

U. S. DISTRICT COURT, TACOMA

No. 9213

PLAINTIFF USA 105

EXHIBIT

U.S. vs Wash.

ADMITTED

OCT 28 1975

USA 105

IDENTITY, TREATY STATUS AND FISHERIES
OF THE
STEILACOOM TRIBE OF INDIANS

Prepared for: U.S. Department of
the Interior

and the Steilacoom
Tribe of Indians

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15 January 1975

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TRIBE OF INDIANS

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IDENTITY, TREATY STATUS AND FISHERIES OF THE STEILACOOM
TRIBE OF INDIANS

I. IDENTITY

The Steilacoom Tribe of Indians is composed largely of people who are descendants of the Indians known in the 1850's as Steilakumahmish. At treaty times they lived on the southern shore of Puget Sound opposite Fox, McNeil, Anderson, and Ketron islands in the general vicinity of what is now the town of Steilacoom. The Indian settlements were situated on or near Steilacoom Creek and Sequallitchu River.

Some of the descendants of the Steilacoom Indians continue to live in their traditional area and continue to maintain their identity as Steilacoom Indians. Others have become affiliated, through marriage or otherwise, with neighboring western Washington tribes and are now identified with those groups.

The Steilacoom are a Coast Salish people like all of their immediate neighbors. Culturally and linguistically they closely resembled their Nisqually neighbors and often were identified with the Nisqually groups in records written in the 1850's.

George Gibbs, the lawyer-ethnologist who helped to draft and negotiate the Treaty of Medicine Creek to which the Steilacoom were a party, sometimes listed the Steilacoom separately, and sometimes

listed them as a band of the Nisqually.

In an unpublished manuscript which is clearly a partial draft of the report which was later published under date of March 4, 1854 in the *Pacific Railroad Reports*, Gibbs undertook to identify and enumerate or estimate the native population around Puget Sound. The following is extracted from a longer tabulation. [1]

Names of Tribes & bands	Where located	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Total
Squalli-ah-mish 6 bands	Nisqually river & vicinity	47	54	37	46	184
Steilacoom-a- mish	Steilacoom Creek & vicinity				est. 25	

In the above cited report and in the condensed version which was published, Gibbs listed the Steilacoom as a separate group from the six bands which he subsumed as Nisqually.

In a report prepared in 1855, although not published until 1877, Gibbs made a three-part division of the Indians of the Sound who were included in the Treaty of Medicine Creek. In this post-treaty report, Gibbs suggested that the Nisqually and the peoples of the Sequalitch and Steilacoom rivers might be considered collectively to be a "sub-tribe."

A division might be made of these into three sub-tribes, the first . . . ; the second consisting of the Skwalliahmish or Nisqualli, including the Segwallitsu, Steilakumahmish, and other small bands; . . .

[2]

The foregoing report clearly lists the people of the Steilacoom and Sequalitch drainages as distinct from the Nisqually River people, but suggests that they may be classified together in contrast to the

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peoples living in the inlets around the head of Puget Sound to the west and in contrast to the peoples of the Puyallup drainage system and Vashon Island to the east.

In an unpublished private journal entry which is undated, but which was probably written in 1855 or later, Gibbs lists the Segwalli-chew and Steilacoom as Nisqually bands. [3]

<u>Nisqually bands</u>	
S'qually	n. side below Packwood's
Segwallichew	the mill stream
Steilacoom	winter Mouth of Cr.
Sukatowkh	summer Minson's
ext.	Extinct
Muck	
Yelm	
Tahnoot	
Mishahl	
Leshigh	Kwod-kwooi, between Yelm & Squally, Gravelle's
	Klithlow, Dean's, a few
	Spanoway, Labouchelier's, Extinct
Quiemiehl	Squkekws Mc'Allister's; a few Indians left
	Shodahdab, Chamber's pre.
	Kl-ko-minn,

The third and fourth entries in the above list appear to refer to winter and summer settlements of the same group of people. Minson's claim was located about five miles southeast of the mouth of Steilacoom Creek. [4]

Reports concerning the size of the Steilacoom Indian population at treaty times vary considerably. Gibbs' estimate of 25 people in the March 1854 census report cannot be relied upon as in any way accurate. Gibbs himself later recorded that the 1854 figures were found to be "much under the true number." [5]

Other reports indicate that a much higher figure for the Steilacoom at treaty times is probably justified. In May 1856, S.S. Ford, Jr. recorded

in his official journal account of the Fox Island Reservation the numbers of each tribe on the reservation as of that date. In addition to entries for the Puyallup, Nisqually, and others Ford reported 120 Steilacoom. [6]

The above figure, which is recorded as an official count is much higher than Gibbs' 1854 estimate of 25, but not so high as an 1853 report cited in evidence before the Indian Claims Commission in Docket No. 280. On September 21, 1962 the Commission made findings of fact with respect to the Steilacoom Tribe. The following excerpt is taken from Finding of Fact #13.

