

IDENTITY, TREATY STATUS AND FISHERIES

OF THE

PORT GAMBLE INDIAN COMMUNITY

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Indian Community

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IDENTITY, TREATY STATUS AND FISHERIES OF THE PORT GAMBLE INDIAN COMMUNITY

I. IDENTITY

The Port Gamble Indian Community is a federally recognized Indian tribe residing on the Port Gamble Indian Reservation near the town of Port Gamble in western Washington. The members of the Port Gamble Indian community are descendants of Indian groups, variously referred to in 1855 as tribes and villages, which were located in the general vicinity of Port Townsend and Port Ludlow and from villages as far west as Clallam Bay on the Strait of Juan de Fuca.

These tribes and villages formed part of larger groupings known in 1855 as S'Klallam and Chemakum. The term S'Klallam was used to refer to the dozen or more villages of people sharing a common language and a common culture who inhabited most of the northern shore of the Olympic Peninsula in 1855. Their territory on the Peninsula was reported at that time to extend from the Hoko River in the west to Port Townsend in the east.

The S'Klallam shared the north shore with the Makah to the west and with the Chemakum on the east. South along Hood Canal and on the streams draining into it were the Skokomish and Too-anooch (Twana). The groups which were ancestral to the present Port Gamble Indian community occupied various portions of S'Klallam country from Clallam Bay to Port Townsend, Chemakum territory from Port Townsend to Port Gamble, and the entrance to Hood Canal, which may have been Twana territory.

The S'Klallam spoke a language which was mutually unintelligible with those spoken by the Makah, the Chemakum, and the people living along Hood Canal. The Clallam language belongs to a large stock of languages known as Coast Salish. Within that large stock, Clallam is classed in a sub-category called Straits Salish. The Skokomish and Too-anooch in Hood Canal spoke a language (Twana) belonging to the Coast Salish stock, but to a separate sub-category.

The Makah language belongs to a separate stock of languages known as Wakashan. Within that stock are several languages known as Nootkan, spoken by various Indian groups along the west coast of Vancouver Island. Makah is a Nootkan language.

The Chemakum language was unlike either the Coast Salish languages spoken by the S'Klallam and the Skokomish and Too-anooch, or the Nootkan speech of the Makah. Chemakum apparently was related only to Quileute spoken by the southern neighbors of the Makah along the Pacific Coast.

The S'Klallam were able to speak with their non-Clallam neighbors only through the medium of Chinook Jargon, or by one or the other party being bilingual.

It appears that by the mid-nineteenth century the eastern Clallam were in close contact with both their Chemakum neighbors and the Twana-speaking people living on Hood Canal. According to the accounts written in the 1850's and 1860's, the Clallam were encroaching on what formerly had been regarded as Chemakum territory. By treaty times both groups, Clallam and Chemakum, were sharing sites around Port Townsend and Port Gamble. Large numbers of Clallam moved seasonally to Hood Canal where

they shared certain fisheries with the Twana-speaking people of Hood Canal.

According to George Gibbs, the lawyer-ethnologist who served as secretary to the Stevens treaty commission in western Washington and who helped to negotiate the Treaty of Point No Point to which the ancestors of the present Port Gamble Indian Community were parties, the situation at treaty times was this. Speaking of the Clallam, in 1855 he wrote

. . . . Their proper country lies on the straits between the Okeho River and Point Wilson; but, after the reduction of the Tsemakum, many of them established themselves at Port Townshend Their principal villages are Kahkwaitl at Port Discovery; and a recent one at Kahtai, or Port Townshend.

The Tsemakum are reduced to 90 souls. Their original country embraced Port Townshend, Port Ludlow, and Port Gamble. The tribe probably was never a very large one, but has been noted among all its neighbors for its pugnacity. It has been successively engaged in wars with the Makah, Klallam, Toanhuch, Snohomish, and Dwamish, in all of which it suffered severely. Their present chief is Elsa-kweoit.

[1]

One of the reasons why the Clallam moved into Port Townsend and Port Gamble was because of employment opportunities created by the new non-Indian settlements and enterprises which were developing in the mid-nineteenth century at these places. The Indians sold fish and shellfish to the settlers at Port Townsend and they worked in the mill which was established at Port Gamble in 1853.

The Chemakum continued to remain in their former territory, although their numbers were much reduced. Contrary to general opinion, they did not rapidly become extinct. Rather, what happened was that they became "administratively extinct." The records of the Indian Department simply ceased to mention them as a separate entity.

Writing in April 1859, after the ratification of the Treaty of Point No Point, James Swan noted

The tribe of Indians making Port Townsend their headquarters, are the Clallams and a remnant of the Chemakum tribe of about one hundred persons, who are, however, reckoned by the Indian Department as Clallams. [2]

This was standard procedure with Indian Department records. The separate identity of many of the western Washington groups was not maintained in Indian Department records after reservations and named jurisdictions were established.

The continued existence of the Chemakum people is documented in post treaty references to them by Swan and others. In April 1860, Swan took a census of the Indian camp at Port Hudson and at that place reported 18 houses or lodges of Chemakum as compared with 14 houses of Clallam. [3]

Nine years later, he wrote to the Superintendent of Indian Affairs from Port Townsend relative to the death of a Chemakum Indian at Port Gamble.

I have been requested by the Clallam and Chemakum Indians residing at this place to inform you relative to a couple of homicides that recently occurred here, and at Port Gamble at Port Gamble . . . an old Indian of the Chemakum band, known here as Blinky, was stabbed and killed. [4]

It is clear from the foregoing references that the Chemakum continued to live in the Port Townsend and Port Gamble areas along with the Clallam, although Indian Department records in post treaty years refer to all the Indians of the area as Clallam.

Descendants of the Chemakum and Clallam who inhabited the Port Townsend - Port Ludlow - Port Gamble area at treaty times are today members of the Port Gamble Indian community.

Members of the community reportedly are also descendants of more westerly Clallam groups. In 1927 Gunther reported

Little Boston was settled by Clallam Bay and Elwah people who stopped to work at the saw mill in Port Gamble when they returned from the fishing season on Hood Canal. They came to the mill late in November. The land they occupy belongs to the mill company but since they are still mostly in the employ of the company they are permitted to live there. The village is called Nuxq!e'd.

[5]

Two comments are in order with respect to the above quoted material. First, "Little Boston" is the local name for the Port Gamble Indian village.

Second, in 1936 after Gunther's report was written, the United States purchased land in trust for the Indians who were living on the Port Gamble peninsula.

Elmendorf reported in 1960 that "Little Boston" (Port Gamble) was largely settled by Clallam from Clallam Bay and Dungeness. This information was given by elderly Skokomish who were themselves part Clallam. Elmendorf's complete list of Clallam villages is reproduced here. His village (16) refers to the Port Gamble village and confirms the native name recorded by Gunther.

*Names and locations of Klallam communities were well known to my informants. I present a condensed list which supplements at some points that given by Gunther (1927:174, 177-180): (1) čiy'cXa. According to HA a "rich" village at the mouth of Seal River, and the westernmost Klallam settlement on the south side of the Strait. (2) Xo'kwu, at the mouth of the Hoko River. According to FA the western limit of Klallam country. (3) *'ač'awa'yis, on the west side (FA: "southeast side") of Klallam*

Bay. (4) xapi'net, on the east side (FA "north side") of Klallam Bay. (5) p'št, p'sc't (HA), p'sst, p'sst (FA), at Pysht. (6) 'e'lwa (HA), 'e'lxwa (FA), at mouth of Elwha River. (7) i'e'nts, and (8) č'ixwi'cən, "inside the spit," at Port Angeles. (9) ce'e'sqat, and (10) stti'əm, "river canoes," at the mouth of Dungeness River. The last was the more important settlement. (11) c'ə'q'w, "dirty water," name of the Dungeness River and a village or fishing station some distance up it. (12) nuxw niya'wəč, Jamestown (post white). (13) sxwčkwiyəq, at the mouth of Washington Harbor. (14) sq'waqwi'yəč, at the head (not mouth) of Discovery Bay. This location agrees with Vancouver (1798:222), contradicts Gunther (1927:177) (15) qa'tay, at Port Townsend (late or post white, cf. Curtis, 1913:19). (16) nuxwk'e'd, nuxwk'i'yəD, at Port Gamble (Little Boston), post white. Most of the Klallam settlers here were from Klallam Bay and Dungeness, and came to work in the lumber mill (FA). The site was originally Twana; . . .

