

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

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SKOKOMISH IDENTITY

Since 1855 the name Skokomish has been used by the United States government to designate all of the Twana-speaking peoples who lived and whose descendants continue to live along Hood Canal and its tributary watercourses.

Prior to 1855 two terms were in general use by whites to refer to the peoples of Hood Canal. The Indian communities toward the lower or northern part of the canal were known as Too-an-ooch (Twana) and the people at the upper or southern portion of the canal were known as Skokomish.

Originally, the name Skokomish referred to an extended village community comprising half a dozen sites along the Skokomish River. This community had the largest concentration of Twana-speaking people.

As happened generally throughout the Puget Sound area, the name of one community was extended by the whites to refer to the river on which that community was located and to refer to neighboring Indians occupying the same drainage system. In this way the name Skokomish has come to be used to designate the Twana-speaking people of Hood Canal all of whom were assigned to the Skokomish Indian reservation subsequent to the Treaty of Point-

No-Point, January 26, 1855.

People from communities elsewhere around Hood Canal settled voluntarily on the Skokomish Indian reservation or were removed there forcibly. As they resettled on the reservation, they lost their separate identities as community groups and all came to be known to the whites as Skokomish. Furthermore, they began to refer to themselves as Skokomish, at least when dealing with whites. Later, many of these people left the reservation to take up residence again on the various rivers and creeks around the canal which had been traditional village sites. By this time, however, the name Skokomish was in general use and was retained.

In contrast, anthropologists use the name Twana, rather than Skokomish to refer to the peoples of Hood Canal and its tributary rivers and streams. The reason for this is that all these people formed a single linguistic community, sharing a common language -- Twana -- which was not spoken elsewhere. The language which appears to be most closely similar to Twana is that spoken on Puget Sound. According to Elmendorf, the linguist-ethnographer who has produced the only full length monograph on Twana culture, the order of difference between the Twana and Puget Sound languages is about like that between Italian and French.

The name Skokomish as used in the title of this report is meant to refer to all of the Twana people and not just those of the original Skokomish River extended community. This usage is employed because it conforms to the legal name presently employed to designate the Twana

descendants who are parties to the present lawsuit.

The name Skokomish as it appears in the body of this report may be understood to be interchangeable with the name Twana, except where it is specifically indicated that only the aboriginal Skokomish community is intended. In general, the name Twana is used throughout the report in preference to the name Skokomish.

In the mid-nineteenth century, there were nine Twana village communities of which the Skokomish River people were the most populous and the only one occupying several sites. The other eight Twana communities were single-site villages with two to four large, gable-roof plank houses and associated smaller structures. The nine village communities are listed below and their locations are plotted on Elmendorf's map on page 23 of Appendix 1 in this report.

Twana village communities (after Elmendorf 1960:264)

- | | | |
|----------------|--------------|----------------|
| 1. Dabop | 4. Duckabush | 7. Vance Creek |
| 2. Quilcene | 5. Hoodspout | 8. Tahuya |
| 3. Dosewallips | 6. Skokomish | 9. Duhlelap |

The Twana communities shared a common drainage system, a common language not spoken elsewhere, and common customs. Minor variations were related to local ecological factors. Some villages were situated on the canal near the mouths of salmon streams; others were located farther from the salt water, as for example, those on the north fork of the Skokomish River. One community, that on Vance Creek was inland in orientation. The Vance Creek

people got salmon from their stream, but depended more heavily on game than did the other Twana-speaking communities.

In the Hood Canal area, as elsewhere in western Washington, winter villages were sited with respect to fishing stations and frequently river villages were associated with salmon weirs. Other factors influenced the choice of village sites: availability of fire wood and drinking water, beach or bank suitable for landing and storing canoes, protection from the elements, and so on. The village communities tended to operate as autonomous units.

Although all members of the speech-community were known as Twana, Twana-speakers did not form a political entity with a single head chief, nor is there any evidence to suggest that the entire speech-community acted in concert on any occasion.

Any given community had important men whose leadership was sought for particular skills or areas in which they excelled. The important men were usually senior men in their kinship groups, "house-owners," "supervisors of fish weirs," "professional warriors," and the like. They were men of wealth who had social, economic, and kinship ties in other villages and were thus able to command support over a wider area for particular purposes or on specific occasions.

An example of such an individual was $dax^w, l\alpha q$, the man who supervised the fish weir at $sp'up'cqs$ on the lower Skokomish River in the mid-1850's. Governor Stevens recognized his importance among the Skokomish by appointing him head chief in 1855.

TREATY STATUS

The ancestors of the present Skokomish Tribe of Indians were parties to the Treaty of Point No Point, January 26, 1855. This treaty was the third negotiated by Governor Isaac I. Stevens in western Washington. According to the preamble, the treaty was concluded with representatives of the S'Klallams, Sko-ko-mish, Too-an-hooch, and Chem-a-kum tribes. The Too-an-hooch mentioned in the preamble is a variant rendering of Twana and was evidently meant to cover those Twana speaking peoples who were not members of the extended village community on the Skokomish River.

As noted in the previous section, the latter community at the six dispersed sites shown on the map on page ²³ called themselves Skokomish. Other Twana speakers were Twana, but not Skokomish. Twana is the more inclusive term, comprising the entire speech community -- all the peoples of the Hood Canal drainage system, including the Skokomish. To put it another way, the Skokomish were Twana, but not all Twana were Skokomish. The Stevens party were evidently not aware of this and listed the two groups as if they were naming separate tribes.

The intent of the Stevens party is clear. They followed the then general usage of naming people at the head of the canal Skokomish and the people at the entrance of the canal Too-an-hooch in order to include all peoples of the drainage system as parties to the treaty.

Apparently the understanding at the time of the treaty signing was that the land at the forks of the Skokomish River would be reserved for the exclusive use of the Indians. This would have secured the valuable weir sites to their owner-users.

The language in the Treaty of Point No Point does not specify precisely the land to be reserved. The relevant portion of Article II. states:

There is, however, reserved for the present use and occupancy of the said tribes and bands the following tract of land, viz.: the amount of six sections, or three thousand eight hundred and forty acres, situated at the head of Hood's Canal, to be hereafter set apart, and so far as necessary surveyed and marked out for their exclusive use....

Evidence that the understanding was that the reserved land would include the forks of the river is found in the following excerpt of a letter from Simmons to Stevens' successor, Geary, in which Simmons suggested changes in various reservations.

...Treaty of Point no Point = Reservation specified in treaty is the land lying in the forks of the Skokomish river. I propose in lieu thereof to give these Indians a tract of land containing about two sections and upon which one claimant is living whose right will have to be bought. This land is near the mouth of the Skokomish river....

Simmons was a member of the treaty commission which negotiated the Treaty of Point no Point; therefore his statement that the reservation was intended to include the land lying in the forks of the river must be taken to be authoritative.

Certainly that understanding of the land to be reserved for the exclusive use of the Indians makes sense in terms of the native fishing economy and the critical importance of the weir locations.

The value of the weir sites in general and on the Skokomish River in particular is elaborated in the following sections concerning the role of fishing in the native economy and usual and accustomed fishing sites.

THE ROLE OF FISHING IN TWANA CULTURE

The most important food acquisition technique among the Twana was fishing. Hunting of sea mammals, waterfowl, and land game and the gathering of molluscs and vegetable foods provided important elements to the native diet, but these pursuits were secondary to fishing.

