

ANTHROPOLOGICAL REPORT ON THE IDENTITY, TREATY STATUS
AND FISHERIES OF THE SQUAXIN TRIBE OF INDIANS

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SQUAXIN IDENTITY

Since 1855 the name "Squaxin" has been used to designate an island in southwestern Puget Sound, the Indian reservation established on that island, and the people assigned to the Squaxin Island Indian Reservation. Prior to 1855 the island was known to the whites as "Klah-che-min Island" and the name Squaxin referred to a group of people living on North Bay at the head of Case Inlet. The Case Inlet people were one of a number of politically autonomous groups living along the various inlets and bays of southwestern Puget Sound in December 1854 when the Treaty of Medicine Creek was negotiated. These groups were named separately in the preamble of the treaty, viz., Squawksin, Steh-chass, T'Peeksin, Squi-aitl, and Sa-beh-wamish and all were assigned to the island reservation. The name of the first-mentioned group was bestowed on the island and on the reservation and was extended to include all the other groups allocated there.

The pre-treaty Squaxin Indians were people living on Case Inlet only. The post-treaty "Squaxin" include those people as well as people of Hammersley, Totten, Eld, Budd, and Henderson inlets, and possibly also those of Carr Inlet. Recognition that there are two distinct

referents for the term "Squaxin Indians" is prerequisite to any meaningful examination of the fishing rights of the plaintiff Squaxin Tribe of Indians. Throughout the rest of this report the pre-1855 Squaxin will be referred to as Squaxin (or variant spellings thereof) while the post-treaty amalgamated group will be designated by the use of quotation marks, as "Squaxin".

The Indian Claims Commission appears to have treated the original claim of the Squaxin Tribe of Indians (Docket No. 206) as encompassing only the interests of the aboriginal Squaxin group. Without a complete analysis of all relevant documentary evidence there was an inadequate review by the Commission, and the Squaxin Tribe, therefore, was limited to assertion of the claims of only the aboriginal Squaxin group.

The documentary evidence presented here, but not put in evidence before the Claims Commission, leaves no doubt that not only the aboriginal Squawksin, but also the Steh-chass, T'Peeksin, Squi-aitl, and Sa-heh-wamish named in the preamble to the Medicine Creek Treaty, were assigned to the Squaxin Island Reservation and from that time onward all were referred to as "Squaxin". Before examining the specific documents, it may be noted that prior to the treaty all records relating to the southwestern Puget Sound groups mention them by individual name, but that immediately after the treaty only the name "Squawksin" appears. When the census figures for the years immediately before and after the treaty are compared, it is patent that the figures for each of the groups listed separately prior to the treaty are included in the figure for "Squawksin" in the post-treaty reports. This

makes it clear that the peoples of Henderson, Budd, Eld, Totten, and Hammersley inlets did not suddenly become extinct, but rather that their names and numbers were thereafter subsumed under the single entry "Squawksin".

The most important sources for the foregoing are the unpublished manuscripts and published works of George Gibbs, the lawyer-ethnologist who served as a member of the treaty commission and who advised Isaac I. Stevens on Indian affairs. The relevant data on names, locale, and numbers are extracted from these documents and are presented in the accompanying table.

The various works with their dates are noted horizontally across the top column of the table and the information extracted from each work appears vertically in the column below it. Complete citations for the sources are given in the list of references. The first unpublished manuscript (National Anthropological Archives Manuscript #714) is entitled "Indian Nomenclature of Localities in Washington and Oregon" and in the relevant section lists the Indian names for the various localities and identifies them as to English names. The suffix -amish as in Sa-heh-wa-mish, the fifth entry in the first column, signifies 'people of' and most of the so-called tribal names in the Sound area consist of place names plus this suffix, translated as 'people of such-and-such place'.

The second manuscript cited (National Anthropological Archives Manuscript #2356) is undated but it is clearly an early draft of the report by Gibbs published in the Pacific Rail Road Reports. In this work the suffix -amish is supplied for all but two of the entries and the numbers of people in each place are given. Figures are supplied

for men, women, boys, girls, and slaves, totalling 170 persons.

The third manuscript, dated March 4, 1854, is apparently a later draft of the same report and varies slightly (and in areas beyond our present concern) from the published report, data from which are entered in column 4 of the table. I base my judgment that the March 1854 draft is later than the undated manuscript on the fact that the latter contains a more detailed breakdown of population figures (as noted above), while the dated draft condenses the figures to two categories, men and women. The total figures for each group are unaltered. The breakdown by sex only is the manner in which the figures appear in the published report.

Gibbs' "Tribes of Western Washington and Northwestern Oregon", published posthumously in 1877 but written in 1856 and based primarily on materials collected in 1854, lists the names of the various southwestern inlet groups but gives no separate census figures.¹ The 893 figure which is given includes all the people under the Treaty of Medicine Creek and thus encompasses Puyallup and Nisqually groups as well as those of immediate concern here.

The first five works in the table are all based on data collected prior to the December 1854 Treaty of Medicine Creek. They all list the southwestern inlets and their populations separately. Where the figures are given, the Squaxin group is said to number 40 and the total for all the inlet groups is given as 170.

The final column cites the only data in the table which were collected after the treaty. This material is from an unpublished note-

¹Gibbs returned to the east coast in 1860 and never returned to the northwest.

book of Gibbs and is entered under the heading "Census of tribes Western District, W.T., 1855". In this census, which covered all the tribes of western Washington, none of the inlet groups is listed and the "Squawksn" figure is given as 253, which is somewhat larger than the total previously given for all the southwestern Sound groups including the Squaxin. The 1854 figures for all western Washington groups were discovered to be well under the numbers counted in 1855. In a marginal note Gibbs comments that "the estimates are considerably altered by the subsequent census". It seems unreasonable to assume that the figure for the Squaxin group alone jumped from 40 to 253 and that all of the other groups died within the year. There is no mention of an epidemic or other calamity in that area for that year. The only reasonable explanation is that the name "Squawksn" as of 1855 was used to subsume all the other groups.

This conclusion receives independent corroboration from another source.

In a report to Isaac I. Stevens dated December 30, 1855, Agent Michael T. Simmons (who had been a member of the treaty commission) gave the following account of his official visit to the Squaxin Island reservation the preceding May (National Archives Microcopy #234):

Arrived at the Island reservation of the Squaxhunes, soon after proceeded to number them, I found 18 old men, 53 young men, 39 old woman, 59 young woman, 36 girls, 45 boys, my Interpreter asked them what they most desired for their annuities, they replied that they desired 325 Salmon lines, Salt, twine, Rope, Caps, Shirts, Powder, Lead, Shoes, Tobacco, Axes, Cut Saws, Files, Blankets, Drawing Knives, Cloth, Calico, Cotton, Thread, large Beads, Shawls, needles, Pins, Fish hooks, Sugar, Biscuit, Apples, Vests.

Simmons' census, taken in May 1855, five months after the treaty, differs only slightly from that of Gibbs' 1855 figures. Simmons counted three people less than Gibbs. The different numbers for the different age groups may reflect varying assessment on the part of the two observers. That the two are independent counts seems indicated by Gibbs' marginal note on his census that the figures he lists for Kwillehyute and Kwinaiutl were supplied by Simmons. If all the figures had been supplied by Simmons, there would have been no point in specifically noting Simmons as the source for the Quileute and Quinault.¹

That the 250 or 253 persons on the Squaxin Island reservation were drawn from the inlets at the extreme head of the Sound and not from other groups mentioned in the preamble of the Medicine Creek treaty is not only logical on the basis of geographic proximity; it is also clearly attested by the fact that documentary records place the Steilacoom with the Nisqually river groups on the Nisqually reservation and the Homamish of Vashon Island with the Puyallup river groups on the Puyallup reservation.

