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IDENTITY, TREATY STATUS AND FISHERIES  
OF THE SUQUAMISH TRIBE  
OF THE PORT MADISON RESERVATION

Prepared for: U.S. Department of  
the Interior

and The Suquamish  
Indian Tribe

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IDENTITY, TREATY STATUS AND FISHERIES OF THE SUQUAMISH  
TRIBE OF THE PORT MADISON RESERVATION

|                                                                                                                         | Page |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|
| I. IDENTITY                                                                                                             | 1    |
| II. TREATY STATUS                                                                                                       | 8    |
| III. FISHERIES                                                                                                          | 11   |
| IV. MAP SHOWING SOME SUQUAMISH FISHERIES                                                                                | 22   |
| V. REFERENCES                                                                                                           | 23   |
| VI. BIBLIOGRAPHY                                                                                                        | 24   |
| VII. APPENDICES                                                                                                         |      |
| APPENDIX # 1. EXCERPTS FROM T.T. WATERMAN<br>MANUSCRIPT. SUQUAMISH VIL-<br>LAGES.                                       | 26   |
| APPENDIX # 2. EXCERPTS FROM T.T. WATERMAN<br>MANUSCRIPT. NAMES OF PLACES<br>ON THE WEST SIDE OF THE SOUND<br>AND MAP C. | 28   |
| APPENDIX # 3. EXCERPTS FROM W. SNYDER MONO-<br>GRAPH. SUQUAMISH PLACE NAMES<br>AND MAP.                                 | 47   |

IDENTITY, TREATY STATUS AND FISHERIES OF THE SUQUAMISH

TRIBE OF THE PORT MADISON RESERVATION

I. IDENTITY

The Suquamish Indian Tribe is a federally recognized Indian tribe whose members reside on the Port Madison Indian Reservation and elsewhere in western Washington. The members of the present Suquamish Indian Tribe are largely descendants of the Suquamish Indians who were resident in 1855 on what is now called the Kitsap Peninsula. The Kitsap Peninsula is located due west of the city of Seattle across Puget Sound. The Port Madison Indian Reservation is located within the territory held by the Suquamish Indians from time immemorial.

In 1855 the Suquamish held the west side of Puget Sound from near the mouth of Hood Canal south to Vashon Island. Their territory included the land around Port Madison, Liberty Bay, Port Orchard, Dye's Inlet, Sinclair Inlet and south to Olalla. It also included Bainbridge Island, Blake Island, and possibly also the west side of Whidbey Island.

It is difficult at this time to establish the precise nature of Suquamish use of the west coast of Whidbey Island. Achilles de Harley, who collected information on the Indian tribes of Oregon Territory before the separate existence of Washington Territory, reported in 1849

*The Soquamish are a warlike tribe of Indians, whose relations*

*with the whites and with the Hudson's Bay Company are friendly. They occupy the country about Port Orchard and neighbourhood, and the West side of Whidbey's Island. Males, 150; females, 95; children under 12 years, 210; slaves, 64; total, 519. They live by labour.*

(1)

George Gibbs, reporting on the Indians of western Washington in 1854 did not identify the Suquamish with Whidbey Island, although he did mention Snohomish and Skagit occupation of Whidbey Island. Gibbs' failure to note Suquamish connection with Whidbey Island does not necessarily negate de Harley's report, as Gibbs gave very little space to the Suquamish in his report. Gibbs also failed to mention Suquamish use of Bainbridge Island, although this is clearly established by other sources.

(2)

So far as I have been able to determine, there appears to be no clear evidence of Suquamish winter villages on the west side of Whidbey Island. It may be that de Harley had reference to seasonal use of the island by Suquamish for fishing, hunting, and collecting activities.

It is also difficult to establish the precise limits of Suquamish use of Hood Canal. Captain Wilkes, in 1841, identified the peoples he met on Hood Canal as Suquamish and Toando. "Toando" was his rendering of Twana, presently known as Skokomish.

(3)

According to one Skokomish informant, the village at Port Gamble was originally part of Suquamish territory. (4) At treaty times the Port Gamble area was occupied by Chemakum and Clallam and possibly also Suquamish.

Suquamish people today recall that their parents spoke of seasonal use of a number of fishing villages on Hood Canal, especially around Dosewallips. It is difficult to ascertain the time depth of these visits. They may well have been pre-1855.

Elmendorf had this to say with respect to Twana-Suquamish relationships

. . . . . The overland neighbors of the Twana to the east, across the Kitsap Peninsula, were the Suquamish (swu q ab s) who held the west side of Puget Sound from the mouth of Hood Canal south to Vashon Island. These were the only central Puget Sound people intimately known to the Twana. Their name was said to be from a Twana word wuq'wa'tab, "drifted away." According to HA their own word for "drift away" is p'a'q'w, and the Suquamish do not know that their name is meaningful in Twana. Affiliated with the Suquamish were the sxa'k'tabš on Dye Inlet, at the terminus of the overland trail from the northern Hood Canal region. . . .

. . . . . The apparent lack of Twana knowledge of and aboriginal contact with these salt-water groups on the eastern side of Puget Sound is quite striking. Except for the adjacent Suquamish, intimate ethnic contact did not seem to have extended very far east from the Hood Canal area. . . .

(5)

To the west their territory abutted that of the Chemakum around Port Gamble at the entrance of Hood Canal and that of the Skokomish (or Twana) on Hood Canal. Vashon Island to the south east and the territory due south of the Suquamish were held by the Puyallup. Immediately to the east across Puget Sound were the Duwamish. They held the territory where the city of Seattle now stands.

Linguistically, the Suquamish were sharply differentiated from their Chemakum neighbors who spoke a language belonging to a completely different linguistic stock. The Skokomish spoke a Salish language which

was different from the one spoken by the Suquamish, Puyallup, and Duwamish.

Culturally, all of these groups were quite similar. The Suquamish, like their immediate neighbours, relied primarily on salmon as their staple food. Other fish, such as cod, flounder, perch, trout, herring and smelt were also taken. Among the shellfish, clams, oysters, crabs and shrimp were important to Suquamish economy. Swamp areas were used for duck hunting and harvesting of cranberries. Other berries, such as huckleberries, blackberries and salal were collected as well. Often berries were harvested in conjunction with inland trips to hunt deer or to harvest salmon or steelhead upstream.

Smoked salmon and dried clams were traded across the mountains to the Yakima in exchange for beadwork.

The Suquamish often travelled to Hood Canal and to upper Puget Sound as well as in other directions to harvest natural resources or to visit with relatives in other areas. The Suquamish, like all of the other Coast Salish peoples in western Washington and beyond, were related by marriage with most of the neighbouring peoples.

In 1974, as in 1855, Suquamish Indians can trace ancestry in a number of western Washington Coast Salish groups.

In addition, some Duwamish Indians were located on the Port Madison Reservation and their descendants are members of the Suquamish Tribe of the Port Madison Reservation.

In the mid-nineteenth century the Suquamish resided in several

villages: one at the present site of Suquamish, one at the head of Liberty Bay near the present town of Poulsbo, one at the mouth of Curley Creek where the present town of Colby is situated, one at or near Point White on the southern shore of Bainbridge Island, one at Chico Creek on Dye's Inlet and one at Phinney Bay. Possibly there were other winter villages for which we have not located documentation. In addition to the winter villages, there were seasonal campsites.

Information on Suquamish villages and campsites is derived from nineteenth century accounts by early visitors and settlers and on twentieth century archeological and ethnographic investigations. In addition, Indian testimony regarding Suquamish village locations was recorded in 1927.

The single most important source of information on Suquamish sites is contained in the unpublished monograph of T.T. Waterman based on field investigations made about 1920. Waterman's manuscript was unknown to the ethnographers who worked in Washington from 1926 until 1968. It was not used by the anthropologists who offered expert testimony with regard to the Suquamish before the Indian Claims Commission.

The Waterman manuscript can be used as an independent check on later ethnographic work. In the case of the Suquamish, the Waterman data corroborate the later work of Snyder and provide considerable site data not available elsewhere. The Suquamish text portions and the map from Waterman's manuscript are included as Appendices 1 & 2 with this report. Snyder's material is included as Appendix 3.



The population in the mid-nineteenth century of people identified as Suquamish appears to have been somewhere around 500 people. This opinion is based on a review of the pre-treaty estimates and post-treaty counts made of Suquamish by various government agents in the 1850's.

In January 1854 in preparation for the treaty negotiations, an estimate was made of the population of various Indian groups in western Washington. At that time, based on information from resident non-Indians in the general vicinity, the Suquamish were estimated to number 485 persons. (6)

On September 26, 1856 after the Suquamish had been collected on the Fort Kitsap Reservation, the agent in charge, George A. Paige, reported to Colonel Michael Simmons, Indian Agent for the entire Puget Sound District as follows:

. . . . . I have charge over two tribes of Indian viz: The Suquamish or Seattle's tribe belonging on the shores of the Sound numbering 442: and the Duwamish tribe belonging on the River of the same name. (7)

Attached to the above letter was a breakdown of the Suquamish census dated two days later.

*Census of the Suquamish Tribe of Indians  
taken by G.A. Paige, Local Agt. Fort Kitsap  
Indian Reservation. Sept. 28th 1856*

|                      | Slaves |         |       |         |
|----------------------|--------|---------|-------|---------|
|                      | Males  | Females | Males | Females |
| Over 12 years of age | 117    | 102     | 8     | 12      |
| Under 12 years       | 91     | 97      | 6     | 8       |
|                      | 208    | 199     | 14    | 20      |
|                      |        |         |       | 441     |

In the accompanying letter, Paige made the following comment with respect to the Suquamish census

*. . . . . Accompanying this report is a census of the Suquamish tribe which can be relied on as correct. . . . Of this tribe there are some six families in all about 40 persons living in the vicinity of Port Orchard Mills some 10 miles from this place who having refused to move onto this Reservation are not included in the Census.*

Paige's total count of 441 on-reservation and his estimate of 40 off-reservation people would come to about 480 Suquamish in 1856.

This is in essential agreement with estimates and counts made in preceding and subsequent years by other officers of the Indian Service. Maynard, the agent in charge before Paige, had reported about 500 Suquamish for the year 1855-1856. (8)

In the thirty year interval between the treaty signing and the 1885 census of Suquamish on the Port Madison Reservation there was either a large decrease in Suquamish on the reservation or a large reduction in the Suquamish population.

The 1885 census of the Port Madison Reservation shows a total of 142 people of all ages. By 1910, twenty-five years later, the Port Madison Reservation population had gradually increased to 181 people. The 1942 roll shows a total of 169 enrolled members of the reservation. The 1953 tribal roll lists 183 Suquamish.

During the past twenty years, the Suquamish population has apparently increased, but I have not seen a recent tribal roll. A rather

marked increase would be likely, since one-third of the 1953 population was age sixteen or under at the time of that census.

