fuca (Makah U&A), and Southern Vancouver Island make up the combined survey area are referred to in this document as the ORSVI survey area.

No genetic differences have been detected between the PCFA and the overall migratory population (Steeves et al. 2001). Steeves et al. (2001) reported that there was a male bias in the

PCFA of 1.7 to 1 (males to females;  $n = 16$ ), although given the small sample size the bias was not considered to be statistically significant. Ramakrishnan et al. (2001) reported a statistically significant male bias in the PCFA of 1.8 to 1 (males to females;  $n = 45$ ). The potential explanations of the observed sex bias is that either females are feeding elsewhere in the PCFA and are not being sampled by researchers or that the PCFA is not a separate, closed population (i.e., a population that is experiencing only internal recruitment) (Ramakrishnan et al. 2001). Lang et al. (2004) proposed that the reason for the high genetic diversity observed in samples collected during the summer from Western North Pacific gray whales was the dispersal of males from the Eastern North Pacific gray whale stock into Western North Pacific gray whale feeding grounds. Using both simulations and empirical evidence, Ramakrishnan et al. (2001) reject the hypothesis that the PCFA is a maternal genetic isolate and that both the number of haplotypes and the diversity of haplotypes found in the PCFA is greater than other baleen whale populations of similar size. The level of haplotypic diversity in the PCFA (0.93; Ramakrishnan et al. 2001) is comparable to the haplotypic diversity seen in the Eastern North Pacific stock of gray whales ( $0.95 \pm 0.02$ ; LeDuc et al. 2002).

Given the best available information, NOAA has managed the PCFA as part of the Eastern North Pacific stock of gray whales (Swartz et al. 2000; Angliss and Lodge 2004). The IWC recognizes the existence of a feeding aggregation of gray whales along the Pacific Coast south of Alaska, but likewise continues to manage the Eastern North Pacific stock of gray whales as a single stock (IWC 2000). However, to avoid local depletion of a feeding aggregation in which individuals show site fidelity to the region and thereby address the MMPA policy that gray whales remain a “significant functioning element of the ecosystem,” 16 U.S.C. § 1361(2), the Tribe’s waiver request contains management measures, including time and area restrictions and annual bycatch level (ABL) subquotas, designed to minimize impacts to those whales that exhibit inter-annual site fidelity to the Pacific coast south of Alaska.

## V. Expected Impact Of The Requested Waiver.

### A. Effects on the Eastern North Pacific Stock of Gray Whales.

One of the primary goals of the MMPA is to maintain marine mammal populations at or above an optimum sustainable population (OSP). 16 U.S.C. § 1361(2) and (6). OSP is defined as “with respect to any population stock, the number of animals which will result in the maximum productivity of the population or the species, keeping in mind the carrying capacity of the habitat and the health of the ecosystem of which they form a constituent element.” 16 U.S.C. § 1362(9). NOAA has quantified OSP as a population size which ranges between a stock’s maximum net productivity level (MNPL) and its carrying capacity (K). *See* 50 C.F.R. § 216.3.

Wade and Perryman (2002) completed an assessment of the Eastern North Pacific gray whale population that incorporated the time series from 1967/68 to 2001/02. They used four different scenarios using the abundance estimates as well as: (1) using all the calf estimates, (2) using none of the calf estimates, (3) using all of the calf estimates except the 1980 and 1981 estimates, and (4) using all of the calf estimates plus an assumed value in 2002 (which was not available at the time of the analysis), to estimate the carrying capacity to be 22,610 (90% CI = 19,830 to 28,470), 21,740 (90% CI = 19,480 to 35,430), 22,110 (90% CI = 19,840 to 26,880), and 22,590 (90% CI = 20,020 to 30,280), respectively for each scenario. For the purposes of the Tribe’s waiver request, K will be expressed as a range between 21,740 and 22,610 animals (the lowest and highest values reported among the four scenarios).

Historically, MNPL has been expressed as a range of values (generally 50 to 70 percent of K) determined theoretically by estimating the stock size in relation to the pre-exploitation stock size, which would produce the maximum net increase in population. 42 Fed. Reg. 12,010 (Mar. 1, 1977). In 1977, the mid-point of this range, 60 percent of K, was used to determine whether dolphin stocks in the eastern tropical Pacific Ocean were depleted. 42 Fed. Reg. 64,548 (Dec. 27, 1977). In 1980, NOAA used the 60 percent value in the final rule to govern the taking of marine mammals as bycatch to commercial fishing operations. 45 Fed. Reg. 72,178 (Oct. 31, 1980). More recently, in its 2000 final rule to designate the Cook Inlet stock of beluga whales (*Delphinapterus leucas*) as depleted under the MMPA, NOAA used 60 percent of K as the value to calculate MNPL. 65 Fed. Reg. 34590 (May 31, 2000).

Using the upper and lower range of the values for carrying capacity in Wade and Perryman (2002) and assuming that  $MNPL = 0.6 * K$ , the MNPL for the Eastern North Pacific stock of gray whales is between 13,044 and 13,566. Hence the OSP for the Eastern North Pacific Stock is a range between 13,044 and 22,610 animals. The most recent abundance estimate (i.e., from the 2001/02 southbound migration season) for the Eastern North Pacific stock of gray whales is 16,848 (CV = 9.49%; 95% log-normal confidence interval = 13,995 to 20,283) (Rugh et al. 2003). Therefore, the Eastern North Pacific gray whale stock is currently above MNPL and is within OSP. Using the abundance estimates reported in Wade and Perryman (2002) and Rugh et al. (2003), the Eastern North Pacific stock of gray whales has been consistently at or above MNPL since the 1979/80 abundance estimate, and it is important to note that during this time

period this stock has undergone sustained harvest by, or on behalf of, aboriginal groups. During the late 1990s, the stock probably exceeded the high end of the OSP range.

The IWC has likewise concluded that the ENP stock of gray whales remains a Sustained Management Stock. As indicated in Section III.C. above, the IWC manages whale stocks in relation to their maximum sustained yield level (MSYL), a concept which is analagous to the MMPA concept of MNPL (the difference being that MSYL considers the age and sex structure of the harvest). In 2002, the IWC Scientific Committee conducted a comprehensive assessment of gray whale stocks and concluded that there was essentially zero probability that the Eastern North Pacific stock was below its MSYL (Wade and Perryman 2002; IWC 2003).

As explained in greater detail in Section III.D.3 above, the 1994 amendments to the MMPA adopted the potential biological removal (PBR) approach for evaluating human-caused mortality to marine mammal stocks. The PBR is defined in the Act as “the maximum number of animals, not including natural mortalities, that may be removed from a marine mammal stock while allowing that stock to reach or maintain its optimum sustainable population” 16 U.S.C. § 1362(20). The advantage of managing marine mammals using the PBR approach is that it provides a mechanism for achieving the MMPA goal of managing stocks to reach an OSP level where multi-year population trend data is not available (Wade 1998). A total level of human-caused mortality that is less than the PBR is considered sustainable and consistent with the MMPA’s goal of managing marine mammal stocks to achieve their OSP level.

Under 16 U.S.C. § 1362(2), the PBR for a particular marine mammals stock is calculated by taking the product of the following factors: the minimum population of the stock ( $N_{\min}$ ); one-half the maximum theoretical or estimated net productivity rate of the stock at a small population size ( $R_{\max}$ ); and a recovery factor ( $F_r$ ) between 0.1 and 1.0. This relationship is expressed in Equation 1 below:

$$PBR = N_{\min} * 0.5R_{\max} * F_r \quad (1)$$

The “minimum population estimate” refers to an “estimate of the number of animals in a stock that: (A) is based on the best available scientific information on abundance, incorporating the precision and variability associated with such information; and (B) provides reasonable assurance that the stock size is equal to or greater than the estimate” 16 U.S.C. § 1362(27). Wade and Angliss (1997) use the following equation (Equation 2) to calculate  $N_{\min}$  from an abundance estimate:

$$N_{\min} = N/\exp(0.842*[\ln(1+CV(N)^2)]^{1/2}) \quad (2)$$

Wade and Angliss (1997) also provide recommendations on choosing the recovery factor, ranging from 0.1 to 1.0, to be used in different scenarios. A recovery factor of 0.1 is to be used as the default recovery factor when a stock is listed as an endangered species under the Endangered Species Act (ESA). A recovery factor of 0.5 should be used for stocks of an unknown status or for stocks that are listed as threatened under the ESA (or as depleted under the MMPA). A

recovery factor greater than 0.5, up to and including a value of 1.0, should be used: (1) when the stock is known to be within OSP; (2) the stock has an unknown status, but is increasing; or (3) when a stock is not listed under the ESA and is undergoing removals by aboriginal hunters.

Using the most recent available and corrected abundance estimate for the Eastern North Pacific stock of gray whales from the 2001/02 southbound migration season of 16,848 (CV = 9.49%; 95% log-normal confidence interval = 13,995 to 20,283) (Rugh et al. 2003), and inserting it into Equation 2, the  $N_{\min}$  is calculated to be 15,557. While 0.04 is the default  $R_{\max}$  value for cetaceans when there is inadequate information on life history parameters (Wade and Angliss 1997), NOAA's 2003 Stock Assessment Report for gray whales uses an  $R_{\max}$  value of 0.047 for the Eastern Northern Pacific stock based on the extensive literature published on the stock's population dynamics (Angliss and Lodge 2004). This literature indicates that there is a 90% probability that the true value of  $R_{\max}$  is greater than 0.047, a value based on the lower 10<sup>th</sup> percentile of an estimate derived from an age- and sex-structured model (Wade 2002). The proper recovery factor to be used for this stock is 1.0, since the Eastern North Pacific stock of gray whales is not listed under the ESA and has been undergoing a steady or declining level of removals by aboriginal hunters (Wade and Angliss 1997; NMFS 2001; Angliss and Lodge 2004). Inserting the values for  $N_{\min}$  of 15,557, the  $R_{\max}$  of 0.047, and the  $F_r$  of 1.0 into Equation 1, the PBR for the Eastern North Pacific stock of gray whales is 366. This value is less than, but more current and accurate than, the PBR value of 575 whales reported in NOAA's 2003 Stock Assessment (Angliss and Lodge 2004) which was based on the uncorrected and outdated 1997/98 abundance estimate.

Angliss and Lodge (2004) estimate the annual average human-related mortality and serious injury of Eastern North Pacific gray whales is 107 animals. This annual average accounts for aboriginal harvest (97 gray whales; data from years 1996-2000), incidental bycatch in commercial fisheries (9 gray whales; data from 1990-2000), and ship strikes (1 gray whale; data from 1996-2000). This estimate of human-caused mortality is less than one-third of the calculated PBR for this stock (366 gray whales). Substituting the annual average Russian allocation of the IWC gray whale quota -- an average of 120 whales per year -- for the value of 97 (based on the conservative assumption that the average quota will be harvested each year), the estimated annual average human-related mortality and serious injury would increase to 130 gray whales (120 from aboriginal harvest; 9 from bycatch; 1 from ship strike). This hypothetical estimate of human-caused mortality is roughly one-third of the calculated PBR for this stock (366 whales).

Any additional human-caused mortality resulting from the Tribe's waiver request will be insignificant in relation to the PBR level for the Eastern North Pacific stock. The Tribe's waiver request includes a ceiling of seven strikes per year and 35 strikes over any five year period. Based on the worst case scenario that each whale that is struck but not landed will die (i.e., 0% chance of survival of struck and lost whales), the greatest estimated annual average human-related mortality would increase from 130 to 137 (127 mortalities resulting from harvest; 9 from bycatch; 1 from ship strike), which still provides a buffer of 229 gray whales between the total level of human-caused mortality and the PBR of 366 whales.

It is also important to note that the Scientific Committee of the IWC provided management advice in 2002 that a take of up to 463 whales per year (the lower of the 5<sup>th</sup> percentiles of  $Q_1$ ) is sustainable for at least the medium term (~30 years) (IWC 2003). This level of take is over 350 percent higher than the average annual joint US-Russian quota of 124 whales per year as well as a conservative estimate of all human-caused mortality in a given year.

#### **B. Effects on the Pacific Coast Feeding Aggregation.**

For the purposes of this request, the PCFA is defined as any Eastern North Pacific gray whale found in the photo-identification database maintained by NOAA's National Marine Mammal Laboratory (NMML) which has been observed south of Alaska from June 1 through November 30 in any year. Although the PCFA is not a separate stock under the MMPA, the Tribe's waiver request is designed to prevent any depletion of whales that exhibit inter-annual site fidelity to the ORSVI gray whale management area and thereby assure that gray whales remain a "significant functioning element" of the local ecosystem. See 16 U.S.C. § 1361(2). The Tribe's waiver request would accomplish this goal by restricting the hunting season to the migration period (December 1 through May 31) and by prohibiting any hunting in the Strait of Juan de Fuca where gray whales are known to feed. Because no hunting of gray whales will be permitted between June 1 and November 30, and the hunt will not occur in the inside waters of the Strait of Juan de Fuca, those whales exhibiting inter-annual site fidelity to the Pacific coast south of Alaska will not be subject to any intentional harvest under the Tribe's request.

By themselves, these time and area restrictions should reduce impacts to levels that will eliminate any significant risk of local depletion. While gray whales that are from the PCFA may be present at certain times between December 1 through May 31 within the Pacific Ocean area of the Makah U&A and therefore might be subject to incidental harvest under the Tribe's waiver request, the proportion of PCFA whales that will be potentially subject to harvest will be significantly diluted by the much larger migrating population. Assuming that whales from the PCFA are randomly intermixed with the overall stock during the entire migration period and throughout the migration corridor, by dividing the most current abundance estimate of the PCFA of 200 whales (for year 2003; Calambokidis et al. 2004) by the most current abundance estimate for the stock of 16,848 (for season 2001/02; Rugh et al. 2003), there is only a 1.19% chance that any gray whale taken in a Makah whale hunt will be part of the PCFA.

Previous survey data suggests that whales from the PCFA are not randomly intermixed with the overall ENP stock during the latter part of spring migration, and that during the month of May as many as 13 percent of gray whales seen off the north Washington coast may be part of the PCFA (Calambokidis et al. 2000). Assuming a "worst case" scenario, if the Tribe strikes seven whales each year and every one of these whales is struck during the month of May, as many as five whales from the PCFA could be killed over a five-year period.

Accordingly, to provide an added margin of safety, the Tribe will take the following steps to ensure that the incidental take of whales from the PCFA will not reduce the number of whales that exhibit site fidelity to the Pacific coast south of Alaska:

First, as soon as practicable after a successful hunt and in consultation with NMML scientists, the Tribe will photograph the left and right flanks of all harvested whales and compare these photos with the NMML photographic catalog to determine if a harvested whale was part of the PCFA. Calambokidis et al. (1994) provide an example of a stranded gray whale successfully matched to a photographic catalog composed of live individuals. The NMML catalog includes all gray whales that have been photographed in surveys conducted south of Alaska from June 1 through November 30 of any year.

Second, the Tribe will cease hunting in a calendar year if, based on this photographic analysis, suspension of the hunt is necessary to prevent the number of whales harvested from the PCFA catalog from exceeding an annual allowable bycatch level (ABL) for that year. The ABL for the PCFA will be calculated by applying the MMPA's potential biological removal (PBR) methodology to a conservative estimate of the number of gray whales seen in more than one year in the Oregon-Southern Vancouver Island (ORSVI) gray whale survey area and is mathematically defined in Equation 3 below:

$$ABL = N_{\min}(\text{ORSVI}) * 0.5R_{\max} * F_r \quad (3)$$

These additional measures are highly conservative because the incidental harvest of gray whales from the PCFA photographic catalog, which now includes 477 individual whales observed south of Alaska from June 1 through November 30 from 1998-2003 (Calambokidis et al. 2004), is limited by an ABL derived from a much smaller subset of whales – those whales seen in more than one year within the ORSVI gray whale survey area. In addition, application of an ABL on an annual basis provides a further check against local impacts, because the PBR methodology normally permits averaging of human-caused mortality over a three-year time period (Wade and Angliss 1997).

Calambokidis et al. (2004) used an open population model to incorporate several years of photo-identification work from the PCFA to estimate abundance from California to northern Vancouver Island (200 gray whales; CV = 0.103). The authors further divided the overall PCFA abundance estimate to only consider whales that have been seen in previous years to estimate the abundance of whales that may exhibit inter-annual site fidelity to the overall feeding range of the PCFA (176 gray whales; CV = 0.116). The authors also analyzed the abundance of whales that may exhibit inter-annual site fidelity to the ORSVI gray whale management area (150 gray whales; CV = 0.137). This smaller management area was selected based on similar interchange rates between the survey regions and it includes and incorporates all of the Makah U&A. The authors then provide an abundance estimate that only considers whales seen in multiple years within the ORSVI region (122 gray whales; CV = 0.168). As stated in Calambokidis et al. (2004) "...it is both logical and reasonable to use ORSVI as the region for abundance estimation in setting quotas for a harvest of whales from the [Makah U&A] region."

NMFS (2001) used a closed population model, a recovery factor of 0.5 and 1.0, and two abundance estimates (one included observations in California, and the other did not) for the PCFA to calculate a range of PBR estimates for the entire PCFA which ranged from 2.5 to 6.0 animals

per year. The reason cited in NMFS (2001) for using a reduced recovery factor when it calculated the lower range for its PBR estimate for the PCFA was to take a conservative approach of treating the feeding aggregation as a separate management unit. Since that time, there have been new research studies released including an open population analysis using survey data collected from multiple years by Calambokidis et al. (2004) and a more recent genetic analysis (Ramakrishnan et al. 2001). Because the PCFA is part of the same ENP stock, the recovery factor should be the same as for the overall ENP stock. Unlike the proposal reviewed in NMFS (2001), the Tribe's current request takes a more conservative approach regarding impacts to the PCFA. The Tribe will not be conducting hunts from June 1 through November 30, thereby eliminating intentional harvest of whales from the PCFA, and the Tribe proposes using an abundance estimate, converted to an  $N_{\min}$ , based on the number of returning whales to the ORSVI survey area to calculate an ABL to account for incidental harvest of PCFA whales during the migration period.

The applicable annual ABL will be calculated as follows. We use the 2003 abundance estimate that only considers whales seen in more than one year in the area from Oregon to southern Vancouver Island (122), the most conservative abundance estimate provided in Calambokidis et al. (2004), to calculate an  $N_{\min}$  of 106 (using Equation 2). An  $R_{\max}$  of 0.047 is used because the best available science shows that the PCFA is part of the Eastern North Pacific stock of gray whales (Swartz et al. 2000; Angliss and Lodge 2004). A recovery factor of 1.0 is used because: (1) the best available science shows that the PCFA is part of the Eastern North Pacific stock of gray whales (Swartz et al. 2000; Angliss and Lodge 2004), a recovered non-listed stock for which Angliss and Lodge (2004) use a recovery factor of 1.0; (2) the abundance estimates are calculated from an open population model which incorporate multiple years of survey effort; (3) the PCFA area south of Alaska for which the abundance estimate is based has been truncated to address local depletion around the Makah U&A (i.e., ORSVI); and (4) the abundance estimate is based only on whales seen in multiple years (i.e., whales potentially showing site fidelity to the region). Using Equation 3 and inserting an  $N_{\min}$  of 106, an  $R_{\max}$  of 0.047, and an  $F_r$  of 1.0, the resulting applicable annual ABL is calculated to be 2.49.

Under the Tribe's waiver request, the applicable ABL would be recalculated using the above methodology to reflect the most current survey data. The proposed calculation methodology is highly conservative. For comparison, if one used the 2003 abundance estimate for all of the whales seen in the PCFA (200 whales), which would be converted to an  $N_{\min}$  of 184 whales (using Equation 2), the ABL would be 4.32 (using Equation 3). Nevertheless, the Tribe proposes to apply the ABL for the smaller ORSVI gray whale survey area and any harvested gray whale will be compared with the NMML photographic catalog for the entire PCFA, not just those whales seen in ORSVI.