The food resources, in approximate order of importance, were fish, sea mammals, molluscs, waterfowl, land game, and vegetable products.
(Elmendorf 1960:56)

Fish was the most important food resource in prewhite times and salmon (including steelhead) the most important fish.

The most important source of food for all Twana was Pacific salmon, four species of which were common in the canal and ran in its tributary streams. Only the sockeye was a rare or sporadic visitor in the canal, and did not spawn in its tributaries. The steelhead "trout" was also an important food fish. (Elmendorf 1960:57)

There is a difference of opinion among Skokomish today as to whether sockeye used to spawn in Lake Cushman.

Salmon and steelhead were taken both in the saltwater of the canal and in the rivers, but the freshwater take accounted for the bulk of the catch. The fish taken in weirs on the streams were of prime importance in the native economy not only because of the size of the take, but because these fish were cured for winter stores.

The bulk of the salmon catch was made in rivers, with weirs, dip nets, and harpoons, during late-summer and fall runs....A large part of the stream

catch was smoke dried and stored for winter use.

(Elmendorf 1960:57)

River fishing was more important than canal fishing for all Twana groups, but the relative importance of the two types of fishing also varied from community to community. For the people on the Skokomish River, saltwater fishing was of minimal interest because of their particularly valuable river fisheries.

Salt-water trolling and netting was of minor importance, in particular to the Skokomish with their large river runs of salmon.

(Elmendorf 1960:57)

Elmendorf uses the term Skokomish to designate the aboriginal community on the Skokomish River, as distinct from other Twana.

The weirs on the Skokomish River constituted the most economically valuable community property of the large population concentrated in the six dispersed sites of the aboriginal Skokomish group. In the 1850's there were three important weir sites on the Skokomish River.

Construction of these weirs was a major undertaking in which all or virtually all of the men of the community cooperated. Curtis (1913: 12) reports a traditional account of an attack by Snohomish warriors on the aboriginal Skokomish community. The account contains the following description of events.

The Skokomish band were up the river at the beginning of the salmon season, and the women and children were alone in the camp, the men being in the woods cutting poles for the fish-weir.

Men like *da^w.laq*, who supervised the second weir upstream on the Skokomish River and who signed the treaty as Head Chief of the Skokomish,

were responsible for directing and coordinating the economic activities of the entire community during the construction and operation of the weir.

From the decision as to the proper time to move to the weir-site and begin cutting poles through all the various stages of construction, the supervisor was responsible for allocating work and overseeing it. Once the construction was completed, and the weir in operation, his was the responsibility to allocate space and time with respect to competing users. One important aspect of this related to suspension of fishing on the weir at intervals in order to allow upstream passage of salmon.

The face or body of the weir consisted of removable lattice frame sections (x'Xa'a) which constituted the barrier to salmon swimming upstream....A row of such lattice sections extended across the entire face of the weir when in use and barred any upstream movement of running salmon. Ordinarily one or more lattice sections were removed for a time each day, or at night except during dip-net operations, to allow some fish to proceed to the spawning grounds or to weirs farther upstream. The Twana believed that the "salmon people" would be angered if this was not done, and would refuse to return for the next year's run. It is obvious also that complaints would have been forthcoming from the operators of upstream weirs had a downstream community damaged the stream for any length of time, although this situation seems never to have arisen in the Skokomish River.

(Blmendorf 1960:65-66)

The above description refers to the commonest type of weir used by the Twana, the so-called single dam salmon weir. Certain other features of this weir required supervision while the weir was in use.

While the running salmon congregated along the downstream face of the weir, a good deal of brush and other drift would become caught in the upstream face of the lattice frames. This was dangerous and if allowed to accumulate would result in the weir washing out. The weir was cleaned daily or oftener by raking the accumulated trash up the slanting surface of the lattice frames with forked sticks and throwing it over on the downstream side.

(Elmendorf 1960:66)

The labor and materials involved in constructing these weirs represented a considerable investment on the part of the people who constructed them. At the end of the season, parts of this valuable property were saved so that they might be used again.

The single-dam weir was used most intensively in late summer for kings (q'w^wla'qbəd) and early-run dog salmon (sxi'fu'əb). In the Skokomish it was less used for the late run of dog salmon (sxi'wəb) in September and October, particularly if fall rains were early and heavy. By October the Skokomish was apt to be high or fluctuant with increasing danger of washing out the weirs. Normally weirs were dismantled before fall rains became heavy and the parts stored for the next year. Sometimes only the lattice frame sections were saved and the tripod supports allowed to wash out.

(Elmendorf 1960:66-67)

More complete details of the single dam salmon weir and other types of weirs used by the Twana are included in Appendix 2. The extracts included in this section serve to illustrate the value of the weir to the Twana and to the aboriginal Skokomish, in particular. The foregoing materials also give some indication of the important role played by the fish weir supervisor in overseeing the construction, maintenance, use, and dismantling of the weir. His coordination of cooperative work had direct bearing on the welfare and prosperity of entire community.

The foregoing discussion has focused on the strategic role of the weir-supervisor as steward of a major community property, the cooperatively built weir. It is vital to note, in this connection, that the site was as important a property as the gear itself. This was particularly true in the Skokomish River, where the number of places at which such gear could be used were more limited than in smaller streams.

Single-dam salmon weir. This commonest form of fish trap was termed t qu st d (from tq 'd, "to close, shut"). It could be used in large streams but only where these presented wide shallows or riffles, with two to three feet as the optimal depth. The weir extended completely across the stream. These conditions limited this type of weir in large rivers, such as the Skokomish, to fixed sites which became centers of seasonal congregation. The location of some winter villages may have been determined by adjacent weir sites, as with yila 'lqo, the chief Skokomish settlement, but annually used weir sites also existed, at least on the Skokomish, without any nearby village. (Elmendorf 1960:64)

In sum, then, fishing was the most important food acquisition technique of the Twana and salmon (including steelhead) the most important food. The bulk of these fish were taken in the rivers by means of weirs. A major portion of the stream catch was cured for winter stores. The Skokomish River people, in particular, were heavily dependent on their weirs. The weirs could only be constructed at particular sites on that river and the sites themselves were therefore valuable. The abundant runs of salmon in the Skokomish River supported the densest Twana population in 1855. In view of the foregoing, I conclude that the man in charge of one of the most important weirs would not knowingly have ceded control of the site nor would other Twana have signed away similar rights.

With respect to these property rights, it should be observed that although the weirs as such were community property, the individual dip net platforms on the weir from which all net fishing was done were privately owned.

The content of these group and individual ownership rights is more precisely described in the following passage from Elmendorf (1960:72).

A number of men in one village community would build and own a weir together. Each man owned one dip-net platform (ci'l'tad) on the weir; all net fishing was done from these platforms. What an individual caught and dried was his own. If he made a good catch, it was customary to give a feast and feed his fellow villagers; what was left over was usually smoke dried and belonged to the person who had caught it. A person might sell or trade fish, but only outside his own village. Offering food in sale or trade to a fellow villager was never done; the impression was gained that as a hypothetical case such conduct would have been regarded as scandalously stingy. Sold or traded fish was almost always smoke preserved.

Dip-net platforms were not sold or rented, but an owner often "lent" use of his platform to a relative or friend. According to HA, [informant] he would say, "q'wa'i'yax^wəb 'ač at:d q'wa'i'yax^w, do dip netting with my dip net." The borrower got all his catch and was not required to pay for use of the platform. Public opinion required him to distribute part of his catch to villagers if the catch was a good one, but he was not expected to give more to the owner of the platform than to anyone else. Platform borrowers apparently included, in practice, any fellow villager of the owner.