It is possible to tie modern Suquamish residents of the Port Madison Reservation to the individuals who were identified as Suquamish in the 1850's and 1860's through documentary records.

Some modern Suquamish families can be traced back to ancestors who were present at the Point Elliott negotiations or who signed the treaty.

## II. TREATY STATUS

The Suquamish were one of the parties to the Treaty of Point Elliott, concluded at Mukilteo, January 22, 1855. They are named in the preamble of the treaty. The preamble of the Treaty of Point Elliott is reproduced here with the name of the Suquamish underscored for clarity. The underscoring does not occur in the original document.

*Articles of agreement and convention made and concluded at Muckl-te-oh, or Point Elliott, in the Territory of Washington, this twenty-second 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, head-men and delegates of the Dwamish, Suquamish, Sk'tahl-mish, Sam-ahmish, Smalh-kamish, Skope-ahmish, St-kah-mish, Snoqualmoo, Skai-wha-mish, N'Quentl-ma-mish, Sk-tah-le-jum, Stoluck-wha-mish, Sno-ho-mish, Skagit, Kik-i-allus, Swin-a-mish, Squin-ah-mish, Sah-ku-mehu, Noo-wha-ha, Nook-wa-chah-mish, Mee-see-quaguilch, Cho-bah-ah-bish, and other allied and subordinate tribes and bands of Indians occupying certain lands situated in said Territory of Washington, on behalf of said tribes, and duly authorized by them.*

Seven of the Indian signatories to the treaty are identified as Suquamish. Chief Seattle, designated by the treaty commission as Head

Chief of the Duwamish and Suquamish tribes, was consistently identified by contemporaneous sources as a Suquamish Indian.

His name and that of the other six individuals listed at the close of the treaty document as signatories thereto and identified as Suquamish are listed below in the order in which they appear. The order is not strictly sequential on the treaty document.

*Seattle, Chief of the Dwamish and Suquamish tribes*  
*Chul-whil-tan, Sub-chief of Suquamish tribe*  
*Mis-lo-tche, or Wah-hehl-tchoo, Sub-chief of Suquamish*  
*Sloo-noksh-tan, or Jim, Suquamish tribe*  
*Moo-whah-lad-hu, or Jack, Suquamish tribe*  
*Too-leh-plan, Suquamish tribe*  
*Hoovilt-meh-tum, Sub-chief of Suquamish*

Seattle, who signed the treaty as Chief of the Suquamish and Duwamish, was a leader of the Suquamish until his death in 1866. (9) He was identified with the Suquamish tribe at the Port Madison Reservation in a letter dated June 27, 1863. The letter was sent by S.D. Howe, Indian Agent, to C.H. Hale, Superintendent of Indian Affairs.

"Sir. I send to your place Mr. Butler, Seattle and others of his tribe to see you in relation to their Reservation at Port Madison. (10)

In a letter dated October 12, 1866, Father Chirouse in charge of the Tulalip Reservation, informed W.H. Waterman, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, that the Suquamish had chosen a new chief.

"The bearer Jacob Worheltchoo of Port Madison is the person who (sic) has been chosen by his tribe to act as their Chief. If you deem it advisable you will please sanction his election and grant him authority to take Jack Mallox & James Seattle as assts. in carrying out their legal laws." (11)

One of the Suquamish sub-chief who signed the Treaty of Point Elliott is listed as Wah-hehl-tchoo. Although it is possible that the Jacob Worheltchoo who succeeded Seattle is the same Wa-hehl-tchoo who signed the treaty, it does not seem likely. A Jacob Wa-hel-chu is carried on the Port Madison Reservation census rolls. In 1885 his age is listed as 51 which would place his birth in 1834. His age at the time of the treaty signing would have been 21 which appears to be rather young to be named a sub-chief.

In my opinion it is more likely that Jacob Worheltchoo was a younger relative of the treaty signer who became heir to the Indian name and adopted it as a surname. This was common practice at that era.

Whatever the precise facts were, the name Wah-hehl-tchoo was associated with the Suquamish in 1855 and has been associated with the Port Madison Reservation since its inception until 1910. At that time, Jacob Worheltchoo's descendants dropped the Indian name and used only the first name, Jacob, sometimes rendered as Jacobs, as a surname. This practice also became common. If the Indian name were difficult for non-Indians to pronounce or to spell, it frequently was dropped from use, at least with respect to non-Indians and non-Indian records. The Christian name of the father was then adopted as a surname or family name by his descendants.

The Port Madison Reservation was one of four reservations provided for under Article 2 of the Treaty of Point Elliott. It was intended primarily for the use of the Suquamish and Dwamish Indians. Most of the

Suquamish agreed to remove to the reservation, which was located in their own territory. Many of the Duwamish refused to locate in the territory of another people and insisted on a reservation on the east side of the Sound in their own country. The Muckleshoot Reservation was later provided to accomodate these demands.

The Port Madison reservation is described in the treaty as follows:

*Article 2. There is, however, reserved for the present use and occupation of the said tribes and bands the following tracts of land, viz: the amount of two sections, or twelve hundred and eighty acres, surrounding the small bight at the head of Port Madison, called by the Indians Noo-sohk-um; . . . .*

In later years the precise location of the boundaries of the reservation, as well as the size of the reservation, were the subject of much controversy. This is not the place to review the history of the Port Madison Reservation boundary disputes. Our purpose, rather, is to document that the Suquamish were named in the treaty preamble, that Indian signatories to the treaty were identified as Suquamish, and that one of the reservations established by the treaty is located in traditional Suquamish territory.

### III. FISHERIES

Like all of their neighbors, the Suquamish relied primarily on salmon for their food staple. There are no large rivers in Suquamish territory. Small streams and creeks and lakes constitute the freshwater

fisheries areas. These areas provided salmon and steelhead as well as trout.

The Suquamish territory is highly indented with bays and inlets which provide a large expanse of sheltered salt-water area abounding in shell-fish and other fish species. In the salt water areas immediately adjacent to the Kitsap Peninsula, the Suquamish were able to procure fresh fish on a year-round basis.

For their store of smoke-dried salmon to serve as winter provision, the Suquamish resorted to fisheries more distant from their own shores. They repaired to the mouth of the Duwamish and other large rivers to share in the harvest of fall salmon runs.

The inability to secure sufficient supplies when confined to those fisheries on the west side of the Sound is attested to in correspondence from the agent at the Fort Kitsap reservation in 1856.

George A. Paige, the Indian Agent in charge of the Fort Kitsap reservation, wrote to Governor Isaac I. Stevens under date of October 31, 1856 in part as follows:

*During the month the Suquamish Indians in my charge have been engaged in fishing in the different Bays and inlets on the west side of the Sound, but owing to the scarcity of salmon in this vicinity they did not succeed in laying in as large a supply as I could have wished; in fact they were obliged to subsist solely on the food procured by them the supply would be all consumed in less than a month. Should the run of cod-fish, however, be as great as last winter, I shall be able to reduce very materially the expense of feeding them, provided I am furnished with a seine, as those turned over to me, from not having proper care taken of them by the former agent, are worthless and unfit for use.*

(12)

The reference to the former agent is to Dr. D.S. Maynard who was replaced by Paige. Maynard claimed to have introduced the use of the seine to the Indians on the Fort Kitsap reservation in 1856. At the time that Maynard was appointed Special Indian Agent for the friendly Indians in King County, there was an effort made to induce all friendly Indians to move to the west side of the Sound or to other locations removed from the current hostilities.

Maynard, with those of the Duwamish he was able to bring with him from the Seattle area, crossed over to Port Madison and as of November 1855 took charge of the Suquamish and Duwamish at that place. In his report on the first year's activities at Port Madison, Maynard stated

*. . . . I taught the use and advantage of the seine, by means of which they were well supplied with the best of fish. . . .*

(13)

Paige's letter of October 31, 1856 states that salmon were so scarce on the west side of the Sound that the only way that the people at Port Madison would be able to obtain a sufficient supply of fish in those waters would be by seining. If the use of the seine was not a traditional taking technique among the Suquamish, and Maynard's report clearly indicates that it was not, the reliance on access to river fisheries or fisheries at the mouths of the large rivers seems to be underlined.



Because of the continued hostilities during the winter of 1856, the Indians on the west side of the Sound were not permitted to visit the rivers to get their winter salmon and steelhead. In his report dated November 31, 1856, Paige again reported to Stevens on the impact of this prohibition on the ability of the Indians to procure provisions.

*The Suquamish Indians during the month have been engaged mostly in repairing and building houses for the winter and collecting food in the different bays & inlets on the west side of the Sound; but for the same reasons mentioned in my last monthly report they have not succeeded in getting an extensive supply, though they have all the range they desire except the rivers.* (sic)

(14)

The following month Paige again reported to Stevens on the impossibility of the Suquamish Indians finding enough food while they were prevented from leaving the west side of the Sound. Under date of December 31, 1856 he wrote

*I send you by the express my monthly report for December 1856. About the 10th of the month the Suquamish Indians commenced moving in to the Reservation from their fishing grounds in considerable numbers.*

*They continued to move in till the 20th since which time with the exception of a few families at Port Orchard, I have had the whole of the Tribe on my hands. They reported that they could find no more food, and had to come in to keep from starving. On proceeding to examine their stock of provisions, I found it very scant, so much so that if the whole amount collected was divided equally amongst them, they could not subsist on it above 3 or 4 weeks.*

*This scarcity of food, I am convinced is not owing to their indolence, as they have always been willing and even anxious to collect their own provisions whenever it was possible for them to do so.*

(15)

It is my opinion that the foregoing reports written by Paige in the fall and winter months of 1856 document the fact that the Suquamish were accustomed to harvest their fall and winter salmon supplies at the rivers on the east side of Puget Sound. Modern Suquamish, as well as neighbouring Indians, have attested that the Suquamish traditionally fished at the mouths of the Duwamish and Snohomish rivers as well as in the adjacent marine areas.

In spring and summer the Suquamish undoubtedly made use of wider marine areas. An 1827 report mentions the presence of Suquamish visitors as far north as Fort Langley on the Fraser river. The identification of "Soquams" in the report with Suquamish is made clear by an earlier reference to them when they were visited on their home territory.

J. McMillan, enroute from Fort Vancouver to Fraser river travelled via Port Orchard. His journal entry for Tuesday, July 3, 1827 noted that his party encamped on the west side of the Sound opposite the south end of Vashon Island (spelled Vashang). The following morning  
*at 7 am reached Port Orchard. Breakfast north of Point Orchard and again embarked. Visited the Soquam village.*

(16)

The Suquamish were again noticed in McMillan's journal when they made their appearance at Fort Langley in October 1827.