[6]

According to Bancroft, mills were established in 1853 at both Port Ludlow and Port Gamble. It is likely that some of the Clallam who were living in the Port Ludlow area went to work there, rather than move to the Port Gamble site.

[7]

In another place, Elmendorf reports a more varied set of origins for the Port Gamble community.

. . . . Port Gamble and surrounding territory, and particularly the Indian village "Boston" on the east shore of the entrance to the inlet, across from the town of Port Gamble. For many years this had a largely Klallam population, originally from Dungeness, Port Discovery, and Port Townsend, later from the new community at Jamestown. However, this Klallam settlement was postwhite in date and largely attracted by saw-mill employment. According to HA the locality was in aboriginal times a Twana camping site; FA said that anciently the people here were Suquamish, (swu'q'wabš), later Klallam.

[8]

Gibbs reported in 1855 that the Port Gamble area was part of Chemakum country.

It seems likely that the area around the mouth of Hood Canal was used in the first half of the nineteenth century by people from Clallam, Chemakum, Suquamish and Twana-speaking groups.

It does not appear feasible to document precisely either the villages of origin or the population figure for the Port Gamble community in 1855.

Bells estimated the Port Gamble Indian population to be about 100 in 1878 and reported that there were 96 Port Gamble Indians in 1881. These figures are very close to the annual Indian census reports for the Port Gamble Clallam which began around the turn of the century. In 1889 the first separate annual census roll for the Port Gamble Clallam reported 90 people and the figure varied very little in subsequent years.

The record shows that the Port Gamble community comprised one hundred people, more or less, throughout the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

II. TREATY STATUS

All of the Clallam groups and the Chemakum whose descendants form the present Port Gamble Indian Community were parties to the Treaty of Point No Point and all held lands that were within the area ceded by that treaty.

Of the groups with which we are concerned in this report, all are named in the preamble of the treaty. The preamble of the Treaty of Point No Point is reproduced here with the names of the groups who probably were mainly ancestral to the Port Gamble Indian Community underscored for clarity. The underscoring does not appear in the original treaty document.

Articles of agreement and convention made and concluded at Hahdskus, or Point No Point, Suquamish Head, in the Territory of Washington, this twenty-sixth day of January, 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, headmen, and delegates of the different villages of the S'Klallams, viz: Kahtai, Squah-quaihtl, Tchqueen, Stetehtlum, Tsohkw, Yennis, Elh-wa, Pishtst, Hunnint, Klat-la-wash, and Oke-ho, and also of the Sko-ko-mish, To-an-hooch, and Chemakum tribes, occupying certain lands on the Straits of Fuca and Hood's Canal, in the Territory of Washington, on behalf of said tribes, and duly authorized by them.

None of the above named Clallam groups is specifically identified on the treaty document with one or more of the Indian signatories. Forty-seven Indian "signers" on the treaty document are identified thereon as "S'klallam," but not one is identified as to village.

It is possible, by reference to other contemporaneous documents to identify some of the Clallam signers with specific villages. In this way we know that Chits-a-mah-han, the "Duke of York," who signed as Chief of the S'Klallams, was resident in the Indian village at Port Townsend. That village has been identified by Gibbs as Kahtai.

Similarly, in an unpublished journal Gibbs identified John Adams, another treaty signer, as a Clallam Indian from Port Discovery. The Port Discovery village appears on the treaty document as Squah-quaihtl.

There are four Indian signatories identified as Chemakum on the treaty document. The first of these, Kul-kah-han, or "General Pierce," signed as Chief of the Chemakums. The other three are represented as subchiefs.

Thus all those groups which have been identified as mainly ancestral to the modern Port Gamble community were represented by signers to the Treaty of Point No Point.

The Port Gamble village itself was not named in the preamble of the treaty. It may be that Gibbs did not regard this as one of the principal Clallam villages.

III. FISHERIES

The Chemakum Indians whose descendants are members of the modern Port Gamble community fished at treaty times in the waters of Port Townsend, Port Ludlow, Port Gamble and adjacent marine areas.

One of the prime freshwater fisheries was Chemakum Creek. James Swan described a fishing expedition to Chemakum Creek in 1859. Swan was the guest of Clallam friends who resided in Port Townsend. At that time both Clallam and Chemakum Indians were jointly fishing the waters described. Swan's account indicates something of the variety and the abundance of fish and shellfish in the area at that time as well as Indian methods of cooking the fish.

As I had known the Duke during his visit to San Francisco, . . . he recognized me as an old friend. . . . Shortly after my arrival, he invited me to accompany him on a fishing excursion to the Chemakum Creek, five or six miles up the bay. At the mouth of this creek is a saw-mill, and at the foot of the falls (caused by the dam) were plenty of fine trout to be had. So, having made up our party, we started in the following manner: The Duke of York, Jenny Lind and myself were in one canoe, and General Gaines, Queen Victoria, Mrs. Gaines and General Walker--the Duke's youngest child--were in another canoe. Shortly after we had started, we passed several Indians who had been fishing, most of whom made presents to the Duke and Jenny of various kinds of fish, and although we intended to return in the evening, yet before we were half way to the Chemakum we had fish enough to last us a week. The squaws, however, were not quite satisfied; but as the tide was out they went ashore and soon dug two or three baskets of clams, which were added to our stock of provisions, and we proceeded to the mill. We found on landing, that a number of squaws were already engaged in fishing, and had taken some fifty-splendid trout. We soon had our lines in the water and had very good luck. . . .

The tide now coming up put a stop to our fishing, and we began to prepare for eating. . . . Our dinner consisted of clams, roast and boiled, broiled salmon, roasted trout, mussels, oysters, and barnacles, the last a dish I had never ate of before, but which I found delicious. The barnacle grows on the rocks around the bay to a great size, and is much esteemed by the Indians. After the barnacles, we were served up by way of dessert, with an immense skate roasted, . . . Dinner being over, we again tried to catch some trout, but without success, as the fish would not bite while the tide was running up.

[9]

Elsewhere Swan has provided additional information regarding the fishery resources of Port Townsend Bay and Indian methods of fishing in those marine waters.

The water of Port Townsend Harbour is as clear and transparent as the ocean. The only stream flowing into it is the Chemakum Creek, a small freshwater brook at the southern end of the bay; the water of this creek is of too small volume and not sufficiently rapid to bring down muddy water and its effects are imperceptible, and the salt water of the bay varies but little in density and temperature from the ocean water at Cape Flattery, a hundred miles west of Port Townsend, and as a consequence the ocean fish, in their season, crowd in great masses into the bay and around the wharves where the clear water enables persons standing on the wharf to distinctly see objects at a depth of 25 to 30 feet.

On a clear still day it is interesting to look down into the transparent water and view the myriads of fish. Cod and salmon abound in the spring and are easily caught with hook and line. The favorite bait for cod is a peculiar kind of marine worm, which grows in clusters around the piles of the wharf; the bait for salmon is fresh herring. Cod and salmon swim the deepest and can be seen far down below the surface. Above them are the rockfish, then nearer the surface are herring, smelt, and anchovies or sardines. These are in such dense masses or schools that at times the water seems literally packed with them. Then the Indian comes slowly paddling his canoe and ever and anon making a dip with his fish-rake. This consists of a stout pole 15 or 16 feet long, with its lower end flattened like the blade of a paddle, into the edges of which are inserted a row of wooden pegs sharpened, or a stout wire. The Indian takes the rake with both hands, as near the top as he can work, then reaches forward as far as he can and makes a swift stroke with the implement through the schools of fish, bringing it up behind him, and with a jerk he shakes off the fish which have been impaled on the sharp points or teeth of his fish-rake and they fall into the canoe. He will bring up from one to a dozen or twenty fish at a stroke, and keeps up the work until his canoe is full.

[10]

Another important fishing area for Clallam and Chemakum Indians at treaty times was the sheltered bay lying between what are now known as Indian Island and Marrowstone Island. That bay is now called Kilisut Harbour. Swan referred to the two islands as the Marrowstone Islands and the intervening water as Scow Bay, or Long Harbor. According to Swan, the Indians camped on the islands in order to dig clams and to fish.