The only group about which there can be any reasonable doubt is the Hotlemamish of Carr Inlet. (It may be noted that on the table they are identified with Carr Inlet in the first three columns and incorrectly on Case's Inlet in the published works cited in columns 4 and 5.

¹A number of earlier censuses listing various southwestern Sound groups exist; some of these were presented in evidence before the Indian Claims Commission. They were stipulated generally by their authors (e.g. Hudson Bay Company employees, early Indian agents) to be inaccurate estimates and are not included here as the materials supplied in the text appear adequate to the purpose. The earlier census materials merely support the contention made here that prior to the Treaty of Medicine Creek the inlet peoples were consistently referred to by local names.

The typesetter evidently had trouble reading Gibbs' script and introduced considerable distortion in the printing of native names as well.) All later ethnographic sources agree with Gibbs in placing the Hotlemamish on Carr Inlet.

The only issue concerning these people is whether or not they were assigned to the Squaxin Island reservation and should therefore be subsumed in the amalgamated post-treaty "Squaxin". Documentary evidence on this point appears to be lacking. Gibbs classes them with the other peoples from the head of the Sound, and so does T.T. Waterman, whose work is referred to later in this report.

W.W. Elmendorf (1960:292) refers to them as a "branch" of the Puyallup on the basis of ethnographic data collected among the Twana, and says that they were so regarded by his Twana informant. Information on this group is perhaps inadequate to resolve the issue with certainty.

It is certain, however, that the peoples of Henderson, Budd, Eld, Totten, and Hammersley inlets, since 1855, have been referred to as "Squaxin" along with the original inhabitants of North Bay on Case Inlet.

It is an interesting question as to why Klah-che-min Island (as it was known by the whites) should have been re-named "Squaxin" in preference to the name of any of the other groups assigned to that reservation. In pre-treaty times the island was not inhabited and there appears to be no evidence to suggest that it was particularly identified with the Squaxin of North Bay. It was apparently visited by

people from all the neighboring inlets. Waterman attempted to learn a native name for the island and concluded that there probably was none meant to refer to the entire island as such. It may be that the name Squaxin was used because one group had to be chosen to give its name to the island reservation and this was a relatively prominent group whose name was pronounceable for the whites.

The handwritten record of the treaty proceedings mentions "Squawksn Tribes", which supplies confirmation that the treaty commission used the name "Squaxin" to encompass several groups (National Archives Microfilm T-494, Roll 5, at p.5). As the aboriginal Squaxin were a single village community, it is clear that the phrase "Squawksn Tribes" had to refer to other groups in addition to the community on North Bay in Case Inlet.

The Claims Commissioners also concluded in their opinion of June 30, 1969 (21 Indian Claims Commission 295, at p.297), that:

In the absence of any strong evidence to the contrary the events following the 1854 Treaty of cession raised a strong presumption that the 'Squawksin' tribe slowly died out as a tribal entity. The presumption is strengthened somewhat when we consider the fact that under the bylaws of the present day Squaxin Tribe of Indians membership is also open to all original allottees and their direct descendants of 1/8th degree or more Indian blood. The plaintiff tribe is therefore entitled to bring and maintain this action only in a representative capacity on behalf of the 'Squawksin' tribe or band of Indians.

Although it was not placed in evidence before the Indian Claims Commission, there is documentation to support the assertion that the present "Squaxin" are biological descendants, in part or in whole, of the peoples who lived on the various inlets at the head of Puget Sound in 1854. Numerical and biological continuity can

be traced from the present back to 1875 when the first official Bureau of Indian Affairs census records begin.

CULTURAL CONTINUITY

Cultural continuity can also be documented. It was in the "Squaxin" area that the Shaker Church originated. The Shaker Church, incorporated under the laws of the State of Washington, is a melding of traditional Indian religious beliefs and practices with introduced Catholic and Protestant beliefs and practices. The Shaker Church has spread from the "Squaxin" area north into British Columbia, south into Oregon and California and to eastern Washington and Oregon. The Shaker Church is one of the rare examples in North America of a truly Indian Christian Church. It is still a vital force in the "Squaxin" area where it originated as well as in the wider area over which it has spread. Although most adherents are Indians, the Church also includes non-Indian members.

Vitality and persistence of local Indian culture is also evidenced in the technological field. The knitting of so-called "Indian" sweaters and socks which is done by Squaxin tribal members today is another example of the combining of traditional Indian techniques with introduced European elements. The "Indian" sweaters referred to are the heavy pullovers and cardigans favored by fishermen and other outdoorsmen for their warmth and water-repellent features. They are knitted from raw wool in which the natural oils have been allowed to remain. The wool is undyed and design is effected by contrasting use of natural black or brown wool with natural white. The border designs on sleeve cuffs and waistband are usually traditional Indian basketry motifs.

Knitting is an introduced European technique which was unknown in native North America. The domestic sheep whose wool is used are also introduced. However, the techniques of preparing and spinning the wool are adaptations of those traditionally used by local Indians in the preparation of mountain goat wool and native dog hair blankets. The traditional alder spindle and maple whorl which was rotated on the thigh by hand has been mechanized by altering its size, form, and position so that it can be operated with the foot treadle of an old sewing machine. The invention of this new kind of spinning device, quite unlike the European spinning wheel, is further evidence of the ingenuity of local Indians in incorporating introduced elements to enrich and enhance their own culture. The spinning machines, as well as hand cards, simple carding machines, and the hardwood knitting needles devised to hold the thick, raw wool, are all made locally by Indian men. The knitted garments, originally produced by Indians for Indian use are in great demand by local non-Indians and have been exported as far away as Switzerland for use by skiers.

The foregoing examples, the Shaker Church and Indian knitting, indicate the continued evolution of local Indian culture as well as its influence outside the local area. Other examples attest to the persistence of more traditional parts of the culture in relatively unchanged form: for example, the continued use of the native language, the making of Indian baskets, fashioning of cedar canoes in traditional design, building of smokehouses, and curing of salmon by traditional techniques.

Cultural persistence is further attested by the fact that "Squaxin" Indians are not residing on the Squaxin Reservation, but are living in Indian communities on the various inlets of the Sound which were the aboriginal homes of their ancestors. A good example is the Indian community at Kamilche where Sahewamish descendants have purchased public lands, even though they own allotments on Squaxon Island.

It is perhaps worth noting that "Squaxin" informants in 1971 were able to identify by native name and aboriginal use many of the sites listed in Waterman's 1920 manuscript, thus corroborating Waterman's data and incidentally proving that these sites are still significant to the "Squaxin".

TREATY FISHING PROVISIONS

Article III of the Treaty of Medicine Creek provides that:

The right of taking fish, at all usual and accustomed grounds and stations, is further secured to said Indians, in common with all citizens of the Territory, and of erecting temporary houses for the purpose of curing, together with the privilege of hunting, gathering roots and berries, and pasturing their horses on open and unclaimed lands: Provided, however, That they shall not take shell fish from any beds staked or cultivated by citizens, and that they shall alter all stallions not intended for breeding horses, and shall keep up and confine the latter.

