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TRADITIONAL MARINE FISHERIES

OF THE

QUILEUTE AND HOH INDIANS

Prepared for: The Quileute Tribe

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Appendix B

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## TRADITIONAL MARINE FISHERIES OF THE QUILEUTE AND HOH INDIANS

The Quileute and Hoh Indians at treaty times were known for their seamanship. They pursued whales, seals, sea-lion, porpoise and fished for halibut, cod, bass, salmon and other species in the marine waters off the west coast of the Olympic Peninsula.

The Quileute harvested most of the same marine species as their Makah neighbors to the north. Quileute gear, techniques, and ceremonies relating to offshore fisheries were similar to those described for the Makah.

The Quileute ranged out of sight of land in pursuit of whales. Whales reportedly were most commonly seen about twenty-five to thirty miles offshore, but the Quileute are said to have ranged as far as fifty miles off the Olympic coast.

Writing in 1855, George Gibbs remarked of the Quileute and Hoh *There are two bands of this tribe, the Kwille hiut, or Kwe-dee -tut, and the Huch, or Kwaaksat. They are good seamen, and more nearly approach the Makah in daring than any of the others.*

[1]

Quileute living at La Push on the ocean traded whale oil and other products of the marine fisheries to inland Quileute in exchange for elk and other game taken in the hinterland and for fish taken at upriver locations. Some inland Quileute stayed at the village at La Push seasonally to harvest marine species.

In 1941 Edward G. Swindell, Jr., an attorney with the Bureau of Indian Affairs took affidavits from a number of Quileute tribal members regarding usual and accustomed fisheries of the Quileute people.

One of the deponents was Benjamin Harrison Sailto who was about 88 years old in 1941. His testimony included the following information.

*Most of the villages were permanent but at certain times of the year, when the weather was good, the Indians would visit the Indians living at the lower villages. When they went down to these other places, they would trade the things they had for what the people at those places had to offer them. In this way they obtained a supply of whale oil which the people who lived up the river could not get.*

[2]

Another deponent, Stanley Gray, explained further

*there were two different classes of Indians, one class or group which lived along the ocean and the other along the streams away from the ocean.*

[3]

Sextas Ward, who was about ninety years old in 1941, testified in part as follows:

*That there were several villages located along the course of the Sol Duc River which receives its water from what the white people call Pleasant Lake; that the Indians lived at these various villages all of the year except for those short periods when they would come to the main Quileute village at La Push to visit with their friends and relatives and also to trade some of their fish for seal and whale meat which the people at La Push were able to obtain from the ocean.*

*. . . . .*  
*That the Indians who lived at Shu-a-wah obtained the principal part of their supply of fish from a trap located near the village; that they did not find it necessary to go elsewhere to catch fish because their trap supplied them with all they needed; that they would, however, at various times during the year visit the main village of La Push for the purpose of catching smelt and drying them to be taken back to their village to be used as a change in their food supply; that the smelt were caught in the ocean along the shore in front of the main village of La Push; that some of the Indians who were skillful enough would go out in the ocean for the purpose of catching seals or whales; . . . .*

That as a matter of general information affiant points out that when he was a boy there were no white people living in the Quileute country; that prior to the coming of the white men the Indians who lived in the villages along the various streams were able to catch much more salmon than those who lived along the ocean, whereas those along the ocean could obtain seal, whale and smelt; that as a result of this they were accustomed to trade amongst themselves so that they could have all kinds of fish and sea food for their daily subsistence; that after the white men came to the country they would trade fish to the white people for sugar, coffee, molasses and things like that; that the trade amongst the Indians and the white people amounted to quite a bit;

[4]

Leo Frachtenberg, an anthropologist who did field work with the Quileute in 1916, provided a more extended list of species taken by the Quileute in the ocean.

Quileutes used to fish in rivers, lakes and ocean. . . . in the ocean they fished for smelt, bass, puggy, cod-fish (rock, red, ling-cod), halibut, flatfish, bullheads, devil-fish, shark, herring, sardines, sturgeon, seal, sealion, porpoise, and whale.