According to Swan's diary entry for March 4, 1860, about sixty Indians were camped at the mouth of Scow Bay fishing and digging clams.

. . . Went over to Yank's claim with Yank and Warner in Yank's boat. A no. of Indians were camped there -- about 60 I judge. They were Clallams and came for the purpose of fishing and getting clams. Yank's claim is at the mouth of Scow Bay.

A few months later, Swan accompanied some Clallam Indians to Scow Bay to dig clams and fish for rockfish. His diary entry for May 6, 1860 reads

With Duke of York, Jenny Lind -- etc. to Scow Bay to dig clams and catch rock fish.

In a report written for the United States Fish Commission many years later, Swan described the fisheries resources and fishing industry of the Puget Sound area. He noted that Scow Harbor was an excellent place to obtain anchovies, smelt and herring. Swan's account describes the abundance of these fish as "almost incredible."

The anchovy come to Puget Sound in enormous quantities, and during their season, from May to November, every bay and inlet is crowded with them. When they first appear from the ocean they appear in Clallam Bay, on Fuca Strait, then in Port Angeles, Dungeness and Sequim bays, then in Port Discovery, and next in Port Townsend and Scow bays, where their numbers are almost incredible. I have known them to be in such masses

at Port Hadlock, at the head of Port Townsend Bay, that they could be dipped up with a common water bucket, but as there has been no demand for them the fishermen do not consider them of value, and when hauling their nets for smelt they generally let the anchovy escape. The anchovy differ from herring in one respect--the herring when they visit the bays, keep inshore and are easily caught in seines and landed on the beach; anchovies, on the contrary, keep out in deep water and seldom approach the shore, so that drag seines are of no use to capture them.

Port Townsend presents peculiar advantages. Not only do the anchovy swarm in the bay in their season, but in Scow Bay or Long Harbor, making up from Port Townsend Bay, between the Marrowstone Islands, where, in those land-locked and sheltered waters smelts, herring, and anchovies abound.

[11]

Both the Clallam and Chemakum ancestors of the present Port Gamble community also fished in Hood Canal. In 1942 Edward G. Swindell, Jr., an attorney with the Bureau of Indian Affairs, collected affidavits from elderly Indians regarding usual and accustomed fishing places of various Indian groups. The following statement was recorded in an interview with Robert Lewis, a Skokomish Indian, reported to be about 100 years old in 1942.

Affiant further deposes and says that the Clallam and Chemakum Indians were accustomed to fishing at the various villages and usual and accustomed temporary fishing places of the Skokomish people along the Hood Canal; that they were friends and gladly shared their places during the times the other Indians visited the Skokomish;

That he understands the expression "usual and accustomed" fishing places to mean those places that the Skokomish Indians used prior to the coming of the white people and had been using ever since they could remember.

[12]

Elmendorf was also told by Skokomish people that Clallam visitors fished in Hood Canal. Specific sites were identified. The following excerpts are taken from Elmendorf's site list. The entire site list and accompanying map have been included as Appendix 5 of the report on the

Skokomish Indians.

Sites #50, #54, #62 and #107 are all located on the west shore of Hood Canal. Site #164 near the town of Holly is on the east shore.

50. *duxwsəlbi'way*. Eagle Creek and camping site at its mouth used largely by Skokomish families in summer. After the mid-nineteenth century the site was also visited by Klallam in the salmon season. The creek had a large salmon run; campers caught and dried much of it in late summer.

54 *duxwxəbxa'bay*, "place of horsetail rush" (from *xəbxa'b*, "edible root nodule of horsetail rush"). Hamma Hamma River and a large summer settlement near the mouth, at the site of Eldon. Houses here extended along a sandspit and around a point to the south of the river mouth. Many Skokomish camped here seasonally, and were joined in the fall by Klallam visitors and relatives for salmon fishing. Some Skokomish, and probably other Twana as well, erected plank houses here for temporary occupancy during the summer and fall fishing season. The site, oddly, had no permanent or winter settlement.

62. *duxwyabu's*, "place of crooked-jawed salmon" (*ya'bu's*, crooked-jawed salmon"). Eells (1892:29) gives the mysterious etymology of "reddish face" for this place name. The Duckabush River and a winter village at its mouth: the residents were *ctduxwyabu's*. The mouth of the river was also resorted to by other Twana and by Klallam visitors during the salmon season. The village headman in the early nineteenth century was a warrior named *hwahwa'kwsəb*.

107. *nuxwsna'ana'ə* (a Klallam name). Port Ludlow and a Klallam settlement there, probably seasonal and historically late. Klallam parties also camped seasonally at *ma'cmac*, Mats Mats rocks and bay, on the west side of the entrance to Hood Canal, north of no. 107. Both places were probably used by Chemakum, not Klallam, in the early nineteenth century or earlier.

164. *ba'w'ā'* (HA), *ba'w'g'* (FA). Anderson Cove and Anderson Creek, with camping site on the north side. The locality is north of Holly, slightly over 1 mile south of Tekiu Point (no. 165). The creek here was well stocked with salmon, and there was good summer clam digging. Klallam as well as Twana came here in the fishing season. The creek was *ba'w.ā'ā'qə'*. FA gave the name as designating also Holly.

[13]

Gunther also noted particular places in Hood Canal where Klallam people reported that their ancestors had fished.

The Klallam from Clallam Bay to Port Townsend migrate in August to Hood Canal for the dog salmon run. The people from Hoko River do not go because their own river has every variety of salmon, but the same reason does not keep the people from Dungeness at home. The Klallam go as far up the Canal as Tahuya on one side and Union City by the mouth of the Skokomish River on the other. The Hama-Hama River and Brinnon are favorite spots. All these places are in Skokomish territory, but there are no permanent villages at the last two places. When the Skokomish hear that the Klallam have come, they join them for the sake of visiting. The Klallam camp near the permanent villages of the Skokomish at Tahuya and Union City.

. . . .
The Klallam generally stay along Hood Canal from August until late November or December. They plan to arrive home just in time for the winter dances. Occasionally a few families stay at their camping place on the Canal all winter, returning home just in time for the spring salmon run. Sometimes one trip is made early in August, the dog salmon caught, dried and brought home, then a second expedition is undertaken in September for huckleberry picking near Brinnon; generally though, these two objects are accomplished in one trip.

[14]

Gunther's report of Clallam fishing around Union and Tahuya extends the range of Clallam fishermen in Hood Canal well beyond the localities noted by Elmendorf. Whatever the actual range of Clallam fishermen in Hood Canal below the area around the mouth of the Canal, all sources agree that the Clallam were visitors in Skokomish territory and fished and berried there as friends and relatives of the Skokomish.

Elmendorf summarized the situation in the following manner.

Although from the mid-nineteenth century Klallam congregated freely in the canal at certain seasons for fishing, most Twana regarded them merely as friendly and favored outsiders so far as use of Twana country went. This special treatment accorded the Klallam was doubtless based on the extensive nineteenth-century intermarriage of the two peoples. As we shall see, ties of marriage and blood kinship often cut directly across territorial and linguistic affiliations. To many Skokomish, for example, the Klallam visitors would have been welcome as their own in-laws . . . or blood relatives . . . although not members of their own local community or of the Twana speech community.

[15]

It is evident that at treaty times Hood Canal fisheries were sufficiently productive that both Skokomish and Clallam were able to harvest the salmon there without conflict.

A news report in the Olympia newspaper, Pioneer and Democrat, for December 2, 1854 gives some idea of the amount of fish harvested. Michael T. Simmons, who subsequently served on the Stevens treaty commission, had been unsuccessful in capturing some Clallam who were suspected of murdering two white men. The Indians had refused to give up the accused men to the Simmons party. In retaliation, the Clallam "camp" was fired. The camp is described as "HumHumi" and is said to be located near the head of the canal. The Indians reportedly fled into the woods, "leaving canoes, fishing lines, nets, &c upon the beach, and about 6 tons of salmon."

The foregoing materials indicate that the Indians who were living in the Port Gamble area at treaty times had access to a variety of fish and shellfish species in Hood Canal, Port Townsend Bay, Kilisut Bay and surrounding marine waters. In addition, the Clallam ancestors of the present Port Gamble community had access to the Clallam fisheries along the Strait of Juan de Fuca associated with their original homes.