In short, given the remote chances of harvesting a single PCFA whale (much less the chance of harvesting two) in the Pacific Ocean during the migration time period and the Tribe's commitment to cease hunting for the remainder of the calendar year to prevent an ABL for that year from being exceeded, the Tribe's overall harvest activities will not result in local depletion or prevent the gray whale from remaining a significant functioning element of the Washington coast ecosystem.

## **C. Effects on individual whales.**

### **1. Lethal Takes.**

A maximum of seven whales will be struck in any year. The Tribe is committed to making every effort to land a whale once it has been struck. During the Makah whaling seasons in 1999 and 2000, there were no whales that were struck and lost and in 1999, the one whale that was struck was landed (i.e., 100% efficiency). Efficiency is defined as the number of landed whales divided by the number struck (for the purpose of this discussion, there can be multiple strikes on an individual whale; but no more than seven different whales will be struck in any one calendar year).

The Alaska Eskimo Whaling Commission uses a qualitative assessment of the likelihood of survival of a bowhead whale (*Balaena mysticetus*) that has been struck and lost. Hunters report the chance of survival of struck and lost whales as being: “excellent” or “lived;” “good,” “fair,” or “probably lived;” “poor” or “probably died;” “died;” or “unknown” (Philo et al. 1993). Accurate accountability of struck and lost whales and assigning survival rates are important in determining IWC quotas and in modeling whale population dynamics (Suydam et al. 1995).

The Tribe’s waiver request is based on the highly conservative assumption that all individual whales that are struck and lost will have a 0% chance of survival (in terms of considering the MMPA PBR approach). The Tribe will cease hunting activities when seven strikes occur in a calendar year, or when the take of photo-identified PCFA whales approaches the ABL, whichever comes first. Therefore, for the purposes of evaluating the Tribe’s request, no more than seven whales per year could be killed. The Tribe’s regulations will limit the number of struck and lost whales to no more than three in any calendar year. Under no circumstances will the Tribe allow a strike on a gray whale calf or a gray whale accompanied by a calf.

The hunt will be monitored by biologists from Makah Fisheries Management and from NOAA Fisheries and the Tribe anticipates a thorough, yet still qualitative, approach to assigning survival rates of struck and lost whales to the IWC and NOAA for the purposes of population modeling. If the Tribe were to have a struck and lost whale, the hunt would be evaluated by the Tribe, and the Tribe would implement any improvements as necessary.

In addition to working to minimize the likelihood of any struck and lost whales, the Tribe will take measures which are designed to provide the most humane hunt practicable consistent with the goal of also providing opportunity for Tribal members to engage in a traditional, culturally appropriate hunt. The MMPA defines “humane” in the context of taking a marine mammal as “that method of taking which involves the least possible degree of pain and suffering practicable to the mammal involved.” 16 U.S.C. § 1362(4).

The Tribe proposes to use a toggle-pointed harpoon with line and floats attached to originally secure the whale, followed by shot(s) fired at the central nervous system (CNS) from a high caliber firearm to quickly and efficiently dispatch the whale (Ingling 1997). Any of the .50BMG firearm/ammunition combinations are considered more than adequate to humanely

dispatch a gray whale (Ingling 1997). The .50BMG caliber firearm is capable of shooting an Arizona Ammunition solid 570 grain bullet at 3,200 feet/second and generating 13,000 foot-pounds of energy (Ingling 1999). This firearm/cartridge combination can penetrate 240 inches of water, and after using a correction factor, can penetrate the equivalent of 133 inches of flesh. The largest width of a gray whale reported in Perryman and Lynn (2002) was less than 2.8 m (or 110 inches), in which case the .50BMG could create a wound channel completely through the width of the largest gray whale. The flesh covering the portion of the skull housing the brain is under 10 inches thick and the flesh covering the portion of the upper spinal cord is about 18 inches thick on a thirty foot gray whale (Ingling 1997). Considering the overwhelming firepower of a .50BMG caliber firearm, and the size of gray whales, this method is more than adequate to humanely dispatch a gray whale. The gray whale harvested by the Makah Tribe in 1999 expired 8 minutes after the initial harpoon strike (NMFS 2001).

## **2. Non-Lethal Takes.**

In addition to lethal takes of gray whales, the Tribe's waiver request will result in "harassment" of gray whales as defined by the MMPA. The MMPA defines "harassment" to mean any act of pursuit, torment, or annoyance which— (i) has the potential to injure a marine mammal or marine mammal stock in the wild (referred to as Level A harassment); or (ii) has the potential to disturb a marine mammal or marine mammal stock in the wild by causing disruption of behavioral patterns, including, but not limited to, migration, breathing, nursing, breeding, feeding, or sheltering (referred to as Level B harassment). 16 U.S.C. § 1362(18).

Whales that are not killed in the hunt may be subject to "harassment" as a result of approaches and unsuccessful harpooning attempts that do not penetrate the whale's body and hence do not meet the definition of a "strike." Based on experience with whale hunts in 1999 and 2000, the Tribe estimates that there could be approximately 10 approaches and 4 unsuccessful harpoon attempts for every whale struck.

Approaches would be classified as Level B harassment and would be unlikely to result in any increased level of human-caused mortality to individual whales. Gray whales feed, migrate, breed, and calve close to shore, and therefore they encounter humans on vessels throughout their range. There is a major tourism industry that provides opportunities to watch gray whales on the winter breeding grounds in Mexico. Commercial and private whale watching occurs during the migration along the west coast of the United States and Canada. Gray whales encounter commercial fishing vessels in Bristol Bay, and small craft used by Chukotka natives and Alaska natives in the Arctic. Off the coast of Los Angeles, California during the whalewatching season, Rugh et al. (1999) reported that there can be eight to 12 boats following a single whale. The number of approaches incident to Makah whaling will be minor in comparison to these existing sources of harassment. Assuming an average pod size of approximately two animals during the migration period in the Pacific Northwest (Green et al. 1995), the number of whales subject to Level B harassment in a calendar year will not exceed 140.

Unsuccessful harpoon attempts would probably be classified as Level A harassment. However, because the harpoon would not penetrate the body of the whale on the attempt,

unsuccessful harpoon attempts would not result in any increase in human-caused mortality. NOAA (2001) concluded, based on their experience with biopsy darting research, that instances where a harpoon did not penetrate the whale would not likely have a significant adverse effect on whale behavior. Clapham and Mattila (1993) assessed behavior of humpback whales (*Megaptera novaeangliae*) in relation to both successful and unsuccessful biopsy attempts. Of the 427 missed biopsy attempts, 87.8% of the time the whales showed no reaction. Missed harpoon strikes would be analogous to missed biopsy attempts, where a projectile lands in the water nearby a whale, but does not cause contact. Clapham and Mattila (1993) reported that of the successfully biopsied whales (n = 565), 66.6% showed no detectable reaction or a low-level reaction (defined as a brief startle or a quick submergence, or both). Because a biopsy indicates a direct hit and therefore removal of a small piece of blubber and skin, for the purposes of assessing adverse effects, a biopsy would cause a more substantial effect than, for instance, a shaft of a harpoon bouncing off a whale. Accordingly, the Tribe does not believe that unsuccessful harpoon attempts (i.e., missed harpoon throws or the situation of a harpoon glancing off the animal) should be accounted for as a source of human-caused mortality for the purposes of applying the PBR methodology. In any event, no more than 28 gray whales will likely be subject to Level A harassment in any calendar year under this request.

#### **D. Factors to be Considered in Prescribing Regulations.**

This section provides an analysis of the five factors set out in Section 103(b) of the MMPA, 16 U.S.C. § 1373(b) which the Secretary must consider in prescribing regulations to implement the Tribe's waiver request.

##### **1. Existing and Future Levels of Species and Stocks.**

Section 103(b)(1) instructs the Secretary to consider "existing and future levels of marine mammal species and populations stocks." 16 U.S.C. § 1373(b)(1). The critically depleted Western North Pacific stock of gray whales which migrates along the east coast of Asia (Rice and Wolman 1971) will not be affected by this request. As shown above, the Eastern North Pacific stock of gray whales is currently within its OSP range. Even with the level of take proposed in this request, the stock is not likely to diminish below OSP within the foreseeable future. In 2002, the IWC's Scientific Committee estimated that a take of up to 463 whales per year would be sustainable over at least the medium term (~30 years) (IWC 2003). This level of take is substantially higher (by almost 350 percent) than the average annual joint US-Russian quota of 124 whales per year as well as a conservative estimate of all human-caused mortality in a given year. Any regulations promulgated to implement the Tribe's waiver request should provide for reduced strike limits or suspension of the hunt if necessary to prevent the abundance of the Eastern North Pacific stock of gray whales from falling below OSP.

##### **2. Existing International Treaty and Agreement Obligations of the United States.**

Section 103(b)(2) directs the Secretary to consider "existing international treaty and agreement obligations of the United States." 16 U.S.C. § 1373(b). The Tribe's request is

consistent with current IWC regulations which provide for an aboriginal subsistence quota of 620 gray whales between 2003 and 2007, with a maximum take of 140 gray whales in any one year. By bilateral agreement between the United States and the Russian Federation, up to 20 gray whales may be taken from this quota by the Makah Tribe over the five year period, with a maximum of five whales in any one year. The Tribe's request is also consistent with the IWC's prohibition against the taking of calves and whales accompanied by calves. The number of takes and strikes allowed under this request, as well as the time and manner of harvest, may be subject to reduction if necessary to meet the international treaty obligations of the United States under the International Convention for the Regulation of Whaling (ICRW).

### **3. The Marine Ecosystem and Related Environmental Considerations.**

Section 103(b)(3) requires the Secretary to consider "the marine ecosystem and related environmental considerations." 16 U.S.C. § 1373(b)(3). As discussed above, the Tribe's request is designed to maintain the Eastern North Pacific stock of gray whales at or above an OSP level and to prevent any depletion of the abundance of gray whales along the Pacific coast south of Alaska and within the ORSVI survey area. These measures will ensure that Eastern North Pacific gray whales remain a functioning part of the ecosystem on multiple spatial scales: throughout the migration corridor; the Pacific coast south of Alaska; as well as the local region surrounding the Makah U&A.

In the past, concerns have been raised about the impact of the hunt on seabirds and the safety of the high-powered rifle. The Tribe believes that these concerns are greatly mitigated by its current request which prohibits hunting from June 1 and November 30 and within the Strait of Juan de Fuca. To address further concerns about the impacts of whaling on nesting seabirds, the Tribe proposes a restriction barring any gray whale from being struck within 200 yards of Tatoosh Island or White Rock during the month of May. The Tribe also intends to implement safety measures in their Tribal regulations which are no less protective of public safety than those provided for in its 2001 gray whale management plan (Makah Tribal Council 2001).<sup>11</sup> Further measures to address impacts to other species and public safety may be developed and implemented based on the outcome of the NEPA process.

### **4. Conservation, Development, and Utilization of Fishery Resources.**

Section 103(b)(4) of the Act instructs the Secretary to consider "the conservation, development, and utilization of fishery resources." 16 U.S.C. § 1373(b)(4). No impacts to fisheries, either positive or negative, are expected to occur as a result of the Tribe's request.

### **5. Economic and Technological Feasibility of Implementation.**

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<sup>11</sup> These measures authorized the discharge of firearms when whaling only when the shooter was within 30 feet of the target area of the whale and the shooter's field of view was clear of all persons, vessels, and other objects that could result in injury or loss of human life. The measures also set minimum visibility standards for the hunt (Makah Tribal Council 2001).

Section 103(b)(5) of the Act instructs the Secretary to consider “the economic and technological feasibility of implementation.” 16 U.S.C. § 1373(b)(5). The Tribe believes that its request will be entirely feasible to implement. The hunting methods called for in its request are not intended to be intensive, but have proven to be effective within the context of the Tribe’s goal of providing opportunities for a traditional ceremonial and subsistence whale hunt.

The request should be quite feasible to implement from a management standpoint. The Tribe’s waiver request is no more complex than numerous Treaty fisheries that the Tribe has managed in cooperation with NOAA Fisheries and the Washington Department of Fish and Wildlife over the past three decades. With one exception, the proposed management regime is very similar to that which the Tribe successfully implemented in 1999 and 2000. The one major addition is the photographic monitoring of the harvest to ensure that the ABL for the PCFA is not exceeded in any calendar year. The Tribe will have a qualified marine mammal biologist on staff who will administer these provisions in consultation with NMML biologists. In the event that the Tribe is unable or unwilling to effectively implement and enforce Tribal regulations, these requirements will be subject to direct enforcement by NOAA Fisheries enforcement personnel.

## **VI. Conclusion.**

NOAA should approve the Tribe's request for a waiver and adopt regulations that permit the Tribe to exercise its treaty rights in the manner specified in this application. The proposed waiver is necessary for the United States government to fulfill its legal obligations to the Tribe under the Treaty of Neah Bay, will not disadvantage the Eastern North Pacific stock of gray whales, and will be consistent with the purposes and policies of the MMPA.

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## VIII. Appendices

### Appendix A:

RENKER, A. M. 2002. Whale hunting and the Makah Tribe: A Needs Statement. Report to Intl. Whal. Comm., IWC/54/AS2.

### Appendix B:

Treaty of Neah Bay. 1855.

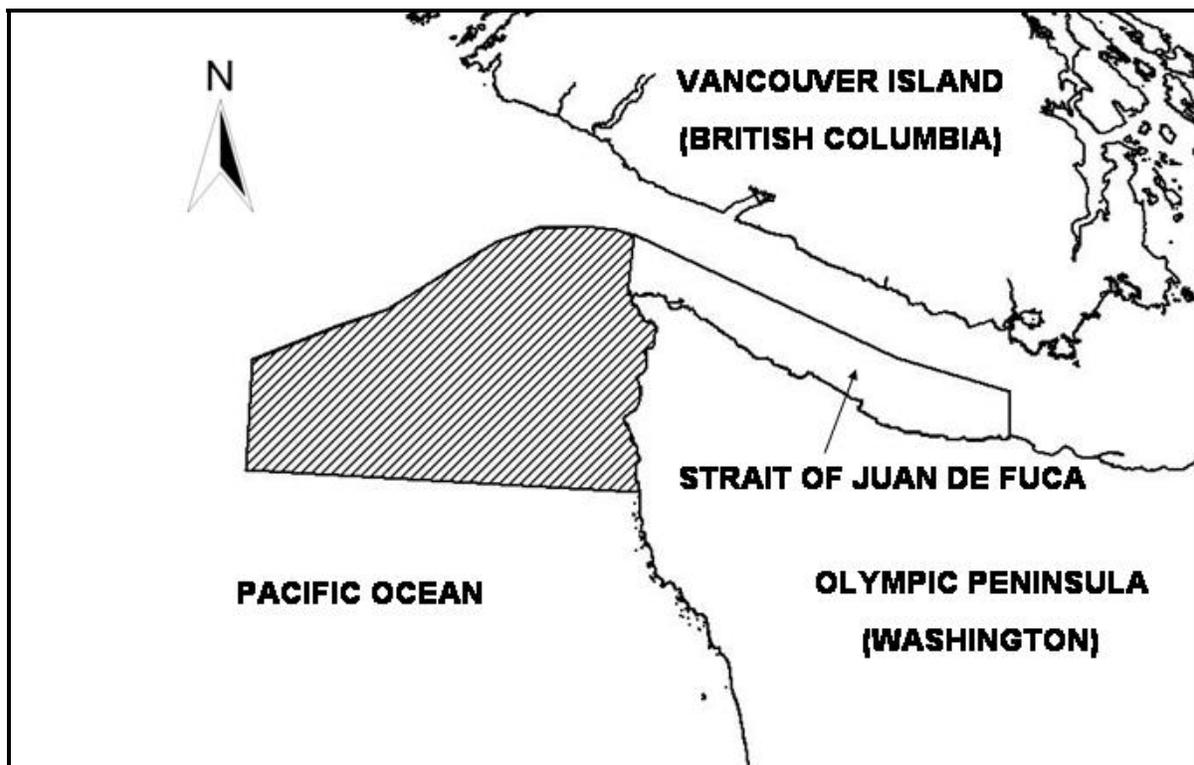


Figure 1. Map of Makah Usual and Accustomed Hunting and Fishing Area (U&A). Eastern North Pacific gray whale harvest by the Makah Tribe would occur in the Pacific Ocean denoted by filled area.

# Appendix A

## Whale Hunting and the Makah Tribe: A Needs Statement

Ann M. Renker, Ph.D.  
March 2002

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## Whale Hunting and the Makah Tribe

### I. INTRODUCTION

This document presents information pertinent to the continuation of the Makah subsistence whale hunt, and is presented in two parts: a cultural component and a nutritional component. The Needs Statement demonstrates the following points:

1) Whale hunting for subsistence purposes is an activity Makahs practiced for at least 1,500 years before the present day. Documented use of whale products for subsistence purposes extends another 750 years before this date, since Makahs used drift and stranded whales long before hunting technology developed. Continuation of the restored whale hunt will maintain important subsistence benefits reintroduced to the Makah community in 1999. This benefit increases in importance as the unemployment rate in Washington State increases and as salmon and other Pacific fishing stocks continue to vary in abundance. Increasing variance in international and domestic fishing quotas diminish the reliability of the marine subsistence component of the Makah Tribe, along with the environmental pressures exerted by oil spills, red tides, pollution, and other factors beyond the control of the Tribe. Gray whales are a reliable resource that can offset subsistence pressures from other sources.

2) For 1500 years, whale hunting and its associated components have had important ceremonial and social functions for the Makah community, in addition to the provision of subsistence benefits. The importance of this ceremonial and subsistence practice is demonstrated in the Treaty of Neah Bay, signed in 1855. Makah negotiators insisted that the right to hunt whale be included in the treaty; this right is reserved in Article IV, and is discussed in more depth later in this document.

Elders and anthropologists trace the decline of the social and physical health of the tribe to the elimination of the whale hunt and its associated ceremonial and social rigors. A community survey conducted in 2001 December, demonstrated that an overwhelming majority (93.9%) of the village believes that the resumption of the whale hunt has positively affected the Tribe, and 51.6% specifically cited moral and social changes as the most important benefit. Clearly, the Makah people believe that the restoration of the hunt has contributed to the physical and mental health of the reservation. Continuation of the hunt will maintain this new-found motivation and momentum, and allow the Makah community to redefine and refine ancestral information and values in light of modern times. The revitalization of the hunt has allowed Makahs an additional mechanism to instill the traditional values of the Tribe which help young and old to conquer the vicissitudes of modern life.

3) The Household Whaling Survey (Renker 2002) provides an important tool which provides empirical support for the emotional and psychological benefits mentioned previously. Data indicated that an overwhelming majority of Makah respondents support the Makah whale hunt, and that most reservation households now desire whale products to be a regular part of their diets. For example, 86.5% of survey respondents wanted whale meat in their households on a regular basis, and 72.4% of the survey respondents felt the same way about whale oil. (Survey results are discussed in detail in later sections of this document.) The results of this survey present a good picture of the mainstream opinion of the Makah people.

4) The Makah Tribe has been actively involved in the management and protection of its wealth of resources for millenia. For thousands of years, the Makahs achieved and maintained a functional balance with many land, air, and ocean species, especially the gray and humpback whales. This carefully constructed dynamic was upset during the years of unregulated whale hunting by others on the Pacific Coast. The restored Makah whale hunt has not affected current eastern Pacific gray whale stocks negatively, and is small in comparison to the total aboriginal subsistence harvest. In fact, current figures indicate that the gray whale population continues to maintain numbers that are at historic high levels.