The evidence seems clear that the Indians intended to continue to fish after their removal to the island reservation, and that the government helped them to do so. When Simmons visited them on the island in May of 1855 and asked them what they wanted in the way of annuity goods, they asked for 325 salmon lines as well as fish hooks (see quoted material on page 5 above). Official records regarding

fulfillment of treaty provisions confirm that fishing equipment was supplied.

Fifty years after the treaty, the Indians of Squaxin Island Reservation apparently still relied on fishing both for subsistence and to derive a monetary income. The Annual Report -- Commissioner of Indian Affairs (1904:354) states

At Squaxin Island little or no improvement has ever been done since they received their allotments, and, while the land is not very valuable, still some of it could be used for farming purposes when cleared, and this is now being done. Very few of these Indians have lived on their lands, as it brought them no income. Their principal occupation is that of fishing for the market and working in logging camps.

SQUAXIN FISHERIES

The "Squaxin" fished all the streams and creeks draining into the inlets at the head of Puget Sound as well as the bays, inlets, and the Sound itself. The many small creeks draining into the head of Puget Sound provided excellent spawning areas for Coho, Chinook, and Chum and the Indians were able to take prodigious numbers when the salmon ascended the streams to spawn. In addition, Coho and Chinook were available throughout the year in the Sound itself and the inlets, and the Indians took them by trolling in the salt water. Writing in 1855, Suckley (1860:311) observed

Puget Sound proper has scarcely any rock bottom, and but two or three reefs. Near Bellingham bay, and along the north side of the straits, many rock islands occur. Along the shores are many sandspits partially surrounding shallow bays, in which vast numbers of young salmonidae feed and live, and where for a short time before the season of entering the rivers the adult individuals of each kind may be found. It is in these situations that most of the

good salmon taken by the Indians during the cold months are caught. Although the salmon have been as yet unknown to take bait or the fly after entering the rivers of that region, they nevertheless are caught in the salt bays in large numbers by the natives. The following plan is pursued. A small herring four or five inches long, is tied to a hook. Some six or eight feet from the bait a small round stone is fastened to the line. The stone acts as a "sinker," keeping the bait sunk some six or eight feet below the surface while being "trolled." The Indian in a light canoe paddles about slowly and noiselessly, trolling the line with a jerking motion, and not unfrequently taking in the course of a couple of hours several handsome fish, weighing from ten to thirty pounds each. The time chosen for this business is generally the two hours succeeding day break and an hour or two towards evening.

According to current members of the "Squaxin", Coho were also trolled for without bait, a red cloth being used as a lure. I am uncertain as to the temporal depth and areal distribution of this technique.

In addition to trolling, the major taking techniques were weirs set across streams, tidal impounding traps, and spearing.

The fisheries of the "Squaxin" were affected very early by the presence of white settlers in the upper Sound region. At present, and within the memory of living persons, there are no sockeye streams in upper Puget Sound, but according to Henry Allen, a Twana who was born about 1865

There were some sockeye in Mason Lake, south of Hood Canal. These ran up Sherwood Creek from Allyn on Case Inlet. They'd hang around the lake till ripe, then run up the creeks from there. The Squaxon got them with a weir in Sherwood Creek. Finally a pioneer named Sherwood built a little dam in the creek and stopped the fish, and they named the creek after him.
(reported in Elmendorf 1960:62)

The dam referred to may have been constructed to provide water power for a sawmill. Meeker (1921:257) reports that a primitive mill propelled by water power was built by two brothers named Sherwood at

North Bay, Case Inlet probably in 1852. This constitutes the earliest recorded instance of the destruction of a salmon spawning ground in Puget Sound.

The first American settlers on Puget Sound were attracted by the water power potential. The earliest harnessing of water power took place on Budd Inlet in 1846 when Michael Simmons (one of the official members of the treaty commission, and later Indian Agent for Puget Sound District), put up a small flouring mill at Deschutes Falls. Bancroft (1890:9) notes

Late the following year a sawmill was completed at Tumwater, built by M.T. Simmons, B.F. Shaw, E. Sylvester, Jesse Ferguson, A.B. Rabbeson, Gabriel Jones, A.D. Carnefix, and John R. Kindred, who formed the Puget Sound Milling Company, October 25, 1845, Simmons holding the principal number of shares, and being elected superintendent.

The B.F. Shaw who helped build the sawmill at Tumwater is the same Shaw who later served with Simmons on the treaty commission and became prominent in the Indian Service.

In the autumn of 1849 Simmons sold his land claim at Tumwater, with his mills, for \$35,000 (Bancroft 1890:15). By 1859 he had extensive holdings including another mill at Skookum Bay on Hammersley Inlet. Swan (diary: July 16, 1859) wrote

Walked with Col. Simmons around his claim. The house is situated on Hammersley Inlet on Skookum Bay, as it is called, about 12 miles from Olympia. There is a fine orchard attached to the house. . . The claim contains about 1400 acres and includes a fine mill. . . on a small stream in which is erected a sawmill capable of turned out some 2500 feet of lumber per day.

The rude grist mill at the falls of the Deschutes put up by Simmons in 1846 sufficed to pulverize the wheat, but not to bolt the flour. In 1854 Ward and Hays of Tumwater built a complete flouring mill at that place which superceded the pioneer mill of Simmons and his neighbors (Bancroft 1890:351). Similar mills driven by water power for flouring and for saw mill operations were constructed across many of the creeks and streams at sites which were usual and accustomed fishing places of the Indians. The economic importance of water power in the lumbering industry, and for manufactures generally, may have influenced the decision to remove the Indians from the inlets to an island reservation.

SITE LOCATIONS

The fishing areas used by the ancestors of the present day Squaxin Tribe of Indians were basically of three kinds: (1) freshwater streams and creeks draining into the various inlets; (2) shallow bays and estuaries; and (3) the inlets and the open Sound.

Customary use rights varied according to the type of locale. Winter villages were situated at the heads of the inlets near the mouths of salmon streams. Fisheries at these freshwater locations were controlled by the locally resident population.

Shallow bays where fish were speared were often gathering places for people from a wider area. This was especially true if shellfish beds were present.

Deeper saltwater areas, the inlets and the open Sound, served as public thoroughfares, and as such, were utilized as fishing areas by anyone travelling through such waters.

Based on his observations made in the mid-1850's, Gibbs (1877: 186) stated

As regards the fisheries, they are held in common, and no tribe pretends to claim from another, or from individuals, seigniorage for the right of taking. In fact, such a claim would be inconvenient to all parties, as the Indians move about, on the sound particularly, from one to another locality, according to the season.

Like all generalizations, Gibbs' comments require qualification. His characterization is acceptable if it is understood to refer to saltwater fisheries and if it is understood that certain exceptions exist (i.e., halibut banks, reef net locations). As regards freshwater fisheries, all subsequent information and everything else known about western Washington Indian cultures indicate clearly defined property rights. Ownership rights to specific fishing areas were well developed; at the same time, use rights were freely granted. Gibbs' statement appears to be concerned with use rights. If so, his characterization is useful, provided that the context and limitations noted above are understood.

Although there is some documentation available, as well as oral history, from which certain fishing locations in the "Squaxin" area may be pinpointed, it is impossible to compile a complete inventory of "Squaxin" fishing grounds and stations.¹

¹ For a discussion of the reasons for this, please refer to the introductory section of the Anthropological Report on the Traditional Fisheries of the Muckleshoot Indians.

The appendix to this report and the accompanying map pinpoint certain usual and accustomed fishing sites in "Squaxin" territory. The material on fishing grounds is intended to be illustrative and is no way to be considered a complete listing.