The fact that use rights to individually owned dip net platforms were freely extended to fellow villagers in no way diminishes the

ownership rights in either the platform or the dip net itself.

Concepts of ownership were highly developed and rather precisely formulated, not only in Twana culture but in most, if not all cultures of the Northwest Coast. While use rights were freely extended, it was necessary for the borrower to request permission to use the privately owned site, gear, or privilege and for the owner to accede to the request. Alternatively, the owner could initiate the extension of use rights by offering them.

The absence of formal payment or rent for use rights was common throughout the Northwest Coast culture^{area}, especially when the user was either kin or fellow villager of the owner. The lack of payment or requirement for same was an expression of solidarity between the owner and the user.

Formal rent or payment for use of resource areas or gear expressed a more distant status relationship between the contracting parties. The presence or absence of consideration paid for use rights spoke to the relationship of the parties to the transaction, but said nothing in regard to concepts of ownership.

To sum up, ownership rights in weirs were at the same time both public and private. Anyone in the community who had helped to build the weir could spear fish from the top-stringer walkway. Dip-net platforms were individually owned and persons wishing to spear or to net fish from a platform would do so with the owner's permission. In other words private ownership involved the notion of trespass. The fact that permission normally was granted to fellow villagers in no way invalidates the fact that it was required.

Public in the foregoing paragraph refers explicitly to the community which constructed and used the weir. In many cases, this was coterminous with a locally resident winter village community.

Ordinarily there was no use of a single weir or set of dip-net stations by two or more winter village communities. During the nineteenth century, however, this may have been the case at the large intercommunity fall gatherings at the Hamma Hamma and Lilliwaup, streams without winter village sites.

(Elmendorf 1960:73)

Weirs were constructed on most of the rivers, streams, and creeks draining into Hood Canal. Particularly productive sites were resorted to annually; others were used less frequently. Specific locations are noted by Waterman in Appendix 3 and in the affidavits collected by Swindell included in Appendix 4. A large number of specific weir sites are plotted on Elmendorf's map and described in the accompanying site list in Appendix 5.

Apart from the single dam salmon weir referred to above, with associated dip-net platforms, there were double-dam weirs with conical basket trap, converging-wing dams with basketry trap, and a type of double weir with oblique downstream member but without attached trap. These are all described in detail in Appendix 2.

Other stream fishing techniques included harpooning (from a canoe or from the bank), spearing, and gaffing. The gear used with each of these techniques is described in detail in Appendix 2.

Salmon were taken in the saltwater of the canal by trolling, netting, and spearing. Herring were often taken for bait by raking. More information concerning spear types and hooks is provided in the Appendix.

Elmendorf (1960:59-60) summarizes the Twana relationship to salmoni fishes as follows

The Twana placed five species of salmonid fishes in a single class and recognized them as the backbone of their subsistence economy. These were each a "tribe" or village community of anthropomorphic beings in their own land, which lay far to the west, beyond the ocean.... The five kinds were those usually denoted in western Washington by the English terms king, silver, humpback, dog, and steelhead. River fishing for all these fish was primary, with weirs and associated dip-net structures the most productive method. Salmon, as well as other types of fish, were also trolled for with hook and line from canoes in salt water, but this method furnished a relatively small proportion of the catch.

Most of the salmon were taken during their seasonal "runs" up the rivers to their spawning grounds. Timing varied according to locale, but in the Skokomish River, where all five species were taken, the runs coincided from about late September to early December.

King salmon were said to arrive earlier than the other species and to "lead them in." The first salmon ceremony was celebrated over this species. The runs of kings came mixed with silvers, and in alternate years, with humpbacks. Dog salmon were taken in an early run which began in August and the later, principal run which lasted through December, beyond runs of the other species. This later dog salmon run provided the bulk of the fish taken in the Skokomish River in aboriginal times. Steelhead were reportedly taken in the Skokomish River in January

and at other seasons in the salt water by trolling.

Concern with protecting the salmon runs is evidenced by data on ritual precautions. According to Elmendorf (1960:62-63)

Most ritually determined acts with reference to river fishing had to do with the salmon run and were directed toward insuring its continuance. The river had to be kept clean before salmon started running. HA informant defined the period as starting in early August (for the Skokomish), before the first king salmon came. From this time no rubbish, food scraps or the like, might be thrown in the river; canoes were not baled out in the river; and no women swam in the river during menstrual seclusion. The object of these precautions was to ensure that the salmon would want to come.

The first salmon ceremony was also concerned with ensuring future runs of salmon. A crooked-jawed salmon, believed to be the leader of the dog-salmon, was supposed to be taken each year in the river, at the beginning of the main run, and was ritually treated to ensure the following year's run.

When caught the crooked-jawed dog salmon was carried from the river to the village by two elderly persons, its head kept always pointing upstream. It was prepared by roasting, and all in the community partook, including children. All of the salmon except the bones had to be eaten. The meal was followed by dancing. Many persons, especially all children older than infancy, plunged in the river following the feast. The salmon bones were ritually treated, but informants differed on the type of treatment; there may well have been variant patterns. FA said that the bones were floated down the river on a plank, this insuring return of the salmon souls to the land of salmon across the western ocean. HA said that the backbone, separately removed before roasting, was laid on a rock or log with its head end pointing downstream toward the salmon country. Children held the cross spits which had held the salmon open during cooking

between their teeth and dashed into the river with them and after splashing about threw the spits in a downstream direction, while thanking the salmon leader and inviting him to come again. The crooked-jawed salmon was, it may be added, portentous only in connection with the first salmon-rite. It was the only fish so treated in any year.

(Elmendorf 1960:118-119)

According to Elmendorf, the first-salmon ceremony was strictly an intravillage ceremonial. Two or more village communities did not participate jointly in the celebration.

It may be observed that in both of the accounts of the first salmon ceremony the salmon bones are treated ritually. At all other times, salmon bones were disposed of by throwing them in the river except during the period just before the first salmon run when the river was kept clean of all food scraps.

Salmon and steelhead and their eggs were not only food staples, they were highly prized elements in the native diet. The fish were eaten fresh when taken or preserved for later use. They were roasted, or boiled when eaten fresh. To preserve them, they were dried or smoked. There were a variety of degrees of smoking or combinations of drying and smoking to achieve different flavors. Details of preservation techniques do not differ materially from those described elsewhere.

A single example here will suffice to indicate the esteem in which salmon eggs were held. Similar accounts occur in monographs on other native groups in western Washington.

Salmon eggs (ba'lu) were dried, boiled fresh or after aging, or preserved by "ripening" in a hung deer paunch, a process that turned them into a kind of cheese. I append HA's descrip-

tion: "They boiled salmon eggs; you'd say 'cɔ'dux^w səbc'(x^wa'y'ɑsɬ uc ba'ɫ, come on, let's go boil salmon eggs!" Boy, that was the best dish I knew when I was young! They'd boil them rotten too; they had more flavor then. Also there was a way of rotting salmon eggs in a deer paunch. The deer paunch (q^wa'sad) is the sac that holds the manure. You turn it inside out, wash it, and fill it with salmon eggs. Then close it and hang it up in the smoke inside the house. When the eggs turn rotten it's called sc'ɑ'q. The outside eggs get ripe and dry while the inside ones are still moist. People used to eat this with other foods, for flavor, add it to stews. You can smell it cooking a long way off; people would come from way down the beach to get some. It tastes something like limburger cheese, something like lutefisk. I have tasted lutefisk; it's good too."