[5]

George Pettitt, who has published the only full-length monograph on the Quileute, included the following data in a discussion of foods in the native culture of the Quileute.

The Quileute, whether they dwelt on the coast or along the rivers inland, lived chiefly on fish. They have been ranked as second only to the Makah, on the Olympic Peninsula, as whalers; and first among all tribes in the area as sealers. They also hunted sea lions, sea otters, and porpoises. However, the staple food was fish; primarily salmon, but quantities of smelt or herring, cod, halibut, steelhead, and shellfish were eaten.

The great variety of sea products used by the Quileute is indicated by the long list of identifiable remains recovered from the kitchen middens of old Indian settlements. This list includes six varieties of salmon, halibut, cod, skate, dogfish, shark, trout, fifty-one species of shellfish, and various kinds of seaweed.

[6]

The archeological data cited by Pettitt in the above discussion were published by Albert Reagan in 1917. Reagan has published a number

of short papers on Quileute archeology and ethnology based on studies made just after the turn of the century.

The following descriptions of techniques and gear used by the Quileute for various ocean species are extracted from one of Reagan's published articles.

#### HUNTING AND FISHING OF THE QUILLAYUTE INDIANS

*HUNTING THE SEA OTTER.* The sea otter was killed with a club or spear when found on land in the old times, and still is. On the sea he is slipped up on while asleep and speared with a two-pronged, long-stalked spear. The Indians say that if it is shot it will sink and be lost. So they still hunt it in the ancient way.

*HUNTING SEAL.* The Pacific waters adjacent to the Indian village abound in both hair and fur seal. The fur seal is, of course, killed for its valuable fur, though the Indians are fond of its flesh and use its paunch to store whale oil and salmon-egg cheese. The hair seal is also killed for its flesh and for its skin and paunch. The skin, besides being used in making various articles of clothing, is turned inside out, its openings securely shut, after which it is inflated and used as a buoy in whale hunting. Both of these animals are slipped up on at their feeding grounds or while basking in the sun on the rocks. They are then harpooned with a double-headed native harpoon like the one mentioned above. If the animal is in the water or near it the modern gun is never used, as the beast would immediately sink and be lost.

*HUNTING SEA LION.* Many of the islands along the coast are basking places for sea lion. The beasts are usually attacked while lying asleep on the rocks, as they seem to go farther from water than the seals. Guns are now used in hunting them, also two-pronged spears. If the animal is in the water or near it the latter is the preferred weapon, provided they are supplied with buoy attachments.

*FISHING.* In the old times fish were speared or killed with clubs and caught in nets of spruce root or rawhide. Hooks of bone, and U-shaped spruce roots with barbed points of bone, were also used in fishing. The U-shaped hooks were large and were used in catching halibut along the halibut banks. A very similar hook, though smaller, was used in catching rock cod and other allied fish. The line used in deep fishing was a kelp stalk, a spruce-root or cedar-bark cord.

Smelt fish (Pacific sardine?) was caught with a cordage-made dip net. This was pyramidal in shape and of about a bushel in size. In fishing for this species the fisherman wades out into the surf and dips up the incoming fish in a motion much like that used in scooping corn.

The fish run inshore to spawn at certain seasons of the year, one species (a small fish) in March and February and the larger kind in May and June.

*PORPOISE HUNTING.* In hunting porpoise a canoe is noiselessly shoved onto the unsuspecting beast, which is harpooned with a heavy weapon, to which buoys are attached, as in whaling, next described. The animal is quick and usually puts up quite a fight for its life, but if the harpoon is once driven deep into its body its capture is sure.

*WHALING.* The implements used in whaling are a two-ton canoe, innumerable inverted hair-sealskin buoys, harpoon stalks and blades, sufficient rope, and plenty of knives.

After elaborate ceremonies to make the whalers "not afraid," the whaling crew--or crews, as usually from five to seven whaling canoes go on a whaling trip--pushes out into the ocean. Seeing a whale spouting, they push their canoe noiselessly onto the unsuspecting animal, and before it is aware of their presence a huge harpoon, to which a rope of buoys is attached, is driven deeply into its body. It dives and comes to the surface dragging the buoys after it, only to be attacked again. Thus is the contest kept up till the beast floats lifeless. It is then towed ashore and cut up. Both the meat and blubber and much of the bone is saved, the last being made into knives, spears and harpoon points in the old times. At the close of caring for the valuable parts, a give-away feast and dance of four days' duration is given in the potlatch (city) hall of the village and all are made happy.