The only detailed information on "Squaxin" territory appears to be that contained in an unpublished manuscript by Professor T.T. Waterman, based on ethnographic fieldwork which he conducted among various groups around Puget Sound in 1917-1920. Professor Waterman collected data on locations in the Puget Sound area which were of social and economic importance to the Indians.

His complete "Squaxin" list is appended here. Each site is numbered, and the numbering is Professor Waterman's. All of the numbered sites are located on a map which Professor Waterman prepared to accompany his manuscript. For ease in reference, I have extracted from his text those numbered entries which relate to living sites and fishing sites, and located them in strict conformity with his map, using a copy of the same chart which he used. I have designated living sites by numbers in bold-face circles; fishing locations by numbers in lighter circles.

CONCLUSIONS

1. The present day "Squaxin Tribe of Indians" is composed primarily of descendants of the original inhabitants of all the inlets of upper Puget Sound from South Bay on Henderson Inlet around the head of the Sound to North Bay on Case Inlet. Included are: Henderson, Budd, Eld, Totten (including Big and Little Skookum), Hammersley,

and Case Inlets.

2. The Indian inhabitants of the above inlets were listed separately by local group name in the preamble to the Treaty of Medicine Creek and were included along with the Puyallup, Nisqually, and other groups in that treaty. The following names are extracted from the longer series in the preamble to the Treaty of Medicine Creek. I have added the appropriate inlet location for each named group.

Group name as it appears in treaty	Inlet location
Squawksin	Case
Steh-chass	Budd
T'Peeksin	Totten
Squi-aitl	Eld
Sa-heh-wamish	Hammersley

3. The Indians residing on the various inlets of upper Puget Sound were placed on the Squaxin Island reservation in 1855 and thereafter were known collectively as "Squaxin" Indians and were dealt with by the United States as a separate and collective entity.

4. The ancestors of the present "Squaxin Tribe of Indians" were included in the Treaty of Medicine Creek and the United States has always recognized and treated the amalgamated "Squaxin" as a Medicine Creek Treaty tribe.

5. "Squaxin" tribal members today do not reside on the Squaxin Island reservation, but rather in the localities where their ancestors lived in aboriginal times on the various inlets of upper Puget Sound, often in close proximity to the old village sites.

6. The ancestors of the present "Squaxin" Indians fished the entire area of upper Puget Sound including all the creeks and streams draining into the head of the Sound as well as the saltwater estuaries and bays and the open saltwater.
7. Prior to the 1854 Treaty of Medicine Creek, salmon played a vital role in the economic, social, and religious life of the Indians of upper Puget Sound.
8. Salmon continue to be important to the "Squaxin" as evidenced by continued fishing activity, building of smokehouses, and preservation of salmon by traditional curing techniques.

M - Man
 W - Woman
 B - Boys
 G - Girls
 S - Slaves
 I - Infants
 o - Old
 y - Young

HENDERSON INLET "South Bay"	NOO-SEH-CHATL (South Bay Henderson's Inlet)	NOO-SEH-CHATL (South Bay)	NOO-SEH-CHATL (South Bay)	NOO-SEH-CHATL (South Bay)	NOV-SEH-CHATL (South Bay)	NUSEHTSATL (South Bay or Henderson's Inlet)	GIBBS 1877 (based on 1854 data)	GIBBS Cascade Road Notebook (Census of tribes Western District W.T., 1855)
BUDD INLET Olympia	STEH-CHASS (Olympia)	STEH-CHA-SA-MISH (Budd's Inlet & vicinity) est. 20	STEH-CHA-SA-MISH (Budd's Inlet & etc.)	STELL-CHA-SA-MISH (Budd's Inlet, etc.)	20 estimate	STELTASAMISH (Budd Inlet)		
ELD INLET "Mud Bay"	SQUAI-AITL (Eld's Inlet)	SQUAI-AITL (Eld's Inlet)	SQUAI-AITL (Eld's Inlet, etc.)	SQUAI-AITL (Eld's Inlet, etc.)	SQUAI-AITL (Eld's Inlet, etc.)	SQUAI-AITL (Eld Inlet)		
TOTTEN INLET Oyster Bay Skookum Inlet	TA-PER (Totten's Inlet)	SA-WA-MISH (Totten's Inlet, etc.)	SA-WA-MISH (Totten's Inlet, etc.)	SA-WA-MISH (Totten's Inlet, etc.)	SA-WA-MISH (Totten's Inlet, etc.)	SAWAMISH (Totten Inlet)		
HAMMERSLEY INLET "Skookum Bay" Oakland Bay (Big Skookum)	SA-HEH-WA-MISH (tribe on Ham- mersley's Inlet)	SA-HEH-WAMISH (Hammersley's Inlet, etc.)	SA-HEH-WA-MISH (Hammersley's Inlet)	SA-HEH-WA-MISH (Hammersley's Inlet, etc.)	SA-HEH-WA-MISH (Hammersley's Inlet, etc.)	SAHEHAMISH (Hammersly Inlet)		
CASE INLET North Bay	S'QUAK-SEN or SKWAK-SEN (portage to Case's Inlet)	QUAK-S'N-A-MISH (Case's Inlet)	QUAK-S'N-A-MISH (Case's Inlet, etc.)	QUAK-S'N-A-MISH (Case's Inlet, etc.)	QUAK-S'N-A-MISH (Case's Inlet, etc.)	SKWAKSIN or SKWAKSNAMISH (occupy lachmas between Hood Canal & Case Inlet)		SQUAKSN OH OH YH YH B G I 18 35 53 56 42 37 --- absent - 12 total - 253
CARR INLET Henderson Bay	S'HOTLEH (Carr's Inlet)	S'HOTLEAMISH (Carr's Inlet, etc.) Tot M W B G S 27 10 9 8 8	S'HOTLEMA-MISH (Carr's Inlet, etc.) Tot M W Total 14 13 27	S'HOTLEMA-MISH (Carr's Inlet, etc.) Tot M W Total 14 13 27	S'KOSLEMA-MISH (Case's Inlet, etc.) Tot M W Total 14 13 27	S'HOTLEAMISH (Case Inlet)		
							Hed. Creek Inds.- 893	

Total 170

APPENDIX

Excerpts from Waterman Manuscript

Names of places in the so-called Nisqually
and Squaxin areas
on the "upper" or southern portion of Puget Sound

The two "tribal" names Nisqually and Squaxin are better known than those of any other groups in this area. They are given on Dall's map, already referred to. The terms themselves are not in any way different from those already given. That is, they are the names of villages. To be specific, the Nisqualli, Squally, or (more correctly) the Sqwalia/bsh, are the people of TusqwE'1³e, "tops of wild carrots," an important old village on the flats at the mouth of the Nisqually river. Curtis calls them the Sqalābsh. In my own orthography this group are the TusqwE'1³e-abc. The Squaxin are the people of a village called in the present orthography Tusqwa'ksûd, "split apart," which was situated at the northern end of Case's Inlet, on the narrow estuary there. The group are in my orthography che Sqwasûd-abc, given as Sqaksda'bsh in Curtis' list. This latter author very carefully defines their domain as the east and west shores of Case's Inlet, including half of Harstene Island. This is all very well, but the fact remains that their abode was the village just mentioned. Their bailiwick extends, I suppose, half way to the next village. This is all that Curtis' boundaries and frontiers amount to. His terms would be perfectly satisfactory from this point of view, except that he omits to mention a great many quite other and quite comparable village groups which exist in the area. A complete list of the "tribes" would be nothing more than a list of villages, and the tribal boundaries would be marked by artificial or imaginary lines running somewhere between these villages, cutting each one off from its neighbors. In other words, it is more satisfactory to locate the villages than it is to try to find territorial boundaries, which do not really exist.