(Elmendorf 1960:122-123)

FISHING SITES

The usual and accustomed fishing places of the Twana included the entire drainage system of Hood Canal. In addition to the salt-water fisheries and freshwater fisheries mentioned in connection with discussion of gear and techniques in earlier sections of this report, notice should be taken of tidewater fisheries. These were also important to the Twana and they involved the use of gear and techniques not previously discussed.

There were several kinds of tidal impounding traps which were built out from shore in salt water at low tide level. Fish swam over the traps at high water and were enclosed there as the tide receded. In one type of trap, the apertures through which the fish entered were closed with lattice sections or bundles of brush

as the tide began to ebb.

A herring and seal maze was constructed offshore in tide water or at a river mouth. The maze was built with a narrow aperture at the offshore end of converging leads into a circular pocket. Seal followed herring into the end pocket and were impounded there as the tide ebbed. More detailed descriptions as well as diagrams of the various tidal impounding traps and mazes are to be found in Appendix .

Locations of some of these tidal impounding traps, as well as weir sites and other traditional fishing locations are plotted on the map on page 26. The base map is from Elmendorf (1960:opposite page 48) to which have been added sites mentioned as traditional fishing locations by Waterman (Appendix 3) or in Skokomish affidavits collected by Swindell (Appendix 4). Descriptions of these sites may be found in the appropriate appendices.

The material may be briefly summarized as follows. The Twana used a variety of taking techniques which allowed them to take fish almost everywhere in the waters of their territory. Salmon and steelhead were trolled for in the deep waters of the canal, salmon and bottom fish were speared with a gig in shallow waters of bays and estuaries, and other fish were taken in tidal impounding traps. In the rivers, creeks, and streams salmon and steelhead were taken by spearing, gaffing, and in various kinds of traps. The bulk of the catch was taken by means of weirs constructed to span the streams with associated dip net operations.

Hood Canal and its tributary rivers, streams, and creeks abounded in fish in earlier times. With their repertoire of taking techniques and food preservation techniques, the Twana not only enjoyed a comfortable standard of living; they were able to accumulate vast food surpluses with which to feast invited guests at intercommunity gatherings. These gatherings might include invited guests from as far as Carr Inlet and Vashon Island in Puget Sound to the east and Satsop country to the southwest.

The lucrative fisheries of the Twana very early attracted the attention of white men. Only a few years after the removal of the Indians to the reservation, the Twana were complaining about white occupation of their fisheries.

A good deal of hard feeling exists among the Indians on account of their not having received their annuity goods before this; they say that the whites are settling their land and occupying their fisheries, and that they never receive the payment for the same, which was stipulated in their treaty.

(Morrow 1861:179)

The above extract is taken from the report of the farmer at the Skokomish Reservation to W. B. Gosnell, Indian Agent for Washington Territory. The situation apparently persisted over the years of conflicts over Indian fisheries in the Twana area. By the close of the century there was considerable difficulty over fisheries on the reservation itself. The teacher at the reservation filed the following account in an official report to his superiors in the Indian Service.

Intruders.--During the past winter there have been a great many fishermen of the Caucasian tribe who have tried to stay on the reservation and set their nets on the reservation side of the Skokomish River, and I have had considerable trouble with them in keeping them away. Some of them went far enough to take an old Indian's net from the eddy in which he had it set and lay it high and dry on the bank, setting his own (the white man's) in its place. It became necessary to deputize an Indian police force and escort the rascals off the reservation.

(Youngblood 1897:295)

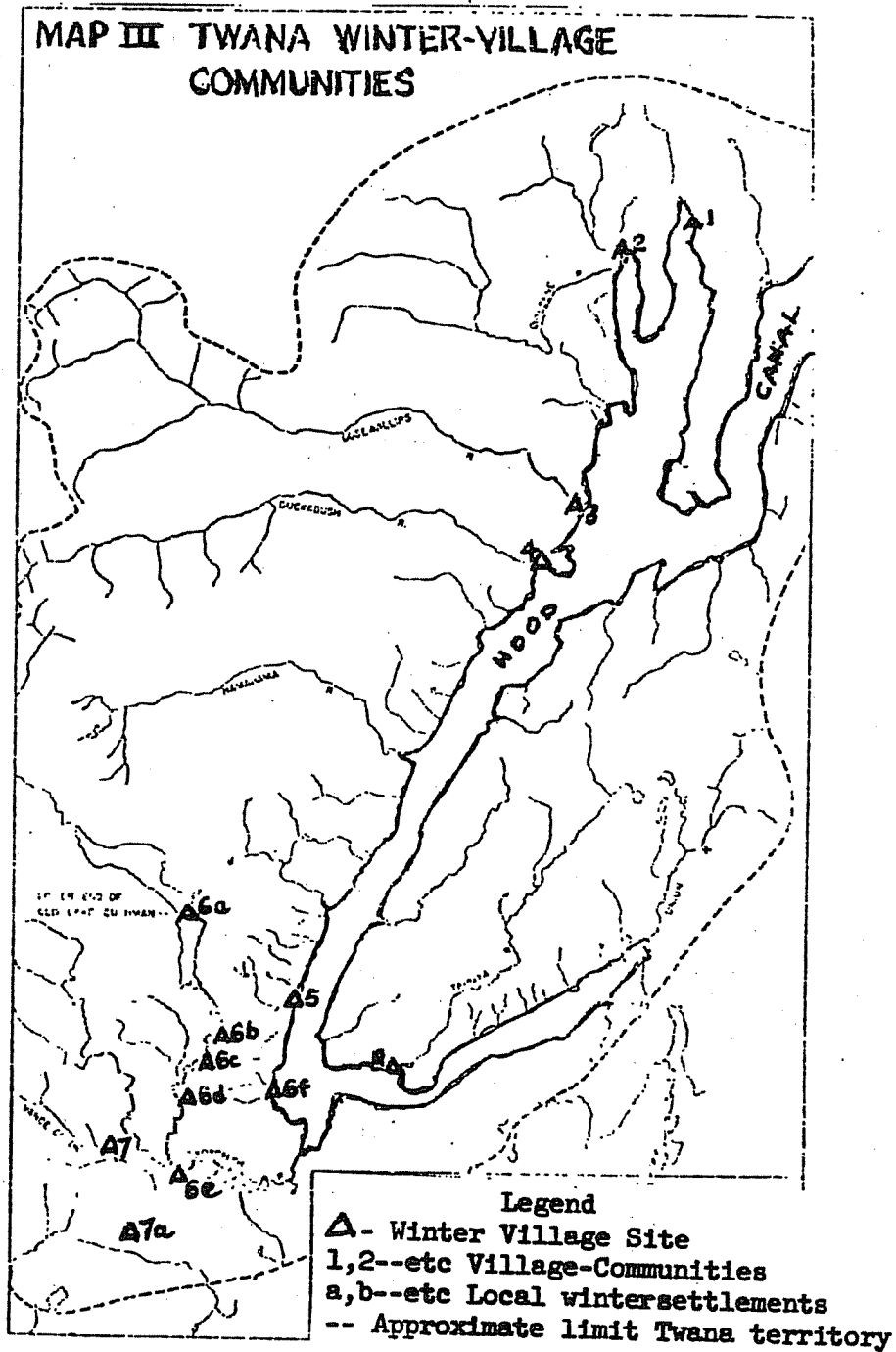
Competitive uses of Twana watercourses, as well as competition over the fisheries themselves have affected the traditional sites. Perhaps the most striking alteration in Twana territory is the construction of the power dam at Lake Cushman which drastically changed the size and shape of the lake as well as the character of the north fork of the Skokomish River.