*October 8 The Eldest Son of the Old Soquam Chief arrived in the afternoon with a small retinue for the purpose of trading with us.*

*October 9 The Soquams traded upwards of twenty Beaver Skins.*

(17)

In my opinion, the evidence that the Suquamish travelled to the Fraser river in pre-treaty times documents their capability to travel widely over the marine waters in what are now known as the Strait of Juan de Fuca and Haro and Rosario Straits. According to oral tradition, the Suquamish regularly travelled through the San Juan Islands and to the Fraser river. It does not appear feasible, on the basis of written records, to document the frequency of such trips.

The Fort Langley journal documents that the Suquamish did travel to the Fraser river. It is my opinion that the Suquamish undoubtedly would have fished the marine waters along the way as they travelled. It is likely that one of the reasons for travel was to harvest fish. The Suquamish travelled to Whidbey Island to fish and undoubtedly used other marine areas as well. (18)

Another early account describes the Suquamish smoke-curing fish and shellfish for winter stores at a seasonal camp on the south end of Bainbridge Island. Vancouver visited the camp in 1792 while surveying Admiralty Inlet.

*Towards noon, I went ashore at the village point (southern end of Bainbridge Island) for the purpose of observing the latitude; on which occasion I visited the village, if it may be dignified, as it appeared the most lowly and meanest of its kind. The best of the huts were poor and miserable, constructed something after the fashion of a soldier's tent, by two cross-sticks, about five feet high, connected at each end*

by a ridge-pole from one to the other, over some of which was thrown a coarse kind of mat; over others, a few loose branches of trees, shrubs, and grass. None, however, appeared to be constructed for protecting them, either against the heat of summer or the inclemency of winter. In them were hung up, to be cured by the smoke of the fire they kept constantly burning, clams, muscles, and a few other kinds of fish, seemingly intended for their winter's subsistence. The clams were not all reserved for that purpose, as we frequently saw them strung and worn about the neck, which, as inclination directed, were eaten, two, three, or half a dozen at a time. This station did not appear to have been preferred for the purpose of fishing, as we saw few of the people so employed; nearly the whole of the inhabitants belonging to the village, which consisted of about eighty or a hundred men, women, and children, were busily engaged, like swine, rooting up this beautiful verdant meadow, in quest of a species of wild onion, and two other roots, which, in appearance and taste, greatly resembled the saranna, particularly the largest. The collecting of these roots was most likely the object which attracted them to this spot; they all seemed to gather them with much avidity, and to preserve them with great care, most probably for the purpose of making the paste I have already mentioned.

(19)

The mat houses, of course, mark the village as a temporary camp, probably occupied only while the collecting of roots and perhaps also of shellfish was undertaken.

While it does not appear feasible to document all of the marine locations fished by the Suquamish at treaty times, it is possible to state they they harvested enough fish to satisfy their own needs and to produce surplus of fish and fish products to sell.

The annual report of the Indian agent in charge of the Port Madison reservation, A.R. Elder, dated July 28, 1867 contained the following observations

. . . . They are not agriculturalists, but make their living by working at the mills, cutting and felling logs from their reservation to the mills, and by fishing for dog and salmon fish, selling the oil from the dog fish and supplying the mills with the salmon. These Indians have

plenty of money and are doing well; . . . .

(20)

By the turn of the century commercial fishing and sport fishing were important features of Kitsap County economy. In 1901 the Port Orchard Independent issued a supplement in the form of a 36-page booklet entitled Kitsap County Business Review. The following excerpts from that publication give some indication of the fisheries of that time.

#### *Fishing and Hunting*

Deep sea fishing is quite an industry of this county. There is the rockcod, the salmon, smelt, herring and all kinds of fish in profusion, and many men find employment the year round in supplying the city markets with fish. . . . .

#### *Other Industries and Opportunities*

. . . . .Native oyster beds are found at Poulsbo, which supply a large market annually.

#### *The Anderson Hotel and Mineral Springs*

. . . . .One mile away, Lake Kitsap and the snow-fed streams are filled with rich mountain trout. In the sparkling, dashing ocean waters of Port Orchard Bay one can troll for salmon trout or fish with hook and line after the tomcod. Who desire can step a few feet from the hotel upon the wide and level beach and dig the little-neck clam, cockle, mussel and oyster from their hidden beds.

#### *Poulsbo*

. . . . .Natural oyster beds cover the tide lands stretching out before the town and extending around beyond the head of the bay.

(21)

The following summary of Suquamish fisheries is based on available ethnographic sources. Springs (Chinook), silvers (Coho), and dog salmon (Chum) were taken in most of the creeks and small streams draining

Suquamish territory as well as in the adjacent marine areas. Salmon and steelhead were harvested by nets, spears, and tidal impounding traps, as well as by trolling.

Springs and silvers were taken by trolling off Apple Cove Point. The Suquamish also trolled for springs in Hood Canal. Silvers were speared in Dye's Inlet, Liberty Bay, and at the head of Sinclair Inlet. Silvers were also taken at Skunk Bay at the northern tip of Kitsap Peninsula.

Dog salmon filled the creeks such as Ross Creek, Chico Creek, and Blackjack Creek during the fall runs and were clubbed as they fought their way upstream to the spawning areas.

Steelhead were speared in Union River in early spring. They were also taken in Curley Creek and reportedly used to be found in the creek between Ross Creek and Blackjack Creek on the south shore of Sinclair Inlet.

Salmon eggs were dried and stored in baskets. Apparently steelhead eggs were not cured.

Ling cod were speared off Blake Island. They were also taken at Jefferson Head, Point No Point, and Rich's Passage between the southern end of Bainbridge Island and the peninsula.

Flounder were speared northwest of Orchard Point and were also taken in Dye's Inlet, Liberty Bay, and off Indianola.

Herring were taken by raking off Apple Cove Point and Point No Point and were taken in a herring trap at Port Orchard. They were also

taken at Ross Point.

Smelt were taken near Ross Point, University Point, in Liberty Bay and Miller's Bay.

Clamming areas were found throughout Suquamish territory on the various beaches and mud flats. Specific locations were at Blake Island, Bainbridge Island, Port Madison, Indianola, Agate Passage, Liberty Bay, Port Orchard, Dye's Inlet and Sinclair Inlet.

Native oysters were collected in Dye's Inlet and Liberty Bay. Imported Japanese oysters reportedly have displaced the native oyster in some locations, as in the area between Chico and Erland's Point.

Shrimp were taken near Indianola and near Holly on the east shore of Hood Canal.

Crab, octopus, china slippers, and other fish and shellfish were taken when and where available.

Map #1 shows the more important species taken and most of the locations within Suquamish territory at which they were secured. The information included on the map and in this report necessarily reflects an incomplete inventory of Suquamish sites and site use.

It is neither feasible nor possible, on the basis of fragmentary documentary records, to present a complete account of Suquamish fisheries as of 1855. Most of the data in this report have come, by force of necessity, from post-treaty sources. Material regarding marine fisheries is particularly inadequate.

This account of Suquamish fisheries must be understood to represent a reasonably complete survey of the existing sources, but an incomplete account of Suquamish fisheries.





## References

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- (2) Waterman (MS:209); also Snyder (1968:135-6)
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- (5) Elmendorf (1960:292-3)
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- (9) Bancroft (1890:174)
- (10) Howe (1863:1)
- (11) Chirouse (1866:1)
- (12) Paige (1856b:1)
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- (17) McMillan (1827)
- (18) ICC Docket No. 132 (R. I:107)
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- (21) Kitsap County Business Review (1901:4, 28-9, 33)

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APPENDIX # 1. EXCERPTS FROM T.T. WATERMAN MANUSCRIPT  
PUGET SOUND GEOGRAPHY

"SUQUAMISH VILLAGES"

C 30. Tus<sup>u</sup>qub, "clear salt-water." The name probably arose from the contrast between the clear tide water which flows through Agate Pass, as compared with the water in the Liberty Bay, an inclosed harbor nearby, into which Agate Pass opens. In Liberty Bay the water moves slowly back and forth with the tides, and the surface is covered with floating rubbish and various marine growths. Costello gives for the name of this place the term Tu-che-kub, not translated. The people living at this spot were called S<sup>u</sup>qu-a bc, a term Anglicized as "suquamish" or "Suquampsh." Thus the present name of the steamer landing with its pleasant little town is really the anme of the people, not the name of the place. It thus corresponds with the names Duwamish and Sammamish, already discussed. The site was also called by a term Ita kb<sup>w</sup>, "lots of people," as it was in aboriginal days considered a great place of concourse. The Indians at the present time often refer to it as "Old Man House" from a large aboriginal communal dwelling which stood here for years after the White occupancy. (pl. 3). The site of the native settlement, with a large shell-heap lying beside it, was south of the present landing, at the cable-crossing.

C 52. Xoyatcid, not translated. A creek flows into the head of Liberty Bay, forming a sort of estuary, with extensive mud-flats. The mud is apparently bottomless.

C 138. BEq<sup>o</sup>lb<sup>u</sup>, "people gathered from various localities." The stem q<sup>o</sup>ol means "to gather together;" "to inclose a number of things in one's fist." Tsa<sup>u</sup>:lqob is said to have been head-man in this village. An Indian named Wilton, (which is a transliteration or Anglicized form of his native name Tc<sup>i</sup>lhw<sup>i</sup>ltEd) lives there now. The name of the present town at this point is Colby.

Meany's somewhat amusing note on the name Colby is as follows. "About 1884 some lumps of coal were found along a small creek. This gave rise to the local name 'Coal bay,' which was later shortened to Colby." This interpretation seems to be nonsense of a somewhat childish order. No deposits of coal exist in this vicinity, and if they did, there is no reason to suppose that the place-name in question originated in the way described. The well-known suffix by in English place-names (such as Derby, Enderby and numerous others, including Colby) is said by all authorities to represent a Danish -bygh, meaning "town," the familiar element which appears in the term "by-law." It is doubtful if there is a single case where "bay" is said by any reputable authority to have taken the form -by, in the entire history of the English language.

My Indian informants say that "Colby" is merely the white-man's attempt to pronounce the Indian name for the locality, given just above. This is vastly more plausible than Meany's explanation, and may be the actual history of the matter for all I know.

C 149. Tutcu'kw<sup>o</sup>p, not translated. The people living here were known as the Swokwa'bc. Among them was a noted man, Kltsa'p, from whom the present county takes its name.

C 167. Tuxwaxa<sup>v</sup>:datc, "goose-droppings", a settlement located on what is now known as Point White.

C 170. Qa<sup>3</sup>'xti<sup>u</sup>, "stingy." The term q<sup>3</sup>ax means literally "a bad habit, or failing." A head man here is said to have been stingy, whence the name.