These included fisheries in the Strait and in the bays and rivers from Port Townsend west to the Hoko River area. Particular families would have had rights in given localities depending upon their place of origin, but as we noted earlier, it is not possible to document at this date the precise village of origin for the individual members of the modern Port Gamble community.

In addition to the marine fisheries already mentioned, the Clallam also fished the waters around the southern end of San Juan Island, Orcas Island and off the west coast of Whidbey Island. ~ Curtis reported that in earlier times there were Clallam settlements at these places, but it does not appear that there were any permanent Clallam villages on these islands at treaty times.

The most powerful and warlike of all the Salish tribes on the coast of Washington were the Clallam, a group comprising about a dozen populous villages on the southern shore of the Strait of Juan de Fuca from Port Discovery on the east to Hoko creek on the west, as well as some settlements on the upper west coast of Whidbey island and the southern shores of San Juan and Orcas islands.

[16]

It is likely that Clallam fishermen, along with other Straits Salish groups (Lummi, Samish, Saanich) fished off Cattle Point on the southern end of San Juan Island and elsewhere in the San Juan group. ✓ There are scattered references to meetings of white men with Clallam in the southern San Juans and Whidbey Island area in the two decades prior to the treaty making.

Colonel Ebey, one of the first non-Indian settlers on Whidbey Island, noted in his diary entry for February 22, 1853 that some Clallam Indians had returned to their old campsite in his garden. This may have referred to a former village site, but more likely the reference was to a seasonal camp.

However, some few Clallam families have lived on Whidbey Island in post-treaty years. Most of the Whidbey Island Clallam were included in the modern Port Gamble community.

The scattered references to meetings with Clallam in the islands, coupled with some evidence of continued residence through the treaty era, indicates that Clallam were accustomed to visit the area, whether or not they ever maintained permanent settlements there.

Because of the fortuitous nature of the documentation and the fact that it is clearly not complete, it is not feasible to document the extent of marine fisheries engaged in at treaty times by the Clallam.

The following example of early documentation indicates that Clallam fishermen ranged far beyond Clallam territory or Clallam waters to harvest salmon.

In 1835, John Work, enroute from Fort Langley (on the Fraser River) to Fort Nisqually in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, mentioned meeting Skagit and Clallam Indians fishing for salmon around Lummi Island (then called McLoughlin's Island). The relevant passages, with extraneous material deleted, are as follows:

Wednesday, October 14. . . . anchored near McLoughlin's island at 8 P.M. . . . A few Scatchet Indians came off and traded some wild-fowl & salmon and a few beaver. Chahalen also came off, and informed me that there are no canoes sufficiently large for our purpose among these Indians, but that some large ones may be obtained from the Clallams, who are yet some way ahead so that we must wait till we reach them. . . .

Thursday, October 15 by 6 P.M. we were only between Whidby's island and Smith's island. Some Clallam Indians came off from behind McLoughlin's island where they are fishing for salmon, wishing to trade beaver but we would not buy them.

[17]

There is nothing in the record to indicate that only certain groups of Clallam were accustomed to fish in the marine waters of the San Juans and Whidbey Island. References to Clallam at treaty times indicate

constant mobility of the various village groups in terms of seasonal travel. As Curtis noted,

The Clallam, scattered though they were along some eighty miles of sea coast (not including the island settlements), exhibited a degree of sodidarity rarely found in this region among the separated bands of a dialectic group. This condition may partly account for their having maintained a considerable numerical strength, up to a time when less warlike tribes had been sadly depleted. So late as 1845 a census taken by an agent of the Hudson's Bay Company gave a population of nearly eighteen hundred.

[18]

Gunther described the seasonal movements of the Clallam to utilize resources in various parts of their own and neighboring territories.

The Klallam, like other Northwest Coast tribes, depend for their subsistence principally on sea food. The villages are always situated near some fishing grounds; still most people find it necessary to move several times each year to follow the various runs of salmon or to gather vegetable products. Although a village in this way may have several definite abodes during the year, the one where the permanent houses are built is considered the real home of the group.

. . . .

These expeditions are usually entered upon by the entire village, leaving only the very old people behind. Canoes are loaded with provisions, mats and poles for temporary shelters and planks for carrying the load on the way back. When they are ready to return two canoes are bound together and these planks laid over them to form a platform for loading the goods.

[19]

IV. SUMMARY

The Port Gamble Indian Community is comprised primarily of descendants of Clallam and Chemakum groups which were signatories to the Treaty of Point No Point negotiated January 26, 1855.

At treaty times these groups had usual and accustomed fishing places in their own territories which extended from about the Hoko River toward the western end of the Strait of Juan de Fuca eastward

to the area around the mouth of Hood Canal.

The Clallam fished all the streams draining into the Strait of Juan de Fuca along the southern shore of the Strait from the Hoko River in the west to Port Townsend in the east. In addition, the Clallam fished all the bays and inlets along that stretch of the Olympic Peninsula as well as in the Strait itself.

The Clallam and the Chemakum together fished the waters of Port Townsend Bay, Chemakum Creek, Kilisut Bay between Indian Island and Marrowstone Island and the surrounding marine waters to the Port Ludlow and Port Gamble areas.

The Clallam also fished in the marine waters along the west coast of Whidbey Island and in neighboring areas of the San Juan islands. It is not feasible, on the basis of the available record, to document precisely the extent of their marine fisheries in the straits or in Puget Sound.

Prior to and during treaty times, the Chemakum and the Clallam visited areas of Hood Canal which were recognized by all parties to be Skokomish (Twana) territory. These visits were for the purpose of fishing, shellfish digging, and berry picking.

The Clallam harvested all species of salmon except the sockeye in the streams draining into the Strait of Juan de Fuca. Sockeye were intercepted in the Strait. Fishing gear included hook and line, nets, spears, harpoons and various kinds of traps and weirs.

In addition to the salmon and steelhead taken in the strait and river fisheries, the Clallam and Chemakum Indians at treaty times

harvested a variety of species including flatfish such as halibut, ling cod, smelt, herring, anchovy, several kinds of rockfish, and a variety of mollusks. Various marine mammals were also taken.

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APPENDIX #1. EXCERPTS FROM T. T. WATERMAN MANUSCRIPT

PUGET SOUND GEOGRAPHY

GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES IN THE CLALLAM AND CHIMAKUM AREA.

General discussion

The so-called Clallam or Klallam dialect was spoken originally along the northern coast of the Olympic Peninsula; that is, along the strip of coast which forms the southern border of the Strait of Juan de Fuca. It was included in aboriginal times between the Territory of the Makah on the west, and that of the Chimakum on the east. The latter group has become extinct, and their territory is now occupied by immigrants of the Clallam stock, who have drifted in, engaged for the most part in work in the saw-mills. For some reason the Clallam have been more vigorous than the tribes on Puget Sound, and at the present time they have pushed over the original Chimakum territory, and into the habitat of the Skokomish. My list of geographical names in the Clallam dialect therefore extend across the Chimakum area and for some distance up Hood's Canal, which was Skokomish territory originally. I have no idea why the Chimakum and lower Skokomish have been replaced by Clallam. I did not succeed in finding any Chimakum informant, so it will be understood that names of places in Chimakum territory are few and far between.

The original Clallam habitat includes several important harbors on the north shore of the Olympic peninsula. These villages were,

proceeding from west to east at Clallam Bay, at the mouth of Pysht River, at Freshwater Bay, at Port Angeles, at New Dungeness, at Washington Harbor, and in Port Discovery. Hoko River is given by Gibbs as their westernmost stronghold and by Curtis as a village half Clallam and half Makah. My own information indicates that it was only a fishing station. The westernmost of these harbors are hardly more than notches in the shore-line, with little protection and place names apparently were never numerous. Port Angeles, Dungeness, and Port Discovery are fine harbors and rather important places at the present time, Port Discovery being the site of the National Quarantine station.