CONCLUSIONS

1. The Skokomish Tribe of Indians is composed primarily of descendants of the Skokomish and Too-an-ooch who lived in the drainage area of Hood Canal.
2. The above two groups were named in the preamble of the Treaty of Point No Point, January 26, 1855. At that time the two names were used to comprise the communities of the upper and lower portions of Hood Canal, respectively.
3. Five signatories to the Treaty of Point No Point are identified on that document as Skokomish. From the time of the signing, all Indians of the Hood Canal drainage system have been referred to by the United States government as Skokomish.

4. Salmon (including steelhead) was the most important source of food for the Skokomish Indians at treaty times. Four species of salmon as well as steelhead were taken. These were eaten fresh and also dried and smoked for winter use.
5. The principal fisheries of the Skokomish before, during, and after treaty times included all the waterways draining into Hood Canal and the Canal itself. Saltwater trolling and spearing were less important than river fisheries.
6. The bulk of the stream fish were taken by dipnetting from weirs. One of the Skokomish signatories to the Treaty of Point No Point was in charge of an important weir on the Skokomish River. In view of the strategic importance to the Skokomish of their fisheries in general and their weir sites on the Skokomish River in particular, it is unlikely that control over these was knowingly signed away.

APPENDIX 1. List and Map of Twana Winter-Village Communities
 compiled by W. W. Elmendorf
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ETHNIC NAMES OF TWANA LOCAL GROUPS

<u>Community</u>	<u>Ethnic Name Type</u>	<u>Native Ethnic Name</u>
1 Dabop	I	čtta' bux ^w
2 Quilcene	III	sq ^w əl'si dbəš
3 Dosewallips	I	čtduswa' yluṣ, čuswa' yluṣ
4 Duckabush	I	čtdux ^w yabu's
5 Hoodspout	I	čtskal' alla' ltəbax ^w
6 Skokomish	IV	sqoqə. bəš
a	II	čte' loəl
b	I	čtč' uq ^w a' ləl
c (local house groups)	I	čtč' ələ x ^w cəd
d	I	čtsxc' a- yay'
e	I	čtyda' ləo
f	I	čttəba- das
7 Vance Creek	II	čtd ^w əld ^w c' li
a (summer site)	I	čtpu' plečəd
8 Tahuya	I	čtta- xu ya
9 Duhlelap	II	čx ^w le' lap
a (winter site)	I	čtdux ^w k' u k' wəns

APPENDIX 2

Descriptions and Diagrams of Fishing Gear -- Elmendorf (Copyright 1960, Washington State University. Used by permission.)

Weirs and Traps

A number of weir types were known to and used by the Twana. Commonest was a single dam of lattice frames on tripod pole supports, with associated dip-net platforms. I have also descriptions of double-dam weirs with conical basket trap, converging wing dams with basketry trap, and a type of double weir with oblique downstream member but without attached trap. All of these structures were used only in streams. In addition, several sorts of tidal impounding traps were employed for herring and other salt-water fish.

Single-dam salmon weir. This commonest form of fish trap was termed *taqu'stad* (from *tq'a'd*, "to close, shut"). It could be used in large streams but only where these presented wide shallows or riffles, with two to three feet as the optimal depth. The weir extended completely across the stream. These conditions limited this type of weir in large rivers, such as the Skokomish, to fixed sites which became centers of seasonal congregation.¹⁵ The location of some winter villages may have been determined by adjacent weir sites, as with *yila lqo*, the chief Skokomish settlement, but annually used weir sites also existed, at least on the Skokomish, without any nearby village.¹⁶

The foundation structure for the weir was a series of tripods (*sk'eyu^N*) of long poles fixed in the river bed.¹⁷ The two upstream members of each tripod were in line with the length of the weir which extended across the stream; the third member projected out downstream. The upstream members supported the face of the weir while the downstream member of each tripod stabilized the entire structure and held it against the current. The row of tripods thus ran across the stream, as did the face of the weir. (See figure 1, p. 42.)

Three rows of stringers, horizontal supporting poles, were lashed across the upstream face of the tripods on the outside of the tripod members. These stringer rows extended from bank to bank, the length of the weir. They formed a support and afforded attachment for the lattice sections constituting the face of the dam. The top stringer across the tripod series was a flattened log which served as a walkway or means of getting out along the weir. It was about four feet above water level.

(Footnotes follow article)

The face or body of the weir consisted of removable lattice frame sections (*Å'Xa'' a*) which constituted the barrier to salmon swimming upstream. These were constructed of young-growth fir poles about six feet long, laid parallel and lashed together with a weft of twisted cedar-limb cord (*sti'dawas*) into sections approximately six by 10 to 12 feet. The cedar-cord weft being flexible, these sections could be rolled up like matting into six-foot-long cylinders for transport or storage.¹⁹ Apertures in the sections, formed by the cord weft and the "warp" poles, were from one to two inches square.²⁰ The lower ends of the "warp" poles were sharpened and driven into the stream bottom along the upstream face of the supporting tripod row; their upper ends projected some three to four feet above water level with the poles slanting back in a downstream direction against the support stringers, to which they were lashed at intervals. A row of such lattice sections extended across the entire face of the weir when in use and barred any upstream movement of running salmon. Ordinarily one or more lattice sections were removed for a time each day, or at night except during dip-net operations, to allow some fish to proceed to the spawning grounds or to weirs farther upstream.²¹ The Twana believed that the "salmon people" would be angered if this was not done, and would refuse to return for the next year's run. It is obvious also that complaints would have been forthcoming from the operators of upstream weirs had a downstream community dammed the stream for any length of time, although this situation seems never to have arisen in the Skokomish River.

While the running salmon congregated along the downstream face of the weir, a good deal of brush and other drift would become caught in the upstream face of the lattice frames. This was dangerous and if allowed to accumulate would result in the weir washing out. The weir was cleaned daily or oftener by raking the accumulated trash up the slanting surface of the lattice frames with forked sticks and throwing it over on the downstream side.²² In mentioning this HA added, "If the frames slanted the other way, upstream, the trash would pile up under them and there'd be no way to clean them."

The single-dam weir was used most intensively in late summer for kings (*q'valx' qb.d*) and early-run dog salmon (*sli'lu'ab*). In the Skokomish it was less used for the late run of dog salmon (*slə'əb*) in September and October, particularly if fall rains were early and heavy. By October the Skokomish was apt to be high or fluctuant with increasing danger of washing out the weirs. Normally weirs were dismantled before fall rains became heavy and the parts stored for the next year.²³ Sometimes only the lattice frame sections were saved and the tripod supports allowed to wash out.

The prevalent method of using this type of weir involved dip netting from special platform structures. According to FA the weir with top-stringer walkway was sometimes also used for spearing, or for dip netting without platform structures. HA denied the latter point, and I consider

it improbable. Spearing off the walkway, or off dip-net platforms, may have been the method for taking most of the late-run dog salmon in the fall, after the water had become high.

Dip-net platform. Several rectangular scaffold platforms were normally built out from the downstream side of the weir, between the supporting tripods, and about four feet above water level.²⁴ This structure was termed *ci'l'təd* (from *ci'l'i'd*, "dip up") or *dux'q'w'a'i'yox'*-*bəd*, "place to use dip net." Each platform measures a little over six feet, slightly greater than the diameter of a dip net, in a downstream direction, and extended nine or 10 feet along the weir. The platform frame consisted of vertical poles driven into the stream bed slightly more than six feet downstream from the weir, with horizontal side-pole supports lashed to their tops and running back to the top stringer on the weir, which formed the upstream support for the platform. The horizontal poles and the weir top stringer thus enclosed a rectangular space approximately six by 10 feet in side measurement.