APPENDIX #2. EXCERPTS FROM T.T. WATERMAN MANUSCRIPT  
PUGET SOUND GEOGRAPHY

MAP C

Names of Places on the West Side of the Sound

1. Teekalet bluffs, TExq<sup>3</sup>e'ultx, "skunk-cabbage." Myron Bells says that this word means "brightness of the noonday sun." He is confusing the place with another (no. 4 below). The place pointed out by the Indians is near where the Port Gamble mills now stand. The word "TEEKALET" on our present maps is a transliteration of the Indian word.
2. The town of Port Gamble, Q<sup>3</sup>qla'xad, "fence."
3. Port Gamble harbor, Stcē'yūx, "bay."
4. The present Indian village of "Boston," opposite Port Gamble, Sdeu'wap, "noon"; "broad daylight." I do not know any reason for the name, except that the village is out on an open sand-spit, away from the shadow of the forest.
5. A white bluff N. of Port Gamble, Stō't<sup>4</sup>awi, "little creek."
6. A small inlet sheltered behind a promontory, Ts<sup>3</sup>e'iL, "a sheltered lagoon."
7. The narrow isthmus S. of Foulweather bluff, Bu'sbusqEs, "low neck."
8. The southernmost of a pair of promontories below Foulweather bluff, Qadwatqs, "promontory where the water is in a whirl."
9. The northernmost of the two promontories just mentioned, p<sup>3</sup>alltc, "where one goes over a narrow place." This point encircles a quiet and sinuous lagoon. The Indians sometimes carried canoes over the sand-bar and launched them in this lagoon, whence the name.
10. Foulweather bluffs, Spi'pitc, "mica," or "sand containing mica." A myth recounts that Porpoise once scorched the bottom of his canoe here, to free it of seaweed. The sand has looked like fire ever since.

11. A cranberry marsh W. of Point-No-Point, Tuqwulo'dEb, "white hair."

12. Point-No-Point, Hadsqs, "long promontory."

13. A small creek, Sts<sup>3</sup>ba's. This suggests to my informants asba s, "proud," "exclusive."

14. Pilot point, Qa'qa; hwEts, "crabapple grove."

15. The site of the present Eglon, Ts<sup>3</sup>apī dyu. The term tspida means a variety of little red crab. There were lots of them there.

15a. A small creek with shining sands, Tsatspī<sup>3</sup>diyau. This is the diminutive of the term just given.

16. Apple Cove Point, Sisxqī, "a whisper."

17. Kingston, Qw<sup>3</sup>iyaq<sup>3</sup>olb, "twisting a withe to make it flexible."

18. Point below South Kingston, DExp<sup>3</sup>okwi, "wild currents." The name applies to a place near the dock.

19. President point, the northernmost of three promontories at Jefferson head, Q<sup>3</sup>a:yūpcld. The term iLdi<sup>3</sup>si means "furthest." These three points had a similar name, distinguished as just indicated.

20. The second of the three promontories just mentioned, ILE'gwils qa:gupcd. The term ILE'gwils means "middle."

21. Point Jefferson, called locally "Jefferson Head," A<sup>3</sup>ai:yūpcix, "bent knee." The term is said to be descriptive of the shape.

22. The site of Jack Davis' place, DExqī'gwEts, "deer beach."

22a. The big hill E. of Indianola dock, Ste'tsus, "cut." The word refers to the way the hill has been eroded by the action of the waves.

23. The place where Billy Kitsap lives, Duxsī'sä, "dizzy."



24. The sand-spit by William Rodger's house, SxEtLgwa'sEks, "crooked point."

25. Number not used.

26. The upper end of Miller's bay, A'tsap, "head of bay."

27. The upper end of Miller's bay, a winding slough, Tq<sup>3</sup>tu'sid, "where a creek empties into an estuary."

27a. A lake three miles above the head of Miller's bay, Kulo'it, "marsh."

28. A place on the W. shore of Miller's bay, Tuts<sup>3</sup>kwi'b, "place of the fossil fern." The term for the plant referred to is ts<sup>3</sup>E'kwi. I have made many attempts to identify it. It is styled variously the "fossil fern," "evergreen fern," and "Indian banana." It is a tall plant, and grows on logs in damp places. A cluster of edible pods is found at the bottom of the stalks, looking like one's hands placed palm to palm. The Indians gathered these pods and baked them as they did clams, burying them in a pit with hot stones. The existence of these plants on the west side of the bay gave the place its name. The name is "Noosohk-um," a word adopted by Mr. Holmes as the name of his bungalow near the outlet of the bay. It is also applied to the bay. The word Noosohk-um is probably an attempt to transliterate the Indian term just given. If so, the original transcriber met with only very moderate success. Possibly the pronunciation has altered since the word was written down, but it is more likely, however, that this form Noosohk-um came from a Clallam informant. In the Clallam dialect the corresponding name would be "Nuts<sup>3</sup>kwi'm," which would give Noo-sohk-um in our common newspaper orthography. The word is transliterated as "Sqaib" on the Coast and Geodetic Survey charts and also occurs in the form Squib.

29. A great isolated boulder on the beach between Miller's bay and Suquamish, XaxEltck<sup>3</sup>i'd, "sword-ferns on his summit." Ferns formerly grew on top of this boulder.

30. SUQUAMISH; the site of an ancient settlement on Port Madison Indian reservation, Tus<sup>3</sup>qub, "clean water." See list of villages above.

31. A place just south of the preceding, Tusuba'tcuts, "shag."

32. A bank or bluff of hard material with a "blow-hole," QWE'lqWElEq<sup>3</sup>, "gurgle." The waves crowding into the cave compress the air, which "blows" out, giving rise to the name.

33. A place where the trail led along the margin of a creek, Dji'Excld, "trail overed with water." or "where footprints fill up with water."

34. A promontory ending in a high, white bluff, Sa'tsus, "face."

35. A creek and lagoon behind a promontory, DextL<sup>3</sup>o'bíl, "shiners" (a diminutive kind of fish). The name of the place is anglicized as CLAYBILL.

36. The upper end of Agate pass, where it widens out, Q<sup>3</sup>Elk<sup>3</sup>e'd, "the upper end" of anything.

36a. An old site, marked with an accumulation of kitchen-refuse, just N. of the house belonging to Joe George, Saa'tsgwEs, "middle place." A similar word means "a go-between," a man who acts as intermediary in feuds.

37. A flat promontory with a sand-spit inclosing a lagoon, Ashu'dtc, "burnt." This is a very attractive spot, a level flat overgrown with very fine timber like a park, and a nice beach. A shell-mound at the base of the point indicates that it was formerly a place of settlement. This is where Louisa Peters and her relatives now live.

38. A sheltered cove, between two promontories, TsELtSE Ltatc'ts, "willows."

39. Number not used.

40. POINT BOLIN, a promontory known to the local inhabitants as Cape Horn, Pula'kwitsa, "dusty point." A large rock there is called "elk" and a smaller one "wolf."

A legend recounts that these animals were turned to stone by the Transformer. "The rocks still look as though the little one were chasing the big one," the Indians say.

41. A cranberry swamp just W. of the cape, Xutctcbe'l:i. This term was explained by one informant as "firewood place." The stem xu'tcEb means "to put things in a basket."

42. A place in the cove E. of Lemolo, where Jack Adams lives, Tuxp Etsp<sup>3</sup>Etsub, "to get diarrhea."

43. A place slightly farther to the W., with a creek, Tc<sup>3</sup>eLtc<sup>3</sup>e'li, "trench," or "ditch."

44. A place on the E. side of the Lemolo promontory, TiLaba'gwap, "crosswise," referring, I think, to the fact that the promontory juts out at right angles to the shore.

45. Number not used.

46. Outer face of the promontory, at Lemolo, SE<sup>x</sup>kwa'sEpsEb, "where a certain one scorched his throat" (kwas, "to scorch"). A legend recounts that Mink steamed a lot of the kind of clams called sta bza, at this point. He was too greedy to wait until they had cooled.

47. A tiny promontory just around from Lemolo, in the bight behind the peninsula, Di'da'di, "sex organ." This is a euphemism, according to my informants, for tsitskadib, the clitoris.

48. A big rock, white around its top, Xwo<sup>3</sup>qwa'laqid, "head-band." It was fifteen feet high, but has been broken up to make room for the boiler of a saw-mill. A man once put a white circlet of flowers around his hair, and followed his "sweetheart." At that time the "change" came, and he was turned into this rock. This is why it has a white band around it.

49. A small, sharp promontory, near Poulsbo, Q<sup>3</sup>e'uq ewa':dats, "kinikinick," or "Indian tobacco."

50. The site of POULSBO, Tcu'tcu'<sup>3</sup>Lats, "maple grove."

51. An isolated sandstone boulder lying on the beach E. of Poulsbo dock, SE<sup>x</sup>si'tcsitc, "filing or grinding a bone." The word for the modern steel file is sitc. This boulder contains a number of small holes where the rock has been weathered out. A legend recounts that when the Transformer came along, Deer was grinding a bone, and singing a song as he worked. The burden of it was that he intended to use the article on Xade, the Transformer. Asked what he was about, he denied everything, but Xade, took the sharp bone and shoved it into his ankle, changing him into the deer of today. The sharp bone is found in deer's ankle, even yet. (See Waterman and Ballard.)

52. An ancient village-site, at the head of Dogfish bay (Liberty bay), Xo'yatcid. See list of villages above.

53. A small creek entering the harbor directly opposite Poulsbo, Ba'ditutcid, "craggy."

54. The creek at Scandia, TcLa'xutsid, "rocky mouth." (tcetla, "rock").

55. The site of the present Pearson, Bi't<sup>3</sup>labEd.

56. The elongated promontory between Pearson and Keyport, Qukwi<sup>3</sup>s, "slim and tall." The term refers to the shape of the point.

57. The inclosed lagoon at the W. side of the Keyport peninsula, TL<sup>3</sup>o/tL<sup>3</sup>ok<sup>3</sup>ts, "oysters."

58. Site of the dock at Keyport, Labxu<sup>s</sup>, "sloppy face." The word slabhw<sup>1</sup>L is applied to smears on clothing. The Navy has a Torpedo station here.

59. The little bay above the Torpedo wharf, Xas<sup>1</sup>ls, "scraping your face."

60. A cliff E. of Keyport, Cbi<sup>3</sup>, "caving down."

61. A prominent cliff at a point where the shore-line bulges out, S<sup>3</sup>a<sup>1</sup>bidgus, "projecting chest."

62. BROWN'S BAY ("Burke bay"), Tco<sup>1</sup>qLxa. The meaning of this term is "improper" and my informants were unwilling to translate it.

63. A spring, forty feet from the beach-line, in the cove near University point, Siaba<sup>1</sup>-l-go, "aristocrats' water." At half-tide one can get a drink here.

64. A promontory known locally as University point, Qkwa<sup>1</sup>ptEb. The term is said to be connected with qa<sup>1</sup>kud, "to bite out a piece of something," and is also said to refer especially to buttocks. A tradition exists that a shark once bit an old slave-woman who was bathing here.