Geographically, the part of Puget Sound which we are here dealing with is the part lying above The Narrows. This part of the sound is practically a large pond, the only outlet being the narrow passage between Point Defiance (near Tacoma) and Point Evans. This "pond," however, is broken up into a number of areas or "inlets" and its bosom is dotted with a number of islands. The inlets are extremely narrow and tortuous, so that the geography becomes somewhat complicated. At a change of tide, the water imprisoned in all these bays and inlets must escape through the narrows near Tacoma. The difference in tide levels here is approximately thirteen feet, so that the currents produce a very considerable turmoil at some of the narrow passages. At the Narrows especially, the waters imprisoned in the southern part of the sound, swirl through the gap with great violence.

For purposes of description, it will be most convenient to consider the place-names on each inlet, and on each of the larger islands, separately. There are no differences in dialect worth mentioning, as regards the structure of words, though there are recognizable differences in the habits of speech.

Names of places on the eastern shore of
Case's Inlet, from north to south

1. Village site at the mouth of the creek at the upper end of Case's Inlet, Tuxsqwa'ksûd, "split apart." This term, in the town Squaxin, has come to be used as the name of a "tribe," and of a Reservation. The Reservation so named is an island, scantily wooded and rather useless. Costello gives this term in the form Squk-sin, not explained. A myth recounts that the land here was opened by force, the water entering and making a bay.

2. Place on the shore-line of Case's Inlet, opposite the town of Allyn, Tuxa'tcai, "mossy place." This moss was used to wipe the slime from fish before drying them.

3. Promontory projecting from the north shore at the entrance to Rocky Bay, Sulû xûlts. There used to be many seals here.

4. The cove known as Rocky Bay, Tuxsa'lûxs.

5. Site of the present town of Vaughn, TuxsatsL. This suggests "where there is a lake."

6. A tiny promontory of sand, slender and somewhat curved, which projects across the mouth of Vaughn's Bay, from the southern side, Sqwitqks, "down-stream promontory."

7. Spot near the shore-line, south of the above, Bo'l'âts, "a spring" (literally, "where by bubbling it emerges").

8. A dull projection on the coast-line south of Vaughn's Bay, Li'lipcld. A similar word elsewhere was translated "peeping" or making a squeaking noise; and was said to refer to young wild ducklings.

9. A small inlet known as Dutcher's Cove, Wahti'tid-alt, literally, "world's house." The term wahti'tid is the expression for this world. The meaning of the whole name I do not know.

10. Herron Island, Tsxwa'dai', "where the tide goes far out."

11. Small bay or inlet on the east shore of Case's Inlet, close to Devil's Head, Tuxwo'lah. This suggests Tuxwol, "a narrow escape", from an enemy.

Names of places on the western side of Case's Inlet
from its head to Big Skookum (Hammersley's Inlet)

12. Sherwood creek, TuxsqwElts, "hot."

13. Beach lying west of McLane's cove, Qola'tstEb, "Sarvis berry ground."

14. The inlet known as McLane's cove, Sta'q:taljtc, "closed in by high cliffs" (stEqw, "shut up or closed up").

15. A large boulder in the edge of the inlet, south of the above, Ke'wai, "porpoise-hunter." A man hunting porpoises here was changed into stone by the Transformer.

16. A small creek in a cove, Stû'tsiob.
17. A small cove, bearing a close resemblance to a somewhat larger cove west of it, StLE'tLulop. This form is the diminutive of the name of the larger cove (see below).
18. A cove opposite Harstene, StLolo'b.
19. A cove into which two creeks empty, side by side, T'Ewi'Ebûs.
20. A creek north of Grant Landing, SLula'owEs. The stem slEl means "to turn off from the main road."
21. A narrow cove with a creek, Xo':stEd.
22. A small island lying close to the western shore, Bjspa'owEk, "where there are cranes."

Names of places on Hammersley's Inlet ('Big Skookum')

The name of this interesting body of water originated with the Wilke's expedition, who named it in honor of one of the midshipmen, George W. Hammersly. The mis-spelling of this man's name goes back to Wilke's himself. In actual practice, the name Hammersley has gone out of use, and the inlet is known locally as Big Skookum. An inlet to the southward, whose course is parallel to that of the present inlet, is called Little Skookum, though the Coast and Geodetic survey chart gives Skookum Inlet simply. Skookum is the Chinook jargon word for strong. I think the name applied originally to the larger of the two inlets which has a large harbor (Oakland Bay) at its upper end. When the tide falls, all the water of this extensive harbor flows through the narrow and long and very crooked passage, producing a current like a river in flood. Hence the name. Little Skookum was named, I think, from its general analogy in shape and position to the big inlet. It, too, consists of a long and narrow passage, somewhat larger at its upper end, but the current is not nearly so strong.

Meany, quoting Costello, says that the name for Big Skookum is Sa-ha-wamsh. This term in any case would be a name, not for the inlet, but for the people living thereabouts. Curtis gives the name of this group as Sahe'wabsh. This term means the people living at an old village-site called Suxwe', "singing fish," or toad-fish, near the upper end of Oyster Bay (Totten Inlet) not Big Skookum. In my orthography the word is Sûxewa'be, "dwellers at the place of singing-fish" (see No. 46, below). Costello therefore locates his term Sa-ha-wamsh in the wrong place.

The most interesting thing about the inlet is that a spot on its north shore, midway in the narrow passage, is where a certain Indian named John Slocum lived, who started the Shaker religion. This form of belief, which is today one of the most interesting things in the whole Northwest, has been discussed by another author, and in another place by myself. This is the spot where it took its origin. It has spread now as far as Vancouver island to the north, and southward as far as the Klamath Reservation in southern Oregon.

23. At the lower end or outlet of Big Skookum there are two promontories whose points interlock across the inlet. The one extending from the northern shore-line is called Cape Horn. The

opening between them is only one-eighth of a mile wide. The opening between these promontories has the name TEkEba'lo-tsid, "areial duck-net mouth." The reason for the name is that the Indians stretched in the air across the inlet one of their nets (tEkEp) for taking ducks, elsewhere mentioned. Flocks of ducks flying down the inlet would strike this net, which would be lowered on a run and the birds killed with sticks.

23a. The promontory known as Cape Horn (just mentioned), Tca-a' bats, "dug out on one side."

23b. The promontory opposite 23a., above, TcEsa'b'd, "where there are shavings," such as are left when people are hewing things.

24. A waterfall, south shore of the inlet, near the entrance, Q!Edzela'lqo. q!Ed, "slowly;" dyEl, "to pass around;" -alqo, "water." Everyone passing here was supposed to take a drink. If a person failed to do so, at his next visit the water would have moved to another place.

25. The promontory projecting into the channel from the north, at the first bend, Lilwa'atsid, "resembling a bench."

26. A cove diagonally opposite from the above, into which Gosnell's creek enters, Xaxa'atsid. Numbers of salmon were taken here in the old days. The term is literally "taboo mouth" or "precious mouth."

27. Gosnell's Creek, Xaxa'ats, "taboo (water) emerges."

28. Cove opposite Gosnell's creek, Pûlpûlpûle'la, "wild cherry trees." This is the name also of a cove on Squaxin island, not far away.