In general character this coast is extremely rugged. The waters of the Strait lap the bases of hills, which rise abruptly into the Olympic Mountains. The centre of the peninsula is occupied by the Olympic National Forest and Mount Olympus National Monument. A more picturesque and rugged region can hardly be imagined. The mountain peaks are not particularly lofty, but are rough and imposing, culminating in some very fine snow-peaks. Mt. Olympus itself, the highest in the peninsula (approximately 8150 feet) is one of the most picturesque peaks in America. The weather in this region, especially in the winter, is not at all balmy and there is a dense forest cover. The Clallam Indian population, therefore, lived on the fringe of coast, and got the greater part of their subsistence from the sea. In a region

which has an abundant rainfall, such as this region has, there are bound to be numerous streams. These streams however come cascading down from the peaks and glaciers of the interior, and while they are extremely beautiful scenically, they are short and of little economic importance to the Indians. The geographical names therefore, which I was able to obtain, are found in a fringe just along the beach line. The Indians apparently had little reason to go into the interior. I obtained a few names for places up Pysht River, Clallam River (which drains a large lake known as Lake Crescent) and especially up Elwha River. The latter river is the place where according to Clallam mythology, mankind were created. In number the names so obtained is quite inconsiderable along this rugged coast, washed by the turbulent waters of the Strait of Fuca, geographical names are not nearly so frequent as on Puget Sound.

According to the artist Kane, there were Clallam villages at Victoria, on Whidby Island, San Juan Island and Orcas Island. It is hard to tell what to make of these statements. It is a fact however that the Skagit languages spoken on the San Juan Islands and the Songish or Lkun g En spoken at Victoria, are very similar to Clallam. Probably this linguistic conformity is what the author had in mind. There has always been a great deal of visiting and moving about on these waters, and Clallams may have been at these points at the time he wrote. There is no apparent reason why he should have limited his statements to

any three localities. There were Clallam people no doubt at all the villages along the southern side of Vancouver Island. Probably the statement should be taken as reflecting merely the similarity in speech between these particular Salish dialects. Dall's map of 1876 shows nothing of the sort, and Kane's statement if true does not apply to the word Clallam used in its present sense.

In general way of living the Clallam are much like their neighbors to the west, the Makah. I know of nothing distinctive in their culture as compared to this group. They differ from the people of Puget Sound proper in the fact they hunted the whale, though they made no such business of it as was the case with the Makah and Quillayute. It would be difficult therefore to characterize their culture, as compared with that of these other groups. They have however their own direction names, geographical terms and calendrical lore. The following material may be useful from a comparative standpoint.

NAMES OF PLACES ALONG JUAN DE FUCA STRAIT

FROM EAGLE POINT TO PORT DISCOVERY.

1. A promontory know as Eagle Point, ^{Nux}qua'qwaiyans ("where the sun always shines". On clear days the sunbeams strike in here before they do anywhere else.

2. A promontory called on the modern maps Sekiu Point, Xinxan³i'ti. The Sekiu is a transcription of an Indian word (sekiu, "sand-bar") which is out of place when attached to this point. It belongs to the sand-bar at the mouth of Sekiu River, some distance to the west. The sand-bar gave its name to the river, and apparently the river loaned its name to this promontory. At the tip of Sekiu Point are to be found three vertical crags or columns, which have been separated from the tip of the promontory and from each other by erosion. They are called locally the Three Sisters. The term Xinxan³i'ti refers to these columns. Their native name has nothing to do with "sisters". The rocks on the contrary represent to the Indians' mind, a young man in process of being initiated into a Cannibal ceremony, and his two helpers, or guardians. In this ceremony, which I have described elsewhere, the novice is possessed by a cannibal spirit, which robs him of speech and makes him attack everything he sees like a raving beast, and try to eat it. During the ceremony he has a rope or strap around his waist, with two ends hanging loose. Two assistants hold these ropes and prevent him from attacking people, or throwing himself in the fire. The outermost rock is accordingly the candidate or novice, while the other two crags are his "helpers". The group is called xinxan³i'ti, "the growling of a dog" (xani'ti, to growl).

3. On the west side of this bay was a Clallam village, on the site of the present hamlet of West Clallam. Its name, TL¹a'tLawais, is a diminutive and means "a small bay". The name refers to the westernmost of the two coves into which Clallam Bay is divided.

4. The shoreline in Clallam Bay shows a small promontory at its central part. This promontory still has timber on it. In former days it was a graveyard, where corpses were put into boxes and hoisted into the trees. Its name is Meqo'kwat ("cemetery").

5. A place on the east bank of Clallam River, Sx'axwigl'tc ("diminutive of Sxwiyltc, "mountain").

6. An affluent entering Clallam River from the west, called

by the whites Charley Creek, K ahwutč' nīn. This is said to mean "stream running from the west", though the stem for "west" is q'e'ux.

7. The main village on the bay was located at the mouth of Clallam river, on the west bank. The river bends here, and was almost parallel with the beach, forming on its outer side a long sand spit. Several Indians at present live on this spit which is connected to the town-site by a footbridge. I understand that the old village stood on the spot now occupied by the hotel and store. Curtis states (p. 174 of vol. 9) that there were six houses in this village, the name of which he gives as Hungingit. This name occurs in my own notes in the form Xlggédlt. Neither Curtis nor myself succeeded in getting a translation.

7. The promontory Rounding Clallam Bay on the east is called variously Ship Point and Slip Point. I am told that the latter is correct, the promontory being named from its likeness to a steamboat slip. Its Indian name is Xaini'nlt. This means "ugly point". The term is applied because the water here is always rough, and it is a difficult place to pass.

8. A bluff on the east side of Slip Point, Sp!ap!oks, ("a low sand bluff").

9. A place just east of the latter, T!a'c i ("where the trail descends"). A path lead from the Clallam Bay village over Slip Point, and descended to the beach here.

10. The east end of the beach, was Pillar Point. Tlaika'to ("boughs, limbs"). A great deal of drift wood was piled up at this place by the winds and currents.

11. A spot on the west side of Pillar Point, Tsxwos "holes". The rock here had many holes in it.

12. Pillar Point. This promontory is a knoll rising to the height of 675 feet. This may explain its name. The Indians for some reason call it k!ke'mo, which means "breast" or "bosom".

13. Pysht River, This is derived from the Indian name for a certain small bay, and a considerable stream which enters it. The curious form Pysht is a transliteration of a Clallam name P!Ect! A Makah informant gave me this term in the form Plxl'tst. Apparently, though both languages include series of desperately rough vocables,

each group has great difficulty pronouncing the language of the other. The Clallam word means "place where the wind is blowing from all directions". Curtis gives the form Pisht's't, not translated, and says there were three large and two small houses, palisaded against the Makah.

14. A large stream known as the East Fork of Pysht River, Kwikw!Ets ("crooked").

15. A small promontory east of Pysht River, T!a'tslñ "breaking sea-eggs". These sea-eggs were used, under certain circumstances for food.

16. A small sand beach lying east of the point just named, Tsa:xsañull ("small beach").

17. A stream of considerable size entering the Strait east of this point has on our maps the name Deep Creek. Its Indian name is ls!i'Exun, which means "sand-bar". There is a bar across the mouth of this stream, which perhaps has backed the water up, and given rise to the name "deep".

18. Some distance east of the last named stream, two creeks enter the Straits side by side. The mouths of these two streams are about 1/4 mile of a mile apart, and look very similar. They are known on modern maps as Twin Creeks, and a railroad station on the shore there is called Twin. The Indian name for the stream corresponds exactly. They call the two creeks tci;sa'x un. The word for one of two twins is tci'yul. Another term TLa'pail;duk, was also applied to these streams, meaning "two together" (atL, "two").

19. A small creek further along has the name Tciyuts!xai, for which I did not succeed in getting any explanation.

20. The next stream eastward has on our maps the curious name Lyre River. I have no idea how this name arose. The stream is the outlet of a very fine body of water, inclosed by the Olympics, known as Lake Crescent. The name of the river in Indian is Ku'hu'by, which term also I am unable to explain.

The Makah had some sort of a claim which I do not understand to fishing rights on this river. They sometimes camped here in the autumn to take dog-salmon.

21. Lake Crescent, TcEktsa'iyall. This word means simply "lake". It is the largest body of fresh water in Clallam territory.

22. The western end of Lake Crescent, TL!sEnt, "deep". This name is identical with a term for Crescent Bay (number 27, below).