5) The Makah people can now actively demonstrate the continuing existence of their 2,000 year old subsistence culture. The whale had always played an integral part in the subsistence practices of the Makah Tribe, save the brief seventy year period which commenced in the 1920s. While the decimation of the whale herds made it virtually impossible for Makahs to procure the food which traditionally carried the most extraordinary social, cultural, and nutritional benefits, the restored hunt provides modern Makahs with a rich source of traditional foods which are nutritionally superior to many non-indigenous provisions which are available to the community.

The gray whale population now exceeds early historic levels. The Makah subsistence and ceremonial need to take whales should continue to be recognized and respected. Since the Tribe has a conservation record of considerable time depth, a limited subsistence whale hunt will continue to be easily managed. More importantly, another annual quota of five whales will maintain the benefits secured for future generations of Makah people by Treaty negotiators.

The Makah request for five whales is again predicated on the fact that Tribal membership is now composed of the residents of the five traditional Makah villages which were consolidated during the early years of the Reservation. Since Treaty times, the Makah Tribe has always represented itself as a nation which began as five villages. This request honors this tradition, and asks for one whale per village.

In addition, a review of the ethnographic literature finds that the number five, whether an actual figure or an average, appears multiple times in discussions of early historic harvests (Jewitt 1815, Cavanaugh 1983, Huelsbeck 1988). Five whales per year did not create an undue population stress for a healthy gray whale stock in the years prior to 1830, and would not adversely affect the modern, healthy, gray whale population of the eastern Pacific (Environmental Assessment 2001).

### METHOD STATEMENT

Interpretation of Makah history, culture, and language is accomplished through the juxtaposition of a variety of sources. By evaluating evidence from Makah archaeological sites (like Ozette), in conjunct with oral histories, linguistic information, ethnographies, and early written records of traders, explorers and agency employees, one generates a cultural profile that simultaneously integrates and cross-references these distinct sources of data.

The primary source of archaeological data substantiating the existence of Makah pre-Treaty whale hunts and offshore fisheries is the Ozette Collection, the largest and most comprehensive collection of pre-contact Makah artifacts in the world. The Ozette village was one of five pre-contact Makah villages which were occupied throughout the year: **di.ya** or Neah Bay; **bi?id?a** or Biheda; **wa?ac'** or Why-atch; **c'u.yas** or Tsoo-yess; and **?use.?i=** or Ozette (Taylor 1974). Unlike the others, Ozette was partially buried by a catastrophic mudslide approximately 400 years ago. A massive archaeological excavation from 1970 - 1981 uncovered 50,000 artifacts that were remarkably well preserved; these artifacts tell the story of the Makah culture as it was prior to contact with non-Indians (Wessen 1982, Huelsbeck 1983).

When interpreting the anthropological literature, a standard procedure relating to the classification of the Makah culture as a member of the Nootkan cultural group was followed. The Makah culture is the only example of a Nootkan culture outside of Canada; all other Nootkan groups reside along the western and southwestern coast of Vancouver Island. Scholars recognize the close relationship between Makah and the other members of the Nootkan cultural category (Curtis 1911, Drucker 1951, Driver 1969, Arima 1990, Renker 1994). It is therefore standard practice to consider sources relating both to the sub-group which is the focus of inquiry (Makah), and nearby closely related sub-groups on Vancouver Island (**nu.ca.nu.=** bands).

For the nutritional component of the Needs Statement, the document utilized the methodology and definitions endorsed by the United Nations University and the International Union of Nutrition Science's Committee on Nutritional Anthropology.

The methodology for the Household Whaling Survey (Renker 2002) is discussed in Appendix 3.

## Definitions

**Pre-contact** refers to the chronological time period prior to 1788. **Historic** refers to the chronological time period from 1788-1933. **Contemporary** refers to the chronological time period from 1934 till today.

A **Makah elder** is an individual who is enrolled in the Makah Tribe, is over 75 years of age, and is a native speaker of the Makah language.

**Westcoast** refers to the generalized cultural group of Makah, Nitinaht, and Nootkan peoples. **nu.ca.nu.** refers only to Nitinaht and Nootkan peoples since these people are closely related subgroups who live on Vancouver Island.

**Subsistence** refers to the anthropological concept that a particular food product or supplement is directly acquired by the people who will use the item for local consumption and nutritional purposes.

## Linguistic and Other Conventions

Elements of the Makah language (morphemes, words and the like) are printed in bold type to enhance visibility. Because of the limitations affecting the preparation of this opinion, I use a variation of the Makah Alphabet. A key to the adaptation used in this document is included in Appendix 1.

Indented citations with quotation marks are taken from oral histories. Indented citations without quotation marks are from written sources.

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## II. WHALE HUNTING AND THE MAKAH TRIBE: THE CULTURAL COMPONENT

### Cultural Abstract

Anthropologically, the Makah culture is classified within the Nootkan sub-division of Northwest Coast cultures. The Makah people speak a language, q\*i.q\*i.diccaq, which is classified as a member of the Wakashan language family. The Makah Tribe is the only representative of the Nootkan cultural classification and the Wakashan language family in the United States (Renker and Gunther 1990; Renker 1994).

Classic descriptions are exemplified in Swan (1870), Curtis (1911), Waterman (1920), and Densmore (1939); some of the more recent publications include Renker (1994) and Renker and Gunther (1990), which span pre-contact through contemporary times, as well as Parker-Pascua (1991), which concentrates on Makah pre-contact life. Like all cultures termed Northwest Coast cultures by anthropologists, the classification is based upon factors first identified in these cultures as each existed in early historic times. Makah culture exhibits a number of characteristic Northwest Coast traits and trait complexes, including:

1. Emphasis on achieved wealth as measured in property and hereditary rights;
2. Complex patterns of social stratification;
3. A highly developed painting and wood carving style;
4. A material culture based on the abundance of the wood resource in the area, especially when related to the absence of other technologies, such as ceramics; and,
5. A subsistence pattern based on the utilization of available marine, riverine, subtidal and intertidal resources, as well as a predictable supply of anadromous fish.

The factors which further classify the Makah culture within the Nootkan sub-division provide a more detailed list of items which distinguish the Makah culture from other American Northwest Coast cultures. These factors include: a) the integration of rank and kinship as the basis for social interaction (Drucker 1951); b) the integration of land and sea spirits in a ceremonial complex which featured both inclusive and exclusive secret societies and events (Curtis 1911, Sapir 1939, Sapir and Swadesh 1955); c) the development of a highly regulated system of ceremonial and economic privileges, including the ownership of, and control over, tangible and intangible properties such as whaling grounds, fishing grounds, and other sections of ocean and river property (Curtis 1911, Densmore 1939, Drucker 1951); and d) the development of ocean-going technologies like fixed referent

navigation and the construction of sea-worthy canoes (Drucker 1951, Renker and Pascua 1989).

These last technologies are prominent components in the most dramatic pursuit of the Makah Tribe: whale hunting. Several Pacific coastal Tribes utilized dead whales which happened to drift onto the shore, or cultivated ritualists who actively used sympathetic magic to entice these drift animals. In contrast, the Makahs and some of their Vancouver Island relatives were famous for their active and aggressive hunt of these large sea mammals (Swan 1870, Waterman 1920, Densmore 1939).

### The Whaling Culture of the Makah Tribe

The relationship between Makah people and whales is one of great antiquity. Archaeological data from a recent excavation at the Makah village of Wa-atch indicate that whale bones were present some 3,850+ 75 years b.p. (before present) (Wessen 1994). Food use of drift and stranded whale predated hunting technology. Better known data from the Ozette site demonstrate some 1,500 years of continuous whale use. This practice continued through the period of contact with non-Indians, and persisted into this century. Recorded history provides a variety of dates for the last Makah whale hunt prior to 1999; it probably happened during the latter half of the 1920s (Laut 1928).

Archaeological and ethnohistorical data demonstrate that Makahs hunted a variety of species of whale which traveled through their territory, including the gray (Eschrichtius robustus), humpback (Megaptera novaeangliae), finback (Balaenoptera physalus), and right whales (Eubalaena glacialis). Huelsbeck (1988a:5) discusses the traits which make both gray whales and humpbacks attractive prey. In addition to swimming slowly and near the shore, both types of whales could appear during the summer. Humpbacks have also been known to migrate along the coast, but not to the extent that gray whales do. Non-Indian whale hunters characterize the gray as the more aggressive species of the two during a hunt (Hagelund 1987).

There is no doubt that Makah people hunted whale in pre-contact times, and that the hunt was an important subsistence activity. The Ozette site yielded whale hunting gear and over 3400 whale bones, including whale bones with embedded harpoon shell blades (Huelsbeck 1988a:1).

The archaeological record is supported by ethnographic sources like the Jewitt Narrative, one of the most interesting and important first person accounts generated during the European exploration of the Pacific Northwest Coast. John Jewitt was one of the surviving crew members of the ship Boston, which was ravaged and sunk by the nu.ca.nu = Chief, Maquinna, in Nootka Sound in 1803. Jewitt remained in Maquinna's service as a slave until his rescue in 1805, and recorded his experiences and observations in a diary first published in 1815.

In spite of his ethnocentrism and lack of knowledge of nu.ca.nu.= culture, Jewitt's observations remain a key document in the early historical record of the area. Jewitt describes the enormous amount of time Maquinna and his crew invested in the pursuit of offshore whales in 1804 and 1805. During these years, Maquinna had only one successful hunt.

Cavanaugh (1983) indicates that Maquinna's lack of whale hunting success during the 1804 and 1805 seasons at Nootka Sound was not indicative of the fate of other hunters. While Maquinna secured one whale during Jewitt's captivity, hunters procured an additional four whales. Simple addition indicates that the people of Nootka Sound had the food and product resource of five hunted whales at their disposal.

According to Huelsbeck, calculations produce a scenario based on abundance, rather than paucity. Using a very conservative estimate, the five whales caught at Nootka Sound "would have provided between 16.25 and 37.5 metric tons of blubber, and could have provided a similar amount of meat, depending on whether or not the California gray or the larger humpback whale was taken" (Huelsbeck 1988b:3). This huge quantity of meat and blubber could have provided between 32.5 and 150 kg. of edible whale product per person for a village with a population of 500 individuals (Huelsbeck 1988b:4).

Certainly the number of whales taken by all Makah crews varied from year to year. A minimum of 67 whales were "represented by the bones recovered from the late prehistoric level" at Ozette (Huelsbeck 1988a:7), constituting a huge quantity of food products and raw material. Based on historic documents, Huelsbeck estimates that whalers of the Yuquot band, a nu.ca.nu.= group, "would have averaged 5 whales per year" (1988:157). Densmore reports a much higher success rate for historic Makah whale hunters. "In old times the average catch for a whaler was one or two whales a year, but a man often caught four and occasionally five in a season" (1939:63). Wilcox (1895:20) provides a more conservative appraisal of the Makah whale hunt for the years 1889-1892. His figures indicate that the Makah Tribe averaged 5.5 whales per year (as cited in Huelsbeck 1988:152) at a time when the cetacean population had already been severely impacted by other, non-Makah whaling interests.

Makah whale hunting capitalized on the annual northerly migration of the gray whale, and the availability of the humpback in their waters. Archeological data corroborate Makah oral history in this regard. In the Ozette Collection, 50.51% of the whale bones identifiable by species were that of the gray, while another 46.51% came from the humpback (Huelsbeck 1988a:4). The remainder of the sample contained finback, right, sperm and killer whales. Huelsbeck interprets the archaeological and ethnohistorical data to indicate that the finback and right whales were hunted from time to time, while the sperm and killer whales "probably represent drift whales" (1988a:6), although some Makah families have oral traditions which involve hunting these species.

The impressive gray whale migration approximately occurs from March to May, and provided a predictable resource that could be harvested by eight man whaling crews which set forth in large cedar canoes. In one hunting strategy, lookouts stationed at strategic points could see a whale and alert the proper individuals, providing enough opportunity for canoes at the ready to launch and chase the whales. (This type of whale hunt, termed an offshore hunt in Hagelund (1987) and Webb (1988), would be adopted by the non-Indian whaling interests in the area centuries later.)

Whale hunts were not restricted to this northerly migration, however. Densmore (1939:49) reports that Makahs distinguished spring whale meat from winter whale meat:

The whales that "run in the spring" and were known as "spring whales" were said to have red meat because they ate clams and other shellfish they scooped off the rocks. The "winter whale" was considered the best and had a layer of white fat on the outside and red meat underneath.

Whatever the season, the whale hunt tested the training and stamina of the entire crew. A lucky crew might take a whale within a few miles of shore, while some hunts found Makah crews towed thirty or more miles out to sea by an injured whale. Whale hunters told Densmore that

A wounded whale usually towed the canoe by means of the harpoon rope, held by the men, its speed depending on the severity of its wound. Sometimes the whale went so fast that the end of the canoe went down in the waves. This towing of the canoe might continue for three or four days, the whalers waiting until the whale became sufficiently weary to be dispatched (1939:52).

These great sea mammal hunts (Swan 1870, Waterman 1920), as well as interceptive and deep water fisheries, would not have been possible without a highly developed system of fixed referent navigation, and a keen understanding of the prevailing winds and weather patterns in Makah marine territory. (One appreciates Makah navigational skills more thoroughly when one considers that Captain Cook failed to "discover" the opening of the Strait of Juan de Fuca because of the thick fog.)

An example of the Makah fixed referent system was provided by a Makah elder who has been fishing since the 1920s.

"There's a ridge on Vancouver Island, I think the main peak there is behind Carmanah Light, and that's Carmanah mountain. That's the highest one, and there's a ridge behind that as you venture to the west, one peak will show up behind that as you venture to the west, one peak will show up behind that high peak on the ridge. The first one is c'akwaqabas, the second one is ?a7qabas, and then you have a low kind of ridge, it drops down for quite a ways, and then another peak shows up, and that's in...oh...mostly used for sealing grounds, called The Spit. Now I have electronic navigational equipment, and I look upon those landmarks to determine just where we actually were when we were one peak out, two peaks out, or seven peaks out."

When navigating out of sight of land, Makah seafarers relied on the prevailing winds and currents, as well as the shape of the waves and behavior of seabirds. For example, prevailing winds in the early morning are mostly easterly, and their afternoon counterparts are mostly westerly. Makah canoes ventured out of the sight of land knowing that attention to wind, wave, and fauna would return the vessels to land.

Makah ocean voyagers also understood that these navigational techniques could lead them directly to prime off-shore fishing and whaling areas. In the words of an experienced Makah fisherman,

"Prevailing currents, can predict them. They run on schedule. They tell direction and duration...Once off shore, the current changes every six hours: north to south, then south to west, then west to north, then north to east. A massive current moves all the time. Currents are predictable and steady...able to predict spawning areas."

Great cedar canoes provided the means for Makah seafarers to travel these great distances offshore. Fisherman, sealers, and whale hunters each used a different type of canoe which varied in size. The whaling canoe was approximately 36 feet long (Pascua 1991) and five or more feet wide (Arima 1983:35). Carvers fashioned these vessels from a single cedar log, providing canoes that "deserve the very highest place for staunch seaworthiness, coupled with great manageableness (sic) and speed" (Waterman 1920:9).

A whaling crew consisted of a chief, or the whaler, and seven men. The whaler owned the canoe and the whaling equipment, and acted as the sole harpooner in the whaling canoe. He also owned

important ceremonial privileges acquired through his hereditary status and his ability to interact with the natural and the supernatural to assure a successful hunt.

Other crew members included a steersman, a man responsible for managing the lines and buoys, numerous paddlers, and a man who had a unique responsibility once the hunt was over and the whale was dead. This crew member, a diver, fastened the whale's mouth shut with a length of rope. In addition to sealing in gases which kept the whale afloat, fastening the mouth prevented water from filling the carcass and sinking it (Curtis 1911; Waterman 1920; Pascua 1991).

Whaling was restricted to the men who could physically and mentally withstand the rigors of intensive ritualized training, possessed the hereditary access to the position and its ritualized knowledge, and/or a underwent a supernatural encounter which engendered the gift of whaling ability (Waterman 1920:38-40, Gunther 1942, Drucker 1951:169-170).

All crew members underwent rigorous ceremonial and spiritual preparations prior to beginning a hunt; the success of the hunt depended as much on the observance of ritual as the strength and talent of the hunters (Sapir 1939:114).

From the white point of view, the matter of greatest concern would be the arrangement of the tackle within the boat, and the methods of approaching and striking the quarry. From the Indian standpoint, however, the really important matter is the proper observance before and during the hunt of the various ceremonial performances for procuring help from the spirits. (Waterman 1920:38)

Curtis (1911) provides the most detailed accounts of rituals whalers used to prepare themselves for the hunt.

Prayers and numerous songs form a part of every whaler's ritual. The secrets of the profession are handed down from father to son. As soon as the boy is old enough to comprehend such matters and to remember his father's words, he is permitted to accompany the whaling crew on short expeditions. Now also begins his instruction concerning the most propitious spots for ceremonial bathing-places in lakes and rivers considered the most dangerous. At the age of twelve he is taken at night and shown how to bathe and to rub his body with hemlock twigs so as to remove the human taint and render the body acceptable to the whale spirit which is being supplicated. Thereafter he bathes alone at intervals, while

his instruction in prayers and songs continues until the father deems it proper to retire in the young man's favor (16).

These ceremonial rigors extended to the wives and relatives of the whaling crew, the chief's wife in particular. "Therefore, the whaler and his wife observe a long and exacting course of purification, which includes sexual continence and morning and evening baths at frequent intervals from October until the end of the whaling season...about the end of June" (Curtis 1911:16). This woman was expected to observe a strict set of behaviors while the crew was hunting on the ocean, or else cause havoc with the crew at sea. For example, the whaler's wife was required to lie still and utterly motionless the entire time the crew was hunting on the ocean. Lack of attention to this and other proscribed behaviors could also result in the capture of a whale that was not fat or large enough, or cause the harpooned whale to run out to sea instead of in toward the shore (Gunther 1942).

Physical equipment was also important to the pursuit of the whale. Makah whaling equipment consisted of, but was not limited to: harpoons, sealskin floats, fathoms of line made from whale sinew, fathoms of line made from cedar, and a variety of knives (Curtis 1911:16). Detailed discussions of the equipment and its use are found in Swan (1870) and Waterman (1920). Makah archaeological excavations, most notably Ozette, produced assemblages of this equipment, some of which are now on display at the Makah Tribe's museum and cultural center.

There is an amazing continuity which surrounds Makah whale hunting gear. Pre-contact whale hunting equipment found at Ozette is essentially equivalent to whale hunting gear used by Makahs during the middle and late historic period. This amazing continuity does not exclude innovation. Makah whale hunters appreciated innovation and the opportunity to improve the hunt. By the turn of this century, Wilson Parker, the Makah Whaler of Curtis' photo fame, used a metal Lewis Toggle Hook Harpoon Head on the end of his traditional yew wood harpoon, for example. Another innovation helped to cut the tedious and tiring job of endless paddling: whaling canoes accepted tows from steamers to and from the whaling grounds when the technology became available.

The Makahs hunted the variety of whales which swam in their traditional ocean areas, but favored the predictable gray whale. Descriptions of the hunt itself are available in Swan (1870), Curtis (1911), Waterman (1920), Drucker (1951), Arima (1983) and Pascua (1991).

It would take a long time to get close to the whale while it was on the surface. Eventually, the crew brought the canoe alongside approaching on the left side and from the rear where the whale could not

see them. The right time to harpoon was when the whale was just submerging, with its flukes well under and swung towards the canoe so that the animal would swing away in reaction and not smash the canoe (Chief Jones, personal communication). The steersman watched to see the flukes were in the right position and gave the signal to the harpooner who immediately drove the harpoon in behind the fore flipper. At once the canoe was swung sharply to the left away from the whale, and the first float was thrown out by the first right-handed paddler behind the harpooner who quickly crouched in the bow to avoid the line paying out. The next paddler back held his paddle under the line to have it run out smoothly from the space before him. The dangerous moments lasted until all the line and floats were all out because someone could get caught in a loop or the canoe could be capsized or smashed in the first violent struggles of the whale before it sounded. Any disaster that happened was thought due to the incorrect observation of tabus or performance of rituals (Arima 1983:41).