[7]

The foregoing are abbreviated descriptions of the manner in which the Quileute harvested and used various ocean species. Swan has devoted an entire article to the Quileute surf-smelt fishery. Reagan, Wil-loughby, Curtis, Frachtenberg and Pettitt have all provided additional information and detail regarding one or another of the ocean fisheries of the Quileute. The most important references respecting traditional Quileute ocean fisheries are included in the bibliography of this report.

Material included in this report is selected in order to give an overview of the species taken, manner of harvesting, and importance of marine fishing and marine products in Quileute native life.

Reagan has devoted an entire article to the whaling practices of the Olympic Peninsula Indians with special reference to the Quileute. Among other interesting details provided in that account, reference is made to the length of time which may elapse before the whale is finally dispatched and towed to shore.

*Again and again the whale comes to the surface, and each time he is harpooned with deadly effect. The fight may continue for hours, or it may be ended in a brief time. The monster may smash a canoe in frenzied fury, and it may also break the rope and escape. As a rule, however, its speed finally slackens and the hunters, armed with their spears and lances, then finish their work at close quarters.*

*As soon as it is dead, the crew or crews attach a huge cedar-root rope cable to it and commence towing it ashore. As they thus tow, they sing day and night to keep the evil spirit, Ko-kwo-til, from alighting on it or taking possession of it, for "should it get on it, it would make it lean." They also sing songs to Se-kah-til, the mother earth, to aid them in bringing it ashore.*

[8]

Curtis obtained information from a Quileute whaler, Yahatub, who was born about 1835. This man was instructed in the proper ceremonies by his uncle, whose whaling gear he used after the uncle injured his leg and was no longer able to continue as a whale hunter.

The whale hunt began at daybreak with several canoes, perhaps four or five, going out together.

*Sometimes several whales were taken in one day, but again we might spend several days in a fruitless search. They were usually found out of sight of land. When more than one day was spent at sea, the leader watched at night while his men slept. The harpoon consisted of a mussel-shell point and a yew shaft. The head was attached to a cedar-withe rope four fathoms long, at the end of which was a float consisting of an inflated hair-seal skin. Then came ten fathoms more of a heavier rope and another float, then a rope of thirty fathoms and a third skin, and a rope of fifty fathoms with a fourth float. This was the gear attached to the first harpoon cast, but the others subsequently used were provided with only one float and four fathoms of rope.*

*Sometimes the wounded whale travelled in a circle, and again it might make straight out to sea. It sometimes continued the fight for*

half a day. When it was dead, a hole was cut through the upper and the lower lip, and the mouth was thus bound shut so that water could not enter and sink the body. A tow-line was made fast to the rope that closed the mouth, and the whale was then towed ashore at the nearest point, regardless of the location of the village. There we would butcher the whale and load the flesh and the blubber into the canoes. Once a party was driven by a north wind and landed at Kpels [Copalis, a promontory sixty miles south of Quillayute river], because they were unwilling to abandon the whale and lose their harpoons.

[9]

The Quileute whaler interviewed by Curtis reported that he had killed about forty whales and had helped to take many others.

Pettitt recorded information concerning the seaworthiness of the canoes used in whaling expeditions, detailed information on the equipment used to slow down the whale in its efforts to escape after being harpooned, and distances covered by the whaling canoes. His account is quoted here at some length because it provides a sense of the ability of Quileute seamen to manage their large ocean-going canoes under strenuous conditions.

Whale-hunting.--Whale-hunting, if not an old pursuit among the Quileute, was a very flourishing one at the time that the whites arrived on the Olympic Peninsula. It was laborious, time-consuming, and hazardous. The canoes used were the largest made by these Indians, with built-up freeboard, high bows, and sufficient draft and beam to carry eight men, with all their gear including heavy whale lines and floats, twenty-five to fifty miles out to sea. . . . .