65. A place known now as Illahee, a steamer landing, Tuxuq<sup>3</sup>w<sup>3</sup>Elb, "huckleberry bay."

66. A promontory known locally as Moore's point, Xitca<sup>1</sup>sEb, "to have a chill," "to feel a tremor."

67. A spring near the shore-line, Tuxdada<sup>1</sup>balt<sup>4</sup>, "home of spirits." The reference is to the "power" which enables one to go to the underworld for the soul of a sick person. This spring supplies excellent water.

68. The site of a landing known as Enetai, SEhqw<sup>3</sup>e<sup>1</sup>uk<sup>3</sup> egw<sup>1</sup>L, "a little place where one blackens a canoe by storching." This was done to clear the bottom of fouling, and to preserve the wood. The first steam sawmill in this part of the sound is said to have stood at this spot.

69. A rock in the water near the beach by Nanette dock, Xa'xE<sup>3</sup>, "forbidden." If a man ran his boat on this rock, and the falling tide left it dry, he would be sure to die; that is, unless he knew a certain song, which was as follows:

SiLaLa'u xtcEd altis wati<sup>ut</sup>id  
 I will grow on this world  
 gwEl La hoi'yaux haL  
 Then will become good.

70. The beach at the piles standing below Sheridan, QwEsa'bts, "scorched body." The term for dried salmon is kwa sab. People used to scrape off portions of a drying salmon and eat it without boiling.

71. Number not used.

72. An outcrop of rock on the shore of Dye's inlet, suggesting in form a woman with her hand shading her eyes, Skwe'xulaxad, "peeping around something." A myth recounts that this woman was watching an advancing war-party across the inlet, and was turned to stone. The rock has in recent years been blasted away to build a highway.

73. A sheltered place, almost a cove, Qaba'tsub, "smooth water."

74. A point near the town of Tracyton, C'ze'd, "head," "top." This is the "head" of Port Washington narrows.

75. A place alongside Tracyton, Tc<sup>3</sup>o<sup>3</sup>Lats.

76. Number not used.

77. Site of the present town of FAIRVIEW, Lac'x.

78. A place on the shore N. of Tracyton, T<sup>3</sup>u<sup>3</sup>ula'tu, "herring's house." Herring are said to have spawned there in large numbers.

79. A stream known as Jack Barker's creek, Pwe'iL-go.

80. A cliff opposite Silverdale, Ba'bad<sup>3</sup>Eb, "turned away." Some being at this place turned his back when the Transformer came along.

81. A little inclosed bay opposite Silverdale, Sxaq<sup>3</sup>t, "way back in." A similar but smaller bay on the opposite side of the inlet is known by the diminutive of this term.

82. The creek E. of the town of Silverdale, Duwe'iq. This term expresses the idea of a creek at the head of a bay or estuary: "mouth of a creek way back in a pocket," as one informant put it.

82a. A lake with a small island in it, half-way between Jack Adams' place and Port Washington, Qo'qwaxad, "coot." They held "Black Tamanous" ceremonies there; hence the place was also called Xuda'a:b the term for a certain ceremonial performance.

83. A tiny bay just N. of Silverdale, Sxa'<sup>3</sup>aq<sup>3</sup>t, the diminutive of the term given under 30a, above.

84. The site of the present town of Silverdale, Ba'xwabaqwobs, "prairie," or "open space."

85. A creek just S. of Silverdale, Bissqwe<sup>1</sup>qwats<sup>3</sup>, "where a certain rush grows." This rush has a round stem and looks "like grass." It grows in swamps, along with the cat-tail. The stems are used in making mats.

86. A very cold creek between Silverdale and Chico, Hwai'yu.

87. A place N. of Chico, where the Morgan oyster-beds are situated, Q<sup>3</sup>aa'hivi, "crabapple place." The term for crabapple is q<sup>3</sup>a<sup>3</sup>.

88. A gravelly beach with bath-houses N. of Chico, WiExqw<sup>3</sup>a'q<sup>3</sup>udup, "something white on the ground."

89. CHICO CREEK, Speu'L. The term spe' wiL is said to mean "to whistle." I know of no reason for the name.

90. A small lagoon E. of the town of Chico, Tsids-tLo'tsid.

91. The promontory E. of Chico, Qwltc<sup>3</sup>algw<sup>1</sup>L, "looking for a canoe." A fellow who was looking for his canoe was turned into a boulder.

92. A large boulder on the beach, in front of the old Catholic mission church on the W. shore of the inlet near Erland, Kwe'kwi<sup>3</sup>l, "skate." The rock has a sharp turned-up point at one side, resembling the nose of the skate.

93. A big glacial boulder of chert, lying on the beach, Ya'xud, "arrowpoint." It lies east of the end of the promontory below Erland. One informant said "shot something long ago" explains the name. Others say they really got arrowpoints there, which is highly unlikely.

94. The bay behind the promontory just mentioned, Lehwiya<sup>3</sup>l, meaning "three feathers," according to one informant.

95. The promontory at Ellwood, near the Navy magazines, Tuba't<sup>3</sup>ubEd.
96. A place S. of Ellwood, Tupa'k<sup>3</sup>ap, "to spread something about."
97. A tiny lagoon behind a point, Sba'Lkat, "place where water is retained when the tide goes down."
98. An elongated and very narrow peninsula, W. of Ostrich bay, XoxoyeqwEd. The term suggests "to cut the head off" It may refer to the configuration of the bay.
99. A tiny bay at the inner end of the promontory just mentioned, TL<sup>3</sup>o'tL<sup>3</sup>ox<sup>2</sup>ts, "oysters."
100. A place where cold springs break out below the tide level, Bul ats, "where it boils out." At low water it is possible to get a fine drink here.
101. The end of a short promontory on the E. side of Ostrich bay, Q<sup>3</sup>e'gwatsEb, "deer place." My informants say that in the old days deer used to appear there very often.
102. The long point between Mud bay and Ostrich bay, BEqkwa b Eqs, "promontory with open spaces."
103. A place near the end of this promontory, Xi'lilix-hagwap, "head of hililix." This is where Tom Dixon lives.
104. A place on the flat top of this promontory, Ptsa'dzib, "reptile place." Snakes and lizards are said to be numerous there.
105. The end of the long promontory just mentioned, Xelēlex, "battling place (xe'lex, "a battle"). A myth tells of a great battle there between "myth-people" from Sxaqt and "myth-people" from Port Orchard. Numerous glacial boulders on both sides of the point are the combatants, who were turned into stone by Doqwebal. (See Waterman and Ballard).
106. A ridge of rocks seen at low-tide, Gui'toguitc, "moving away." They were people who were "moving away" at the time of the battle just mentioned.
107. Place in Port Washington narrows, just off a promontory, P<sup>1</sup>tpa'xwad, "place where it squirts." The name comes from the swift current which sets through here with an outgoing tide.
108. A small elongated peninsula, really a string of islands connected by sandbars, Ca'cila, "penis."

109. Small creek at the inner end of Phinney bay, TL<sup>3</sup>awoi'ya.

110. The tip of the promontory on the E. side of Phinney bay, PElkqs, "boiling promontory." There is a very swift current down the narrows, which ripples around this point. A spring of fine water bubbles up among the rocks off this point. At low-tide one can get a drink there.

111. Place on the S. shore, near the lower end of the narrows, BIsba'tcus, "where there are shags." These birds are said to be numerous there.

112. The site of Evergreen park in the town of Bremerton, Tuq<sup>3</sup>iya'ob (q<sup>3</sup>iyau, "pile worm"). This is curiously similar to the word for "eel."

113. Site of the Standard Oil Company's dock in Bremerton, Xa'lax<sup>u</sup> (xalx, "a noise"). People going past here heard the echo of their own paddles.

114. A spot within the grounds of the United States Navy Yard at Bremerton, Cte'lqub.

115. Spot just S. of the Navy Yard, on the shore, Tca<sup>3</sup>tLtce'labid, "place of shadows."

116. A small creek beyond the Navy Yard, Dexqa'djat.

117. A small creek, Txqiaba'dib.

118. A small knoll on the tip of a promontory, Sq<sup>3</sup>a'le, "snail." Snail-woman was formerly an ogress, who stole children and carried them off in a basket on her back. Arriving at this point, she built a fire to cook them, but they outwitted her and pushed her in. She burst, and the pieces flying about were transformed into jelly-fish. In the upper end of this inlet jelly-fish were formerly so plentiful that a person could hardly put the point of paddle on the bottom without touching one. The story explains why this is so.

119. A creek with some big maples at its mouth, Seshwa'p, (sa wab, "to jump").

120. The upper end of Sinclair inlet, above Port Orchard, StEtca'bEts, "rolling logs to the water." This probably refers to the cutting of canoe-timber on this flat.



121. A small creek E. of the preceding entry, Du<sup>3</sup>xö'i, "old," "decayed." This is near the stone-quarry.
122. Another creek, very small, Xe<sup>4</sup>xEL. This is the diminutive of the word "good" (xal).
123. The blunt promontory just W. of Ross creek, near the town of Port Orchard, Tc<sup>3</sup>cadxu, "a star."
124. ROSS CREEK (also known, I think, as "Black Jack" creek), Ca'bdup, "dry ground."
125. A promontory in the center of the town of Port Orchard, Qw<sup>3</sup>Eq<sup>3</sup>ks, "white point." The name came from the fact that there used to be a long spit there, with white shells, now covered with mud.
126. The first creek E. of Port Orchard, Tsiya'tcibEd. Tsiya'tkob is the word for wild men. They used to frequent this place to catch salmon.
127. Number not used.
128. The creek E. of the Soldiers' Home, TcektcekwlL, "very dirty."
129. The outer portion of the great promontory ending in Point Glover, Baqwbaqwob, "open spaces."
130. An abrupt promontory of stone, connected with the land by a narrow isthmus, Sba'badid, "crag."
131. The stone-quarry near Point Glover, Yetxwüba'l-go, "raven's water." A rock (now broken down) on the side of the bluff looked like an "Indian dipper" or canoe-bailer. This was said to have belonged to Raven in myth-times.
132. Point Glover at the end of the long promontory E. of Port Orchard (opposite the S. end of Bainbridge island; Xwiyeq<sup>3</sup>a'le. This suggests to one informant, xwiyeq<sup>w</sup>, "elbow." The term may have reference to the configuration of the promontory.
133. The first lagoon N. of the town of Colby, Qe'qthub, "full belly." This lagoon is called locally "Clam bay." The "old people" had an aerial duck-net here.
134. ORCHARD'S ROCKS, a reef in mud-channel, now marked with a light, Xa'tLdop, "biting." The name is said to arise from the fact that seals eat the fish here.