Once the first harpoon had been driven into the whale and the first set of floats were secured, a long lance was used to "attack the whale, making it bleed profusely" (Densmore 1939:50). Makah whalers told Densmore that the process of killing a whale, from first harpoon to final dispatch, could take "three to four days" (1939:52).

The successful whaler and his crew now had to tow the enormous animal and navigate their precious whale back to land, a process which could take two days (Densmore 1939:52). Unfortunately, the long delay in landing the animal could allow putrefaction to begin, thus causing the loss of the meat. The blubber would not be adversely affected by this long journey back to the beach.

Ideally, the whaler wanted to land his prize on his own beach at his own village. Using the tide to help him, the whaler beached the carcass at high tide, "to get the bones of all his whales in one spot" (Arima 1983:43). If a whaler had to beach his catch on another whaler's beach, payments had to be made; these often consisted of portions of the whale.

As the whale was staked and readied to be butchered, the community gathered for this event. Strict protocol governed the butchering process, specifying which portions of the whale were to be cut in sequence. Some regulations identified the pieces of the whale which had to be decorated and ceremonially treated. Others specified which portions were distributed to crew members and other village inhabitants. "Then pieces were given to the

rest of the Tribe in order of rank, a procedure which was always carefully observed" (Arima 1983: 43). In effect, the distribution of the whale reinforced the infrastructure of Makah society each time the process occurred.

The highly stratified nature of the Makah social system was a mirror of the status and structure involved in the entire process of the whale hunt. From ceremonial preparation, to the hunt itself, to the ultimate acts of butchering and distribution, Makah whaling actualized the social organization of Makah society. The man who acted as the harpooner for a crew was the chief, or headman, of a particular social group, usually the residents of a single longhouse. He owned the longhouse, the whaling canoe and the equipment. This man also retained the largest burden of ceremonial preparation. These two factors, a large degree of physical wealth and a close relationship with the supernatural, translated into power for the whalers in everyday life.

Whalers, or headmen, were ranked at the top of the pyramid of social standing which existed within a single longhouse. Each resident was affiliated with the headman in some way; this affiliation became the basis for ranking each individual within a residence group. Whaling generated a base from which these relationships were constantly renewed and reinforced. A successful headman could offer prestige, protection and resources to the kin and non-kin residents of his longhouse. A headman who experienced consistent failure, ostensibly because of poor preparation and ineffective supernatural connections, could lose status within his household, and lose non-kin residents as a result. The loss of these residents often translated into a loss of physical wealth and social prestige for a headman.

The anthropological literature tends to concentrate on the role of high-status men in the whale hunt. Makah oral history and articles like Gunther (1942) demonstrate that women played an important social, ceremonial and practical role in the whale hunt complex. Men, for example, were not the only ones affected by relationship between the whale hunt and social status. The women who married whalers dominated the top of the female analog to the male status pyramid. These women, like their male counterparts, found their lives governed by the concept of primogeniture. While whalers tended to be the oldest son of the oldest son of a whaler, the whaler's wife tended to be the oldest daughter of an oldest daughter of a whale hunter. Matches between the oldest son of one whaler and the oldest daughter of another were the ultimate social goal of whaling families. These alliances united two powerful, wealthy families, and insured that consolidated social, ceremonial, and political power would be transmitted to another privileged generation; this procedure is common to historical and contemporary royal families.

Oral history and anthropological documents attest to the fact that the Makah whale hunt generated a series of criteria which governed social processes like status assignments, marriage

preferences, and ceremonial displays. The community-at-large played an important role in the success of the whale hunt, even though its role is far less visible in the written record. While anthropologists were most interested in the ceremonial, social and work activities of the privileged classes, it was the support labor that processed, preserved, and prepared the whale products, as well as conducted the trade activities. People of extraordinary talent in any of these activities were recognized and recompensed by those of higher social status. These people of talent, when combined with a high status chief, resulted in a longhouse with a reputation for great things.

Therefore, whale hunting provided more than a means of organizing social groups within a longhouse; the whale hunt also provided a mechanism by which longhouses in a single village related to each other. Accumulated ceremonial and economic wealth often provided a means to rank the whalers, or headman, vis a vis each other. This ranked order precipitated to the residents of each longhouse. In effect, whaling generated a social dynamic which ranked all Makah individuals within a residence group, a longhouse. The practice also generated a social dynamic which ranked all Makah individuals in relation to the inhabitants of all other longhouses. Whaling was the warp and the woof of Makah society.

In addition to providing the whalers with ceremonial privileges, and Makah society with a governing principle and a means to subsistence security, the Makah populace received other benefits from whale hunts. These benefits included, but were not limited to the following:

1. Whale products such as blubber and oil proved an important source of trade goods. The Makahs served as the middlemen in a huge trade network. Because of their geographical advantage, Makahs operated a critical position in a network which functioned north and south along the Pacific Coast, as well as from the Pacific Coast to the Puget Sound (Swan 1870, Renker and Gunther 1990, Renker 1994). Whale products insured that the Makah people enjoyed a high standard of living with diversified interests (Huelsbeck 1988).

2. Whale products provided a substantial food resource for the Makah people. Early archaeological studies indicate that as much as 84.6% of the Makah pre-contact diet could have been composed of whale meat, oil and other food products (Huelsbeck 1983:43). Recent collaborative efforts between Dr. Huelsbeck and marine biologists have resulted in an adjustment to this early statistic. The projected size of the gray whales found at the Ozette site was too conservative; the mammals could easily have provided 100% of the food for the Makah Tribe (Huelsbeck 1995: personal communication). Clearly, whale products fulfilled important subsistence functions. In addition to nutrition, 25% of bone tools found at Ozette were made from whale bone.

3. The skills needed to hunt whales on the open ocean easily

transferred to Makah offshore activities, including deep water and interceptive fisheries and seal hunting. These pursuits provided additional sources of trade items and food.

4. Ceremonies needed to prepare whalers and their respective families for the hunt provided the Makah culture with a social framework that contributed to governmental, social, and spiritual stability.

The four cultural points articulated here have corollaries in the modern world. In relation to trade, the Makah Tribe signed an agreement with the United States Government which restricted the sale of whale products which were generated from whales harvested under the IWC quota. This agreement does not restrict Makahs from utilizing the subsistence-based redistribution networks that already existed within the reservation. Data clearly indicate the presence of localized networks that aid in the redistribution of whale products, particularly to family members who were not adept at processing and preparing whale themselves (Renker 1988, Aradanas 2001, Renker 2002).

Whale products have become a significant food resource for modern Makahs, in spite of the fact that only one whale has so far been successfully hunted during the first IWC quota period. In fact, a drift whale which washed ashore in an isolated part of Makah territory, was butchered and distributed to over 100 Makah households during the summer of 2001. This event is significant because the increasing Makah demand for whale products motivated more Makahs to utilize the drift whale, and return the meat, blubber, bone, and other parts to Neah Bay by boat. Since the whale was located on a remote beach with no road access, a small fleet of boats ferried whale parts from the beach to the boats, then back to Makah households.

Makahs are utilizing whale food products such as meat, blubber, and blubber rendered into oil, as well as other whale parts not as well known to non-Makahs: eyes, brain, heart, cheeks (the Makah reference to the jaw muscles and the fleshy area under the eyes), and the like. Modern Makahs have quickly rediscovered their ancestral appetite for whale products: 72.4% of surveyed households would like whale oil on a regular basis, 86.5% would like whale meat on a regular basis, and 55.8% would like blubber on a regular basis. Numerous survey respondents indicate a preference for sea mammal products for both traditional and health reasons (Renker 2002).

The significance of the whale as a food resource is also apparent when examining the variety of preparation methods in use on the Makah reservation. One might expect a paucity of recipes and techniques for preparing whale meat and blubber, given a seventy year gap in actuality. Instead, respondents provide the following data. Of the 61.3% of the respondents who received whale meat from the 1999 whale, 41.5% made jerky, 43.9% ate roasts, 41.5% cooked stew, 35.4% grilled steaks, and 34.1% smoked meat. 19.5% of respondents also indicated a preparation methods

other than those offered by the survey. These innovative methods included stir frying, kippering, deep frying, barbecuing, and boiling. Two respondents made whale burgers, and one created whale sausage. Of the remaining respondents who did not receive whale meat for their personal consumption, 84.7% indicated that they would have liked meat from the 1999 whale.

Of the 75.3% of respondents who prepared blubber, 22.4% smoked it, 37.9% rendered the blubber into oil, 6.9% pickled it, 48.3% boiled it, and 65.5% ate the blubber raw. An additional 3.4% of respondents used the blubber for cosmetic purposes. Several interview respondents did indicate that rendering the blubber from the 1999 whale posed problems because of a low concentration of fat in the animal (Renker 2002).

Whale oil is a particularly important commodity for the Makah people, and its precious nature increases its value. The rich oil is used the way many people use olive oil. In the Makah example, many people flavor dried or plain food, such as fish, fish eggs, potatoes, or bread, by dipping these foods into the whale oil. This use is a traditional one, and is mentioned in the earliest ethnographies, such as Swan (1869) and Densmore (1939). In addition, whale oil may be used in particular ceremonial and ritual activities. In one example, when thrown onto a roaring fire in the middle of a longhouse, the whale oil causes the fire to blaze up in a most extraordinary manner; this effect looks the same to modern Makahs as it did to their ancestors, increasing the spiritual connection between past and present.

The Household Whaling Survey attests to the significance of the whale as a food resource because of the large number of respondents who want additional information about processing and preparation techniques for whale products. Of 163 respondents, 70.6% wanted more information about preparing whale meat, 52.1% wanted to know more about butchering whale, 60.1% wanted information about rendering oil, and 59.5% wanted to know about smoking meat.

Modern Makahs also have an interest in whale bone as a raw material. 75.5% of Makah households report that they would like to have access to whale bone on a regular basis, and some people were disappointed that the bones of the 1999 whale were not made available to the community for private use. Instead, the Makah Tribal Council made an arrangement with the Neah Bay High School which provided vocational opportunities for high school students. The entire skeleton of the 1999 whale was given to the high school so that students would learn to clean and prepare the bones for reassembly and eventual display at the Makah Cultural and Research Center. The National Marine Fisheries Service, The Burke Museum, and the Denver Museum of Natural History are all additional participants in this ongoing project (Monette: personal communication: 2002). To date, some 40 Makah high school students have learned valuable vocational skills through the skeletal assembly project. Faunal assembly skills are in

demand in museums and laboratories throughout the United States.

Most importantly, contemporary Makahs insist on the ceremonial rigor and discipline that was so important to their ancestors. 38.7% of respondents in the Household Whaling Survey report that they have actively participated in whaling ceremonial practices since the 1999 whale was harvested, and that 21.6% of their household members are also active ceremonial participants. These figures are meaningful, given the seventy year hiatus in whale hunting, as well as the secretive atmosphere which surrounds these activities. The serious attention given to the ceremonial preparation requirements also acts as an indicator of the positive impact that the whale hunt has had on the social and behavioral aspects of Makah life (Renker 2002).

For example, early ethnographies (Swan 1869, Densmore 1939) as well as recent depictions of pre-contact life (Parker-Pascua 1991) mention the practice followed by whalers' wives of "laying still" with their backs to the ocean while their husbands were hunting whale. By following this practice, wives would spiritually connect with the whale in the ocean, causing it to "be still" on the water, and to swim toward, rather than away, from shore. In the successful 1999 hunt, wives, partners, and mothers of the crew followed this ceremonial practice, and two of these women were brought onto Front Beach in the ritual manner when the whale was brought ashore. Men do practice ceremonial preparations like bathing, but as in pre-contact and historic times, their exact activities are kept highly secret.

### A Diachronic Account of Makah Whaling

The Ozette archaeological literature, especially the work of Huelsbeck (1983, 1988, 1988a, 1988b), attests to the considerable time depth and continuity of the Makah whale hunt. Prior to contact with non-Indians, the Makahs and their *nu.ca.nu* relatives hunted whale successfully for at least 1200 years without destroying the resource. Ceremonial, social and cultural proscriptions established a functional balance between the Makahs and the whale populations which swam in or through Makah waters.

Once non-Indian traders and explorers entered the waters of the Pacific Northwest, Makah whale hunters felt the effects of an increasing demand for whale products. In response, Makahs continued to ply their well established trade in whale oil and whale products with the visitors.

The regularity and size of the gray whale migration attracted whalers from the United States and Europe. Like the Makahs, other non-Indian whale hunters appreciated the opportunity to practice offshore whaling in the area, as opposed to the more expensive, more protracted, multi-year ocean voyages. "As the market for whale oil and dogfish oil increased in the 1840s and 1850s, the Makah brought oil for sale...Oil purchased from the Indians was a major export of the Hudson's Bay Company" (Lane

1955:17). By 1852, Makahs were trading or selling some 20,000 gallons of whale and fish oil (Lane 1955:18); this figure would rise to 30,000 gallons per annum within 20 years (Gibbs 1877:175).

In 1854, Capt. Charles M. Scammon discovered the breeding grounds of the gray whale in the lagoons of Baja California and Mexico (Hagelund 1987:42-43); this discovery now provided the two terminal points for the gray whale trek, and helped to increase the exploitation of the gray whale on the American Pacific coast.

As time passed and contact with non-Indians increased, other entities intruded into Makah life, and by extension, into the whale hunting complex. Governor Stevens, assigned by the United States' government to negotiate a Treaty with the Makah in 1855, knew of the commercial value of Makah whale hunting talents when the Treaty of Neah Bay was signed. Indeed, numerous Makahs made speeches during the Treaty negotiations asking that the right to whale be reserved to them when the Treaty was signed. These Makah negotiators, and Gov. Stevens, agreed that Article IV. of the Treaty of Neah Bay would specifically list whaling, along with sealing and taking fish, as a right guaranteed to the Makah Tribe. Article IV. of the Treaty of Neah Bay makes Makahs unique among all United States' native tribes: Makahs are the only tribe whose right to hunt whales is recognized in a treaty with the government of the United States.

While the Treaty of Neah Bay preserved the Makah right to hunt whales and seals, and to fish in usual and accustomed grounds, other federal interactions with the Makah did not seem to support this language in actuality. Assistance sent to the Makahs contained agricultural tools, rather than items which supported any of the active components of the Makahs' maritime lifestyle. Instead of tools and materials which would help to procure, process or preserve whale, seal or fish products, Makahs received pitchforks, scythes, hoes, and sickles. "James Swan reported in 1862 that the Makahs had converted the tines of pitchforks into fishhooks, scythes into blubber knives, and sickles into arrowheads" (Marr 1987:29). The Makah reaction to the agricultural materials is perfectly understandable given their splendid maritime talents and the fact that Makah land was obviously unsuited to cultivation (Whitner 1977, Renker and Gunther 1990).

Rather, the motives of the United States are suspect. While soil studies may have been unsophisticated in the mid-nineteenth century in the Pacific Northwest, it took little effort to realize that the soil, vegetation, and topography of the coastal area was unlike the rich agricultural belts in other parts of the country, such as the Plains and the Northeast. Indeed, the land on the Makah reservation was clearly different from that of the Washington territory east of the Cascade Mountains.

This bizarre situation developed because of prevailing ideas regarding federal Indian policy; it had been developed with a very different perspective. The United States government did not

want to encourage self-sufficiency, because self-sufficiency often encouraged hunters and gatherers to travel beyond the confines of the established reservations, and to maintain cultural practices considered savage and barbarous. The best way to force a sedentary existence on a group of hunters and gatherers was to make the group dependent upon agriculture, which required a fixed resource base. The singular nature of this policy was also inappropriate for the Makahs, who already had a fixed, plentiful marine resource base and no land suitable for agriculture.

A philosophical mandate accompanied this strategy. "One of the convictions of those associated with the administration of Indian affairs, both officially and informally, was that farming was associated with civilization" (Whitner 1977:21). In the Makah case, Indian policy was designed "to change the Makahs from self-sufficient food gatherers to farmers, dependent on the white people for tools and instruction" (Marr 1987:29). Indian policy was also designed to assimilate Makah people through an educational system that ignored Makah priorities and prohibited the use of the language, in addition to eradicating customs considered heathen, savage, and dangerous (Colson 1953, Gillis 1974, Whitner 1977, Renker and Gunther 1990).

Whitner (1977) reports that Indian Agency personnel were somewhat daunted by the task of civilizing the Makahs, and cites Henry A Webster, the first resident Indian agent, as writing in 1866, "The Makah are probably nearer the normal state of savage wilderness than any other tribe in the Territory, and seem particularly averse to acquiring the habits and customs of the whites" (in Whitner 1977:20). Little progress is recorded in Webster's Annual Report for 1867, though he is staunch in his resolve to eradicate traditional values and practices:

Their very natures must, however, be changed, and their habits forced, if necessary upon them, or they will retrograde into worse than savage supremacy of filth and disease of former days (ARCIA 1867).

In spite of the Treaty's recognition of whale hunting as an important facet of Makah life, the United States government chose not to support this well-developed practice. Lane (1974) discusses the frustration of several resident Indian agents who realized that federal efforts should be promoting marine activities, rather than agriculture. Some agents believed that assimilating Makahs to American values, customs, and practices would be easier if the government aided traditional marine pursuits.

Lane documents numerous requests for support of fishing activities from 1860-1881 from agents and superintendents. Regardless of the nature of these requests, Lane concludes that "the United States failed to provide the assistance repeatedly requested" (1974:20). Gillis (1974), Lane (1974), Whitner (1977), and Marr (1987) discuss the circumstances surrounding the federal government's promotion of a shift in Makah subsistence from a maritime base to an agricultural one.

In 1870, President Grant's annual message announced an Indian policy which sought to "Christianize and civilize the Indian" (Whitner 1977:18). At this same time, Pacific whale populations were diminishing, and the Makahs who continued to whale hunt had to make adjustments. Singh (1956) and Van Arsdell (1987) indicate that Makahs increased their seal hunting efforts to compensate for a less profitable whale hunt. "Beginning in 1886, Makah crews were hired on sloops and schooners to hunt fur seal off the Washington coast and Vancouver Island (Marr 1987:29). Makah fur seal hunters easily demonstrated their pelagic talents and Makahs quickly used financial profits and exceptional skill to their advantage. Colson (1953:159) reports that "several Makah sealers had their own schooners and were hiring White navigators in the 1890s".

These changes greatly affected traditional subsistence and trading practices. Swan (1884-1887, 2:396) and Waterman (1920:48) both express opinions that the success of Makah fur sealing had an impact on the whale hunt. "This work was so profitable that the Makah temporarily abandoned whale hunting" (Renker and Gunther 1990: 428). Other historians agree. "By 1891, sealing became so lucrative for the Makah and Westcoast native hunters that their traditional whaling expeditions virtually ceased" (Webb 1988:145). A friend of A.W. Smith lamented the decline of the whaling culture in a letter written on 29 November 1888, "Many of our old whalers at Neah Bay have died since we left" (AW Smith Papers).

While the Makah enjoyed the prosperity brought on by their pelagic success, the Pacific fur seal population was showing signs of stress by 1890. The population could not sustain itself in the face of an increasing number of sealers and the use of firearms. The Law of December 30, 1897, made fur sealing illegal; the agent for the Neah Bay agency, Samuel Morse, was directed to enforce this law on the Makah reservation (AW Smith Papers). Accordingly, Makahs would now be allowed to hunt fur seal only from canoes, using traditional gear and techniques. "Some returned to traditional whaling" (Renker and Gunther 1990:428), but the loss of cash from the commercial fur seal hunt created a huge vacuum on the reservation.