. . . . .  
The crew disposed themselves in a definite way in the canoe. The harpooner stood at the bow and wielded an extra long paddle to compensate for the height of the prow. Behind him sat three pairs of paddlers on double thwarts, and one steersman in the stern. The selection of the paddlers immediately behind the harpooner was considered most carefully. . . . . It was their task to pick up coils of the heavy whale line and the first floats and to hurl them overboard at the exact split fraction of a second when the harpooner thrust his long, heavy harpoon. If this were not done at the proper instant, the harpoon might be jerked back or the harpooner might be caught in the coils and thrown overboard. The shaft of the harpoon was as much as twelve feet long and two inches



thick in the middle, tapering toward both ends. The moment when the weapon was thrown was the most hazardous of all. To make an effective throw it was necessary to glide the canoe quietly within a few feet of the whale, preferably when he was just coming up for air so the motion of his body would supplement the downward thrust of the harpoon. The harpooner held his paddle until the last possible moment, in case it became necessary to sheer off. He then dropped his paddle into the water, counting on a man in the waist of the canoe to retrieve it, raised his heavy harpoon, and, to the best of his ability, tried to drive it into a vital spot just back of the head. Every man in the canoe had to know his job to make this thrust successful and to avoid disaster as the whale thrashed the water, most likely sounded, and the whale line screamed over the side so fast that it threatened to carry canoe and all down.

After the first harpoon was thrown and the detachable shaft had been pulled into the canoe, it was usual for other canoes to wait for the whale to surface, when additional harpoons were sunk into his body. The long whale lines with their numerous floats impeded the whale's efforts to get away and, aided by the harpoon wounds, eventually wore him out sufficiently to allow the first harpooner to approach and dispatch him with a lance. In the meantime, however, the whale might travel many miles, and the entire day be consumed. The worn-out whaling crews then faced the task of towing the huge mass of bone, flesh, and blubber back to shore.

[10]

The whaling effort required expert handling of the large whaling canoes in order to quietly approach within a few feet of the animal, to properly position for an attack, to avoid the thrashing of the whale at close quarters, and to ride out the wounded animal and to tow the quarry to shore over many miles.

The crew of a single whaling canoe was eight men. Usually four or five canoes hunted together. Thus a single expedition would involve a complement of perhaps forty expert seamen.

The various accounts agree that whales were usually found out of sight of land, twenty-five to fifty miles offshore, and that whaling crews sometimes had to be at sea overnight. These accounts attest to the ability of the Quileute to navigate the offshore waters and to

return home safely.

Although whaling may have been introduced to the Quileute from the north in relatively recent, albeit pre-treaty times, sealing was an old occupation among the Quileute. The pursuit of fur-seals increased with the advent of the maritime fur trade along the coast, but the taking of seals for food antedated the arrival of European trading ships on this part of the coast.

Seals were taken from canoes while they lay asleep on the water. The sealing canoes were smaller than the whaling canoes and usually carried a crew of three men. Although smaller and lighter, the sealing canoes were seaworthy and were reportedly used at distances of about twenty-five miles offshore.

Curtis recorded the following information about Quileute seal hunting.

*Pelagic sealing, which formerly was carried on by means of harpoons or arrows, has recently been revived with the substitution of the rifle. The change has resulted in a greater slaughter of the animals without a corresponding increase in the number actually taken, for a seal wounded by a bullet is lost, while one pierced by a harpoon or an arrow can almost always be recovered. About the first of June the fur-seal appear off the coast on their annual migration from the South Pacific to the rookeries in Bering sea, and the Quillite, charring and smoothing the outside of their canoes as in primitive days, set off before dawn to come upon the animals asleep. They paddle or sail as much as twenty-five miles from shore and return about mid-afternoon with an average of one seal to each canoe.*

[11]

Pettitt provides further information regarding the purpose of charring and smoothing the outside of the canoes. His account also includes commentary on the seaworthiness of the sealing canoe.