135. Number not used.
136. ORCHARD POINT, Blupsa'l-go, "coon's water."
137. A long curve in the coast-line N. of Colby, A'bídgu, "pushing out one's chest." The name refers to the configuration of the shoreline.
- 137a. A small creek near the preceding Tuts<sup>3</sup>Ek<sup>3</sup>, "salmon eggs."
138. The town of COLBY, BEq<sup>3</sup>o'lbi<sup>u</sup>, "people from different places gathered together," "a concourse from various localities." This is an ancient village site. See the list of villages above.
139. POINT SOUTHWORTH, Kwatsu'lto, "a flat, overgrown with a species of grass."
140. A big rock N. of Olalla, Stce'tla, "rock."
- 140a. POINT COMMAND, Tukivi'kwot, "a small-sized mat." The grass from which such mats were made grew there plentifully.
141. The promontory N. of the narrow inlet at the town of Olalla, Wi'tubc.
- 141a. Large creek at OLALLA, Ol<sup>3</sup>ola'dxu, "place for drying salmon." Meany gives the following: "Olalee, a creek and meadow near the south fork of the Snoqualmie... Olalee is the Chinook Jargon word for berry. A town in the southeastern part of Kitsap county bears the name Olalla, evidently from the same Indian word." Meany makes what seems to be a careless assumption, based on a superficial resemblance in sound. "Olalee" in any case is not an "Indian" word. It seems quite clear that Olalla is an attempted transliteration of the native name Ol<sup>3</sup>ola'axu.
142. GIG HARBOR, Tua'wilkEL. The term suggests tua'wi, "trout."

#### Names of Places on Bainbridge Island

143. AGATE POINT, LEbEqa'i, "a squeaking sound."
144. FIGURE-HEAD ROCK, Xa'l<sup>3</sup>ils, "rock designs" (xal is the word for a basket-design, or handwriting). This is a glacial boulder, lying thirty feet from the foot of the cliff. The stone, a greenish quartzite, has been "pecked" with designs on its outer face, which is vertical. The rock is about six feet long, and its long axis is parallel with the shore. (see pl. viii)
145. Number not used.

146. A "bend" or cove, Tuxuxa/Lqali, "fern place." A certain plant of the fern family, called sxalq, gives the place its name. The sprouts, when about one foot tall, were gathered and eaten "like rhubarb."

147. A creek in this "bend," UtsEtxEb, "water runs down."

148. A place on the flat point lying opposite the landing at Port Madison, Skalywade, "where corpses are put." A couple of summer homes mark the ancient site. The place was a graveyard in aboriginal times. Corpses, according to the aboriginal custom, were put in boxes and hoisted into the trees.

149. The site of an ancient village at Port Madison, Tutcu/kwop.

150. The upper end of Port Madison inlet, somewhat inclosed by a promontory, Xwa/q<sup>3</sup>ob, "a little harbor."

151. The promontory E. of the harbor at Port Madison, Xlabhibu's, "sloppy bluff."

152. POINT MONROE, or "Madison spit," a long and very narrow sand-bar which curves about like a long hook, Tce<sup>3</sup>wi/tc, "outside," "lying off-shore."

153. A quiet lagoon inclosed by Madison spit, Tq<sup>3</sup>ta/bats "in behind" (i.e., in behind Madison spit).

154. Place at the inner end of the sand-spit just mentioned, Sal<sup>3</sup>a/gwEp, "the butt-ends of trees lying."

155. A high hill rising above the beach, Tuqwi/tL<sup>3</sup>us, "red face."

156. Place where a very small creek flows down the bluff, near Rolling bay, TsE/txEb, "dripping water."

157. SKIFF POINT, Xwa/dzus, "sharp face."

158. MURDEN COVE, known locally as Rolling bay, Qudza/qub, "bad water." I think the Indian term, like the name in present in use, refers to the rough water often encountered here.

159. YEMOALT POINT, known locally as "yeomaft," with a transposition of the letters. The native term is Yeboalt<sup>u</sup>, "fighters home" (yaboq, fight). The name refers to the legend, already recounted, of a fight between South-wind and North-wind. When North-wind was chased out of Duwanish valley and

put to flight, he came across the Sound to Yemoalt, where they had their final "tussle." "There is a big sea here all the time" on that account (See Waterman and Ballard).

160. WING POINT, the promontory on the N. side of Eagle harbor, Le'xelEqs, "gradually-falling promontory." This point is narrow from side to side, and the waves have worn a hole through it. Pieces are continually falling; hence the name.

160a. Promontory at the N. side of Port Blakely harbor, Kwalqs, "painted or colored promontory."

161. The upper end of Port Blakely harbor, Tuts<sup>3</sup>xolo'sEb, "clayey ground." This place is very miry and green. Costello gives Ko-lus-um, not translated.

162. BLAKELY ROCK, a sea-stack lying outside of Port Blakely harbor, Sba'badid, "craggy." It is now surmounted by a light.

163. RESTORATION POINT, TuxwiEq<sup>3</sup>a'le. The term was explained as alluding to the fact that the wind is strong there. Another informant said it had reference to making fire by friction. Apparently it means literally "place of squeaking" (yi'Eg, "to squeak"). The wind causes the tree limbs to rub together and make a squeaking noise like that of a fire-drill.

164. BEAN'S POINT, Xula'os. The meaning has been variously given: "looking plain," or conspicuous; also "like people sitting in a row, to be counted;" "picking out different faces." This promontory is the S. extremity of Bainbridge island.

165. A place called PLEASANT BEACH, on the N. shore of Rich's passage, BEbe'uxudi, said to mean "dancing place." The Transformer when on his journeys found people dancing here.

166. The bay at West Blakely, Tuxtciltci'leEb (tce'li, "lazy").

167. POINT WHITE, an old Indian village-site, Tuxwaxa'dEtc, "goose-droppings."

168. A place known as CRYSTAL SPRINGS, PipEda'bats, "partly covered."

169. Fletcher's bay, Sxule'lukwob. The term means "bitten into." A monster is said to have lived in this bay. He preyed upon those who crossed over at its mouth, where there is a very narrow opening. The name may have reference to this, or to the shape of the bay which is elongated and very deep.

170. A promontory known locally as Snag point, an old village-site, Q<sup>3</sup>axti'u, "a bad habit, or failing." See the list of villages above.

171. A white rock E. of the pier at the Yacht Club, BaísxÉb, "adolescent girl." There was once an adolescent girl who went bathing; DoqwebaL changed her to stone.

172. The promontory lying across from Manzanita, Tcítogwa'ladi, "way out."

173. An inlet known locally as MOSQUITO BAY, Lkwi'dup, "chop the ground." I also got it in the form TL kwe dub, translated "as though one were digging with a mattock to make a place straight."

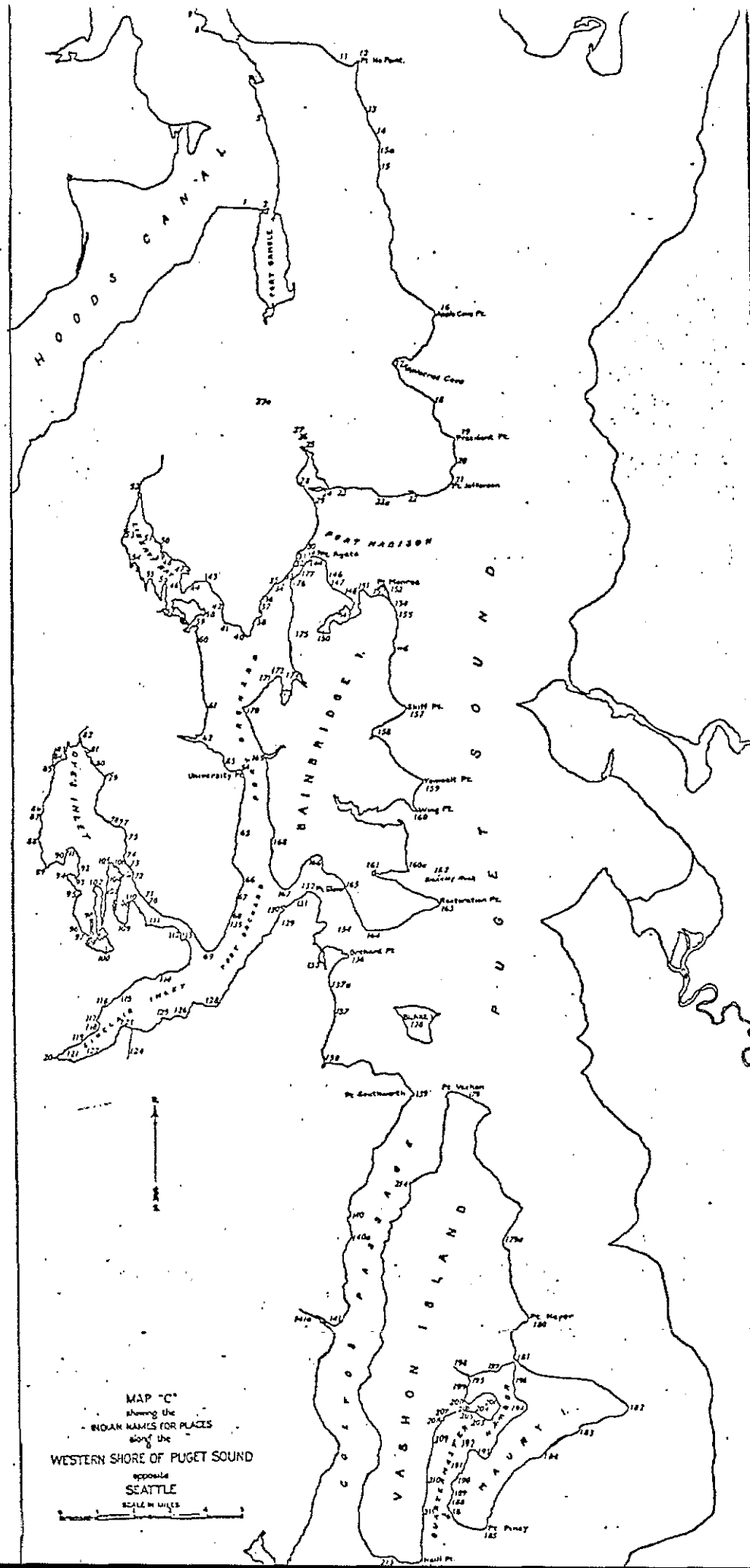
174. LITTLE MOSQUITO BAY, next to the preceding, Duxku'bab, "rat-fish."

175. A place known as Seabold, P<sup>3</sup>ElgwEs, "untangling, or untying something."

176. A high bluff at the entrance to Agate pass, Sa'tsus, "a face."

177. A notch in the shore of Agate Pass, Xexpai'yats, "young cedars." There is a gully there, with a small creek.

178. BLAKE ISLAND, Ta'tcu, "bull-head" (a kind of fish).



MAP "C"  
showing the  
INDIAN NAMES FOR PLACES  
along the  
WESTERN SHORE OF PUGET SOUND  
opposite  
SEATTLE  
SCALE IN MILES  
0 1 2 3 4 5

Suquamish Informants

Alfred, at Suquamish, Gudza'L.

Amelia Sneatlum, wife of George Sneatlum.