The Steilacoom were mentioned by a number of early writers. Jones, an officer at Fort Steilacoom, noted the Indians of that area. They were called, he said, the Steil-a-qua-mish and numbered 175. Their home territory was in the vicinity of the Steilacoom River. This report was in 1853. [7]

The Commission made additional findings of fact with respect to the Steilacoom Indians on March 14, 1973. The following paragraph concludes Finding of Fact #26.

In 1853 the population of Steilacoom was reported to be 100 whites and 300 Indians. Pierce County was created that same year and contained 513 persons. By 1860, the population of Pierce County was 1,115. [8]

Despite the two 1853 reports entered in evidence reporting respectively 175 and about 300 Steilacoom Indians, the Commission entered an additional finding of fact on March 14, 1973 that there were 25 Steilacoom Indians at the time that the Treaty of Medicine

Creek was negotiated. The Commission apparently adopted the lower figure because both parties stipulated to it. The following is taken from Additional Finding of Fact #40.

Both parties accept George Gibbs' population estimates for 1854, agree that plaintiff tribe had a population of 25 in December of that year, and accept that number as the population of the tribe on March 3, 1855. They disagree, however, as to the total population of all the tribes which signed the Treaty of Medicine Creek. Plaintiff contends that the total population was 1,200, while the defendant contends that 566 was the correct number.

[9]

Additional documentation, not placed in evidence before the Indian Claims Commission in this Docket shows that both figures cited above are too low. It is not necessary here to review the figures for all the Medicine Creek Treaty tribes. Our concern in this report is only with the Steilacoom Tribe. We need only note that the Commission apparently accepted the estimate of 25 Steilacoom on three grounds: (1) on the theory that epidemics had severely reduced the population, (2) that Gibbs' estimates are the best evidence of tribal populations, and (3) because both parties stipulated to that figure.

With respect to (1) above, we call attention to the fact that the 1856 Ford report of 120 Steilacoom Indians present on the Fox Island Reservation was apparently not placed in evidence before the Commission.

With respect to (2) above, Gibbs' own repudiation of the 1854 estimates was apparently not placed in evidence before the Commission. The number of Indians party to the Treaty of Medicine Creek was found to be about double the 1854 estimate.

Steilacoom population figures were not kept separately after the temporary reservation on Fox Island was abandoned. Some of the Steilacoom people removed to the Nisqually Reservation, some to the Puyallup Reservation and some evidently returned to their traditional homes after an initial residence on reservation.

Those Steilacoom who removed to the Nisqually Reservation were enumerated as Nisqually; those on the Puyallup Reservation were listed as Puyallup. Presumably those who left the reservation to return to the Steilacoom area were no longer listed on any Indian rolls.

In this manner, the Steilacoom, like many other western Washington groups, have appeared to disappear because their name was not recorded separately in the post-treaty administrative records.

In the case of the Steilacoom people, the low population figure recorded as of 1854 coupled with the failure to list Steilacoom people separately on reservation rolls after 1856 has given rise to an erroneous view that the Steilacoom Tribe has not survived.

It is my opinion that the present Steilacoom Tribe represents descendants of an 1854 Steilacoom group which was much larger than the 25 people estimated by Gibbs. On the basis of the independent reports of 175 Steilacoom in 1853 and 120 Steilacoom in 1856, I would assume that the Steilacoom numbered somewhere in the vicinity of the latter figure in 1854.

Present members of the Steilacoom Tribe of Indians trace descent from a relatively small number of families who were resident in the Steilacoom area in 1854. Their identity and association with the Steilacoom area is established through baptismal and marriage documents and through land records.