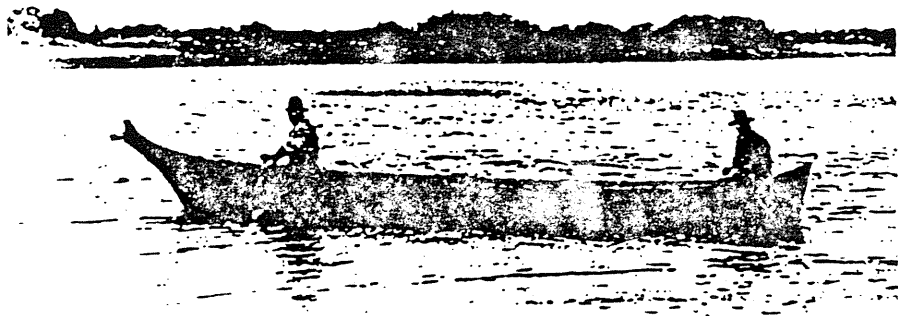
Good sealers took great care of their canoes. The bottoms were charred, scraped, and greased to make them slide through the water silently. Splinters or rough places on the hull made a slight noise, which the seal could hear. Consequently, a sealing canoe was brought to shore very carefully and carried up the beach to shelter. It was not dragged over the sand. According to older men now living, good whalers also followed this practice. Though light in construction, sealing canoes were seaworthy and capable of carrying considerable loads. Some Quileute recall sealing canoes coming back in rough weather with six- or seven-inch freeboard, even though carrying three men and as many as seventeen seals.

[12]

Two photographs of Quileute sealers are included with this report. The photographs with captions are among the records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs deposited at the Federal Archives and Records Center, Seattle. Of particular interest is the time it took for the sealing canoe with a crew of two to arrive twenty-five miles offshore. The trip to the sealing area reportedly took about five hours which indicates an average speed of five miles per hour.

At that rate of travel the return trip would require ten hours, more or less, depending on currents, winds, and other factors. In addition, some time would have been required at the sealing area itself. Taking all of this into account, it seems clear that Quileute hunters were able to travel in their sealing canoes to sealing areas as far as twenty-five miles offshore, kill their quarry and return home within a twelve hour period.

This time span accords with earlier accounts, such as that of Curtis, that the sealing crews left in the early morning hours to catch the seals asleep and returned home in the afternoon of the same day.



Reday for sea! With a pair of paddles and a light sail, these Quillayute Indians are bound for deep water, with Harry A. Kirwin, Seattle Marine photographer. They reached a point twenty five miles off the coast in about five hours, where the hunter, in the bow speared a seal. The man in the stern is the son of the hunter, and his job is to steer, and handle the boat while the hunter attends the killing business. These canoes are highly seaworthy and are hewn from one cedar log. The high bow is the characteristic feature of the Quillayute tribe.

Photo by Harry A. Kirwin, Seattle.





A perfectly legal catch, and what a beauty! Fifty pounds of meat to gorge the folks with!

The seal has two spear points imbedded in the chest and neck, and buried deep. The tips came off when the spear was withdrawn after the hunter hurled the spear at the sleeping animal.

In accordance with Indian Treaties, the Indians may hunt only with aboriginal weapons. No motors may be used in order to reach the seals, that occur at a distance of twenty five miles off the Indian villages along the seacoast of the Pacific. No rifles are allowed in the success, nor any other type of firearms.

Photo by Harry L. Kirwin, Seattle.



Seals sometimes could be taken closer to shore as they hauled out on offshore rocks. However, Pettitt reports that hunting sea mammals on or around rocks was considered to be hazardous because of the force of the waves and the danger of smashing the canoe. According to Pettitt,

*The commonest method of killing seals was to steal up on them quietly as they slept on the surface of the sea. Old men say that the successful sealer had to learn to paddle so quietly that he could hear a sleeping seal snore.*

[13]

The skills developed by successful seal hunters warranted the trips to the offshore sealing areas. With the highly developed techniques used, the hunters could expect to bring home seals if they were able to find them asleep.