29. A promontory across the inlet, TsElo'tsEd, "elongated basket-trap." These were used for taking small fish.

30. Place where John Slocum lived, the founder of the "Shaker" religion.

31. Goldsborough creek, entering the inlet just south of Shelton, Q!pa'lqo, probably "gathered waters."

32. Creek running through the town of Shelton, Peoqw'E'ldx (qw'Eld means "to cook"). Costello gives an expression form Pe-a-kwad, which is evidently intended to represent this term.

33. A promontory at the present site of the Shelton docks, Siqwa'bts. The word s/q means "to split."

34. Creek at the site of the present town of Oakland, Tsita'owi. Costello gives for "Oakland" the term tsut-tau-i, evidently identical with this.

35. Creek cutting through the large promontory north of Oakland, Ple'lqwEd, "removing the blisters from wild-cherry bark" (ple'la, "wild cherry").

36. Creek running into Oakland Bay east of the above, Spile'-qwûd, a special of bird, not identified.

37. Place on the north shore of Swindel's cove, Qwola'stEbäts, "where sarvis-berry bush sprout." These sprouts, along with certain edible roots (pi'yEsi) imported from Yakima, were boiled up in fish soup. Informants are highly emotional about this combination, which is said to have a marvelous flavor.

Names of places on Totten Inlet ("Oyster Bay")

38. Promontory where Arcadia now stands, QE'lbld, "rainy place."

39. Promontory by a little cove just south of Arcadia, QwiyEkwasi'yûks. This expression contains the element kwas, "seal."

40. A small cove near Windy Point, Bjsq! eux, "where steel-heads abound."

41. Promontory on the north side of the entrance to Little Skookum inlet, Swati'u^xtld-alt, "earth spirit's house."

42. A creek near the head of Little Skookum, Qaqa'xwEts, "where crab-apple trees grow."

43. The creek at the head of Skookum Inlet, Qab'l'tcu. This has given rise to the modern name Kamilchie. Costello gives for this Ka-bel-chi, not translated.

44. Promontory south of the mouth of Little Skookum, Bjsxo'bt, "where there are canoe-paddles."

A myth recounts that two men were fighting here, and became transformed into rock. On the boulders are some red patches which are said to be blood.

45. Simmon's creek, at the head of Oyster bay, TEpi'lkwtsld, "caving down mouth."

46. An important village site, at the extreme upper end of Totten inlet, Suxwe'. This is the term for a certain "singing fish" or toad-fish (*Porichthys notatus*). It resembles the bull-head. At low tide, it can be heard humming under the rocks.

47. Place on the shore-line north of the last-named, Ts'ikwls. A rock on the edge of the water there represents an elk changed into stone by the Transformer.

48. Burn's Point, T'Ebe'xu, "gooseberries."

49. Creek on the shore-line north of the above, Tsaba'l. The people here are said to have possessed much paraphernalia, for the practice of the "sbaL" performance ("sucking doctor" practices).

50. The shore-line around the promontory, XwiL-qo, "no drinking water."

51. Place at the point of the large promontory, Qwe'tLos, "red bluff."

52. The northern point on this same promontory, hwEts-ts/q-stEb, "sharp prodding...". The belief is that if anyone pokes the bottom of the inlet here with a pole, or a paddle, it will bring on a storm. This is an idea which is often encountered in this region.

53. Beach lying beyond this point, Xwaiyuxqwi qwûdup, "blowfly snatching something from the soil."

54. The cove east of the above promontory, Bicola'lals, "where there are many cat-tail rushes."

55. A very small cove, Wiyupule'tcld.

56. A small cove near the upper end of the inlet, TsExe'bi. This suggests dzEx, "to move camp."

57. Locality on the west side of Sandy Point, at the entrance to Oyster Bay, Ska'iyualtu, "corpses their house." This spot was used in the old days for a cemetery, where the dead were hoisted into trees.

58. Sandy Point, CxwE'tsugEL. This suggests "sharp breath."

59. Steamboat island, a small island lying across the mouth of Oyster bay, SxetE'lp, "pushing off from shore." The name refers, I think, to the appearance of the island, as though it were leaving the mainland, like a canoe putting out to sea. (Sxedib, "Medicine?")

60. The small cove next east of Sand Point (between Sand Point and Cushman's Point), BIsba'tcus, "where there are shags."

61. Hope island, TL!tL'tc!s, "small island" (diminutive of TL'tc!s, island).

Names of places on Squaxin island

62. Squaxin island. The question as to whether Squaxin island, as a whole, has a name or not, is open in my mind. Costello's statement that the name for the whole island is Pul-le-la is quite inexact. Pul-le-la (in my orthography PEle'la) is the word for "wild cherry," and is the name for a flat on the south side of a little cove, on the southwestern shore of the island. On the opposite side of the island, in a shallow cove where my informant Dick Jackson lives, is a spot called "little wild cherry place," Pulpulpule'la, the diminutive of this term. My own informants supplied three terms said to be the name of the island, HwEtsE'l tc, Hewa'bis, and Qwa'tsl tc, none of them translated.

63. Place near the north end of the island, near Salmon point, Y'lbux. This is the name of a supernatural power and certain accompanying ceremonies, which enables a person to cause a run of "herring."

64. A marshy promontory south of the above, SpEla'o, said to mean one species of wild goose.

65. The promontory next south of the above, Tcpa'wax, "crane."

66. The very small cove south of this promontory, TLa'tcibEd.

67. A low bluff, Tca'tcaEts.

68. A promontory at the edge of a somewhat extensive bay, Tcatlaks, "rocky promontory." The local name for this is Potlach point. At one period there were extensive gatherings here for festivities and observances of various sorts. I am not sure however that this was true in aboriginal times. The island has been a reservation for a very long time.

69. The side of the bay opposite Potlach point, PEle'la³, "wild cherry trees."

70. A cove, very marshy around the edges, with a growth of cat-tails, BIspe'ux, "where there are seagulls."

71. A place along the shore-line, Tcaw'etL, "dog-tooth lilies."

72. Unsal point, Txels, "rocks arranged like a man lying on his stomach." The stem txe means to lie stretched face downward; -ls is a suffix meaning "rocks."

The origin of the term Unsal is not clear in my mind, but it may be a clumsy transliteration of this Indian term, imperfectly heard.

73. A straight stretch of shore-line, QwiyE'xu, "belly." The old Shaker church stands midway in this stretch.

74. A creek and swamp draining into a cove, Eqtca'xad, "young sea-gulls."

75. Shore-line to the north of this cove, Siwa'iyaks. This suggests "tired promontory."

76. A flat, somewhat open promontory, BEbqwa'bks, "prairie point."

77. A shallow indentation of the coast-line, Pulpulpule'la, "lots of little wild cherry trees." This term is the diminutive of number 69, above.

Names of places on Hartstene Island

77a. Dougall point, Sqwitqks, "little promontory".

78. Gerald's cove, DE'xudExwIL, "hunting canoes." This is the plural of the word DE'xw L. This form of canoe has been discussed elsewhere (see Waterman and Coffin, Types of Canoes on Puget Sound.) This was a place where good cedar timber could be found, for the manufacture of canoes.

79. A promontory, Spela'zi.

80. Place along the edge of the hill, Tca'teadzEts, "oak trees."

81. A very tiny promontory and cove, Po'pokEb, "piled up on the ground."

82. Stretch along the shore, XwElqo, "no fresh water." The name arises from the fact that there are no streams or springs here, where those traveling by canoe can get a drink. This is rather unusual in this area, for streams and springs are extremely plentiful.