Members of the present day Andrews, Edwards, McVittie and Sears families are descendants of an Indian woman who at about age seventeen was baptized Elizabeth (Betsy) at Fort Nisqually. She was married to Louis La Tour at Fort Nisqually in 1839. [10]

The Sears and Byrd families carry the surnames of two of the first settlers in the Steilacoom area to take up donation land claims. Sears and Byrd were both settlers in the Steilacoom area at treaty time. [11]

It was not uncommon in the 1850's for an Indian man to adopt as his surname the family name of a settler with whom he was on good terms or whom he admired. This was an extension of traditional Indian patterns of acquiring names. The fact that an Indian family acquired an English or a French surname does not imply that the name was acquired through marriage, although some were acquired in that way.

Many of the present members of the Steilacoom Tribe of Indians are related to one another. They share a common Steilacoom Indian ancestry, a long association with the Steilacoom area, and a stubborn determination to have their identity recognized.

III. TREATY STATUS

The Steilacoom are a party to the Treaty of Medicine Creek which was concluded December 26, 1854 between the United States and nine named Indian groups. The preamble to the treaty is reproduced below. The underscoring does not appear on the treaty document.

Articles of agreement and convention made and concluded on the She-nah-nam, or Medicine Creek, in the Territory of Washington, this twenty-sixth day of December, in the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty-four, by Isaac I. Stevens, governor and superintendent of Indian affairs of the said Territory, on the part of the United States, and the undersigned chiefs, head-men, and delegates of the Nisqually, Puyallup, Steilacoom, Squawskin, S'Homamish, Stehchass, T'Peeksin, Squi-aitl, and Sa-heh-wamish tribes and bands of Indians, occupying the lands lying round the head of Puget's Sound and the adjacent inlets, who, for the purpose of this treaty, are to be regarded as one nation, on behalf of said tribes and bands, and duly authorized by them.

It may be seen from the above that the Nisqually and the Steilacoom are separately named as parties to the treaty.

The Treaty of Medicine Creek was the first treaty negotiated by Isaac I. Stevens. Unlike the subsequent treaties negotiated by the Stevens commission, the Treaty of Medicine Creek does not identify the Indian signatories as to band or tribe.

There were sixty-two Indian names affixed as signatories to the Treaty of Medicine Creek. At this time it does not seem possible to identify which of those names belonged to Steilacoom Indians.

The lands traditionally used and occupied by the Steilacoom Indians are included in the area ceded under the Treaty of Medicine Creek.

Article 2 of the Treaty of Medicine Creek provided that three small reservations of about two sections each were reserved for the "present use and occupation" of the Indians who were parties to the Treaty. The lands so reserved were described as follows:

.... The small island called Klah-che-min, situated opposite the mouths of Hammersley's and Totten's Inlets, and separated from Hartstene Island by Peale's Passage, containing about two sections of land by estimation; a square tract containing two sections, or twelve hundred and eighty acres, on Puget's Sound, near the mouth of the She-nah-nam Creek, one mile west of the meridian line of the United States land survey, and a square tract containing two sections, or twelve hundred and eighty acres, lying on the south side of Commencement Bay; all which tracts 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 tribe and the superintendent or agent.

It is clear from both the logic of geography and from ancillary records of the Washington Superintendency of Indian Affairs that the Indians from the various inlets around the head of the Sound, the Squawskin, Stechass, T'Peeksin, Squi-aitl, and Sa-heh-wamish named in the preamble of the Treaty, were meant to go to the Squaxin Island (Klah-che-min) reservation. The reservation near the mouth of She-nah-nam Creek was intended for the Nisqually River groups. The Commencement Bay reservation was meant for the Puyallup River and Vashon Island (S'Homamish) peoples.

No special reservation was set aside for the Steilacoom people, nor is it entirely clear which reservation of the three provided for in Article 2 were intended for their use and occupancy. The Steilacoom country lay intermediate between Nisqually and Puyallup lands and the Steilacoom were related to both of those groups, as well as to people from the head of the Sound.

The Steilacoom initially removed to the temporary Fox Island reservation which existed between 1856 and 1857. When the Fox Island reservation was discontinued in March 1857, the agent in charge reported that the Indians at Fox Island would go to the Puyallup reservation.

In pursuance of your instructions I have discontinued the Fox Island Reservation and the property on hand has been turned over by Sidney S. Ford the Local Agent in charge to me. A portion of the Indians collected at this Reservation have gone to Puyallup Reservation. Some 100 souls however having a considerable amount of potatoes planted on Henderson's Bay obtained permission from me to remain there during the coming summer. They will of course move to Puyallup Reservation on the approach of winter.