23. A small promontory marked on the Coast and Geodetic chart as "Low Point", in Clallam Kwaxwam³a' (not translated).

24. A stretch of shingle lying eastward of the above promontory. LlmLlmûq!¹anuk. This term refers to the fact that the people obtained lots of sea-eggs there. Literally it means "turning rocks over".

25. Further along, this beach has the name TL!clnto'!L. I did not succeed in obtaining a translation.

26. The promontory on the western side of Crescent Bay, TL!teu'dlt, "abounding in mussels". The people were afraid, however, to eat the mussels on this promontory, for fear of some supernatural influence.

27. Cresceht Bay is called by the term TL!sEnt, "deep". This initial tL is often mistaken for a Kl sound by people who speak English, probably because tl (curiously enough) does not occur initially in English. The tL and the Kl sounds in Clallam are really somewhat hard to distinguish. It is very curious to find as the Indian name of Crescent Bay, a word which sounds itself so similar to Crescent. In fact I inadvertently wrote the native name as K sEnt in my notes, on at least one occasion. This makes me wonder if Crescent is not really the Anglicized form of the native name. Meany says that the name "Crescent" is "evidently" suggested by the shape of the bay, but he is notoriously ready to jump at conclusions. If Crescent arose as he suggested as the name of the locality, it is very curious to find a native name which sounds so similar to the ear.

28. The point which incloses this bay on the east is called Tsatso'-AL!sEnt, "close by the deep place", referring to the place which has just been mentioned. On the Coast and Geodetic chart it is called "Tongue Point".

29. A place along the edge of a steep declivity overlooking a sea-cliff, Kakowa ;ltc. This is very similar to the term appearing at the head of this list, and has a similar significance. The stem ka wltc is said to mean sunlight, or beams of sunlight. The name refers to the fact that the sunshine just at daybreak catches the butts of the trees here.

30. A place where a crag juts out into the breakers, Qw!¹a!¹³ kw ckw i, "place: past which one cannot proceed". The sand beach is cut off

here by the rocky point, so that a person cannot get by.

31. A promontory at the western extremity of Fresh water Bay, TL'itlo' lEqs, which seems to mean "boxes - promontory". The rocks here resemble boxes, my informants say.

32. The western end of the bay just mentioned, where the coast-line suddenly curves about, Nux tukwain ("broken, snapped in two").

33. A creek flowing into Freshwater Bay Sto: t!awi ("small creek").

34. A place on the hillside East of the creek, Tc'ltct! ("land-slide").

35. A place where a strip of beach runs along the foot of a bluff, Sxweya'ltc ("narrow").

36. The stretch of beach in Freshwater Bay, ³ Elxwa "straight". The name refers to the shape of the beach. The Indian term to the beach has become the name of the river flowing into the straits just to the east (Elwhu River). It has of course no appropriateness, logical or historical. There was an important village here. Myron Eells says the word means "elk" it is hard to see why. There is a small town called Elwha, and a station on the railroad called (I believe) "Elwah".

37. A level space on the hillside, back from the shore, KivigE' E hEnt, "where there is no brush". When the Indians were dispossessed of their old village site, they moved to this spot.

38. A small island, tucked into the mouth of Elwha River, T'ani'a', "close to the land".

39. The mouth of Elwha River, EiyunvEts, "mouth".

40. A creek, the first one entering Elwha River from the east, sta'iyukw²L. This is a diminutive for the word for "creek" and the ending in - kwil suggest that it has reference to a canoe. The term probably means "small creek up which a canoe can pass".

41. A spot on the west bank of the river, TCUXWA' (not translated).

42. A place just below the Olympic Power Company's plant Ctain. Where the creator was shaping the first human beings, he tried

to form them out of the earth here, but it was not good, he therefore passed on to try elsewhere (see 48 below). The term Ctain means "left to one side" or discarded.

43. The site of the Olympic Power Company, Esna'wIL, "inclosed by a Canon".

44. A place near the power plant, TCiTsq!o's. The ending-os signifies a vertical cliff. The expression means "place where there are holes in the face of the rock".

45. A place in the river above the Olympic power plant, TCA:pe'tsIn. The term means literally "mouth of the steep place".

46. A boulder slightly above the last point, Catc'ai, "where one pounds sinew on a rock". The name refers to the fraying out of sinew in the making of sinew rope. (tLIIn).

47. A spot half a mile above the power-plant, Sa³iyo'atEn (where they bathe").

48. A place in the bed of the river, where there are pits or excavations in the rock, containing water, Sp^Iy yrp'³. "resembling a basket". This is the spot where human beings were created. The pits or hollows are the places from which dirt was scooped, out of which the human race was formed.

Sometimes people go to these pits to get information about their future life of a man thrusts his hand into this water, and brings out deer-hair, for example, he knows he will be a good hunter.

49. Indian Creek, or Indian River, the largest affluent of Elwha River, entering from the west, Ti³E'l, not translated.

50. Lake Sutherland of which Indian Creek is the outlet, Qwe'qwiuxst. This term means "moving from time to time".

51. A place on the east side of Elwha River, above the forks of Indian creek. TeatctL'e'^ExEd, diminutive of the word for "hill".

52. A place where there is a large bend in Elwha River, Tca'iEqsInt, "going around a promontory".

53. A place where there is an eddy in the river, N̄kka'nuh, "to swallow something". Sticks floating into this pool are swallowed up, and never come out.

54. A ridge called on the Forest Service map the Devils Backbone, Sma:I'ts. The term is said to refer to the fact that there were lots of elk there.

55. A place near the present boundary of the Mt. Olympus National Monument, Tete'toIn. I am uncertain about this term, but it is said to mean "farthest up-stream".

There is a place called Me muxtIn, where the people used to go to hunt. I am not sure of its location, though it is somewhere in the present neighborhood. It is described as a place "where two mountains come together". Evidently it was a narrow pass, through which there was a trail used by game-animals.

56. A tiny pond or lagoon just east of the mouth of Elwha River into which a small creek drains. TriIII'tsIn. This means literally "little-pond mouth".

57. A water channel called by informants Dry Creek, Hwi'o tsin, "small mouth". This is evidently Curtis' Chihwi'tsun (not translated) which he gives as the name of a village. It is a great satisfaction to find that Curtis' statements are in agreement with my own notes, as regards the distribution of these names. Speaking for myself, however, I received no intimation on this case that there was a village by this name.

58. Place at the end of a long cliff reaching to Ediz Hook, P!uxc'atc ("end of the bluff").

59. Ediz Hook, TcItca'kwItc, "sand spit". The word Ediz, which is our official name for this spit, is a transliteration of an Indian word ie nes (see below). This same Indian word has been made over and appears in another form in Ennis Creek. This is the name given on the Forest Service map for the stream called on the Coast Survey Chart, White Creek. The Indian term ie nes is neither the name for the brook nor the name for the creek, but for a third place, different from both.

The spit is enormously elongated, reaching out like a long finger from the shore, and curved somewhat to the east. A myth explains the geography here recounting that mink, coming down the coast, saw a woman lying across the strait on the British side

There follows the familiar incident of penem trans fluminem mittit, except that when he tried to throw it across, it drifted eastward with the tide, becoming transformed into the present promontory. Some say that the party on the opposite shore caught the organ in question and placed the tip of it among a lot of blackberry bushes.

60. An old village site Port Angeles, Tci³wi' tsEn, "inside the spit". The original village was situated west of the present city of Port Angeles, just at the base of the spit. A swampy place and a small lagoon lay to the west of it. This was a place of considerable importance in aboriginal times. I found only two households of Indians at the time of my visit.

61. Site of the big sawmill or paper factory at the western end of the town of Port Angeles, Ta' ³i, said to mean "going up toward the lagoon".

62. A small creek, blotted out now by the improvements resulting from the building of the town, HatL!u' s' ⁴nt. This term is connected with ha tL o, "cross-trails".