While whale hunts were "still the symbolic heart of the culture" (Marr 1987:25), they continued to diminish in frequency, and became less and less cost-effective. In addition, the introduction of American values worked against the traditional subsistence pursuit. For example, the American philosophy of

social equality made it difficult for Makahs to continue to staff and organize whaling canoes, and therefore households, according to the ancestral patterns. Whale hunting was no longer the sole avenue to a position of ceremonial and political importance as the headman of a large longhouse.

Epidemics, bans on ceremonial activities, and the federal schooling system also produced devastating effects on the Makah's ability to resume whale hunting after the fur sealing ban. The diseases that affected the Makah population had reduced the number of tribal members by some 75% by 1890 (Boyd 1990:145); much family-owned information was lost as a result. Makahs died without passing down important knowledge. Hancock describes the rapid and disastrous effects of the smallpox epidemic of 1853 in his journal. This epidemic was so severe, it literally wiped the village of bi?id?a from the face of the earth.

It was truly shocking to witness the ravages of this disease here at Neaah (sic) Bay... In a few weeks from the introduction of the disease, hundreds of natives became victims to it, the beach for a distance of eight miles was literally strewn with the dead bodies of these people, presenting a most disgusting spectacle (182).

The extreme number of fatalities caused by the epidemics also disrupted the line of authority in most families. Cultural protocol dictated that ownership of ceremonial and economic rights and privileges had to be transmitted publicly at a potlatch. In many cases, epidemics took the lives of people who had not transmitted control over ceremonial and economic privileges to another person. In many other cases, knowledge of critical components of rituals and ceremonies was abruptly lost. The complicated social structure and ritual life which had existed prior to contact was severely disrupted by the decimation of the Makah population.

The governmental ban on traditional and ceremonial activities added to the social and cultural disruption. Potlatches were illegal by the 1870s (Marr 1987:50), forcing Makahs to move off the reservation or to inaccessible places to hold these important public events. Daniel Dorchester, Superintendent of the Indian Service wrote the following about Agent McGlinn, stationed on the Makah Reservation in 1890:

This is one of the best officers I have seen in the Indian Service. He knows the Indians remarkably well, understands his business thoroughly, and sticks closely to it. He strictly enforces the regulations of the Department, is breaking up old Indian

customs, marries the Indians in due forms and records the marriage, and is very strict against intemperance and licentiousness.

The Indians are quite industrious in their way, though rather spasmodic in their labors. They have seasons for berrying, hunting and fishing, and are as dirty and squalid as all fish Indians are. They earn a great deal of money, but have a potlatch system, in which they give away a large amount of money and other articles in feasts... Agent McGlinn is breaking up this custom (ARCIA 1890).

Without the potlatch, the Makahs could not establish important proprietary rights regarding ownership of dances, songs, and other ceremonial and economic privileges. Public transmission of these and other important events for the oral history record could not take place, causing an additional level of social and cultural disruption.

Secret societies were also banned. These complex organizations carried important social functions prior to federal interference. Some secret societies were responsible for healing the sick, while others were important for maintaining social order and punishing transgressors (Ernst 1952). Regardless of the internal function that secret societies served for Makah society and culture, the federal government viewed these activities as savage and demoralizing (Whitner 1977, Marr 1987).

Dances and customs associated with secret societies and winter ceremonials fueled the federal opinion that boarding schools were the only way to eradicate ancestral practices which offended the American sense of morality and decorum. Agents realized that one way to assimilate Makahs and eradicate offensive rituals was to interrupt the transmission of ancestral information within what remained of Makah families. One way they achieved this objective was by separating Makah children from the influence of their family via the use of boarding school. Whitner (1977:28) quotes agent C.A. Huntington as writing, "If the purpose be to civilize these children of darkness, to take them from a barbarous life and put them into a civilized life, the more divorced from the house of their childhood the better".

The United States' policy of assimilation through education increased the socio-cultural confusion. In their attempts to "Kill the Indian but save the man", white educators forced Makah children to leave their families, abandon the Makah language, and adopt white ways of eating, dress, worship, and behavior. Many Makahs who underwent this cultural indoctrination began to feel that traditional activities and beliefs were barbaric, and worked to make their lives more like the non-Indian teachers and

administrators who promised modern education, health care and facilities.

In addition to these internal socio-cultural factors, other factors prevented whale hunting from returning to its former prominence. The gray and humpback whale populations were being seriously depleted by non-Makah hunting practices. The population of gray whales was reduced by non-Makah commercial hunters, making offshore hunting in canoes more difficult. Since the Makah style of offshore whaling relied on the ability of land-based lookouts to spot whales which swam close to shore, a lack of these whales effectively decreased the viability of the Makah whale hunt. Only three recorded whale hunts took place during 1905 (AW Smith Papers).

Men could no longer rest assured that the whales would be plentiful, and that canoes at the ready would be called to a hunt by a lookout. In addition, the intensive investment required by a whaler and his crew had not changed; men still had to invest enormous amounts of time in ritual preparation as well as in the care and maintenance of the whaling canoe and other associated gear. Without the plentiful supply of whales which had always graced Makah territory, this intensive investment became too difficult to justify.

So, men turned to a more productive venture that would still make use of the navigation and seafaring skills that both whale and seal hunters needed and used. Fishing had become a more cost effective venture than whaling prior to the turn of the last century.

The Makahs catch a great many fish, which they ship three times a week to Seattle, where they have a good market for them. They have caught and shipped as high as 10,000 pounds of halibut in one day (ARCIA 1889).

However, offshore whaling in motorized boats was still of interest to American, Canadian, European and Asian parties. As late as 1909, a Seattle based company was considering the establishment of a commercial whaling station at Neah Bay (Webb 1988:177). Plans for the Neah Bay station were eventually abandoned.

After more than a thousand years as whale hunters, Makahs found themselves in a social, ecological and political climate that no longer favored this pursuit. The combined effects of massive epidemics, boarding schools, and government acculturation policies had drastically changed the delicate and complex social dynamic which had supported the traditional Makah whale hunt. The astounding success, then eradication, of the Makah commercial fur seal hunt contributed to this disruption as well. When these two factors are juxtaposed with severely diminishing gray

and humpback populations, even subsistence whale hunts became a risky investment. The investment in the Makah whale hunt became even riskier as more Makahs shifted toward the very successful subsistence and commercial venture of ocean fishing.

In spite of these factors, the Makah desire to reinvigorate the whaling tradition never dissipated. Families passed on whaling stories, traditions, and secrets from generation to generation. Whaling designs and crests still decorated public buildings and private homes. Accounts of Makah whalers were read again and again. Whaling displays in the Makah Cultural and Research Center and other museums kept visual scenes in the heads and hearts of Makah people. By 1994, the gray whale population had bounded back to healthy levels; the people in Neah Bay eagerly awaited the opportunity to hunt gray whales again.

### THE QUOTA PERIOD

The Makah Tribe has been preparing for this revitalization for decades. Makah people never stopped educating their children about their respective familial whaling traditions. Makah children in the public school on the reservation experienced whaling curriculum every year as a part of the standard school curriculum, as well as through special cultural and linguistic initiatives sponsored by the school district, the Tribe, or any one of a number of funding sources. In fact, collaborative educational efforts through the Makah Cultural and Research Center, the Bilingual program of the Neah Bay School, and other private efforts, have provided whaling curriculum in the schools since the 1960s, with continuous efforts since 1981. While non-Makahs perceived a large temporal gap in the whaling history of the Tribe, tribal members see continuity. Many individuals were patiently waiting for the whaling traditions to be taken from storage and implemented in reality.

The Makah Tribe already has a history of successfully reviving cultural traditions. In the last two decades, the Makah Tribe has reinstated numerous song, dance, and artistic traditions, and operated a program to restore the Makah language to spoken proficiency on the reservation. These positive accomplishments are due to the enthusiasm, dedication, and knowledge of Makah people, and to the creation of the Makah Cultural and Research Center; this institution manages the cultural resources of the Makah Nation through research, documentation, exhibition and education.

The Makah Tribe created The Makah Cultural and Research Center (MCRC) in response to the massive archaeological collection generated by the Ozette excavation. While the original intent was to create a museum to house the artifacts from the pre-contact levels at Ozette, community opinions shaped the MCRC into a research and education complex that contains numerous exhibition galleries, a language restoration project, archival programs, and a series of educational and interpretive services (Renker and Arnold 1988).

The MCRC has been instrumental in the revival of many Makah traditions. The facility has acted to centralize and incorporate the resources of Tribal government, the Makah community, and other private and public sources to manage Makah cultural resources; many of the resources and traditions that were threatened prior to the creation of the MCRC are now healthy and growing. Consequently, the Makah Tribe had a successful record of bringing ancestral traditions from a dormant state into the active present. The Tribe was confident that the resumption of whaling would be a success, and was not daunted by critics who believed that this tradition could not be reinstated.

On May 17, 1999, the Makah Tribe celebrated a pivotal moment in its long history. At 6:54am, the Creator allowed a Makah crew to realize a collective dream that the Makah Nation had stored in its minds and hearts for seventy long years: they brought a whale home to the Tribe. This pivotal cultural event riveted the attention of the Makah community, and energized Makah Tribal members who believed in, and worked toward, the restoration of this significant cultural practice.

Survey data indicate that some 1200 Makahs watched the climactic moment of the successful hunt on live television. Hundreds of Makahs traveled home to the reservation as soon as they could, wanting to be a part of this significant event. Later that day, some 1400 Makahs welcomed the whale to Front Beach in Neah Bay, and paid honor to the great creature. Many Makahs ate raw blubber right on the spot, and then began the task of preparing the food and resources that the whale contributed to the Makah people.

Butchering the whale proved a huge task for the Makah people. Lack of familiarity with gray whale anatomy, tools which were not well adapted for gray whale meat and blubber, and logistical issues presented immediate obstacles for the butchering process which began on Front Beach. Some confusion also centered on whale parts other than meat and blubber. Most importantly, Makah were able to overcome these problems and continue with the job of processing the whale.

In a matter of hours, a flatbed truck had taken what was left of the whale and driven to the Makah Tribe's fish plant, a processing plant with 800 cubic feet of freezer space and a service entrance large enough to allow the flatbed to drive inside. Within twenty-four hours, Front Beach showed no sign of the momentous event which had happened the previous day. The Makah butchering crew, which included Makahs who had travelled to Alaska to learn processing techniques, had some assistance from a Native Alaskan. Many people worked to butcher the parts of the whale which had not been distributed to Tribal members on the night of 17 May. In addition to meat and blubber, Makahs interviewed during the Makah Household Survey reported requesting and receiving whale lice, sinew, baleen, brain, and heart. Other Makahs reported that they would have liked to receive liver.

cheeks, eyes, and intestines. Some of these items, like whale lice and baleen, are primarily used for ceremonial reasons, while others, can be used in tool production or as food. The bulk of the food products derived from the whale were reserved for the Tribe's celebratory feast, which was to be held on 22 May.

In private homes, people welcomed whale meat, blubber, and other whale parts. Between 17 May and 22 May, some households began to use recipes held in family confidence for decades, and others experimented with techniques used for other sea creatures, like seals and fish. Some 62.9% of Makah households received meat from this whale; 48.4% received blubber. A majority of households which did not receive meat or blubber from this whale reported that they would have welcomed whale products into their homes (Renker 2002).

On 22 May 1999, the Makah Tribe paid tribute to the whale which provided so much to the Tribe, and celebrated a new chapter in its cultural history. Thousands of people attended the parade held during the day, and the feast held in the high school gymnasium later that afternoon. In addition to the local Makahs who attended these events, many Makahs journeyed home to participate.

Unfortunately, this has been the only successful hunt during the quota period. Restrictions on the areas in which Makahs could hunt gray whales, as well as limits on when the hunt could take place hampered efforts to take additional whales as provided by the quota. Further constraints arose from a lawsuit which resulted from a complaint filed in 1997 October. This domestic legal issue halted all Makah whaling for the latter half of 2000 and all of 2001.

Lawsuits were not the only problem that faced the Makah Tribe during this quota period. Four Tribal members alleged that the majority of Makahs were not in favor of the resumption of whaling, and that the Makah Tribal Council had misrepresented the opinion of its people. Fueled by these rumors, anti-whaling advocates staged numerous demonstrations on and off the reservation, and garnered attention from the print and visual media. These efforts also limited the success of the Makah hunt by blocking canoes, scaring whales, and threatening Makah whalers. During the 1999 whaling season, many television spots and published reports contained inaccurate or partially correct information, and included quotes from the anti-whaling Makahs who insisted that the majority of Tribal members did not want the Tribe to hunt whales. These people also accused Makahs of wasting whale products, claiming that tribal members did not like, nor consume whale products. Detractors pointed to alleged wasted meat and blubber from a 1995 whale which was incidentally caught in a fishing net.

Despite these obstacles, more and more Makah men trained to be whale hunters. During the last hunting season prior to the 9 June 2000 court decision, several family-based whaling crews were

preparing to hunt, and two family-based crews were granted a total of three permits to go hunting by the local management organization. While no crew brought a whale back to the village, the social benefits of each crew's diligent preparations positively affected dozens of families.

### The Makah Reservation in 2002

The contemporary Makah Tribe lives on a 27,151 acre reservation which dominates the northwestern corner of the Olympic Peninsula of Washington State. Other reservation properties include two offshore islands, Tatoosh and Waadah, and a 719 acre parcel of land surrounding the Ozette village site. In addition to these land areas, Makah traditional cultural properties include water territories, like fishing banks, as well (Renker and Pascua 1989). At the time of the Treaty of Neah Bay, Makah traditional cultural properties extended to fishing banks and other ocean grounds as much as 100 miles offshore into the Pacific Ocean. To the north, Makah fishermen accessed rich fishing grounds which are now in Canadian waters, such as Swiftshore and 40-Mile Bank. To the east, Makahs considered the the Strait of Juan de Fuca to be at their disposal to Port Crescent. To the south, Makahs utilized the waters off of Cape Johnson, called xacic'u?a. "deep hole". (Swindell 1941, Renker and Pascua 1989).

In 1855, the Tribe signed the Treaty of Neah Bay, which established the boundaries of the reservation but did not recognize the multiple village system. Men negotiating for the Tribe discussed the Makah relationship with the ocean; the Tribe considered the ocean to be territory more important than land. c'aqa.wi7, one of these Makah chiefs, articulated this point. "I want the sea. That is my country" (Gibbs 1855). The Indian Claims Commission estimates that "seventy-five to ninety percent of the Tribe's subsistence in 1855 came from the sea rather than land based-mammals or vegetation" (Makah Indian Tribe v. United States, 23 Ind. Cl. Comm. 165, 174 (1970)).

Subsequent expansion of the reservation boundaries to include villages other than Neah Bay occurred in 1872 and 1873 via three Executive Orders issued by the United States' government. The village of Ozette was not added to the reservation. Rather, another Executive Order in 1893 created a separate Ozette Reservation to accommodate 64 Makahs who refused to move to Neah Bay (Renker 1994). Today, the Makah Tribal Council is the official governing body of both the Makah Reservation and the Ozette Reservation; the United States Congress ratified the Makah Constitution in 1937 after the Tribe voted to accept the terms of the Indian Reorganization Act in 1936 (Renker 1994).

The Makah Tribe calls itself q\*idicca?a.tx, "The People Who Live Near the Rocks and the Seagulls". The name Makah is an English version of the term used by a neighboring Tribe for the Makahs. United States' year 2000 census data indicate that there are 1,356 Makahs living in 471 households on the current

reservation. Another 1,117 Makahs live away from the reservation (Makah Planning Office 2002). Most reservation residents live in the reservation's single centralized village, Neah Bay, location of the public school, the post office, the general store, the health clinic, and other amenities. While Neah Bay is certainly the hub of reservation activity, a growing population and a housing shortage have encouraged Tribal members to live in more remote reservation locations. Two popular settlements outside Neah Bay are at the sites of former ancestral villages, such as **wa?ac'** (Why-atch) and **c'u.yas** (Tsoo-yess).

Like other locations on the Olympic Peninsula, economic conditions on the reservation have steadily declined since 1989. The Pacific salmon crisis and controversies surrounding timber practices in the area have increased the economic pressure on the reservation population. In addition, the 1989 deactivation of the United States' Air Force Base operating on the Makah Reservation created an employment crisis for the Makah community. Approximately 200 jobs left the reservation when the base closed, and plans to develop a new job source have not yet proved fruitful. In addition, fluctuations in the reservation's natural resources, commercial fishing, tourism, and sport-fishing have impaired the Tribe's ability to ensure reliable incomes and subsistence sources for its members. The average unemployment rate on the reservation is approximately 51%, and fluctuates seasonally; almost 49% of reservation households have incomes classified below the federal poverty level, and 59% of the housing units are considered to be substandard (Makah Planning Office 1992). The average household income on the reservation is approximately \$5,000.00, compared with approximately \$40,000.00 in the rest of the state of Washington (Income 2000, US Census Bureau).

Fishing variations have had an especially drastic effect on Makah families. 95.2% of Makah households have someone in the residence who fishes; 62.8% of these households consider fishing to be the major occupation in the home (Renker 1988). While the decrease in the cash economy of the reservation is a clear result in years of diminished commercial fishing, there is a more insidious affect on the subsistence level.

Ocean fishing has replaced whale hunting as the backbone of Makah household economy. In addition to the cash that fishing generates, another level of economy operates, that of traditional reciprocal systems. Even households without a fisherman derive food, money or other goods from a fisherman who is a relative or a friend. Fish is a medium of exchange on the Makah reservation, and is also an indicator of a fisherman's regard for the individual to whom the fish is given. Indeed, people on the reservation rely on the Makah fleet for substantial contributions to community meals and community functions.

100% of the Makah households on the reservation engage in some kind of reciprocal networks which involve fish at some level of exchange: 80.4% of households receive fish from someone who

fishes; 85.3% of households give fish to other family members, friends and community meals; 84.1% of households who smoke fish give it to other family members, friends and community meals; and 35.3% of households receive goods or money from a fisherman when the season is successful (Renker 1988:8).

The 1988 Makah Household Fishing Survey also uncovered another pattern of interest in the Makah community. Over 50% of the reservation households used traditional Makah foods at least once a week; these foods included items like fermented salmon eggs, smoked fish heads and backbones, halibut cheeks and gills, and dried fish (8). 40.2% of Makah households eat fish a few times each week, and 66.7% eat fish at least once each week. These data demonstrate the community's preference for and reliance upon traditional, local, marine foods which are often not favored by the dominant American population.

Recent research available in Aradanas (2001) demonstrates the tenacity of the 1988 subsistence profile. The Makah reliance on seafood products continues to be derived from subsistence traditions, and the existence of redistributive and reciprocal networks remains strong. One striking datum compares the amount of fish consumed in Makah households with that of the average American household. The annual per capita consumption of fin fish and shellfish for the average Makah is a staggering 126 pounds, some eight times the consumption rate for the average American. While fish comprises 55% of the Makah diet, it represents only 7% of the diet of the average American (84).

Recent regulatory and ecological circumstances have had an impact on Makah marine subsistence practices. New, stringent restrictions on salmon fishing, and the yearly fluctuations in fishing quotas, restrict the ability of Makah fisherman to generate a reliable surplus for distribution. This situation has affected many households which rely on surplus fish to meet subsistence needs.

Additional ecological circumstances periodically caused by red tides and oil spills have negatively affected subsistence households which rely on shellfish resources. These events have reduced the ability of Makahs to utilize the shellfish resource as effectively as in the past. Financial compensation awarded to Tribal members as a settlement for the destruction of subsistence shellfish during one of these oil spills can not restore the health of the ecosystem.

Still other factors are affecting subsistence issues pertinent to the Makah Tribe. The Makah Tribe, like many other governmental agencies, cut its operating budget by some 10%\* for the 2002 operating year. Cutbacks in food and financial support from public assistance programs affects families which are already economically stressed.