Part of this space was floored with poles, laid parallel and perpendicular to the weir stringer, forming an area on which the dip-net operator could stand or lie. A square open space, slightly over six feet on a side, was left unfloored; through this the dip net was lowered and raised.²⁵

Midway of the side of this square opposite the weir a fixed dip-net support stake was attached to the edge of the platform frame. This was a stake driven into the stream bed and lashed at its top to the horizontal side-pole support of the platform. This stake slanted from the vertical, its top farther downstream than its lower end, and was parallel to the slope of the weir-face lattice frames. This support stake enabled the dip net to be sunk well in under the face of the weir, and prevented the current from carrying it downstream.²⁶

The dip net. The Twana dip net (*q'w'a'i'yox'*) was a circular, bowl-shaped net attached to a hoop frame some five to six feet in diameter.²⁷ Two long, crossed poles were attached to opposite sides of the frame and served as handles for managing the net. The aboriginal netting material is uncertain; sinew cord may have been used for this large, salmon dip net. HA had made dip nets, but always used "white man's cord." The net-frame hoop was a steam-bent pole, circular; the method of attaching the two ends together is uncertain, but they were lashed. The crossed side poles were used in lowering or raising the net. These were slender fir poles, 10 to 12 feet long, scissors-lashed where they crossed, about two feet from their upper ends. Their lower ends were sharpened and lashed to opposite sides of the net-frame hoop on its outside, and projected

six inches or more beyond the hoop in order to engage the stream bed when the net was lowered. A pair of prongs, steam-bent, U-shaped sticks with sharpened ends, were also lashed to the side poles at their point of attachment to the hoop frame; the points of these also engaged the stream bed and in addition engaged the dip-net support stake (see figure 2, p. 43) on the downstream side of the platform scaffold.

A trigger-string structure was an important auxiliary device. This consisted of a taut, cattail fiber string across the mouth of the net frame; a taut string extending perpendicularly from the middle of this cross string to the juncture of the crossed side poles; two side strings branching diagonally from about midway of this vertical string and extending down to attach again to the cross string; and a short string with a thumb, or finger, loop attached near the top of the vertical string. The trigger string structure served to indicate to the operator when a fish was over the sunken dip net.²⁸

Operation of the dip net. The dip net was thrust down to the bed of the stream off the side of the platform floor and within the open dip-net space in the platform scaffold. One of the U-shaped prong sticks at the end of one of the side poles engaged the dip-net support stake. This drove the net in under the downstream face of the weir, where the fish congregated. The operator pulled apart on the upper, crossed ends of the side poles as he drove the lower ends, with prong attachments, into the stream bed. This expanded the hoop in a direction parallel to the current and drove the prongs in beyond the support stake. The latter, engaging the prongs in the river bottom, prevented the current from tearing the prongs out and carrying the net downstream, and allowed the net to remain fixed on the bottom of the stream.

With the net in this lowered position, the loop on the trigger string was slightly below the level of the platform floor; it was held taut by the fisherman's thumb or forefinger as he lay or squatted on the platform. When he felt movement of a fish against the string the fisherman leaped to his feet and pulled up on the dip-net side poles, raised the hoop frame above water level, rotated the net through 90 degrees horizontally, and hooked the prongs on either side of the net frame over the outside pole of the platform scaffold and the inside pole of the platform floor. The net frame was now suspended about four feet above the water, and any fish in the net could be removed and clubbed.

Dip nets were used largely at night. The owner of the ci'l'ted platform or the person using it would spend the night out on the platform dip netting. The fish were said not to see the net at night, and to congregate closer to the weir.²⁹

Ownership and use of weir. I add here a few data from HA referring to individual and group rights in the single-dam weir. A number of men in one village community would build and own a weir together. Each man owned one dip-net platform (ci' l' təd) on the weir; all net fishing was done from these platforms. What an individual caught and dried was his own. If he made a good catch, it was customary to give a feast and feed his fellow villagers,³⁰ what was left over was usually smoked dried and belonged to the person who had caught it.³¹ A person might sell or trade fish, but only outside his own village.³² Offering food in sale or trade to a fellow villager was never done; the impression was gained that as a hypothetical case such conduct would have been regarded as scandalously stingy. Sold or traded fish was almost always smoke preserved.

Dip-net platforms were not sold or rented, but an owner often "lent" use of his platform to a relative or friend. According to HA, he would say, "q' a' i' yəx' əb 'əc' ətəd q' a' i' yəx'", do dip netting with my dip net." The borrower got all his catch and was not required to pay for use of the platform. Public opinion required him to distribute part of his catch to villagers if the catch was a good one, but he was not expected to give more to the owner of the platform than to anyone else. Platform borrowers apparently included, in practice, any fellow villager of the owner.³³

Ordinarily there was no use of a single weir or set of dip-net stations by two or more winter village communities.³⁴ During the nineteenth century, however, this may have been the case at the large inter-community fall gatherings at the Hamma Hamma and Lilliwaup, streams without winter village sites.

Double-dam weir for stranding.³⁵ A number of other stream traps were in less common use than the single-dam weir. Among these was a double-dam weir with diagonal downstream member, used largely in streams smaller than the Skokomish; like the single-dam structure it was termed taqu' stəd. The upstream member was a plain fir-pole and interwoven cedarlimb dam as with the single-dam weir, although it is uncertain whether the former was mounted against support tripods. Four to six feet downstream was the converging end of a single-wing weir, also of pole and cedarlimb lattice, set diagonally in the stream. A space between the converging end of the downstream member and the stream bank allowed salmon to pass upstream as far as the upper member. The diverging end of the downstream member joined a log in the shallows on the opposite bank to the fish entry. Water running over the log spread out on shallow gravel. Fish entering through the converging-end aperture drifted down from the upstream weir, over the log, and stranded in the shallows, from where they could be picked up and clubbed. (See figure 3, p. 44.)

Double-dam weir with basket trap.³⁶ A double-dam structure with parallel members and attached conical basket trap was used in small streams by the Skokomish and other Twana, particularly at Hoodspout, for salmon. This weir was also termed *təqu'stəd*. The upstream member was a row of young fir poles across the stream, five to six feet high. The butts of these poles were sharpened and driven into the creek bed, with the tops slanting downstream to enable the face of the weir to be cleaned of drift. The poles were interwoven horizontally with cedar-limb cord, as with the lattice-frame sections of the single-dam weir; interstices were made small enough to stop salmon.

A second weir was constructed similarly six feet or more downstream, with a few small gaps to admit salmon running upstream. This downstream member also had one or more circular apertures about two feet in diameter; each of these held a conical trap basket (*sx^wa'iyəp*). The mouth of the trap basket was a three-to four-foot-diameter hoop of vine-maple (*t'ə' qt' qəy*). Fifteen-foot vine-maple poles were tied to the hoop at one end; the other ends were bunched and tied with a removable fastening to form the apex of the cone. This pole frame of the trap was crosswoven with cedar-limb cord. The conical traps were inserted in the circular openings in the downstream weir, the pressure of the current holding them in place. Running salmon entered the small gaps in the downstream weir, were stopped by the upstream weir, and drifted down and into the trap baskets. The apex of the trap was lifted out of the stream, untied, and the fish shot out into a basket or canoe. (See figure 3, p. 44.)