[11a]

The above report is the only clue which has come to light regarding which reservation the Steilacoom Indians were intended to inhabit. It would, of course, have been equally logical, or perhaps more appropriate, for them to have been assigned to the Nisqually reservation. Many contemporary writers referred to them alternately as Steilacoom or as Nisqually.

Whatever the intent of the treaty commission, and for whatever reasons, there appears to be no evidence to support the conclusion that the Steilacoom moved to the Puyallup reservation. Some portion of them may have done so, but none of the Indians noted in official records relating to the Puyallup reservation are identified as Steilacoom.

It is equally possible that some Steilacoom Indians moved to the Nisqually reservation and/or the Squaxin Island reservation. The Steilacoom name, as such, does not appear in official records of the Indian Department after 1857.

The discontinued use of the name Steilacoom in government records is consistent with the practice of referring to reservation Indians by the name of the reservation to which they had moved. In similar fashion, the names T'Peeksin, Stehchass, Squi-aitl, Sa-hehwamish and S'Homamish disappeared when these Indians moved to the Squaxin Island and Puyallup reservations.

All of these groups became "administratively extinct" so soon as they were assigned to a reservation. The Steilacoom group has maintained its separate identity in part because a portion of the group did not remove to any reservation after the Fox Island reservation was discontinued.

It is not clear from the record what portion of the Steilacoom people may have moved either permanently or temporarily to one of the three reservations established under Article 2 of the Treaty. It is also unclear as to why the ancestors of present Steilacoom tribal members did not become affiliated with one or another of the reservations established under their treaty.

While the documentary record is not explicit as to the particular reasons which may have obtained with respect to the Steilacoom Indians, it is appropriate to note that their situation is by no means unique. Many Indians in western Washington never removed to the reservations established under the Stevens treaties of 1854-1855. Others did so initially and later left. An overriding reason was lack of sufficient land on the reservations.

III. FISHERIES

Fishing and shellfishing were the main source of food staples for the Steilacoom Indians aboriginally and at treaty times. They fished for salmon and steelhead in the streams draining their territory and took salmon by trolling in the Sound. Herring was the main bait fish used in the salmon troll fishery.

Salmon fisheries and the native herring fishery around Steilacoom were described by George Suckley during an extended visit to the area in 1854-1856. The Steilacoom did not have sockeye available in their territory, but Suckley recorded first hand observations of Indian harvesting of the other species of salmon around Fort Steilacoom. With respect to the fall fishery for dog salmon (Chum), Suckley reported as follows

The spotted or lekai salmon enters the rivers of Puget Sound in great numbers every autumn, generally appearing between September 15 and October 10. They come in vast numbers, and arrive so simultaneously as to seem to be in shoals. . . . They enter, by preference, the smaller streams Vast numbers are taken by the Indians with spears, gaff hooks, weirs, &c., and dried for winter use. . . .

Like several other species of salmon they are very regular in the periodical arrivals at the mouths of the rivers. In 1856 they arrived in the vicinity of Fort Steilacoom on the 3d of October, and by the 7th were in such numbers that a boy, with a pole armed with a gaff hook, could readily take one or two hundred pounds weight in an hour. . . .

Mr. Gibbs says of this species: The common dog-salmon is preferred by the Indians for drying, because there is but little fat upon it. . . . The Indians do not dry them until they have been in fresh water some time, and have lost what little fat they had. They arrive about October 1, and last until late in the winter. The Indians split them very thin, take out the back bone, and dry all parts.

[12]

In contrast to the Chum salmon which in dried form made up the bulk of the salmon used for winter stores, the Pink or humpback salmon was eaten fresh.

The reason for this was that the Pink was too fat to be well suited to Indian methods of curing fish. Suckley reported as follows with respect to the Pink salmon

The Indians say that this salmon is usually quite fat, and that as food they like it very much. They state that it enters Puget Sound and the rivers on alternate years, it being very rare for even a single individual to be caught in the intermediate season. The "run" of the huddoh in its regular years is large, coming in vast numbers, comparing favorably, in this respect, with the satsup, skowitz, or Tl-hwai. According to the natives of our coast, the hunch-back never return to the sea after spawning, but die in fresh water.

[13]

Along with the Chum salmon, Coho was also dried for later use. The Coho, in contrast to the Pink, is a lean fish. The Steilacoom were able to take Coho by trolling in the Sound during winter months and in late winter and early spring, they were taken in fresh water.