63. The centre of the present town of Port Angeles, Tci³i' c n⁴k (not translated).

64. The stretch of beach lying along the shore within the shelter of the hook, i³ε' nξs, "good beach". The suffix - s means literally the human chest, and secondarily to a stretch of coast which "pushes out" in anyway. There is a long curved beach here, the middle part which protects the landing place here is always safe and smooth, even in a squall, whence the name Curtis gives this term, in the form Ai inis, not translated, as the name of the village. I am obliged to say that he has the support of the artist Kane, who (on p. 229 of his work) gives the name as I-eh-nus. Kane states in a most interesting passage, that the village which he visited in 1846 was strongly defended by two palisades, the outer one 20 feet high, the inner one 5 feet. The latter inclosed a space 150 feet square, entirely roofed over, and divided into cubicles for separate families. He found 200 people living here. Possibly my information, as given above (number 60) is inaccurate. There is perfect agreement at that, as to the location of a large and important village here. Whether it was called Tci³ m⁴l' ts n ("inside the promontory") or I³ε' n s ("good beach") is the question.

65. Ennis Creek (for the term Ennis see 59 above) Sto' ta³ we, diminutive of sto' laq^w, "creek". This stream is also called White Creek on the modern maps.

66. Morse Creek, TaE'LEmEt (not translated).
67. Bagley Creek, Tc1tûqa'i (not translated).
68. Sebert Creek, Q^ûl'a (not translated).
69. A small promontory Cqw'e1ñ, "where dog seal haul out of the water". This refers to the hair-seal who used to frequent this place.

70. A knoll on top of a lofty sea-cliff, near the base of Dungeness Spit. Ts1'sqat, "lookout". The Indians used to station themselves here in the morning, in order to see out over everything, and keep a lookout for whales. Costello says that the Indian name for Dungeness Bay is Tsēs-kut. His term is evidently a loose transcription of this term for a "lookout".

Curtis gives the form Tsishat, not translated, as the name of the village on the site of the present town of New Dungeness. I am perfectly positive that this lookout point is neither the village-site, nor the bay, but a high knoll overlooking both; but I may of course be wrong.

71. The enormously long spit or sand promontory at New Dungeness, Tc1tea'kw1tc, "sand spit". This is the same term as that applied to a corresponding promontory (Ediz Hook) at Port Angeles. Costello gives this word in the form T -t a kwick.

72. Site of the light-house on Dungeness Spit, Tca'1 tc. This word means the butt or stub of a tree. A great deal of floating timber was piled up by the currents on the side of this promontory.

73. Site of an Indian village in Dungeness Bay, Tsuq'! , "refuse; rubbish". A lot of refuse, clam-shells, etc. was always piled up on the beach there. Curtis confirms the information contributed by my own informants, giving the name in the form Tsuq. He says it means "muddy", referring to the waters of Dungeness River. The difference is relatively inconsiderable. It is a fact however that the word for muddy is not the stem here in question, but quite a different one,...

Somewhere on this spit the explorer Vancouver found some tall poles for the support of an aerial duck-net (tkEp). His interesting description of this structure I have quoted and discussed elsewhere.

74. Dungeness River, Sto'wi. I think this term means simply "river".

75. The beach south of New Dungeness, Tc^utcitsts!e'3nim. This term refers to the fact that they used to travel up and down the beach, instead of by trail. Curtis includes in his list of villages the word Sⁱtilum, not translated. I think that this term corresponds with the Tc^utc tcts e n m obtained by myself. I received no intimation that the term referred to a village.

76. A collection of Indian shanties at Jamestown, ŋia'swɪtc, "lots of white fir". There was apparently a small village here in aboriginal times. Probably this is the site referred to by Curtis (number 75).

77. A swamp south of Jamestown, Ctc!áiɪL, "sea-gulls". This swamp has recently been drained.

78. A small promontory inclosing a lagoon, at the entrance to Washington Harbor, Teukwi'm. This term is said to refer to the fact that numerous flocks of ducks frequented this lagoon. Evidently it is this term which has given rise to the name S'quim Bluff, on the Coast Survey chart. Curtis gives a form Schqa iing, as "a village on Squim Bay". I think this represents his orthography for the term just given.

79. Kiapot Point, extending from the opposite shore, I got in the form Tsi^ɪxun, meaning "sand". The connection here is anything but obvious.

80. Protection Island, Tc!atL!ɛ'siya ("island"). I also obtained the name Daa'tɪd for this island, or part of it. Seals used to be very numerous here.

81. Clallam Point (site of the Quarantine Station) Cqwaqw!e'ɪL. Curtis gives this term in the form Qaq gkm abd sats ut was a stockaded village. Neither Curtis nor myself obtained any translation for the term. The names from this point on, fall within Chimakum territory. The Chimakum itself is a dialect now extinct, of what seems to be a separate linguistic stock. Clallam people, and those of other nearby tribes, make much of the difficulty of the Chimakum speech. Gibbs reports also that not a single person outside of the Chimakum group could speak the language. This is quite striking, since the Salish dialects differ so much among themselves that the Indians of this region are usually ready linguists, and often quite polyglot. The few names which I could obtain in the former Chimakum territory are in the Clallam language. The Chimakum according to Myron Eells (Garths Rep. for 1887. p.606) call themselves A-nwa-tu.

82. Beckett Point lying opposite the last named. Yuqweⁱtcⁱd. This term is explained as "a lot of roots drifted on the beach".

83. Point Wilson, the promontory north of Port Townsend, Ka^mkEm, "rough water". This point is where the waters of Puget Sound run into the strait of Juan de Fuca. At a change of tide, the tide-rips here make very rough water. In passing the point, even in good weather, the Indians sat very still, kept very quiet, and paddled carefully. Women who were menstruant had to walk. That is, they were landed on the beach and walked over the point, while the canoe was being taken around.

84. The beach in front of the present city of Port Townsend, Qat:aⁱ (not translated).

85. The site of an old village was called by a Skagit informant Te^Ebq^Eb, not translated. This in Clallam is Tc^Em^xq^Em Anglicized, as Chimakum. Whether or not it is the Chimakum name for their own village, I cannot say. The stream here is called Chimikim Creek on the Coast Survey chart.

86. A little creek entering a lagoon at Port Hadloch, Ts^uqwaⁱ. The waters of this creek are "red" (ts^Eq^w); whence the name. Eells (1887. p. 607) gives Tsets-i-bus as the name of the principal Chimakum village, at the head of Port Townsend Bay. I have no further information about it.

87. A narrow isthmus connecting Marrowstone Island with the mainland, Stux^uqwⁱL, "plowing through with reference to a canoe". The term refers to the fact that the Indians used to shove their canoes over this peninsula to avoid paddling them around a large body of land.

88. A tiny marsh near a promontory, XlaxliⁱtcEm, "where they cut cat-tail rushes". These rushes were used for making mats.