Converging-wing dam with basket trap. As described, this was a single-dam structure with tripod-supported, lattice-frame wings extending from opposite points on the stream banks diagonally downstream; they thus converged to an apex in the middle of the stream. A conical basketry or lattice trap was attached at this downstream apex; the trap (*sx^wa'iyəp*), as described above, consisted of a hoop three feet or more in diameter as the mouth, with long, thin poles attached to this hoop and tied together as a downstream apex.

This structure was given by FA as the only other type of weir beside the single-dam type with dip-net platforms. I believe it is the same as, or a variant of, the structure more adequately described by HA as a double-dam weir with conical basket trap. The differences are: HA did not give the downstream member, to which the trap(s) attached, as converging or diagonal; FA gave no upstream member (double dam), nor any means of entrance for fish proceeding upstream. FA's account is probably fragmentary and misleading. (See figure 3, p. 44.)

Basketry traps. Under the same name (sx'a'iyap) as the large, tapering, conical trap basket described above, FA indicated two variant types. One of these, mentioned but not described, was constructed of cedar limbs rather than poles with cedar-limb cord "weft." The other was similar to the conical traps described but was open at the small end with a detachable basketry end pocket or cup to receive the fish; it was also used in conjunction with a converging-wing weir. The method of attachment or of use of the end cup is not certain.

FA denied Twana use of a number of regionally known trap types. These included: invaginated cylinder or cone,³⁷ rectangular lattice platform used at falls to catch jumping salmon; free enclosures in river with slant-stick entrance, V-entrance, or slanting frame; open-top basketry salmon trap, rectangular basketry trap; half-unrolled cylinder trap.³⁸

Tidal impounding traps. There were apparently several types of these traps, all termed ha'yat. The type described by FA was an impounding trap built out from shore in salt water at low-tide level. Two roughly converging rows of stakes supported lattice-frame sections as side walls; the enclosure between these walls was open at two opposite ends, inshore and offshore. The openings were closed with lattice sections or bundles of brush as the tide began to ebb. Brush was also often used with, or possibly instead of, lattice sections as the trap walls. FA also gave a similar tidal-rock enclosure, used in the same way, but without further details; he denied any fish maze, of rocks or other material.³⁹ (See figure 3, p. 44.)

HA confirmed the above account, but said that ha'yat also designated a herring and seal maze of quite different form. In this structure two long leads of upright stakes and brush converged in an offshore direction and ended in a narrow aperture within a large circular end pocket, also stake-and-brush or stake-and-lattice walled. The whole structure was built offshore in tide water or at a river mouth. Seal followed the herring into the end pocket as the tide ebbed and were impounded. (See figure 3, p.)

Other Equipment and Techniques

Two-prong fish harpoon. Various types of fish spears were used by the Twana, but information is satisfactory only for the commonest type, a two-pronged harpoon with three-piece, composite toggle heads.⁴⁰ This implement, termed dux'ci'Xqbad, was used largely in streams for salmon. Spearing fish in the river from a canoe, using the composite-head harpoon, was a technique termed c'i'was.⁴¹ The shaft (cq'α'p) was of fir in a single piece eight to 12 feet long.⁴² The prongs were

equal-length, ⁴³ diverging, fixed foreshafts (sc'u'pqs) of ironwood (spirea, Twana s'q'w'bi), two to three feet long. The heads were three-piece composite, with a center point and two side barbs. The center member was a pointed spike of bone, horn, or ironwood; when the latter material was used it was hardened in hot ashes and scraped to shape after preliminary grinding on a piece of sandstone. Ironwood thus treated was said to be as hard and brittle as bone. The two barb pieces (l'q's'ack'ad) could be made of the same materials, although horn was usual. Their shape was the same (see figure 4, p. 45). The barb pieces were lashed to the base of the center point. The pocket formed between the barbs, lashing, and base of the center member engaged the end of a foreshaft. Horn parts of the point, if this material was used, were softened in boiling water before shaping. The over all length of the head was about four inches. ⁴⁴

A line ran from the lashing midway of each head and was attached to the shaft back of the foreshafts. The lines from the heads were slack when the heads were attached. When a fish was struck the head detached, and the line attachment to the middle of the head acted as a toggle, pulling the barbs sideways in the fish. The struck fish was played and landed with the shaft. It should be noted that the principles of point construction, toggle, and line attachment to the head were the same for the larger seal and porpoise harpoon ⁴⁵ (see pp. 103-104, below).

The lashing used on composite harpoon heads and on some other implements was a strong and tough combination of wild cherry bark (ya'ya'tp, the tree is ya'ya'pay) and pitch. The pitch used came from the "jack pine" (perhaps *Pinus contorta*, a short-needed form) and formed in hard lumps on the tree trunk. It was harder and less sticky than other pitch. The point members were lashed together tightly with strips of the bark, pitch was rubbed on the lashing, and glowing, fir-bark charcoal rubbed in. Then the warm charcoal and pitch were "ironed" smooth with a hot rock. ⁴⁶ This process was repeated until a hard, tight, solid binding resulted. The same materials and technique were used for any lashing where rigidity and strength were desired; e.g., adz blades, but also arrow feathers.

Other fish spears. My information on other types is fragmentary, and in some cases informant disagreements were not resolved. I shall simply list these data as concisely as possible. FA described a three-pronged gig (qob'o'ba) with fixed foreshafts, as used on the salt water, for salmon or bottom fish. The two foreshafts diverged and were sharp at the ends and bore bilateral notch barbs. There were no detachable points. The center point was the shaft end, sharpened. HA described under the same name a two-pronged fish spear which agrees in use with

the above; HA may have had in mind a variant type in which the end of the shaft did not project past the foreshaft attachment as a third, center point. FA asserted that similar gig spears with two (this may be HA's type), three, or four prongs were used. HA gave the term *tx'ayu'ad* for any kind of three-pronged spear.

The technique of spearing bottom fish with a gig was *k'a'k'ad*. In this method the fisherman poised his spear vertically off the bow of the canoe in fairly shallow water, and tried to look straight down. Sole, flounder, skate, rock cod, or crab might all be taken in this way.⁴⁷

HA described as "gill spear" (*dux'cuqa'talsab'ad*, "thing to stick him in the gill with") a two-pronged spear with fixed, diverging, unbarbed foreshafts. Total length was about six feet. This was a short spear to land salmon, on shore or in canoe. The fish was stabbed back of the gills. The "gill spear" apparently functioned as a gaff.⁴⁸ HA also, on another occasion, mentioned a small, short spear for landing salmon in a boat after playing the fish out, presumably on a hook and line, which may or may not be the above "gill spear." FA denied this element.

I list a number of negative elements, denied as Twana by FA. These include: multiple-barbed detachable points; unilaterally barbed point, detachable or fixed; unbarbed point; single-piece (simple) harpoon point; bilaterally barbed one-piece harpoon point; fish spear with longer central prong; fish spear with prongs spread by ring.

Both HA and FA agreed that the three-piece composite was the only type of salmon harpoon head used by Twana.⁴⁹

HA indicated that the shafts of all fish spears were commonly blackened by smoking with a pitchwood fire.⁵⁰

Gaffs and hooks. The ordinary salmon gaff (*Ki'q'ad*; HA also gave *ix'q'ad*) was a simple pole handle with a detachable hook head. The head was a one-piece, barbless slip hook of ironwood, steamed and bent so that the sharp end recurved.⁵¹ This was loosely attached (method uncertain) to the end of the handle so that the recurved point end of the hook pointed toward the butt of the handle. A line from the attached end of the hook fastened to the handle shaft. When a fish was gaffed the hook attachment to the shaft broke, or the hook slipped off, and the fish was played in by the line from the base of the hook to the shaft. This gaff was used for salmon and other river fish, including sturgeon. (See figure 4, p. 45.)