The skowitz is a very abundant species, and affords, in fact, the principal salmon harvest to the natives, who dry vast quantities for winter consumption. This species commences to run up the fresh water streams emptying into Puget Sound in September, and continues arriving until near Christmas. During the months of January, February, and March, they are found abundantly in small shallow brooks and streams tributary to the larger rivers. . . . During the month of April they suddenly disappear, probably returning by the spring floods to salt water, although the Indians say that but few return to the sea.

[14]

Chinook were also taken by trolling in the Sound. These were caught in the summer months as the salmon milled about the entrances to the larger rivers before making their ascent.

The Puget Sound Indians take a salmon in summer which is known to the Skadgetts as the yoo-mitch, and to the bands speaking the Nisqually dialect as the satsup. This they consider to be the best of all the kinds of salmon which they catch. It commences to run up the fresh water streams about June 15, and continues ascending until about the middle or end of August.

[15]

The Steilacoom fished for salmon not only in the Sound adjacent to their own territory, but they also joined with all of the peoples of the upper Sound for the summer Chinook fishing off the mouth of the Nisqually and Puyallup rivers.

Salmon and steelhead were available at just about all times of the year. The troll fishery depended upon the availability of bait. Suckley's description of herring raking by Steilacoom Indians has been recorded elsewhere, but is repeated here as his account related specifically to Steilacoom.

The present species of herring is quite common at Fort Steilacoom. The Indians, at certain seasons, take them by throwing or scooping them out of the water with poles, along the sides of which, for two or three feet, nails have been driven in closely together and their ends left standing out in rows resembling the teeth of a comb. These fish average about six inches in length, and, despite the immense number of bones, are of excellent flavor, and may be considered an agreeable table delicacy. The Indians eat great numbers, but they principally make use of them as bait when trolling for salmon. The herring is tied to a hook of the proper size, and gently trolled with a jerking motion. The natives, in this way, take many splendid salmon.

[16]

In addition to the salmon, steelhead, and herring fisheries engaged in by the Indians around Fort Steilacoom, Suckley reported that they took other fish both in the Sound and in the streams and lakes of the area.

Suckley reported that the Indians took two species of trout in freshwater brooks and lakes. He noted that half-dried salmon roe was used for bait. Hook and line freshwater fishing provided both sport and variety in the native diet.

Salt water species taken included cod, flounder, sole, perch, and sculpin. Flat fish were usually speared in shallow waters.

The Steilacoom collected a variety of shellfish which were eaten fresh and dried for winter stores and for sale to inland peoples. Among the clams, the geoduck, horse clam, native little neck, and butter clam were used. Cockles, mussels, crabs, were also eaten.

An archeological site south of the town of Steilacoom (reportedly 1.2 miles from city hall) contains clam and mussel shells interspersed with trade goods and other historic artifacts. [17]

Another archeological site, immediately north of the one noted above, and on the opposite bank of Chamber's Creek, contains a shell midden deposit extending along the creek for approximately 100 yards.

Shellfish resources have formed an important part of the diet of those people living along the shores of Puget Sound since time immemorial. The foregoing brief mention cannot be considered a complete inventory of all the species harvested, cured, eaten and traded by the Steilacoom people. For reasons already noted, documentary records specific to the Steilacoom Indians are infrequent. In my opinion, it is likely that the Steilacoom people made use of the same shellfish resources and species as did the other peoples of Puget Sound above the Narrows.

In addition, it is likely, in my opinion, that Steilacoom people travelled to locations north and east of the Narrows to fish and to collect shellfish. They likely were among the Nisqually and Puyallup peoples who acted as middlemen in a trade of dried cockle clams from the Skokomish to the Indians east of the Cascades. [18]

IV. SUMMARY

The Steilacoom Tribe of Indians is composed primarily of descendants of the Steilacoom Indians who in 1854 resided in the vicinity of Steilacoom or Chambers Creek and who used the adjacent mainland areas and the islands opposite, mainly the islands now known as Fox Island, McNeil Island, Anderson Island and Ketron Island.

The Steilacoom Indians were named in the preamble to the Treaty of Medicine Creek, December 26, 1854. None of the signatories to that treaty is identified as to tribe, band, or village affiliation.

The Steilacoom Indians were reported to number 120 in May 1856 when their census was taken on the temporary Fox Island Reservation. When that reservation was terminated in March 1857, a large number of the Indians there were permitted to go to Henderson's Bay to harvest their potato crop and to remain for the summer. They were to go to the Puyallup Reservation at the onset of winter.