89. An inclosed lagoon, Mätsmäts. This name has been preserved by the Coast Survey chart, but I do not know its meaning.

90. Port Ludlow, Nix^{us}naⁱna^L, not translated.

91. The low sand-bar connecting Hood's Head with the mainland, Tse^Exun. Sand-spit.

92. Point Hannon, or as it used to be called "Whiskey Spit", Nux^{tc}isno^Eo, not translated.

93. Squamish Harbor, nixaⁱ, not translated.

94. A landing-place and store called Lofall at the present time, Swe'ihí, "a wood-worker or carpenter".

95. South Point, xwola'b, not translated.

96. A small lagoon called Klondike Bay, Nixo'man, not translated

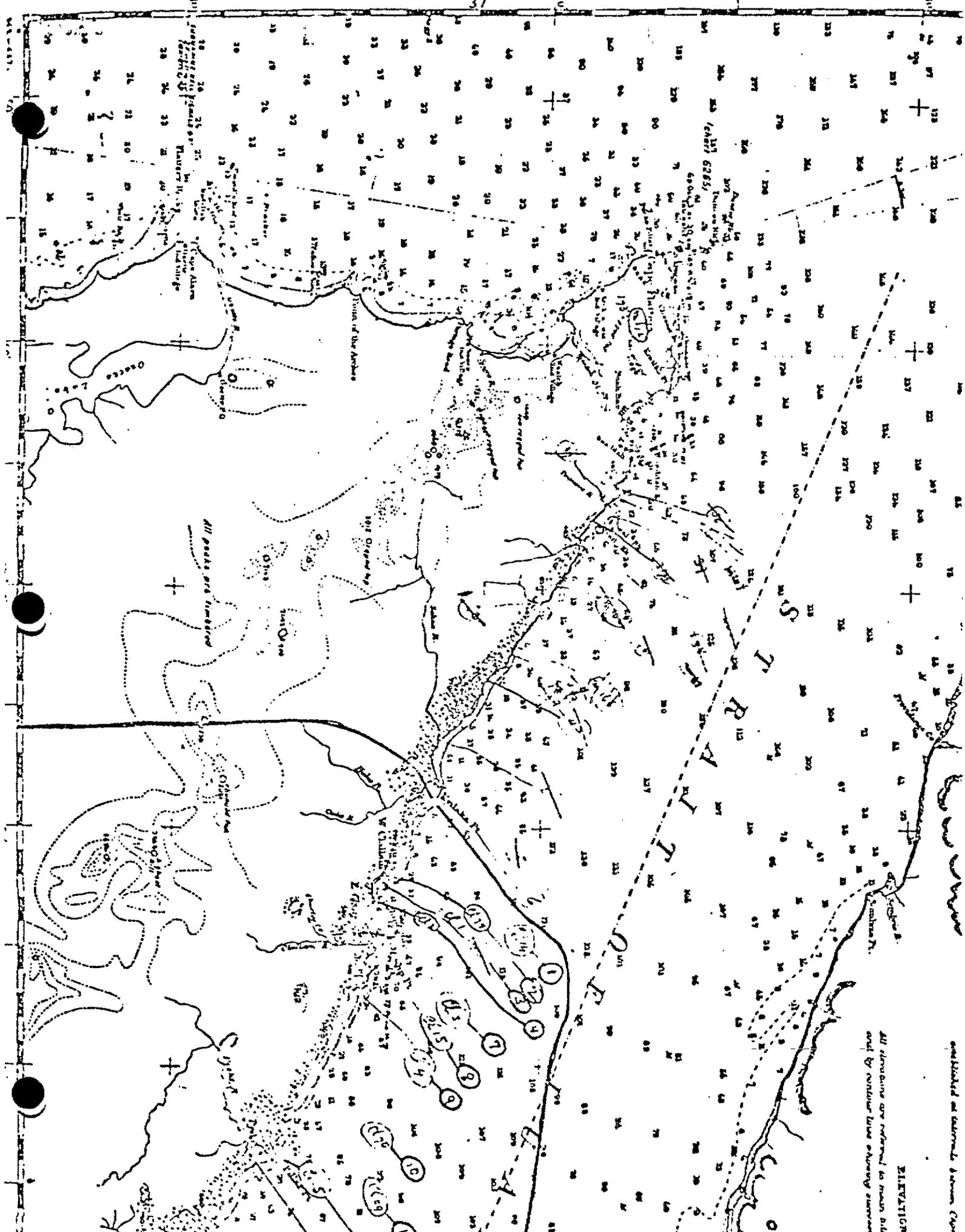
97. A spot on the eastern shore of Hoods Canal, Lai^Exa'wíLtuñ, "canoe-thwart".

98. A bend or swelling in the shore-line south of the above, Laktna'tct, "long bend". This is called "Nigger Head" at the present time.

99. A very small cove, with a tiny beach, Spapa'lix, "along-side".

100. A promontory, the north side of which is a low bluff, with a recess or shallow cavern at its base. This place is known as the Devil's Hole, because of the Indian tradition that a terrible monster lived in under the cliff. The Indians name of the place is ksnamanaq^w, "dangerous, ferocious".

101. King's Spit, a promontory on the east side of Hood's Canal, Ts!aq^wts!a'kwi, "where one customarily crosses". This is the narrowest portion of the canal, and from the spit named, it is easy to cross over to the opposite shore.



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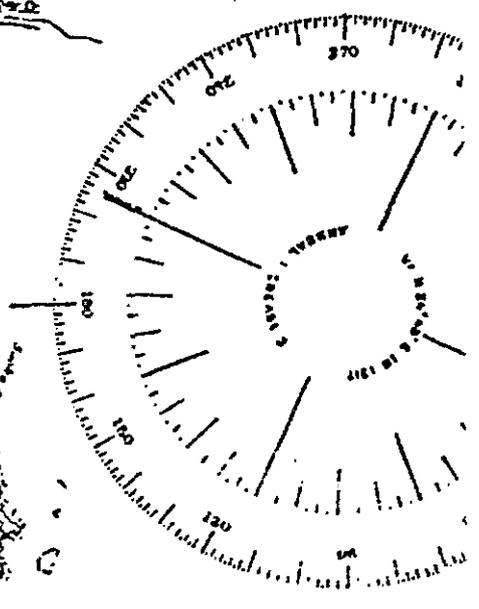
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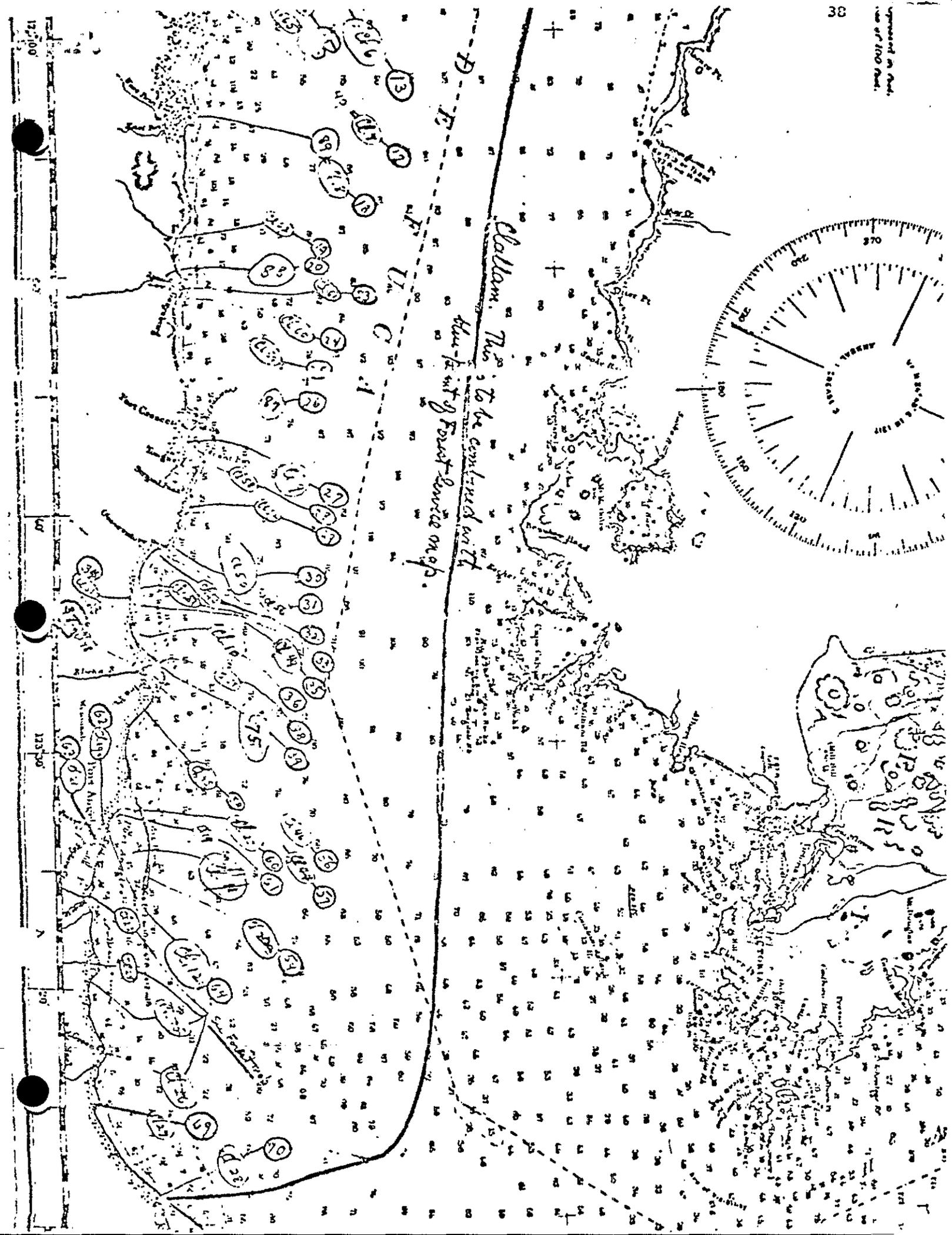
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