George Sneatlum (Sni'tlam), near Lemolo. His mother was a Skagit named Tsigw'lal, from Sneatlum Point near Coupville, and was the second wife of a Skagit named Siya'lyilu<sup>w</sup>. of Coupville. The first wife of this man was E:Lo't, of the same town.

My informant's father was "Coupville" only on his father's side. His sire's name was also Sni'tlam, the name of my informant. He was head-man at Coupville. His father, in turn, whose name was Qw<sup>3</sup>asq<sup>3</sup>e'dEbup, came from Skagit river, and he married a woman from New Westminster, near Vancouver, B.C.

The wife of this original Snitlam, Sat<sup>3</sup>o'siya, was half Clallam and half Neah Bay.

Louisa Peter, sister of Susie, mentioned below. This informant is a splendid basket-maker.

Jacob, Wahe'ltco. His widow, Mrs. Jacob, lives near Indianola. This informant is of very great age. She calls herself W si'du. What information I obtained from her came through a colored woman, Julie, adopted by her a great many years ago. This colored child was abandoned in the early days on Ballast island in Seattle harbor and was rescued by these Indians, and reared and brought up by them. To all appearances she has repaid the old lady with a lifetime of care and attention.

Her husband, Jacob, had as his Indian name, Wahe'ltco. His father was a Skagit named Sti'akEb, his mother's mother a Duwamish, named Citi'ts<sup>3</sup>a. I know nothing more of the family.

Jack Adams (Xa'bsus), near Lemolo. He was born at Keyport, but his father (Ka'ktLEd) was from StEq. This latter was of mixed parentage, his father, Wultsi'tEb, being a Chimakum, and his mother, Da'adais, belonging across from Steilacoom. The informant's mother (Cida'x) was from Quilcene on Hood's canal. Her mother, Qi'x<sup>u</sup>tsu, belonged there, but her father (Xawi'sEb) was a Chehalis.

Jack Davis (Xo<sup>1</sup>lbi'tEb). This man is a noted informant, and with his wife, Jenny, worked with me rather more than any other people on the Sound. His father was a Snohomish from Tulalip.

His mother, Kulkw<sup>3</sup>a'Lxablo, was half Skokomish. Her father, S<sup>3</sup>a'iyx<sup>3</sup>eb, was from Quilcene (lower Hood's canal). The man at Quilcene had a brother, Cxwiye'hEb, "Curly." Her mother, Aiyusbax, was from Suquamish. She, this Aiyusbax, was the daughter of "Chief" Seattle's brother David (Xtcä'tc<sup>1</sup>Idax).

"Chief Seattle" and his brothers were the offspring of a man named Cxwiye'hEb, of Suquamish. This man's wife was from StEq<sup>3</sup> (Map A, 213), a famous old village in the Duwamish valley, and her name is said to have been Sxila'tsa.

Seattle also had two half-brothers, Quba'i<sup>3</sup>i and Xoxwa'tqub.

An "uncle" of Jack Davis named Wa'odxEb (of what relationship I do not know) is said by some to have made the designs on "Figure-head rock" (Map C, 144).

"Jinny" Davis, wife of Jack Davis, above. Her father was "Lake John" (Tc<sup>3</sup>Ecaiyi'xad), who had a cabin on Lake Union, across from the University grounds. Her mother was a Yakima. Lake John used to take pelts to the trading station at Steilacoom, before Seattle was thought of. "Jinny" gave me the Indian names for the places around the University of Washington campus.

Joe George. This man served as my interpreter on many occasions. His work is excellent. He has acted at times as an interpreter in court. His father's father was named SqEggwEs, a Suquamish. Unfortunately I learned nothing else concerning his family. Henry George, brother of Joe, was also an informant.

Mary Adams, wife of Jack Adams, near Lemolo.

Mrs. Adams, Tai'pEs, and her sister Jennie Hammond (Hala'qul<sup>1</sup>tsa) of Harper, are sprung through their father, Xaxab<sup>3</sup>i'tsud, from a British Columbia tribe. This latter man's father, TcE'<sup>3</sup>enEs, and mother, X<sup>0</sup>tc'i'munt, were both from New Westminster. The latter women's mother was named Koxe'mint.

The mother of my informant, named Sta'ho'lets<sup>3</sup>a, was from Lake Washington. Her father was Xatse<sup>3</sup>Exa'bsk<sup>3</sup>ad, a Snoqualmie, and her mother Tsä' blo, living at the spot now occupied by my informant. Her father, Tcē:tiu', was from Keyport.

Mary Sam. This elderly woman served for years as midwife, both to Indian and White women about Suquamish. She is supposed to be very wise in the old Indian herb-lore. She administered some "moss" to one of my informants during a difficult confinement. According to the patient's statement, all sense of pain immediately disappeared. Her husband "Sam" was named Taio'xubid. His brother was Kwe'lbk<sup>1</sup>d. She is the mother of Sam Wilson (see below).

The Rodgers family. Several generations of this family have served as informants. The most recent one I have worked with is Ellen Contrero. Her father, Peter Rodgers, worked with me before his death for a long time. His father in turn, Chief William Rodgers, has been informant both for myself and J.P. Harrington, who was on the Sound in 1908. I feel a warm friendship for these people.

The old man is the son of a man called "Tecumseh," or Qwilsci'dEb, who lived at the village at Smither's farm, on Black river. This man's father was a Duwamish from the same locality, and his mother a Yakima.

Peter's own mother (William Rodger's first wife) was a Skokomish. Her mother's mother's father was "Chief" Kitsap. The younger brother of



Kitsap, named LE'q<sup>3</sup>lax, owned an aerial duck-snare (see below) on Agate Pass.

Sam Sneider, near Lemolo. The father of his mother's brother, whose name was Kida'LibEl, was a great "fighter" on trips made by the shamans to the underworld to recover lost "souls". He had a warclub which he used to "take along" on these expeditions. When the dance ("fight") was over, this club would be bloody!

Susie, Salaxuli'tsa. This informant and her sister Louisa, both excellent basket-makers, live near Cape Horn. Her brother Bob (HEbsxe'dEb) was a shaman.

Sam Wilson. This man is the police-officer of the reservation, and a fine interpreter.

Jim Thompson. This man is half Suquamish, half white, and a fine informant. I feel that I owe a great deal to him and to his sworn companion and ally, Sam Wilson. Mrs. Thompson has also been helpful on more than one occasion.

Mrs. Jack Temple, of Suquamish, whom I mention last, served not only as informant, but as guide, philosopher, and friend, on every one of my visits to the reservation.

#### Informants on Dye's Inlet and Port Washington

Mrs. Elizabeth Mitchell, an aged informant at Port Orchard. Her father was Chehalis, her mother Yakima. Her son, John Mitchell of Tacoma, and her daughter, Mrs. Van Alstine, gave me a good deal of information, the son, especially, inconveniencing himself to help me.

Emma Simmons. I encountered this informant twice in my excursions around the Sound. I found her first living on Phinney bay, and later on Whollochett bay. She is an expert basket-maker.

Henry Jackson of Phinney bay. His father was Squaxin, his mother "White River" or "Duwamish." His wife, also an informant, is half Duwamish through her father, and half Makah.

Mrs. Jane Garrison (Pa'ipaic) of Fairview (Dye's inlet). Her grandfather was David, brother of Chief Seattle. Her father was from Seattle, her mother from StEq. This woman's mother was named Paipaic, like her grand-daughter, my informant.

Lydia, mother of Napoleon, living near the Naval magazines at Ellwood. At the time of my visit she was living with Mrs. Saigo, and was said to be 112 years old. She is Joe George's mother's mother. She was known, I am told, by the nickname, TcEwE'tEp, said to mean "silly." I never learned the reason, but there was some joke about it. The term was by no means properly descriptive.

Napoleon, son of the preceding, at Ellwood.

Mrs. Susan Williams, living with Tom Dixon on Mud bay. This informant calls herself a Duwamish.

Tom Dixon, living on Mud Bay, opposite Tracyton.

## XXI. Suquamish Place Names

The main area occupied by the Suquamish Indians was on the eastern side of the Kitsap peninsula in Puget Sound. Following is a list of place names and trails with comments on the use of these areas. Text numbers correspond to those on the map and follow in order from south to north except at the northern end of Bainbridge Island where they circle the island and then procede north again along the peninsula.

1. wétbš. One informant (JA) gave this as a Suquamish camping place. This is the furthest south that any point of land was named as a place frequented regularly by the Suquamish. The informant had never visited the area and was confused as to the name of the creek upon which it was located. Sometimes he gave it as Olalla creek; other times as Wilson creek. Wilkes visited the area in 1841 and places a village at the mouth of Olalla creek which he called "Teka village." (Wilkes, 1858, p. 78) None of my informants recognized the name. Ed Sigo said that the present name for Olalla creek was derived from the Indian word for cattail, ólal. John Adams suggested that Wilkes' "Teka" may have been derived from the Indian phrase te qá meaning "lots or plenty there."

2. baqólbox. This may have been a winter village although none of the informants were definite on this point. It may have been a seasonal camping place. Ed Sigo said that an old Indian told him that posts and parts of the frames of houses stood there when he was a boy (probably in the middle 1800's). Salmon were caught there as they ascended the creek.

3. tátčo. This is the name for Blake island. It is the diminutive for the name of Vashon island to the south which was called táčo. Blake island was used as a temporary camping place. It had good clam beds, and fish, ling cod and bullheads in particular, were speared in the surrounding waters. The west point and areas along the west shore were used as burial grounds.

All of the informants agree that the Suquamish did not camp often on Vashon island. This was used mostly by the Puyallup. Since the Suquamish were on friendly terms with the Puyallup and often intermarried with them, they would sometimes visit Puyallup fishing and hunting grounds and other areas to the south, particularly persons who were related to the Puyallup or other tribes to the south by marriage. The place most often visited on Vashon island was Vashon point at the northwest end of the island. Deer hunting was good there during the summer.

4. qáqad. This was a summer camping area. It was known especially as a place where clams were dried.

5. qéqtxb. This was a camping place that might be visited at any time of the year. It was known especially as a place to hunt ducks and deer. Flounders were speared in shallow water at night from a canoe that had a fire burning in it. Fish could be taken here at any time of the year. Salmon

berries were gathered along the creek.

6. čyáčabad. This was a camping place.

7. šábdop. This name means "drying place." This was a camping place and was known especially as a place where salmon were dried. Salmon went up the creek in large numbers during salmon runs.

8. čašádx. This point was used as a camping place during smelt runs.

9. dokóy. They camped here during dog salmon runs. Dog salmon in particular used this creek as a spawning grounds.

10. stačábac. The camping grounds and stream at the head of Sinclair inlet as well as the whole inlet were known by this name. Dog salmon and silver salmon went up the stream. They were caught and dried here. The end of the inlet was shallow and devil fish were caught here. Clams were dug and dried. The area was noted for its abundance of huckleberries.