Teen age pregnancies, high school drop outs, substance abuse problems, and an increasing juvenile crime rate indicate that the

Makah community is one still in flux: the enormous social disruption caused by epidemics, boarding schools, and federal policy is still not over. Entire social, cultural, subsistence, and ceremonial institutions were either repressed, eradicated or decimated, and no structural equivalent was substituted. Continuation of the Makah whale hunt would provide the Makah Tribe with a reliable mechanism to repair the damage done to the social infrastructure during the years of forced assimilation. Additional whale hunts would certainly bring important subsistence benefits, as well as other important social considerations.

### The Household Whaling Survey (HWS)

As the end of 2001 drew near, the Makah Tribal Council began preparing to submit a request for a new gray whale quota. The Makah Tribal Council wanted to address the concerns of citizens who insisted that Makahs did not support whaling, and that whale products were being frivolously wasted. Clarifying and quantifying the sentiments of enrolled Tribal members was extremely important, so the Makah Tribal Council commissioned a household survey in December 2001. This survey, The Household Whaling Survey (Renker 2002) asked Makahs to report their opinions about the whale hunt, as well as levels of participation in whaling-related activities, including the preparation and consumption of whale products. A copy of the instrument is included in Appendix 2.

Results from the Household Whaling Survey (HWC) were interesting and conclusive. The survey interviewed 34.6% of the Makah households on the reservation. 49.7% of the respondents were male; 50.3% of the respondents were female. 100% of the respondents considered themselves active members of the reservation community, attending a variety of community events, both cultural and otherwise.

The 163 respondents reported information about a population of an additional 268 household members.

Of the 163 respondents, 93.3% believed that the Makah Tribe should continue to hunt whale, 5.5% believed that the Makah Tribe should not hunt whale, and 1.2% were undecided. Clearly, a randomly selected, significant percentage of respondents were supportive of the Makah Tribe's decision to pursue the Treaty Right of hunting a whale that is no longer on the Endangered Species List. It is also interesting to note that three of the respondents who do not want the Makah Tribe to hunt whale do want whale products, like meat, bone, and/or blubber.

When asked to state a reason for this belief, respondents provided a wide variety of opinions. (Because multiple responses were allowed for this question, the positive percentage is based on the number of respondents who answered positively, R= 152.) Of the respondents who felt that the Makah Tribe should continue to hunt whale, 46.1% cited the Treaty Rights as the reason, 35.5%

noted that food, better nutrition, or a traditional diet was the reason, and 36.2% felt that maintaining or restoring some aspect of cultural heritage or tradition was the most important reason. 20.4% indicated that moral or spiritual benefits, such as changed lifestyle, better discipline, or increased pride, should prompt the Makah Tribe to continue to whale.

Respondents also provided a variety of multiple responses to the question, "Do you think whale hunting has been a positive thing for the Tribe?". The most popular response was given by 51.6% of the respondents, who indicated a change for the better in morals or social values: pride, self-esteem, changing lifestyles, abstaining from drugs and alcohol, better male responsibility, and positive role models for youth. 43.8% of respondents considered uniting the Makah Tribe, and other Tribes, as the most positive aspect of whale hunting. Respecting Treaty Rights garnered a response from 25.5% of the respondents, while maintaining or restoring cultural traditions was the reason provided by 32.7% of the respondents.

A surprising number of individuals reported that they were involved in whaling-related activities since the 1999 whale was caught. 38.7% of respondents indicated that they have participated in whaling ceremonial activities, 30.1% have cooked whale, and a resounding 81% reported eating whale products. Respondents related that 70.9% of the household members included in the study ate whale products, and that 21.6% participated in whaling ceremonial activities.

Another significant result that demonstrates overwhelming community support for the Makah whale hunt is found in the question (#45) which asks respondents to indicate subjects about which they would like more information. The majority of respondents wanted information about preparing whale products, and cleaning and carving whale bone. This question also elicited a response that was not planned. 25% of respondents indicated that they would like to share family recipes and techniques for preparing whale meat, rendering oil, and butchering whale. Given the history of secret, family information regarding whale related issues in the Makah Tribe, the fact that respondents volunteered to provide knowledge of practices, techniques, and recipes is a testament to the community's support for the continued use of whale products.

Community support for, and interest in, the Makah whale hunt is also shown by reports of participation in the actual events surrounding the successful 1999 hunt. Of the 163 respondents, 78.5% were watching live television when the whale was taken, as were 67.2% of the respondents' household members. 81.6% of the 163 respondents were present at Front Beach in Neah Bay when the whale was brought ashore, as were 87.6% of the household members. Numerous respondents who did not attend either of these events qualified their response by telling the surveyor that they had to work or were out of town, and would have attended had they been in Neah Bay.

Sixty-four respondents reported that a total of 226 non-resident Makahs billeted in their respective homes from 17 May to 22 May 1999. This datum indicates that Makah support for the whale hunt is not restricted to reservation residents. The Makahs who traveled home to the reservation felt the need to be on ancestral territory, with relatives and friends, and be a witness to the crucial events surrounding the successful whale hunt. 80.4% of the 153 respondents reported attending the Makah Tribe's celebration in honor of the first successful whale hunt in seventy years. 78.6% of these respondents attended the parade early in the day on 22 May, and 95.4% attended the feast later that afternoon. These respondents indicated that 180 (67.2%) of their household members went to the parade, and 191 (71.3%) joined the crowds at the dinner. Levels of participation like those reported here suggest the pride and happiness felt by Makahs who were observing more than the successful hunt; they were celebrating the validation of the traditions and priorities established by ancestors and secured by the signers of the Treaty of 1855.

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### III. WHALE HUNTING AND THE MAKAH TRIBE: THE NUTRITION COMPONENT

Prior to contact with Europeans, the Makah people used a wide variety of foods. Because of their location on the tip of the Olympic Peninsula, the Tribe was able to exploit land and sea animals, including elk, deer, bear, seal, and a diverse population of fish, shellfish, and other maritime species. In spite of this abundance, "whale meat and oil were among their principal foods" (Densmore 1939:13). Not only were these foods of high status, their role in the nutrition and ceremony of the Makah people cannot be underestimated.

Huelsbeck (1988a:1) estimates that the amount of whale meat, blubber, and oil represented in the faunal assemblage at Ozette indicates that a significant percentage of the food at Ozette could have come from cetaceans. Whale meat was prone to spoil easily, especially when the process of towing a dead animal home took several days. This tendency reduced its importance in the precontact and early historic diet. About 10% of the food Makah people derived from whales can be attributed to meat (1988a:10). Oil however, was not subject to spoilage, and could be kept indefinitely as long as it was rendered properly (Swan 1869).

This important food product was recovered from natural pockets of oil within individual whales, as well as extracted from whale bones and rendered from blubber. Ommanney (1971:55) estimates that some 50% of whale bone weight could be reduced to oil. Faunal remains from Ozette indicate that bones were hacked and gouged to allow oil to both drip from the bones and to be recovered through boiling (Fiskin 1980). Blubber was primarily used as a vehicle to recover oil. Approximately 65% of the weight of blubber is reduced to oil through a rendering process (Huelsbeck 1988a:9).

Oil was an important nutritional item for a variety of reasons. Elders report that whale oil was used as a dip with a variety of foods, including dried fish and herring eggs, as well as potatoes in historic times. Swan(1869) and Densmore(1939) corroborate these accounts. Since dried fish and herring eggs had been processed to remove all natural oils in order to contribute to their longevity, the addition of whale oil added taste as well as nutrients to the precontact and historic Makah diet.

Oil was also the only nutritional product which figured prominently in the ceremonial life of the Makah people. An oil potlatch, given when a whaler had an abundance of oil, demonstrated his generosity with this commodity, and was a rare and special occurrence. Whale oil was the only edible item which could be the focus of a special potlatch, complete with particularized songs and other ceremonial items (Densmore 1939).

While blubber's importance in both precontact and early historic

times was clearly as a precursor to oil, "blubber was also eaten, usually cured first" (Densmore 1939:14). It was most popular when broiled next to a fire, and was the standard pacifier for babies, according to oral and ethnographic accounts.

For approximately 2,000 years, the Makah people relied on the nutritional products of the whale, and evolved as a biological population within this context. Archaeological data confirm the fact that Makah people were using whale as a food resource for some 750 years before the technique of hunting whale was developed (Wessen 1990). Faunal remains from a number of sites indicate that Makahs were butchering stranded or drift whales long before the technology to hunt the creatures evolved.

When circumstances prevented the procurement of whale products for subsistence, Makahs compensated by increasing their reliance on other subsistence foods. In spite of the changes that have affected the Makah people, subsistence foods are still an important part of reservation life. Makah hunters still procure land game like elk, deer, and bear to fill winter freezers and reduce cash expenditures. The resources of the sea and the intertidal zones are an important food source (Renker 1988), despite the decreasing abundance described previously.

Recent investigations focusing on the subsistence practices of the Makah Tribe in forest areas (Renker 1994) and the intertidal zone (1993) detailed a viable and thriving culture. Elders described the subsistence philosophy of the Makah people, and stressed the importance of teaching these values to younger people. Younger Makahs participating in these studies were familiar with these teachings, and practiced these subsistence rules when hunting or gathering food.

The most important subsistence strategy to the Makah people is the axiom, "Take only what you need." Makah elders emphasize this principle when the discussion centers on any type of hunting, gathering, or fishing activity (Renker 1993:14). Other common subsistence rules include: 1) choosing the procurement area so that the available biomass is not adversely affected by the amount one needs to harvest, 2) choosing the procurement area that limits the need to travel, and 3) choosing the food to hunt or gather based on the seasons of the food in question; one tries to avoid disturbing reproductive cycles, for example. The continuity of these subsistence practices and values reinforces the social and cultural integrity of the Makah people, and constantly reminds Tribal members of their intimate, and long standing, relationship with the environment.

These subsistence foods and practices are very important when considering the nutritional needs of contemporary Makah people. Modern research concentrating on the nutritional needs of an anthropologically defined population emphasizes " the interactions of genetics, physiological processes, population characteristics, and a wide variety of nutrition-related diseases" (Pelto 1989:x). Using these criteria, a discussion of

the profile of the Makah community yields interesting results when the focus is the use of the whale as food.

Consider the following. American Indian people are generally considered to be one of the most unhealthy populations living within the United States of America; this observation is especially true for natives living within the confines of a reservation. The infant mortality and life expectancy rate for reservation residents is the lowest of all American citizens (IHS 1995).

The diminished life expectancy on American Indian reservations is compounded by the fact that certain systemic illnesses linked to food and nutrition appear in statistically higher percentages among these populations. Diabetes, for example, is 234% more prevalent among American Indian people than in all other U.S. races (Indian Health Service 1995: 5). As a matter of fact, "American Indians have the highest rates of diabetes in the world" (NIH 1996:26).

A statistic of this magnitude is especially intriguing when one considers the nutritional history of indigenous American Tribes, and their respective divergence from the food traditions which mark western populations. Prior to contact with Europeans, North American Tribal people consumed foods which were native to their respective environments. Natives of the Great Plains and the Pacific Northwest were hunters and gatherers who utilized the plant and animal species which lived in and migrated through their territories. Natives of the Southwest and the Northeast augmented nature's bounty by cultivating crops, most of which were not available in Europe. (It is interesting to note that Makah people did not utilize plant foods to a great degree (Gill 1983), and still experience many digestive problems with diets high in fiber and cruciferous vegetables (IHS 1991).)

When traditional Tribal life was disrupted by contact with non-Natives, food traditions were some of the first to be affected. By the time the Treaties called for the forced placement of Tribal people on reservations in the 1850s, very few Tribes could still practice the subsistence patterns which had sustained their ancestors.

Hunting and gathering tribes were restricted because their ability to utilize former usual and accustomed resource areas was diminished; the reservation system made it possible for non-Native populations to acquire and control lands and waters once available to Tribes. Through Treaties, agricultural tribes lost valuable land capable of cultivation to non-Indian farmers, and were given less productive reservation land as compensation. Additional stresses on native food traditions appeared when the American westward expansion and growing commercial interests decimated food animals once plentiful before contact.

No matter what the individual Tribal food tradition, professionals in the health and social science fields appear to

agree that the introduction of western foods like refined sugar and flour, beef, and lard have had a dramatic negative effect on the health of American Tribal members in general. Many of these foods were distributed to reservation natives by the American government in the form of annuities and supplies. Specific studies have directly linked the introduction of western foods into the diet of Tribal entities to a variety of health problems (Hildes 1966:501, Keenleyside 1990:13, NIH 1996, and others).

American health organizations such as The National Institutes of Health (NIH), the National Institute of Diabetes and Digestive and Kidney Diseases, the Public Health Service, and the Department of Health and Human Services, are conducting research to try to determine why American Indian populations are subject to food related illnesses at a rate so much greater than the rest of the population. In many cases, reservation residents contract these illnesses at about half the age of Caucasians, according to the Indian Health Service (1995).

Many current studies are now investigating the link between genetics and the acquisition of nutrition related illness. The most important of these studies focuses on the Pima Indians of Arizona, a group with a food tradition dating back some 2,000 years; their traditional diet and lifestyle were disrupted about 200 years ago, causing major social and nutritional changes. The high rates of diabetes and obesity in this Tribe prompted the National Institutes of Health and several other American health organizations to undertake a long-term study of this population.

Thirty years of concerted studies with the Pima people have demonstrated results applicable to other Tribal people in North America, including the Makah. Research indicates that discrete populations evolve a genetic code that is uniquely suited to a particular environment and its food resources. This genetic code regulates the biochemical processes in the body that produce enzymes, proteins, fatty acids, and thousands of other chemicals which function within the human body. Scientists developing the genetic map for the Pima people have already identified a number of genetic variations within this community that are different from those in the white population (NIH 1996:6). These variations may explain why Pima people eating western foods are more prone to develop diabetes, obesity, and the long-term consequences of these health problems than other populations.

Like the Pima people, Makahs found their traditional pattern of food use interrupted by western contact about 200 years ago. The traditional diet rich in fish and sea mammal oils was gradually replaced by a western diet which considered beef, dairy products, and cereals to be the most nutritious. The whale products which once comprised a principal part of the diet were no longer available, and the whale oil which supplemented the preserved foods of the winter season was replaced by butter and margarine. A high proportion of lactose intolerance became apparent in the

Makah community, a fact not surprising for a population with no previous historic or cultural link to cattle or dairy animals (NIH 1996).

Given this perspective, certain IHS data become especially intriguing. For example, Indian people of the Northwest Coast have the highest rate of digestive illnesses of all American Indian people. Such illnesses comprise the leading cause of hospitalization for native people in this area. For northwest people, 16.5 % of all hospitalizations pertained to digestive diseases, compared to the next highest rate of 12.3% for Navajo people (Indian Health Service 1995). And, in terms of overall nutritional health, Makah and northwest people are at a potential genetic disadvantage because these populations evolved without a reliance on high fiber, low fat foods, like the Pimas.

Consequently, the reintroduction of whale products, especially whale oil, may produce dramatic results in the health of the Makah people. Current research in the importance and application of Essential Fatty Acids (EFAs), such as those found in sea mammals and fish oils, support the contention that the inclusion of whale oil in the Makah diet may have crucial implications for the health of the Makah community. This fact is not as surprising as it may seem when one considers the historic western use of products like cod liver oil as an important nutritional supplement.

For example, the Washington Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction (OSPI) details the fact that Makah children attending public school on the reservation exhibit Attention Deficit Disorder (ADD), Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD), reading disabilities, and dyslexia at a rate almost twice that of the rest of the population (1996). Clinical studies which focused on the correlation between EFAs and these conditions report that children receiving supplemental EFAs demonstrate significant improvement in the ability to pay attention and read effectively (Stevens, Zentall, et al:1995; Stordy:1995).

In addition, marine EFAs have been clinically demonstrated to improve conditions like rheumatoid arthritis (Belch, Amsell, Madho, Dowd, and Sturrock:1988) and diabetic neuropathy (Keen, Payan, Walker, et al:1993). Both conditions are prevalent in the Makah community and especially within descendants of whaling families.

Whale oil and whale products may be the answer to these problems within the Makah community, and may provide researchers with an analogous study situation to that within the Pima community. Marine fish like salmon are becoming more scarce within Makah households due to increasingly stringent quotas which disrupt traditional systems of reciprocity (Renker 1988). Consequently, access to whale products could provide Makahs with a nutritional remedy to many community health problems.

Access to whale products can provide the Makah community with important nutritional opportunities that carry implications for non-Makahs. Like their Pima counterparts, Makahs may be able to augment knowledge about the relationship between genetic patterns, nutrition, and health, especially in the area of EFAs. Community members are ready to rise to this challenge and re-learn the techniques necessary to make the food from the whale a part of Makah life again.

This section is not intended to imply that we can scientifically elucidate the nutritional advantages of whale products, especially oil, for the Makah Tribe. However, recent national studies provide some points of interest. Investigations of local populations with a demonstrable time depth indicate that regional genetic factors evolve in order to maximize the dynamic relationship between certain foods and the patterns in which these foods are consumed by subsistence populations. Consequently, it is reasonable to assume that increasing the consumption of locally available foods consumed through the millenia could confer substantial health benefits.

Such is the case for whale products and the Makah Tribe. The food products of the gray whale have sustained the Makah people for over 2,000 years; the Tribe has been less culturally and physically healthy since this access was restricted seventy years ago. A restoration of the ability to hunt the gray whale will provide the Makah Tribe with a key element of its culture that has been able to exist only in the flickering images of oral history for seven decades. The social fabric of the community will be able to patch its thin areas once the hunt is restored, and the physical health of the Makahs will increase once there is enough whale meat and oil to feed its children.

In addition, the addition of whale products will help to replace other subsistence resources which are in decline. As fish and shellfish quantities decrease on the reservation, the availability of whale products will prevent people from having to spend precious cash to replace current subsistence foods.

The resumption of the whale hunt will provide more than subsistence foods for the body. It will provide spiritual subsistence to the soul of the Makah people.

## APPENDIX 1

### MAKAH ALPHABET

The Makah alphabet variation used in this document is a function of printer and software limitations. The Makah alphabet is a variation of the International Phonetic Alphabet, and is presented in Renker (1987). No capital letters are used in this alphabet.

The following substitutions are used:

- = IS EQUIVALENT TO A BARRED L
- ʔ IS EQUIVALENT TO A BARRED LAMBDA
- \* IS EQUIVALENT TO A RAISED W
- ' IS EQUIVALENT TO A GLOTTAL MARK
- ? IS EQUIVALENT TO A GLOTTAL STOP
- IS EQUIVALENT TO A LENGTH MARKER

APPENDIX 2

CONFIDENTIAL HOUSEHOLD WHALING SURVEY

This survey is commissioned and sanctioned by the Makah Tribal Council, and is being administered by the Makah Cultural and Research Center. The data from this survey will be used in creating the new Needs Statement. This document will be a part of the United States' request to provide the Makah Tribe with another five year quota to hunt gray whales; the request is made to the International Whaling Commission.

Your name and the information you provide are strictly confidential. No information you provide will be linked directly to you in the Needs Statement. In fact, the author of the Needs Statement will not even know who has answered these surveys.

The completed surveys will be sealed and placed in the Archives of the Makah Cultural and Research Center. Access to these documents will be restricted by the Makah Tribal Council.

The respondent for this survey must be a Makah who is 21 years of age or more. For the purposes of this survey, a household member is considered to be any person that is residing in your house at the time of this interview. This survey is interested in the Makah members of your household.

ABOUT YOU AND YOUR MAKAH HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS...

1. Are you Makah? Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_  
Age \_\_\_\_\_ Gender \_\_\_\_\_

2. Do you have any Makahs living in your household? Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_  
How many? \_\_\_\_\_

If yes, complete 2a. If no, skip to 3.