83. A small creek, TsEdzEb.

84. Brisco point, the southern end of Hartstene island, Tuxle'ls, "far off-shore rocks."

85. Place on the east shore of the island, X_zxpapa'i, "many little cedars."

86. A town known as Ballo (or Ballow, in Landis' Dictionary), Ba'ba'li, "bait." It is not impossible that Ballo is intended to represent this Indian name.

87. McMicken island, a small inlet lying off the east shore of Hartstene island, Pi'lxEb, "falling on the ground." I think the term is descriptive of the way this inlet apparently dangles after the larger one.

88. A small cove with a sand-bar across its mouth, Tuxka'da, "thief."

89. Shore near Dougall's point, Tuxtsu'qwatob, "straight ground."

Names of places on Eld Inlet ("mud Bay")

90. Cushman's point, known locally as Hunter's point, Djie kc L. This name has some connection with the word for

"foot." I think it means a wet foot. The waves rush up to the foot of the cliff, fall back, and rush up again. When the tide is high it is not possible to pass here.

91. Place on the shore-line south of Hunter's point, Yo'y^lptol^lb.

92. A very narrow cove, Tuqwa'lotsid, "fish-trap at its mouth." A weir was built across the end of this inlet. When the tide went down, the fish would be imprisoned behind it.

93. A very narrow cove, Tucaix. This word is said to signify a certain edible root, which the people went to this place to dig.

94. The conspicuous promontory on the eastern shore of Mud bay, Qwets-qs, "down-stream promontory."

95. A small promontory west of the above, Qw^ltLos, "red face" or "red cliff." The cliff here is red in color. This place was a cemetery in the old days.

96. A cove, west of the above, Q'a'bt'o (this suggests q'Eb, "abounding in food.")

97. An open space along the shore-line, Ba³bakwob, "small prairie."

98. Site of the present Buchanan place, Ku yEx^lwild.

99. A promontory known as Maple point, TsEbtsEbid. The Coast and Geodetic Survey chart shows it as Rocky point. According to local usage, Rocky point is the term applied to the promontory directly across the inlet. The native word suggests "dancing-place" (from tsEbid, "to kick") or "elderberry place" (tsabt, elderberry").

100. Helser creek, Q^ltxo'bc.

101. A large creek flowing into a cove, Bala'b'ts, "on the side toward the spring" (cfbolats, "spring," 102).

102. A place on the shore-line, Bo'l^lats, "a spring" (literally, "where it emerges by bubbling").

103. A flat, very close to the head of the inlet, B^lltci'. The stem b^lEL means "gorged".

104. A large creek at the head of Mud bay, Sqwaya':iL. Costello states that the name for Mud bay is "Skwe-ail." As usual, he mistakes the name of a village for the name of a branch of the sound. For some reason the present name has NOT been metamorphosed into a "tribal" name, so far as I know. This is quite curious, for there was a large and thriving village here.

105. A creek on the eastern side of the inlet, one and one-half miles from the old village, Kaxo'al-qed, "the one who bears lots of food, head of." Salmon were taken from this stream in enormous numbers. The stem ka signifies "plenty, abundance."

106. A smaller creek just north of the above, SqwEque'^s, "grassy place." Salmon also ran in this stream.

107. The point of land between these two streams, which is broad and flat, Xwiul^sc^ld, "that on which one wipes the mud from his feet." This term is said to be in the Chehalis language. The curious information was given me that this is where the Chehalis visitors used to "wipe the mud off their feet" after they had dug a supper of clams and were going home.

108. The lower side of a promontory known locally as Rocky point (though not shown under this name on the Coast and Geodetic Survey chart), SE^xte'17b. The stem t'e' 11b means "to sing." Two boys lived here in myth-times, who had many powerful songs. When one of them was killed, the other sang, and brought him back to life.

109. The outer end of Rocky point, T'a'xt'aLiŋk, said to mean, in effect, "lots of people turned into rocks." Some of the rocks here look like canoes, for the people were moving toward the head of the inlet when the Transformer came. One man especially had two canoes fastened together, with planks laid across, as was the custom in this region, for carrying a big lot of effects. This man and his boats are very conspicuous in the group of rocks.

110. Place on the shore-line north of the above, PEto'sid. This suggests pEto'sEb, "to comb the hair."

111. A small creek, B7cuwa'sale.

112. A stretch of shore-line to the northward, Xwiuxtsa'gw7dup, "place where the edge of the ground has been straightened."

113. A large creek, in which salmon run, Tso'qub7L, "dug".

114. Promontory north of the creek just named, Bakwbadwob, "prairies." This is a reduplicated form of the word ba'kwob, "open space among the trees," which is so popular as a place-name.

115. The long slender promontory known as Point Cooper, Tca'kwEbEks. This word is said to mean "piled up promontory." Some one saw four seals piled up there, with a white one on top.

116. Place in a cove about half a mile from the mouth of the inlet, TL'e'tL'alats, "where perch come out."

Names of places in Budd inlet

117. Place in Butler's cove, just south of the above, B7sq'x7s. There is a story concerning this place, referring to a child, but I was not able to learn it.

118. Place on the shore-line on the south side of Butler's cove, WE^dwa'3, "cougar." One of these animals was swimming here in the myth period, and was changed into a rock.

119. Creek on the western shore, where the present western boat channel has been dredged, SqwExlo'x. Salmon were formerly plentiful here.

120. A small promontory, QwEla'iutsid, "mouth of a creek where there is spray."

121. Small promontory north of the mouth of Percival's creek, Xweuq'qwakwa7dup, "where there are white shells on the ground."

122. Percival creek, Qexe'b7d, suggesting "lots of clawing" (qebi'd, "to clutch").

123. The falls in the Deschutes river at Tumwater, SpEkwa'L, "cascade." The present name for this place, Tumwater, or TE'm-wata as the Indians call it, is the Chinook jargon word for a waterfall. Costello gives the name Pu-kal-bush for "the Deschutes river at Tumwater." My intuition tells me that he means this for SqEdwa'1-b1c, "waterfall, where there is."

124. Old village site, in the present city of Olympia B1s-tc₂'txud, "frequented by black bears." The old site was in what is now the western part of the city proper, below the viaduct spanning the inlet. Costello gives a word Dus-chut-wit, which he says is the name for the Deschutes river. This term seems to be intended for TuxustcE'txûd, "black-bear place." This, of course, would be another name for the spot we are describing.

The name the Indians use for the present town, the state capital, is StEtc!â's. This name has, however, grown up since the white occupation. It seems to be connected with astEtc!, "splicing two things together." I fancy that this refers to the causeway which has been built by the city across the inlet, connecting the two shores.

125. The cove or inlet east of the business section of Olympia, PE'tz'lb.

126. Priest point, below Olympia, on the eastern shore of the inlet, Ts'u'lyad.

127. A tiny marsh, in the side of this promontory, O'lalâts, "where cat-tails grow."

128. Point north of Wepusec inlet, TL'E'pEks, "deep promontory" or promontory where the water is deep. It is not impossible that "Wepusec" is intended for this native term, which contains several sounds not easily recognized by an ear accustomed only to English.

129. Creek emptying into the inlet just spoken of, WulE'xu, "strong."

130. The promontory called Dofflemyer point, and the outer end of Budd inlet, Tc₂tcaa'ltu, "house-pits." The houses in this region, as described elsewhere, contain pits, and the sites from which houses have vanished show the depressions where the structures stood. The present site has evidently been occupied in fairly recent times, but not within the memory of my informants.