11. A trail led from the head of Sinclair inlet to Lynch cove at the end of Hood canal. This trail was used especially for fishing in the Union river. Early in the spring they would go to the Union river to catch steelhead. Sometimes they would dry the fish there. Other times they would carry the fresh fish back to their camp on Sinclair inlet and dry it there. The steelhead were caught with spears. Only the barbed points were carried. The spear shafts were made at the fishing place and were then abandoned. Deer hunting was particularly good around Twin lake.

12. sax"sax"áp means "jumping down." The Suquamish came to this place from all over to gamble and play games. They did this when food was plentiful or when there was a break in the seasonal food gathering activities. The place gets its name from a rock about five feet high on which jumping contests were held. The contestants jumped off the rock and tried to jump as far away from it as possible.

13. kbádeb. kbáde are round, snail-like shell fish that used to be gathered here. This was a camping ground especially used for clam digging.

14. sdyáwb. dyáw are long green grubs found in old logs. This camping place was located where the Bremerton City park now stands. Remnants of the shell mound were still visible in 1952. It was known as a good clamming, fishing, and duck hunting area. Deer were hunted inland.

15. xélelex means "two groups fighting a battle." A myth concerning this point relates that there was a battle going on here when Transformer (dók"ebí) came along. Transformer changed the warriors into rocks. The pile of rocks can still be seen here. This was a camping ground used especially for clamming.

16. g"eg"eáltx means "potlatch house." This house was built around 1880. It is said to have been the last potlatch house in the Suquamish area. Ellen George saw the uprights and rafters when she was a child. From her description this was a gable-roofed house rather than the usual shed-roofed house. This may have been an attempt to imitate the gable-roofed houses to the north, or it may have been the result of European influence, or both.

17. g"čálg"el means the "canoe finding (look for) side." Canoes always drifted to this point if they got loose. It was not a camping place.

18. spéwł. This was a winter village site. Ed Sigo's father grew up here. There was a shed-roofed house here at that time. Ed Sigo is not sure whether the house was built before or after white settlers came to Puget Sound. Salmon were caught in the stream and deer hunting was good especially around Kitsap lake.

19. sáqad means "spear it." This name was given to the camping ground at the mouth of the creek, the creek itself, and all of Dyes inlet. There is no memory of there having been a winter village here. It was probably a seasonal camping ground. Silvers were the chief kind of salmon speared in the creek. Oysters and clams were plentiful on the beach. Inland, huckleberries and deer were abundant.

20. q̣asápc. This was used as a clamming beach and camping area.

21. At the point where a bridge now connects Bremerton and Manette an Indian "fort" is said to have been located. None of my informants recall this. Mrs. L. A. Bender who lived on the site in 1952 saw it when she first came here in 1888. It was a low wall made of dirt and rocks overlooking the entrance to the inlet. Mrs. Bender was told by the Indians that it was used as a "fort." This area has yielded many artifacts to local diggers.

22. xáxa means "to cry out" or "to be taboo." Canoe burials were placed in the trees here.

23. sḳéksg̣eł means "blackening a dugout canoe with burning pitch." This was a camping place.

24. tx̣daʔabáltx̣ means "doctoring or shaman power house." tx̣dāʔab means "shaman" or "shaman power." It was a place to seek doctoring power. Some powers came from the land and some came from the water. Those that came from the water resembled bears but were not. These were strong and dangerous powers (guardian spirits) and were hard to get. They gave a person the power to cure or kill others. They were more dangerous than the other guardian spirits or skláletot.

25. scásab. This was the name of the point. It was not a camping place.

26. q̣q̣ḷb means "where huckleberries are." They camped here while picking huckleberries, digging clams, or hunting deer.

27. syabálqoʔ means "high class water side." This place was named after a spring of water on the beach. They did not camp here but went inland for sallal and huckleberries.

28. qq̣áptb means "someone was bit on the buttocks." They camped here and fished for smelt in the fall. Inland, deer, grouse, and all kinds of birds were hunted. The point was named after the story of a woman who was supposed to have been bitten here by a shark.

29. éóḳɬxa. They had smoke houses here and camped here while drying salmon. Dog salmon in particular were plentiful on this creek.

30. sbéʔ means "something that is falling." The shoreline from Brownsville to Keyport was known by this name. It was not a camping place. It was named this because leaves fell into the water here. A certain plant about two feet tall grew along this shore. It was dug and small black things on the roots about the size of a marble were eaten raw. The plant was called x̣ḅx̣ḅ.

31. íb̄xos. This name was applied to the whole peninsula where Keyport is now located. This was a camping ground.

32. Xóx̄Xóx̄'e means "oyster beds." Oysters and clams were gathered here.

33. A trail led from the camping grounds at Keyport to the camping grounds at Brownsville and then to the shore at the entrance of Dyes inlet.

34. qq̄és means "a narrow strip of land projecting into the water." They camped here while gathering clams and oysters.

35. béčlab. This was a camping ground where salmon were dried. Only silver salmon went up this stream. The silver salmon came in October and November.

36. bádatoced. Oysters were abundant at the mouth of this creek. They camped there while gathering oysters.

37. x̄óyečd. This was one of the permanent winter villages. A shed-roofed house stood at the mouth of the creek. Several families lived in it. Various kinds of salmon were caught in the stream. Deer hunting was good up the stream. Mushrooms were found along the creek and were eaten raw.

38. čóčolac means "lots of maples." This was a camping area.

39. KayoKayowádač means "kinnikinnik beach." This place was named after the kinnikinnik bush which grew here. The leaves of this bush were dried and smoked in alder stem pipes. This is said to have made them "drunk." After the coming of the whites the Indians mixed this leaf with tobacco (Haeberlin and Gunther, 1930, p. 66).

40. x̄k̄álek̄ed means "something wound around it." It was so named because of a tall rock which once stood there which was white around the top. This was a good clamming beach.

41. sax̄k̄ásabsb. A camping place for clamming, duck hunting, and catching flounders.

42. íalbáḡab means "it's crossways." The smelt fishing was good off this point.

43. X̄táčac. This was a camping ground.

44. spácpacab. This is the sand spit where the informant, John Adams, lived. This was a permanent camp where his family lived in the past. In some winter villages there might be several families. In this one there was only one. The people here were known as sqáaqabex̄ meaning "many people."

45. slóxalde. This was a camping area.

46. hóčbale. There was an extensive marsh in this area which has now partially been washed away. John Adams had been told by the old Indians that a fort once stood here. It was made with tall fir poles set in the ground side by side forming walls. Holes were cut in the walls so that a person could look out. Mat houses were inside the enclosure. These were built as a protection against raids by northern Indians. This marsh was a good place to get cattails for mats, cranberries, and ducks. A plant was found there, the leaves of which were used as a "tea." The plant was called čbáčac.

77. báysxb. This means "a girl just entering womanhood." It was a temporary camping place. A large white rock that used to stand here is said to have been a girl just changing to womanhood. She had been put outside so that she would not contaminate the fishermen and hunters. She was changed to rock when Transformer was changing the world.

78. sčēčag\*álde means "a little beach ear." This was a good clamming beach and was used for temporary camping.

79. xk\*édop. This was a camping area.

80. pálg\*as means "to be separated or divided." This was a camping area for hunting, fishing, clamming and berry picking. Its name comes from the fact that it was a flat area with high banks on each side.

81. sacqéd was the name of the head of the pass. It was not a camping area.

82. dax\*čk\*éb. The low land in this bay was a camping area. Salmon were caught with nets here. Deer hunting and berry picking were good up the stream. Potatoes were raised at the mouth of the stream before the whites were in the Puget Sound area (Suttles, 1951a).

83. dax\*sésa. This was a camping area.

84. dax\*kég\*c means "place of deer." This was a camping place.

85. kayópsed. These three points all had the same name. They camped on these points.

86. dax\*pók\*e. This means "where the pók\* berries grow." This was a camping place. The pók\* were gray berries that were eaten fresh and not dried.

87. qáqax\*ac means "many crabapple trees." This was a camping place named after the wild crabapples that were gathered here. The name q'ekólob was given for this general area.

88. séstq. This was a camping ground while they were trolling for spring and silver salmon. It was also a good place for catching herring. From here they went back to the headwaters of the creek that flows into the bay at 82 to catch salmon. Inland, deer hunting was good.

89. čapédyob. They camped at the mouths of these two creeks while trolling for salmon or hunting deer inland.

90. hácks means "long point" and was the last area to the north where they camped regularly. They camped here while fishing for salmon or catching porpoise in the summer.

47. palák\*eca. This was the name of the point. Clamming was good on the east side.

48. sôtč. This was a winter village. There were several small shed-roofed houses there as well as mat houses. Ducks were plentiful there. Wilson George saw a herring trap there when he was a boy.

49. dax\*klébeal. This was a camping place.

50. sʔácos means "face." It was the name of a high cliff here.

51. x\*čék\* means "narrow pass." This name was applied to Agate passage. The same name was used for any narrow pass.

52. dax\*klébeal. This was a permanent winter village. The structure that existed on this site has become known as "Old Man House." It was a shed-roofed house estimated by Gibbs to be about 520 feet long (Gibbs, 1877, p. 215). Archeological evidence indicates that at least part of the house was built sometime between 1845 and 1855 (Snyder, 1956, p. 23). The man after whom Seattle was named lived here. His name was syát.

53. A trail started at "Old Man House" and ended at the head of Liberty bay.

54. A second trail started at "Old Man House," followed the bluff above the beach and joined the preceding trail.

55. A third trail went from "Old Man House" to the head of Port Gamble bay.

56. A fourth trail branched off the preceding one and led to a marsh where cranberries were gathered.

57. A fifth trail led north on the high ground above the beach as far as Apple Tree cove.

58. xálélos means "marked face." This is a rock on the beach at the northern tip of Bainbridge island on which there are petroglyphs. None of the informants knew its origin or significance.

59. xálqale. This was a camping place.

60. dax\*čókap. This was a camping place. It was a good place to catch winter salmon. Deer hunting and blackberry picking were good in this area. In the second half of the 19th century many Indians lived here and worked at a lumber mill.

61. čawéč. They camped on the sand spit. This was a good clam digging area and a good place for salmon trolling. Smith's puyallup-Nisqually informants speak of this as a village (Smith, 1940, p. 18). It is doubtful that this site was used as a permanent village site until after the white settlers had arrived in Puget Sound. The government tried to move some Duwamish from south of Seattle into this area in 1856 (Page, 1857, pp. 82-83). This was done on the mistaken assumption that, since the white government had appointed syát as "chief" of both the Duwamish and Suquamish for treaty signing purposes, the two groups belonged to the same tribe. Most of the Duwamish do not seem to have remained in this area for long. Present informants say that there were a few shacks on the sand spit at this place but they knew it only as a temporary camping place. As pointed out by informants, its position makes it particularly vulnerable to winter storms and, therefore, not a likely place for a winter village.