2a. List all Makahs by relationship, gender, and age.

3. Where were you born? \_\_\_\_\_

4. Do you attend Neah Bay village events? Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

4a. If yes, please check all that apply.

Sporting Events \_\_\_\_\_

Community Dinners \_\_\_\_\_

Potlatches \_\_\_\_\_

Health Presentations \_\_\_\_\_

Makah Days Events \_\_\_\_\_

MTC Quarterly/Annual Meetings \_\_\_\_\_

Neah Bay K-12 School Events \_\_\_\_\_

Other (Please specify) \_\_\_\_\_

**ABOUT YOUR MAKAH HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS AND WHALING IN 1999...**

5. Were you watching television when the 1999 whale was harpooned and killed?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

6. Were any of your Makah household members watching TV when the 1999 whale was harpooned and killed?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

7. If yes, how many Makah household members were watching TV when the 1999 whale was harpooned and killed?

\_\_\_\_\_

8. Were you on Front Beach, or in a boat/canoe on the water, when the 1999 whale was brought ashore?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

9. Were any of your Makah household members on Front Beach or in a boat/canoe on the water, when the 1999 whale was brought ashore?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

10. If yes, how many? \_\_\_\_\_

11. Did any Makahs who live off the reservation come to spend the night at your house from May 17, 1999, the night the whale came ashore, to May 22, 1999, the night of the Tribe's celebration?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

12. If yes, how many non-resident Makahs spent the night at your house from May 17, 1999 till May 22, 1999.

\_\_\_\_\_

13. Did you attend the Makah Tribe's celebration of the 1999 whale on May 22, 1999?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

14. If yes, which events? Check all that apply.

Parade \_\_\_\_\_

Dinner \_\_\_\_\_

15. If you attended the dinner, in which way did you participate? Check all that apply.

Attended the dinner \_\_\_\_\_

Helped butcher the whale \_\_\_\_\_

Helped cook the whale \_\_\_\_\_

Helped cook other items at the dinner \_\_\_\_\_

Helped serve at the dinner \_\_\_\_\_

Helped set up the gym \_\_\_\_\_

Helped decorate the gym \_\_\_\_\_

Sang at the dinner \_\_\_\_\_

Other (Please specify) \_\_\_\_\_

16. Did any of your Makah Household members attend the Makah Tribe's celebration of the 1999 whale on May 22, 1999?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

17. If yes, how many Makah household members attended the Makah Tribe's celebration of the 1999 whale on May 22, 1999? \_\_\_\_\_

18. For each Makah household member, please check which events s/he attended. Check all that apply.

	#1	#2	#3	#4	#5	#6
Parade						
Dinner						

19 If Makah household members attended the dinner, in which way did each participate? Check all that apply.

	#1	#2	#3	#4	#5	#6
Attend the dinner						
Helped butcher the whale						
Helped cook the whale						
Helped cook other dinner items						
Helped serve at the dinner						
Helped set up the gym						
Sang at the dinner						
Other (Please specify)						

20. Did your household receive meat from the 1999 whale?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

If no, skip to question 23.

21. What did you do with the meat? (Check all that apply.)

Prepare it \_\_\_\_\_

Redistribute it \_\_\_\_\_

other \_\_\_\_\_

22. If you prepared it, what did you do? (Check all that apply.)

Jerky \_\_\_\_\_

Roasts \_\_\_\_\_

Stew \_\_\_\_\_

Steaks \_\_\_\_\_

Smoked meat \_\_\_\_\_

Other (Please specify) \_\_\_\_\_

Now skip to question 24.

23. Would you have liked to get meat from this whale?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

24. Did your household receive blubber from the 1999 whale?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

If no, skip to question 27.

25. What did you do with the blubber? (Check all that apply.)

Prepare it \_\_\_\_\_

Redistribute it \_\_\_\_\_

Other \_\_\_\_\_

26. If you prepared it, what did you do? (Check all that apply.)

Smoked it \_\_\_\_\_

Rendered it \_\_\_\_\_

Ate it raw \_\_\_\_\_

Pickled it \_\_\_\_\_

Boiled it \_\_\_\_\_

Cosmetics \_\_\_\_\_

Other (Please specify.) \_\_\_\_\_

Now skip to question 28.

27. Would you have liked to receive blubber from the 1999 whale?  
 Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_
28. Did your household receive whale oil from someone as a result of the 1999 whale?  
 Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_
29. Did your household receive any other parts from the 1999 whale?  
 Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_
30. If yes, what parts did your household receive? What did you do with them?
31. Were there any other parts of the 1999 whale you would have liked your household to receive?  
 Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_
32. If yes, which ones?

**ABOUT YOUR MAKAH HOUSEHOLD AND OTHER WHALING ACTIVITIES...**

33. Would you like to have whale oil in your household on a regular basis?  
 Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_
34. Would you like to have whale meat in your household on a regular basis?  
 Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_
35. Would you like to have whale blubber in your household on a regular basis?  
 Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_
36. Would you like to have whale bone in your household on a regular basis?  
 Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

37. Please check all whaling activities that you have been involved in since the 1999 whale was caught.

Member of whaling crew \_\_\_\_\_

Member of Whaling Commission \_\_\_\_\_

Butchering whale \_\_\_\_\_

Cooking whale \_\_\_\_\_

Smoking whale \_\_\_\_\_

Rendering oil \_\_\_\_\_

Eating whale products \_\_\_\_\_

Redistributing whale products to other Makahs \_\_\_\_\_

Participating in whaling ceremonial activities \_\_\_\_\_

Carving whale bone \_\_\_\_\_

Member of whaling support crew \_\_\_\_\_

Other (Please specify.) \_\_\_\_\_

38. Please check all whaling activities that any HH members have been involved in since the 1999 whale was caught. Please specify for each household member. #1 #2 #3 #4 #5 #6

Member of whaling crew

Member of Whaling Commission

Butchering whale

Cooking whale

Smoking whale

Rendering oil

Eating whale products

Redistributing whale products

Participating in whaling ceremonial activities

Carving whale bone

Member of whaling support crew

Other (Please specify.)

ABOUT YOUR OPINIONS REGARDING WHALE HUNTING...

39. Should the Tribe continue to hunt whale? Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

40. What are the reasons for your answer?

41. If you answered yes to 39, do you think whale hunting has been a positive thing for the Tribe? Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

42. What are your reasons for this answer?

43. Would you like to have more access to whale products in the future?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

If yes, go to 44. If no, go to 45.

44. Which whale products would you like more of in the future?

raw meat \_\_\_\_\_

meat cooked or preserved by someone else \_\_\_\_\_

raw blubber \_\_\_\_\_

whale oil \_\_\_\_\_

bone \_\_\_\_\_

other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

45. Would you like more information about any of the following? Check all that apply.

Whale hunting \_\_\_\_\_

Cooking whale meat \_\_\_\_\_

Butchering whale \_\_\_\_\_

Rendering oil \_\_\_\_\_

Smoking meat \_\_\_\_\_

Cleaning whale bone \_\_\_\_\_

Carving whale bone \_\_\_\_\_

Other (Specify) \_\_\_\_\_

46. Are there any other comments you would like to make?

## APPENDIX 3

### MAKAH HOUSEHOLD SURVEY METHODOLOGY

The survey was administered by the Makah Cultural and Research Center, an institution with twenty-two years of experience conducting household surveys on the Makah Reservation. The author of the instrument conducted numerous household surveys in the Makah community over the last twenty-two years; each of these surveys employed the same methodology. Results were tabulated and analyzed by the developer of the survey instrument.

In order to conduct the most accurate survey possible, the Household Whaling Survey is based on the following:

1. Names of households to be surveyed were drawn randomly from the Makah Tribe's Turkey Distribution List. This list contains all households on the reservation in which at least one enrolled Makah resides. 34.6% of the Tribe's 471 Makah households were interviewed.
2. All surveys were conducted in person by an enrolled Makah trained in proper survey procedures, who insured all respondents that confidentiality would be protected.
3. The survey contacted 217 of the Tribes 471 households. Of this number, 159 households agreed to be interviewed. Interestingly enough, four of the Makahs who publicly challenged the Tribe's decision to whale had their respective names randomly drawn to be surveyed. Because the Tribe wanted to minimize external influences on the survey administration, these four individuals were not surveyed. However, to maintain proper responses, these individuals were marked to answer negatively to all questions which asked for positive or negative opinions regarding Makah whaling, access to whale products, and use of whale products, as per their publically expressed opinions. Question marks indicate responses for which the survey had no information at all.

Counting these four individuals, the total number of respondents for the survey is tallied at 163. Percentages are tallied accordingly. Five household volunteered to be included in the survey. While these households were encouraged to complete a survey form, these five respondents were NOT included in the random population of 163.

4. All survey respondents had to be enrolled Makahs with a reservation household; all respondents also had to be twenty-one years of age or older. Survey methodology assumes that each respondent is capable of answering questions about his/her own ideas and activities regarding whaling, as well as the activities of his/her household members regarding whaling.

5. A master list which related each chosen household to an exclusive number was kept at the Makah Cultural and Research Center to avoid duplication and protect confidentiality. Surveyors returned completed surveys to the Makah Cultural and Research Center, which maintained security for the documents. All completed surveys are archived at the Makah Cultural and Research Center.
6. The author/tabulator did not know the names of the respondents, and related to surveys by number only.
7. Certain questions allowed for multiple responses. Others did not. In addition, certain questions only allowed respondents who had answered a previous question a particular way to answer. Incidents of both types are indicated on the survey instrument, which is appended in 2. On the tabulation sheet, the base number of respondents is indicated by R= . R=163 means that the percentage is calculated based on the answers of 163 respondents.
8. Internal checks and balances were placed in the instrument to encourage data validity.
9. Answers are reported as percentages calculated from the base number of respondents appropriate to each question. Percentages are rounded to the nearest tenth.

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## TREATY WITH THE MAKAH, 1855.

Jan. 31, 1855.

12 Stat., 939.  
Ratified Mar. 8, 1859.  
Proclaimed Apr. 18,  
1859.

*Articles of agreement and convention, made and concluded at Neah Bay, in the Territory of Washington, this thirty-first day of January, in the year eighteen hundred and fifty-five, by Isaac I. Stevens, governor and superintendent of Indian affairs for the said Territory, on the part of the United States, and the undersigned chiefs, head-men, and delegates of the several villages of the Makah tribe of Indians, viz: Neah Waatch, Tsoo-Yess, and Osett, occupying the country around Cape Classett or Flattery, on behalf of the said tribe and duly authorized by the same.*

Surrender of lands  
to the United States.

ARTICLE 1. The said tribe hereby cedes, relinquishes, and conveys to the United States all their right, title, and interest in and to the lands and country occupied by it, bounded and described as follows, viz: Commencing at the mouth of the Oke-ho River, on the Straits of Fuca; thence running westwardly with said straits to Cape Classett or Flattery; thence southwardly along the coast to Osett, or the Lower Cape Flattery; thence eastwardly along the line of lands occupied by the Kwe-déh-tut or Kwill-eh-yute tribe of Indians, to the summit of the coast-range of mountains, and thence northwardly along the line of lands lately ceded to the United States by the S'Klallam tribe to the place of beginning, including all the islands lying off the same on the straits and coast.

Boundaries.

Reservation.  
Boundaries.

ARTICLE 2. There is, however, reserved for the present use and occupation of the said tribe the following tract of land, viz: Commencing on the beach at the mouth of a small brook running into Neah Bay next to the site of the old Spanish fort; thence along the shore round Cape Classett or Flattery, to the mouth of another small stream running into the bay on the south side of said cape, a little above the Waatch village; thence following said brook to its source; thence in a straight line to the source of the first-mentioned brook, and thence following the same down to the place of beginning; which said tract shall be set apart, and so far as necessary surveyed and marked out for their exclusive use; nor shall any white man be permitted to reside upon the same without permission of the said tribe and of the superintendent or agent; but if necessary for the public convenience, roads may be run through the said reservation, the Indians being compensated for any damage thereby done them. It is, however, understood that should the President of the United States hereafter see fit to place upon the said reservation any other friendly tribe or band to occupy the same in common with those above mentioned, he shall be at liberty to do so.

Whites not to reside  
thereon unless, etc.

Roads may be made.

Other friendly  
bands may be placed  
thereon.

Indians to settle on  
reservation within a  
year.

ARTICLE 3. The said tribe agrees to remove to and settle upon the said reservation, if required so to do, within one year after the ratification of this treaty, or sooner, if the means are furnished them. In the mean time it shall be lawful for them to reside upon any land not in the actual claim and occupation of citizens of the United States, and upon any land claimed or occupied, if with the permission of the owner.

Rights and privi-  
leges secured to In-  
dians.

ARTICLE 4. The right of taking fish and of whaling or sealing at usual and accustomed grounds and stations is further secured to said Indians in common with all citizens of the United States, 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: *Provided, however,* That they shall not take shell-fish from any beds staked or cultivated by citizens.

Proviso.

Payments by the  
United States.

ARTICLE 5. In consideration of the above cession the United States agree to pay to the said tribe the sum of thirty thousand dollars, in the following manner, that is to say: During the first year after the ratification hereof, three thousand dollars; for the next two years, twenty-

five hundred dollars each year; for the next three years, two thousand dollars each year; for the next four years, one thousand five hundred dollars each year; and for the next ten years, one thousand dollars each year; all which said sums of money shall be applied to the use and benefit of the said Indians, under the direction of the President of the United States, who may from time to time determine at his discretion upon what beneficial objects to expend the same. And the superintendent of Indian affairs, or other proper officer, shall each year inform the President of the wishes of said Indians in respect thereto.

How to be applied.

ARTICLE 6. To enable the said Indians to remove to and settle upon their aforesaid reservation, and to clear, fence, and break up a sufficient quantity of land for cultivation, the United States further agree to pay the sum of three thousand dollars, to be laid out and expended under the direction of the President, and in such manner as he shall approve. And any substantial improvements heretofore made by any individual Indian, and which he may be compelled to abandon in consequence of this treaty, shall be valued under the direction of the President and payment made therefor accordingly.

Appropriation for removal and for clearing and fencing land, etc.

ARTICLE 7. The President may hereafter, when in his opinion the interests of the Territory shall require, and the welfare of said Indians be promoted thereby, remove them from said reservation to such suitable place or places within said Territory as he may deem fit, on remunerating them for their improvements and the expenses of their removal, or may consolidate them with other friendly tribes or bands; and he may further, at his discretion, cause the whole, or any portion of the lands hereby reserved, or such other land as may be selected in lieu thereof, to be surveyed into lots, and assign the same to such individuals or families as are willing to avail themselves of the privilege, and will locate thereon as a permanent home, on the same terms and subject to the same regulations as are provided in the sixth article of the treaty with the Omahas, so far as the same may be practicable.

Indians may be removed from the reservation.

Tribes may be consolidated.

Ante, p. 612.

ARTICLE 8. The annuities of the aforesaid tribe shall not be taken to pay the debts of individuals.

Annuities of tribe not to pay individual debts.

ARTICLE 9. The said Indians acknowledge their dependence on the Government of the United States, and promise to be friendly with all citizens thereof, and they pledge themselves to commit no depredations on the property of such citizens. And should any one or more of them violate this pledge, and the fact be satisfactorily proven before the agent, the property taken shall be returned, or in default thereof, or if injured or destroyed, compensation may be made by the Government out of their annuities. Nor will they make war on any other tribe except in self-defence, but will submit all matters of difference between them and other Indians to the Government of the United States or its agent for decision and abide thereby. And if any of the said Indians commit any depredations on any other Indians within the Territory, the same rule shall prevail as that prescribed in this article in case of depredations against citizens. And the said tribe agrees not to shelter or conceal offenders against the United States, but to deliver up the same for trial by the authorities.

Indians to preserve friendly relations.

To pay for depredations.

Not to make war, except.

To surrender offenders.

ARTICLE 10. The above tribe is desirous to exclude from its reservation the use of ardent spirits, and to prevent its people from drinking the same, and therefore it is provided that any Indian belonging thereto who shall be guilty of bringing liquor into said reservation, or who drinks liquor, may have his or her proportion of the annuities withheld from him or her for such time as the President may determine.

Annuities to be withheld from those drinking ardent spirits.

ARTICLE 11. The United States further agree to establish at the general agency for the district of Puget's Sound, within one year from the ratification hereof, and to support for the period of twenty years, an agricultural and industrial school, to be free to children of the said tribe in common with those of the other tribes of said district and to

United States to establish an agricultural, etc., school for the Indians; to provide tools and employ mechanics, etc.

provide a smithy and carpenter's shop, and furnish them with the necessary tools and employ a blacksmith, carpenter and farmer for the like term to instruct the Indians in their respective occupations. *Provided, however,* That should it be deemed expedient a separate school may be established for the benefit of said tribe and such others as may be associated with it, and the like persons employed for the same purposes at some other suitable place. And the United States further agree to employ a physician to reside at the said central agency, or at such other school should one be established, who shall furnish medicine and advice to the sick, and shall vaccinate them; the expenses of the said school, shops, persons employed, and medical attendance to be defrayed by the United States and not deducted from the annuities.

A physician, etc.

The tribe is to free all slaves and not to acquire others.

Not to trade out of the United States.

Foreign Indians not to reside on the reservation.

When treaty to take effect.

ARTICLE 12. The said tribe agrees to free all slaves now held by its people, and not to purchase or acquire others hereafter.

ARTICLE 13. The said tribe finally agrees not to trade at Vancouver's Island or elsewhere out of the dominions of the United States, nor shall foreign Indians be permitted to reside in its reservation without consent of the superintendent or agent.

ARTICLE 14. This treaty shall be obligatory on the contracting parties as soon as the same shall be ratified by the President of the United States.

In testimony whereof, the said Isaac I. Stevens, governor and superintendent of Indian affairs, and the undersigned, chiefs, headmen and delegates of the tribe aforesaid have hereunto set their hands and seals at the place and on the day and year hereinbefore written.

Isaac I. Stevens, governor and superintendent. [L. s.]

Tse-kauwtl, head chief of the Makah tribe, his x mark. [L. s.]	Baht-se-ditl, Neah village, his x mark. [L. s.]
Kal-chote, subchief of the Makahs, his x mark. [L. s.]	Wack-shie, Neah village, his x mark. [L. s.]
Tah-a-howtl, subchief of the Makahs, his x mark. [L. s.]	Hah-yo-hwa, Waatch village, his x mark. [L. s.]
Kah-bach-sat, subchief of the Makahs, his x mark. [L. s.]	Daht-leek, or Mines, Osett village, his x mark. [L. s.]
Kets-kus-sum, subchief of the Makahs, his x mark. [L. s.]	Pah-hat, Neah village, his x mark. [L. s.]
Haatee, subchief of the Makahs, his x mark. [L. s.]	Pai-yeh, Osett village, his x mark. [L. s.]
Keh-chook, subchief of the Makahs, his x mark. [L. s.]	Tsah-weh-sup, Neah village, his x mark. [L. s.]
It-an-da-ha, subchief of the Makahs, his x mark. [L. s.]	Al-is-kah, Osett village, his x mark. [L. s.]
Klah-pe-an-hie, or Andrew Jackson, subchief of the Makahs, his x mark. [L. s.]	Kwe-tow'tl, Neah village, his x mark. [L. s.]
Tsal-ab-oos, or Peter, Neah village, his x mark. [L. s.]	Kaht-sabt-wha, Neah village, his x mark. [L. s.]
Tahola, Neah village, his x mark. [L. s.]	Tchoo-quut-lah, or Yes Sir, Neah village, his x mark. [L. s.]
Kleht-li-quat-stl, Waatch village, his x mark. [L. s.]	Klatts-ow-sehp, Neah village, his x mark. [L. s.]
Too-whaii-tan, Waatch village, his x mark. [L. s.]	Kai-kl-chis-sum, Neah village, his x mark. [L. s.]
Tahts-kin, Neah village, his x mark. [L. s.]	Kah-kwt-lit-ha, Waatch village, his x mark. [L. s.]
Nenchoop, Neah village, his x mark. [L. s.]	He-dah-titl, Neah village, his x mark. [L. s.]
Ah-de-ak-too-ah, Osett village, his x mark. [L. s.]	Sah-dit-le-uad, Waatch village, his x mark. [L. s.]
William, Neah village, his x mark. [L. s.]	Klah-ku-pihl, Tsoo-yess village, his x mark. [L. s.]
Wak-kep-tup, Waatch village, his x mark. [L. s.]	Billuk-whitl, Tsoo-yess village, his x mark. [L. s.]
Klaht-te-di-yuke, Waatch village, his x mark. [L. s.]	Kwah-too-quath, Tsoo-yess village, his x mark. [L. s.]
Oobick, Waatch village, his x mark. [L. s.]	Yooch-boott, Tsoo-yess village, his x mark. [L. s.]
Bich-took, Waatch village, his x mark. [L. s.]	Swell, or Jeff. Davis, Neah village, his x mark. [L. s.]