*These same men claim that a good sealer could harpoon a seal at distances up to seventy-five feet. It would, of course, be impossible to throw the heavy sealing harpoon that distance in the air, but in actual practice the harpoon will glide along the water for a considerable distance with sufficient momentum and weight behind it to drive the sharp point into a seal when it strikes. The harpooner balances the long shaft of the harpoon in one hand and throws it much as an athlete throws a javelin, at the same time holding a coil of line in his other hand so that it will run out freely and not drag the harpoon back. This line is attached to the head of the harpoon. As soon as the harpoon strikes, the shaft comes apart from the head and is picked up later.*

*In aiming the harpoon, allowance must be made for the fact that the seal, if not already on the watch, will be awakened by the splash when the weapon hits the water; so the harpooner may throw at a spot slightly in advance of the animal's head to catch him as he humps and dives. If the barbed head of the harpoon has struck home firmly, the harpooner can pull the seal to the canoe with the hand line. He then dispatches it with a sealing club. Many of these clubs, fashioned from a hard, heavy wood, were ornately carved.*

[14]

The foregoing materials, excerpted from much longer discussions of gear, techniques, and ceremonies connected with whaling and sealing suffice to show that these were skilled professions among the Quileute.



The data also confirm that the Quileute were accustomed to visit offshore fisheries in their ocean-going whaling canoes and sealing canoes. These expeditions reportedly took the Quileute as far as fifty miles out to sea. There is no apparent reason why the Quileute could not have travelled greater distances offshore, and they may have done so, but such voyages, if they occurred, do not appear in the immediately available record.

In addition to the harvest of various kinds of sea mammals, the Quileute also harvested various species of fish in the ocean. Although the greatest number of salmon were taken in the river fisheries, the Quileute in the coastal villages also took salmon by trolling.

An account which has been recorded by several anthropologists at different times describes an attack by Makah (or Nitinat) Indians on Quileute fishermen near James Island. The account appears to relate to the early historical period at a time when some of the coastal Indians had obtained guns and others had not.

The following may be the earliest written record of that account. It is taken from a letter which was written by Willie Wilder of La Push to Mrs. H.S. Pullen, dated December 19, 1896. In the letter the writer explained that he had learned the story from his "old folks."

*Years and years before I was born there used to be many fights in La Push. The time when the Quillayute Indians used to live on James Island, a band of Indians came down from Makah in forty-three canoes to fight the Quillayute Indians. They hide their canoes a mile away from the village, below the south point, from there they went after the Quillayutes, when they saw them go out trolling salmon in the sea.*

*And when they came by James Island, the Quillayutes who were happened to remained home on the Island yelled at them and at the same time loaded their guns, and those that have no guns used bows and arrows these drived the Makahs away from the Island and saved a good many lives of the Quillayute Indians.*

[15]

The underscoring in the above quoted material has been added for emphasis. No other alterations have been made in reproducing the original text. The writer, Willie Wilder, would have been about twenty-two years of age when he wrote the letter. His age on the 1887 Quileute roll is given as thirteen which places his birth date at about 1874. The letter appears to have been written in response to a request for information about Quileute traditions.

The trolling gear used by the Quileute was similar to that used by their neighbors to the north and south along the Pacific coast. Hooks were of bone or wood and lines were most commonly of kelp.

The Hoh Indians, who are culturally and linguistically allied with the Quileute, fished for the same species in the marine waters of their portion of the coast.

Frank Fisher, a member of the Hoh Indian Tribe, whose age was about seventy-seven years in 1941, provided information at that time regarding traditional Hoh fisheries. Speaking of the village at the mouth of the Hoh River, he said

*that in the summertime the people who lived in this place were accustomed to visiting what is known as Destruction Island for the purpose of hunting whales; that they also used to fish in the ocean for black bass, halibut, and salmon which they caught by trolling. . . .*

*That a long time ago the Hoh Indians used to go up to what is now known as Ruby Beach for the purpose of catching smelt which they would dry and take back to their permanent homes. . . .*

[16]

Both among the Hoh and the Quileute, the major part of the ocean fishing was done by residents of coastal villages. The number of such villages indicates something of the importance of marine fisheries in the native way of life.