Names of places on Dana's passage and Henderson inlet

131. The point east of the beautiful crescent-shaped cove known as Boston harbor, Y|xula'ltu, "sandhill-crane's house."

132. Promontory beside a small inlet, Tsicuda'ats.

133. Dickerson point, the promontory at the west side of Henderson inlet, B1c-sa'xwab, "where they jump."

134. A very narrow and elongated promontory jutting out into the inlet from inside a cove, SupEks, "blowing promontory." The word "blow" is the equivalent for a Salish stem meaning the noise a seal makes by expelling his breath as he comes to the surface of the water. The term is descriptive of the shape of the promontory, which looks like a seal emerging from the water.

135. Head of the inlet below the point just mentioned, TsElE'xgw1L, "squeezing one's canoe."

136. Creek at the head of Henderson inlet, Tuxt₂c!atcaa'L, "little channels dug out." It is difficult to find the main channel of the creek. The term here given is also applied to a tidal trap built to catch flounders.

137. Cove on the eastern shore of Henderson inlet, Qola'stubus, "Sarvis-berry bushes cliff."

138. Johnson point, the promontory on the east side of the mouth of Henderson inlet, Sqwa'tsqs, "crooked promontory."

Names of places on the shores of Carr's inlet,
Western side

139. Creek at upper end of Burley lagoon, Tule'ikle, "far off it flows."

140. The sand-spit which separates Burley lagoon from Carr's inlet, Tusxo'tleEb. The stem means "to bite." The Sxo'tleba'bc, or people of a village here, possessed the reputation of being great fighters. A myth recounts that once the people of this site were all killed except a pregnant woman. She later gave birth to twins, a boy and a girl, by whom the group was perpetuated, and the village built up again. Curtis gives the name S'hotlbabsh as the term for the people "at the southern end of Case inlet." This is clearly an error. His term exactly corresponds, barring the different system of orthography, with the one here given.

141. Creek south of the present town of Wanna, Qwac'a'lqo, "Dog-fish's water."

142. Creek north of Huge creek, Ska'ikaiyuale, "corpse-place." This spot was a "graveyard" in aboriginal days, where the bodies were hoisted into the trees.

143. Huge creek, Tuxsxo'tEb, "pestilence." The name "Huge," like the Indian name, I am unable to explain.

144. Cove at a place now called Lake bay, Tuxsuba'qwob, "prairie." The nearby pond has the curious corresponding name of "Bay Lake."

145. A place on Ellice bay, near Longbranch, TuxsbakEbk. A myth recounts that when the Transformer came, he was unable to do anything to this place. So it has remained over, just as it is, from myth-times. There were formerly an enormous quantity of claws and mussels here. This story about a place which refused to be changed is quite common in the region. I have encountered other places about which the same story was told.

Eastern side

146. A cove north of Rosedale, Tuxhwa'sub, "soap-berries ground."

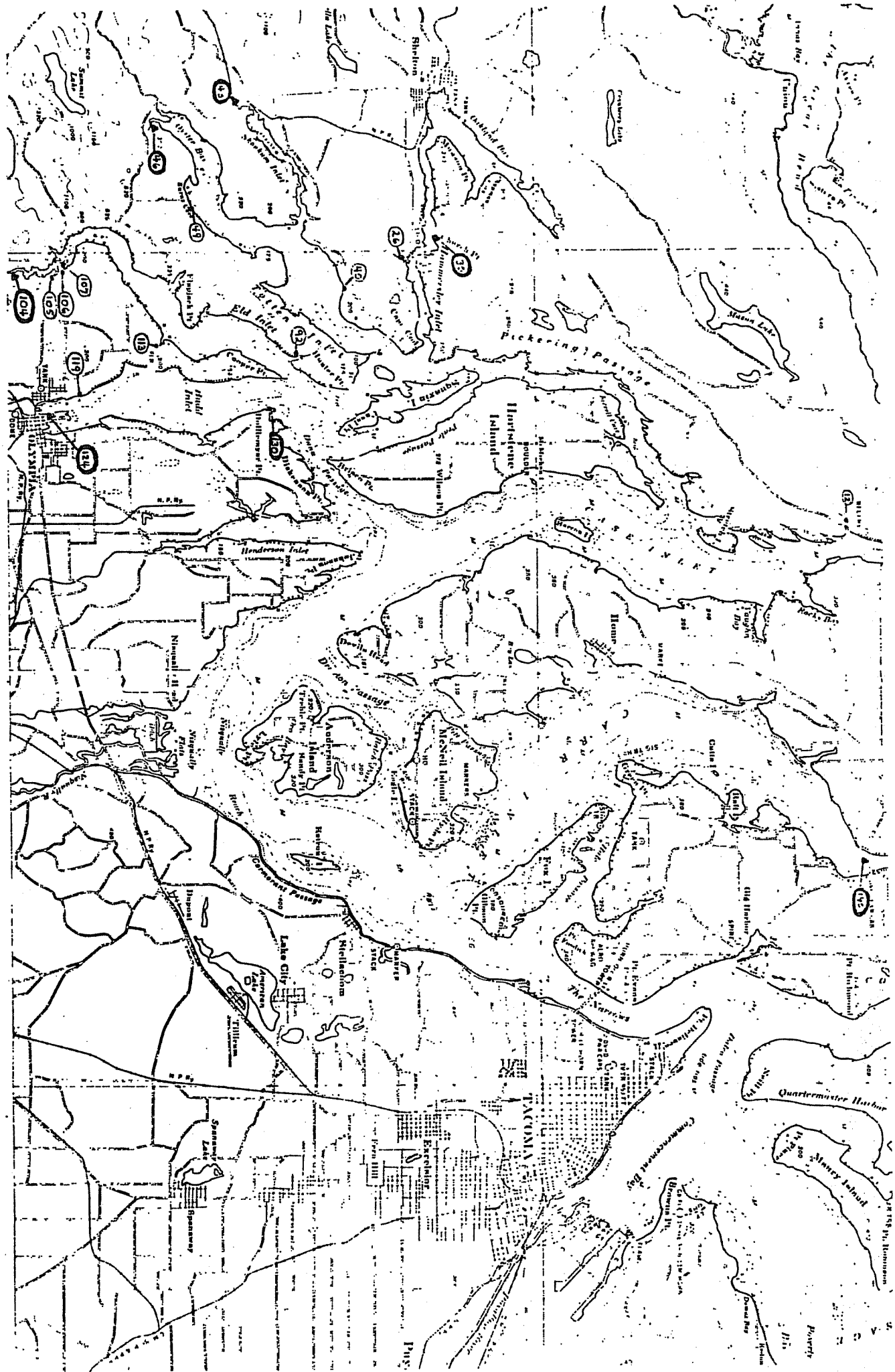
147. Promontory between this creek and Rosedale, Slo'xElts, "being beaten at gambling."

148. Narrow cove north of Rosedale, TuxpE'qats, "rotten logs."

149. Raft island, Ci'kagwls, "uplifted or elevated." This island "gets dry in the middle;" that is, it appears above the waves as the tide goes down.

150. Cutts island, Qaqee'lts, "crows."

151. Mouth of the creek at head of Whollochot bay, Sxolo'tsid. The stem word was translated "something is missing off of something else." This word is evidently the origin of the name Whollochot, still applied to the bay into which this creek flows. Another informant said "marked mouth."



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