# MAKAH TRIBE

P.O. BOX 115 • NEAH BAY, WA 98357 • 360-645-2201

*The Makah Tribe is an equal opportunity employer.*



RESOLUTION NO.: 17-05  
DATE ENACTED: 02-03-05

## RESOLUTION NO. 17-05 OF THE MAKAH TRIBAL COUNCIL

**WHEREAS**, the Makah Tribal Council is the governing body of the Makah Indian Tribe of the Makah Indian Reservation, Washington, by authority of the Constitution and Bylaws of the Makah Indian Tribe as approved on May 16, 1936, by the Secretary of the Interior; and

**WHEREAS**, the Makah Tribe has a documented whaling tradition and has depended on whaling as the basis of its economy, subsistence, and culture for at least 1,500 years; and

**WHEREAS**, the 1855 Treaty of Neah Bay secures in perpetuity the Tribe's right of taking fish and whaling and sealing at all usual and accustomed grounds and stations; and

**WHEREAS**, the June 7, 2004 second amended opinion by the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals on *Anderson v. Evans* 371 F.3d 475 (9th Cir. 2004) requires the Makah Tribe to seek a waiver and/or permit under the Marine Mammal Protection Act (MMPA) in order to exercise the whaling rights secured in the Treaty of Neah Bay.

**NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED** the Chairman of the Makah Tribal Council is authorized to submit the attached application under Section 101(a)(3) of the Marine Mammal Protection Act (MMPA), 16 U.S.C. § 1371(a)(3), to the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration for a waiver of the moratorium on the taking of marine mammals which would allow the Tribe to conduct a Treaty ceremonial and subsistence (C&S) harvest of up to 20 gray whales from the Eastern North Pacific (ENP) stock in a five-year period, with a maximum of five whales per year.

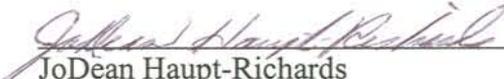
MAKAH TRIBAL COUNCIL

Ben Johnson, Jr.  
Chairman

## CERTIFICATION

The foregoing Resolution was adopted at a regular meeting held on February 3, 2005, at which a quorum was present, and the Resolution was adopted by a vote of 3 FOR and 0 AGAINST, the Chairperson, or the Vice-Chairperson in his absence, being authorized to sign the Resolution.

By:

  
JoDean Haupt-Richards  
Tribal Secretary



# MAKAH TRIBE

P.O. BOX 115 • NEAH BAY, WA 98357 • 360-645-2201



January 24, 2006

William T. Hogarth, Ph.D.  
Assistant Administrator  
National Oceanic and  
Atmospheric Administration  
Room 14636  
1315 East-West Hwy  
Silver Spring, MD 20910

**Re: Makah Tribe's clarification of MMPA waiver request application**

Dear Dr. Hogarth,

On February 11, 2005, the Makah Tribal Council (Tribe) submitted a request to the National Marine Fisheries Service (NMFS) for a waiver of the Marine Mammal Protection Act (MMPA) take moratorium that would allow a limited harvest from the Eastern North Pacific stock of gray whales as secured in the 1855 Treaty of Neah Bay. We specified in the 2005 request that the total take of gray whales for which the Tribe seeks a waiver is up to 20 gray whales in any five-year period, subject to a maximum of five gray whales in any calendar year.

While our prior request focused on the MMPA waiver and also sought a simultaneous review under the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA), we recognize that NMFS must analyze the proposed hunting activities in the context of additional laws and regulations. This letter clarifies that the Tribe is asking NMFS to analyze the 2005 request to conduct Treaty ceremonial and subsistence hunting of gray whales under whatever authorities it may deem applicable. In making this request, the Tribe reserves its right to contest a future determination by the United States government that a particular law or regulation may be applied to restrict the Tribe's ability to exercise its whaling rights under the Treaty of Neah Bay.

Sincerely,

MAKAH TRIBAL COUNCIL

Ben Johnson, Jr.  
Chairman

CC: Robert Lohn, NMFS Northwest Regional Administrator  
Stanley Speaks, BIA Northwest Regional Director

Resolution No. 57-01  
Date Enacted 5-30-01  
subject Matter: Makah Gray Whale  
Management Plan Amendments

**RESOLUTION NO. 57-01 OF THE MAKAH TRIBAL COUNCIL**

WHEREAS, the Makah Tribal Council is the governing body of the Makah Indian Tribe of the Makah Indian Reservation, Washington, by authority of the Constitution and By-Laws of the Makah Indian Tribe as approved on May 16, 1936, by the Secretary of the Interior;

WHEREAS, the Treaty of Neah Bay secures in perpetuity the Tribe's right of taking fish and whaling and sealing at all usual and accustomed grounds and stations;

WHEREAS, on October 23, 1997, the International Whaling Commission approved the Makah Tribe's request for an aboriginal subsistence quota of 20 gray whales which may be taken between the years 1998 and 2002;

WHEREAS, on January 31, 1998, the Council adopted Resolution No. 67-98 which adopted the Management Plan for Makah Treaty Gray Whale Hunting for the Years 1998-2002;

WHEREAS, after consultation with the Makah Whaling Commission and the National Marine Fisheries Service, the Council has determined that it is necessary to amend the Management Plan so as to allow for greater flexibility in the times and areas in which Tribal members are permitted to hunt while still providing a high margin of safety for the conservation of the gray whale and public safety;

NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that Makah Gray Whale Management Plan for 1998-2002 is hereby amended as set forth in the Makah Gray Whale Management Plan for 1998-2002 As Amended April 2001 attached hereto.

MAKAH TRIBAL COUNCIL

By: Greg Arnold  
Greg Arnold  
Chairman



**MANAGEMENT PLAN FOR MAKAH TREATY GRAY WHALE  
HUNTING FOR THE YEARS 1998-2002  
AS AMENDED APRIL 2001**

**I. Introduction.**

The purpose of this plan is to set forth the Makah Tribe's management intent and applicable Tribal regulations to govern the exercise of treaty ceremonial and subsistence whaling rights during the period 1998 through 2002. This management plan is adopted pursuant to Article 4 of the Treaty of Neah Bay, and the International Convention for the Regulation of Whaling ("ICRW") Schedule Amendment adopted by the International Whaling Commission ("IWC") on October 23, 1997. Under the ICRW Schedule Amendment, the Makah Tribe is authorized to share a five year aboriginal subsistence quota of 620 gray whales with the indigenous people of Chukotka, Russia.

The IWC was informed that under an Agreement between NOAA and the Council, the Makah gray whale harvest would not exceed 51anded whales per year. The management plan contains a number of additional management measures adopted voluntarily by the Tribe to ensure the orderly development of safe, humane, and culturally appropriate whale hunts. In accordance with the ICRW Schedule Amendment, the management plan strictly prohibits commercial sale of whale products except for traditional handicrafts (including artwork) made from non-edible parts of the whale. No international trade is permitted.

It is the Tribe's intent to provide for the gradual development of ceremonial and subsistence whale hunts over the five-year period so as to allow for the development of Tribal management capabilities, refinement of hunting methods, and assessment of the Tribe's cultural and subsistence needs. The Tribe intends to utilize the experience and information collected during the five year term of this plan to develop a second multi-year plan, pending IWC review of the current ICRW Schedule. The conservative management approach provided for in this management plan is not intended to limit, waive or modify any of the Tribe's whaling rights under the Treaty of Neah Bay and any such construction of this plan is improper and unauthorized.

11. Definitions.

- A. "Calf" means any whale less than 1 year old or having milk in its stomach.
- B. "Council" means the Makah Tribal Council.
- C. "Commission" means the Makah Whaling Commission.
- D. "Landing" means bringing a whale or any parts of a whale onto land in the course of whaling operations.
- E. "Member" means an enrolled member of the Makah Indian Tribe.
- F. "Natural Resources Department" or "NRD" means the Makah Natural Resource Department.
- G. "Strike" means any blow or blows delivered to a whale by a harpoon, lance, rifle, explosive device or other weapon. When used as a verb, "strike" means the act of delivering such a blow or blows to a whale. A harpoon blow is a strike only if the harpoon is embedded in the whale. Any rifle shot which hits a whale is a strike. For purposes of Parts III.C and III.F, multiple strikes on a single whale shall count as a single strike.
- H. "Take" means to flag, buoy or make fast to a whale catcher, including a canoe, chase boat or support boat.
- I. "Tribe" means and "tribal" refers to the Makah Indian Tribe.
- J. "Whale products" means any unprocessed part of a whale and blubber, meat, bones, whale oil, meal and baleen.
- K. "Whaling" means the scouting for, hunting, striking, killing, or landing of a whale.
- L. "Whaling captain" means the member in charge of a whaling team who holds a whaling permit issued by the Commission and approved by the

Council under this management plan.

- M. "Whaling expedition" means a complete voyage in which a whaling team leaves port or shore for the purpose of whaling and returns to port or shore.
- N. "Whaling team" means a group of members under the control of a whaling captain who holds a whaling permit issued by the Commission and approved by the Council under this management plan.

### III. Harvest Quotas/Strike Limits.

- A. The total number of gray whales taken by members in any one calendar year shall not exceed five (5).
- B. The total number of gray whales taken by members between 1998 and 2002 shall not exceed twenty (20).
- C. The total number of gray whales struck by members between 1998 and 2002 shall not exceed thirty-three (33), provided that the Commission and the Council will take prudent management measures to reduce the ratio of struck whales to landed whales in any one calendar year to no more than 2:1. The total number of gray whales struck by members between 2001 and 2002 shall not exceed fourteen (14).
- D. No member may strike a gray whale calf or a female gray whale accompanied by a calf or calves.
- E. No member may strike a whale other than a gray whale.
- F. The total number of gray whales struck by members between 2001 and 2002 in the Strait of Juan de Fuca east of the Tatoosh-Bonilla line or between June 1 and November 30 in the Pacific Ocean west of the Tatoosh-Bonilla line shall not exceed five (5).

#### **IV. Permits.**

- A.** No member may engage in whaling except under the control of a whaling captain who is in possession of a valid whaling permit issued by the Commission and approved by the Council. All whaling permits issued by the Commission and approved by the Council shall incorporate all of the requirements of this management plan and any additional requirements the Commission and Council deem appropriate. Upon reaching the strike limit in Part III.F above, whaling permits shall be issued with the intent of targeting migrating whales.
- B.** Any whaling permit issued by the Commission and approved by the Council shall be issued only to a whaling captain certified by the Commission pursuant to Part V below. The permit shall identify the vessels which will participate in the hunt, the members who will be part of the captain's whaling team, and the boundaries of the designated area in which hunting will be permitted.
- C.** The Commission shall not issue and the Council shall not approve a whaling permit without determining that the whaling captain and each whaling team member has been certified by the Commission as qualified to perform his assigned role on the whaling team.
- D.** The Council shall provide at least 24 hours advance notice to the National Marine Fisheries Service ("NMFS") and the United States Coast Guard ("USCG") prior to approving a whaling permit. The advance notice requirement shall not apply if a NMFS observer is already present on the Makah Reservation. The whaling captain shall coordinate with the on-site NMFS observer and the Coast Guard prior to departing on a whaling expedition.
- E.** A whaling permit shall terminate when any one of the following events occurs: (1) the whaling team lands a gray whale; (2) the whaling team strikes a gray whale but is unable to land it; (3) the whaling team has not struck or landed a whale within 1.0 days of permit approval; or (4) the Commission or the Council determine, for any reason, to terminate the permit.

- F. The Commission may issue a whaling permit only after determining that there is an unmet traditional subsistence or cultural need for whale products in the tribal community.

## V. Training/Qualifications.

The Commission shall establish certification guidelines and a certification process for whaling captains, harpooners, riflemen, divers, canoe paddlers, and other whaling teammembers. The certification guidelines and the certification process shall ensure that every whaling captain and each member who serves on a whaling team has received adequate training to perform his assigned role on the team. Certification of riflemen shall include a demonstration of proficiency and accuracy under simulated hunting conditions.

## VI. Whaling Vessels, Equipment and Hunting Methods.

- A. A whaling team must include one or more canoes, one or more chase boats, and one or more support boats.
- B. All canoes used in whaling must be at least 30 feet in length and manned by a harpooner and at least six paddlers.
- C. All chase boats used in whaling must be at least 18 feet in length and powered by an engine large enough to tow an adult gray whale to port. Each chase boat shall be manned by a pilot, diver, rifleman, and harpooner. The diver or an additional crew member shall act as a safety officer. One boat shall be equipped with a navigation system capable of precisely fixing the vessel's position on the water.
- D. All whaling harpoons must be equipped with a toggle point, connected to one or more floats, and bear a permanent distinctive mark identifying the whaling captain who is in charge of the whaling team using the harpoon.

- E. The rifle used in gray whale hunts shall be an adequate very high-powered rifle (.458 caliber or higher), approved by the Commission for use in whaling.
- F. The first strike made upon a gray whale shall be made by the harpooner on a canoe and shall affix one or more floats to the whale. The chase boat will pursue the whale and the rifleman aboard the chase boat will kill the whale as expeditiously as practicable with rifle shots directed at the whale's brain and upper spinal cord.
- G. The rifleman on the chase boat shall not discharge his weapon until authorized to fire by the safety officer. The safety officer will not authorize the discharge of the rifle unless: (1) the barrel of the rifle is above and within 30 feet or less from the target area of the whale; and (2) the safety officer determines that the rifleman's field of view is clear of all persons, vessels, buildings, vehicles, highways and other objects or structures that if hit by a rifle shot could cause injury to human life or property.
- H. The whaling captain will suspend the hunt, if the safety officer determines that visibility is less than 500 yards in any direction.
- I. Upon the death of a whale, the chase boat crew will secure the whale for towing to shore. The whale will be expeditiously towed to shore by a chase or support boats.
- J. By following the general procedures set out herein, whaling teams shall make best efforts to land every whale that is struck and shall ensure that the hunt does not pose a risk to human life and property.
- K. The Commission shall conduct research and development to further refine the hunting methods set out in this management plan. Upon consultation with the Commission and the National Marine Fisheries Service, the Council may periodically amend the provisions of this part to improve the safety, effectiveness and humaneness of gray whale hunts.

## **VII, Area Restrictions.**

- A. All whaling shall occur within the adjudicated usual and accustomed grounds of the Makah Tribe.**
- B. Within the area open to whaling under paragraph A above, whaling may be confined to an area designated by the Commission and the Council in each whaling permit.**
- C. The initial strike of a whale shall not occur within 200 yards of Tatoosh Island or White Rock between May and September.**
- D. A whale shall not be struck within the "closed area" designated in Section 10.5.02 of the Makah Law and Order Code (Weapons Control Ordinance No. 43 enacted 9/5/89) or east of the "closed area" to a line extending from the southern end of Waadah Island to Baada Point**
- E. Whaling may occur only within the Regulated Navigation Area (RNA) established by the United States Coast Guard as amended.**

## **VIII. Use of Meat and Whale Products.**

- A. Whale products taken pursuant to this management plan shall be used exclusively for local consumption and ceremonial purposes and may not be sold or offered for sale. No member may receive money for participation in whaling.**
- B. Notwithstanding paragraph A above, traditional handicrafts (including artwork) made from non-edible whale product, may be sold or offered for sale within the United States. A member may not engage in international trade of these handicrafts.**
- C. The Commission shall periodically monitor the utilization of whale products within whaling families and the tribal community to determine when an unmet need for whale meat or other products exists. The Commission may conduct research in order to accurately and**

systematically estimate the 'Tribe's traditional subsistence and cultural needs.

## **IX. Monitoring and Reporting.**

- A. A Makah Natural Resources Department ("NRD") representative will accompany each whaling team as an observer. Upon request of NMFS, the NRD representative will permit an additional observer from the Northwest Region of the National Marine Fisheries Service to observe the hunt.**
- B. The NRD observer shall be responsible for recording the time, date and precise location of each whale struck. For each whale struck, the NRD observer shall record whether the whale is landed. If the whale is not landed, the NRD observer shall describe the circumstances associated with the striking of the whale and estimate whether the animal suffered a wound that might be fatal.**
- C. For each whale landed, the NRD observer shall record the body length (as measured from the point of the upper jaw to the notch between the tail flukes), the extreme width of the flukes, and the sex of the whale. The NRD observer shall also record the length and sex of any fetus in the landed whale.**
- D. The NRD observer shall record the time interval between the initial strike and the death of the whale.**
- E. The NRD shall be responsible for compiling and transmitting the weekly and annual reports required under the Agreement between the Council and NOAA. During periods in which whaling permits have been issued, the NRD will provide the National Marine Fisheries Service with a weekly oral report regarding the number of whales struck and landed. To the extent specified in any bilateral agreement, the NRD will also provide periodic oral or written reports regarding the number of whales struck and landed to representatives of the Russian Federation,**

F. By January 30 of each year, the NRD and the National Marine Fisheries Service will prepare a joint written report compiling all of the data accorded by the NRD under paragraphs B through D above, as well as any additional data recorded by National Marine Fisheries Service personnel.:

G. The NRD will assist National Marine Fisheries Service personnel in the collection of specimen material from landed whales, including but not limited to, ovaries, ear plugs, baleen plates, stomach contents, and tissue samples. The NRD may collect additional samples for its own use as part of the Tribe's research and management activities.

#### X. Enforcement.

A. The Natural Resources Enforcement Division shall be the Tribal law enforcement agency responsible for enforcing the requirements of whaling permits and this management plan.

B. Any member found whaling in violation of this management plan or the terms of a whaling permit issued by the Commission and approved by the Council shall be subject to prosecution in Tribal Court for a Class AA criminal offense in accordance with the procedures set forth in Title 2 of the Makah Law and Order Code.

C. A whaling captain shall be deemed liable for any violations of a whaling permit or this management plan committed by a member of a whaling team under his control.

#### XI. Penalties.

A. Any member convicted by the Tribal Court of the offense of whaling in violation of this management plan or the terms of any whaling permit issued by the Council shall be subject to the penalties for a Class AA criminal offense under Section 5.8.01 of the Makah Law and Order

Code?

- B. Members convicted of said offense may also be barred from exercising treaty fishing, hunting and/or whaling rights for up to three (3) years.
- C. In determining the severity of punishment, the Court shall consult with the Commission and take into account the seriousness of the injury to the Tribe and Tribal resources.

## **XII. Amendments.**

The Council may amend this management plan from time to time in consultation with the Commission and NOAA as new information becomes available, provided that the requirements of the management plan shall comply with the ICRW Schedule Amendment, any cooperative agreement between NOAA and the Council, and all applicable federal law.

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<sup>1</sup> Section 5.8.01 of the Makah Law and Order Code currently provides that Class AA offenses are punishable by a fine not to exceed \$5000 and imprisonment not to exceed 12 months.