A map showing the location of Quileute and Hoh villages along with a descriptive list keyed to the map was included as Appendix 1 of USA-53 admitted into evidence in an earlier proceeding of this case. The map and accompanying list were originally prepared by Dr. Verne F. Ray on the basis of extensive historical and ethnographic research conducted over twenty years ago.

The following list of Quileute coastal villages used as ocean fishing stations is extracted from Dr. Ray's list of Quileute villages. The original numbering system which keys to the map is preserved. The brief descriptive data indicate the nature of fisheries associated with each of the villages.

4. *kea alqu.* At the site of the present Swedish Memorial, on the coast opposite the lower end of Ozette Lake. This was a small settlement used as a whaling station and also as an intermediate point in the travel of parties from locations on the Quillayute River to the Ozette Lake fishing villages.
5. *up a xabutsa qu.* This was a site from which the residents fished along the shore during the summer season. It was also an important hair sealing station. Permanent houses were located here.
6. *t t st .* A whaling village about one mile southeast of Jagged Island.
7. *aba diq .* A sea fishing village about one mile north of Cape Johnson.
8. *q dau watq , "short beach."* North side of Cape Johnson. A village used for whaling, bottom fishing, clam gathering and taking of other seafood.

9. Pa ta co co dox, Crescent Bay or Deep Bay, south of Cape Johnson. This site was noted for whaling. The residents also dug clams, did bottom fishing and obtained other kinds of sea food. A number of the living Quileute recall having visited or resided at this place in earlier days.
10. taq wa t. A fishing village located about three-fourths of a mile north of Ellen Creek.
44. dica qu, "cut short." At the mouth of Scott Creek.
45. dapata. A small settlement at Strawberry Point.
46. luq ya hi , "hole in the wall." An important village with a comparatively good harbor and excellent shelter. Numerous permanent homes were maintained here. It was a noted whaling base.
47. tsidi q a q. Near the mouth of Goodman Creek. A settlement of considerable size used as a base for land and sea hunting. Permanently occupied.
48. kode ka sa t. A settlement of medium size with some permanent houses.
49. tse ta e t. A village at the mouth of the Hoh River.

All of the above villages were located on the coast. Villages Nos. 10, 44, 45, 48, and 49 are not described as such, but were almost certainly sites from which marine fishing was pursued. This situation is clearly the case for Village No. 49, based on the information provided to Swindell in 1941 by Frank Fisher, a member of the Hoh Tribe.

While most of the marine fishing was done by residents of these coastal villages, some marine fishing was done by residents of upriver villages who regularly visited the coast for that purpose.

Stanley Gray, born about 1870, considered his permanent home upriver, although his family made a practice of moving to La Push every spring for halibut, ling-cod, red snappers, clams, mussels, etc. . . . The families at La Push frequently travelled north along the coast for halibut. . . .

[17]

It is evident, on the basis of the foregoing information, that a proportion of Quileute and Hoh fisheries were marine fisheries. It does not appear feasible to document the quantities taken of any particular species at treaty times. Specialized gear and techniques had been developed for the harvest of whales, seals, salmon, halibut, cod, and other species in the ocean fisheries. The available evidence suggests that harvest of these species was determined more by fishing effort than by limitations in either equipment or technique. The record is clear that the Quileute and Hoh possessed seaworthy canoes, navigational skills, and fishing gear well designed to harvest a variety of species from the offshore waters and that they customarily did so.

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- 2 Swindell (Ms. 1941 in USA-20 at page 18)
- 3 Swindell (Ms. 1941 in USA-20 at page 22)
- 4 Swindell (1942:218-220)
- 5 Frachtenberg (Ms. Q1. 3:57 in USA-22 at page 14)
- 6 Pettitt (1950:5)
- 7 Reagan (1921:447-448)
- 8 Reagan (1925:30-31)
- 9 Curtis (1913:IX:146)
- 10 Pettitt (1950:8-9)
- 11 Curtis (1913:IX:147)
- 12 Pettitt (1950:9)
- 13 Pettitt (1950:9)
- 14 Pettitt (1950:9)
- 15 Wilder (1896:1-2)
- 16 Swindell (1942:185-186)
- 17 Pettitt (1950:4)

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