Whether because they were late arrivals, or whether for other reasons, it appears that many Steilacoom did not locate on the Puyallup or any other reservation permanently. Many returned to the Steilacoom area where their descendants still live.

In common with the other peoples of Puget Sound, the Steilacoom in aboriginal times, at treaty times, and later depended on fish and shellfish for their staple foods. Of these, salmon and clams were the principal species.

REFERENCES

- [1] Gibbs (MS #2356)
- [2] Gibbs (1877:178)
- [3] Gibbs (Journal)
- [4] Map W31-5
- [5] Gibbs (Journal)
- [6] Ford (1856:1)
- [7] ICC (1962:FF#13)
- [8] ICC (1973:FF#26)
- [9] ICC (1973:FF#40)
- [10] Blanchet (1839:51)
- [11] Bancroft (1890:366-7); and Map W31-5
- [11a] Paige (1857:1)
- [12] Suckley (1860:341-2)
- [13] Suckley (1860:339)
- [14] Suckley (1860:336-7)
- [15] Suckley (1860:332)
- [16] Suckley (1860:364)
- [17] Taylor (1954:57)
- [18] Elmendorf (1960:291)

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APPENDIX # 1. EXCERPTS FROM T.T. WATERMAN MANUSCRIPT
 NAMES OF PLACES ON THE SOUTHERN SHORE OF THE SOUND
 FROM JOHNSON POINT TO THE VICINITY OF TACOMA

163. McAllister creek, entering the sound on the west side of Nisqually flats, Sxuda dap. This means "place where they get a form of spirit-power." The power referred to is the xuda b, discussed by Haeberlin and later by myself, which enables a shaman to visit the underworld, and recover lost souls.

164. The old village-site at the mouth of the Nisqually river, Tusqwe le, "late." The run of salmon was said to be later in the Nisqually than in any other stream. The people there would be engaged in taking and curing salmon after they were gone from the other rivers. The present Anglicized name Nisqually represents this old term, somewhat distorted.

165. Large creek east of the Nisqually, Sgwa l t-tcu. This term means, if effect, "extensive sand-banks over which the water is shallow." It was also translated "big tide" or "long run-out. The sand bar is exposed for a great distance at low tide. The creek enters the sound at the eastern end of Nisqually flats; whence the name. At the present time, the maps show the name of this place as Signaltchew, with an "n" in place of a "w" at the beginning of the second syllable. I know of no reason for this, except that the beginning of the word suggested the beginning of the familiar English word "signal," bringing about a substitution of sounds.

166. Ketron island, SE ls, "bad rocks."

167. Gordon point, south of the town of Steilacoom, Qi'wa lapsub. Costello gives a name for Steilacoom, Ki-o-wal-up-sum, not translated, which is evidently identical with the name just given.

168. American lake. Tuxwi yatci. This term means the palm of the hand. Some supernatural being who lived in this lake used to put his hand up out of the water, but never allowed himself to be seen. Similar stories have been told me about other localities in the region.

169. Gravelly lake, CtcE txud, "black-bear." A black bear used to come up out of the water, which was in violent commotion afterwards. The water in this lake, also, used to rise and fall with the tide, according to my informants. Someone told me that the level of this lake changes very rapidly, even today. In the old days, people would not go near it.

170. Old village site at Chambers creek, north of the present town of Steilacoom, Stc!te lqub. This was an important village. The native name has been Anglicized into the Steilacoom of our present maps. The place has some historic interest. I did not succeed in getting any translation of the term.

171. A narrow sand-spit connecting Day island with the mainland, Tkba le, "containing aerial duck-net." This form of contrivance has already been described.

172. Day island, Tse xw tc. This is said to mean "itching back."

173. The part of the sound known on the maps as The Narrows, Tusxub, "swift water."

174. The western shore of Point Defiance, Djeukc d. This term means literally "wet feet." I think it refers to the way in which the waves wash the face of this promontory. The headland is rather bold and abrupt.

175. Point Defiance, Stc tus, "close face." This name is explained by my informants as meaning that Point Defiance runs out so far that it approaches the shore on the opposite side.

A famous man named K ts!a p ("Chief Kitsap") was able to stand in his canoe, in passing this promontory, and shoot an arrow clear up over the cliff and into the woods. A man named T!a libut was second-best; but his arrow would never go quite high enough to clear the cliff. Once in a fight this latter man was struck in the eye by an arrow, but he pulled it out and kept on fighting.