Other hooks described included a one-piece, recurved hook of ironwood, unbarbed, with line, for salt-water trolling from canoe, and

(somewhat doubtfully) a simple one-piece toggle gorge, also for salt-water trolling with line. FA denied as Twana types: wooden-barbed, one-piece, U-shaped hook; sharp-angled, three-piece, composite hook; bilaterally barbed hook; V-shaped halibut hook; any type of eel hook.⁵² In trolling a grooved stone sinker was fastened to the line, about two feet from the hook.⁵³ Perforated sinkers, or any release device for sinker on halibut line, were not known.

Herring rake. Herring were often taken for trolling bait with a rake (xa'qtəd). This was a flat, wooden blade, about six feet long, with half or less of its length from one end set with bone spikes in a row in one edge of the blade. The rake was struck down through a school of herring or candlefish and the impaled fish lifted from the water and removed from the spikes in the canoe.⁵⁴ (See figure 4, p. 45.)

Nets and floats. FA insisted that nets were not used before white contact; he must have been referring to certain types only, perhaps the modern gill net, since the dip net, described above in connection with the single-dam salmon weir, was certainly an aboriginal device, and FA himself on another occasion described as native a racket-shaped dip net for herring.⁵⁵ This instrument was used when the fish were driven to the surface by a small diving bird (ox'paq'); they could then be dipped up from a canoe. Herring were sometimes dipped in the same way by women with an openwork basket; this was perhaps a makeshift device. Several dip-net types were denied, including: dip net on crossed poles for surf use;⁵⁶ same on parallel bars; crab nets. Type of net spacer used aboriginally is uncertain; FA gave "small stick," apparently not squared at ends, while HA mentioned a small, rectangular spacer with squared ends. Bone net shuttles or elliptical net spacers were denied.⁵⁷ Plain, wood-block fish-net floats were mentioned by FA, but it is uncertain with what type of nets these were used. FA denied use of carved animal-form floats, block or pole floats on seal nets, or seal-paunch or seal-bladder floats on nets or halibut lines. The first two negatives are perhaps doubtful; HA described a seal net with log or pole float (see Hunting, Sea-Mammal Hunting, p. 106), and the Chicago Natural History Museum has a carved wooden duck (#19715) which may be either a net float or a decoy.

Bait. Bait was used only in trolling with a hook.⁵⁸ Type mentioned by informants for salt-water fishing included: cockle clam; herring; octopus piece; fish skin; and fishing fly consisting of a single feather or small feather bundle tied on hook. Salmon eggs were not employed, doubtless from the nature of the hook used. Worm bait was used in fresh-water fishing for trout, as was the feather fly. Worm or feather bait was tied to the hook with a hair.

Fish club. A "salmon knocker" (soq'a' st3d) was used to kill, landed or netted salmon or other large fish; the fish was struck on the back of the head. This was a wooden bat, cylindrical, one foot or more in length, 1-1/2 to two inches in diameter, with a handle section slightly smaller and a knob at the butt of the handle. It was not carved or ornamented.⁵⁹ The Twana did not use stone fish clubs, or stone mallets, to kill fish.

Transport of fish. Fish were carried strung through mouth and gills. A long string of fish was looped double and slung on the back. An open basket was sometimes used as a creel in canoe fishing, to hold and transport the fish; it was not made for the purpose.⁶⁰

Roe. Roe, especially herring, was gathered on bunches of branches or brushwood sunk offshore in tidal water.

Footnotes

¹⁵The Klamath is a large enough river to make weirs across it impossible to Yurok engineering capacity except at two sites. One was at Kepel, about 30 miles above the mouth, and even here the Yurok had to wait until low water, usually in September. The depth then was about double the two-three feet considered optimal by the Twana, but the bottom was level and even with small gravel. The second weir was made two miles above where the Trinity comes in, so that the volume of water was reduced by perhaps a quarter. There is a shallow at the bend some 10 miles above the mouth, at Olikan or Lamb's Riffle. This was a place of seasonal congregation for taking and drying salmon, but the river is narrow and swift and the current would have swept out any weir the Yurok could have built there. There are shallows downstream of here with moderate current, but the river gets so wide the weirs would have had to be inordinately long.

The Karok built weirs across the Klamath at four or five spots, the Shasta above them at three at least. In the Trinity, the Hupa, used at least two sites, perhaps more. In smaller streams, weirs were less of an undertaking. The Coast Yurok and the Chilula built them in Redwood Creek, the former even in its tributary Prairie Creek.

¹⁶No large Yurok or Karok town (except possibly Panamnik-Orleans) fronted on a weir site. Weirs could be constructed only where the formation of the Klamath allowed, but areas favorable for living were largely determined by old river terraces up the steep banks, and the two usually did not coincide.

¹⁷The identical tripods supported larger dams in northwest California. Some dams ran straight across the stream; some were V-shaped.

¹⁸With the Yurok the stringers were not always three in number. Sometimes the main stringer was on top and served as a walkway. In its turn, it supported secondary posts or stakes driven into the bottom. The underwater horizontals are sometimes described as poles in size rather than stringers.

¹⁹The face of the weir among the Yurok also consisted of removable lattice frames or openwork mats about six feet wide and of variable convenient length. These were made on land, rolled up, carried out on the weir, unrolled, and slipped down against its structure of tripods, stringers, and supplementary stakes on the upstream side. The warps or uprights of these mats were, as with the Twana, Douglas fir limbs or saplings about an inch in diameter. The Yurok weft, however, was of grapevine or twisted hazel ~~withe~~ instead of cedar limbs, and two were twined in at a time. It was these mats that actually stopped the progress of the salmon.

²⁰Apertures in these mats between warps and between wefts one to two inches "square" would mean that a new course of twining would come every couple of inches, which seems unduly close and demanding of much unnecessary labor. In the Klamath drainage, the twining courses came nearer a foot and a half apart. If the number of courses is cited, it is usually about three or four. I suspect the Twana distance apart was something similar, and that when the informant spoke of one-to two-inch "square" apertures he meant to say "distance between warp stakes"; which would agree with the California practice. A monograph on fishing customs in northwest California by Kroeber and Barrett (1959) in the University of California Anthropological Records illustrates as well as describes many features of this kind.

²¹The Yurok and their neighbors sometimes left one end of the weir unlatticed, or both ends, or made a "gate" which they closed before they got ready to take fish, or limited the duration of the dam, etc. They do not, however, profess to do this in obedience to specific command of the supernaturals across the ocean at Kowetsck. Their greed seems uncontrolled except by caution. Goddard in his Hupa Texts has published a lamprey eel formula (no. 27, p. 252) which is directed to compelling all the lampreys to enter Trinity at the confluence, leaving none for the Karok up the Klamath. A physical dam prolongedly shutting off all fish from people upstream would no doubt lead to reprisals. But merely spoken magic might not be known, or might be overcome with countermagic.

²²The Yurok have not mentioned this frequent throwing of accumulated driftwood, brushwood, or trash over the dam to its downstream side. Perhaps rivers like the Skokomish carried more such waste than the Klamath did. On the other hand the Yurok do specify packing redwood branch tips or other conifer foliage in behind the stakes and matting, to prevent the sand or gravel washing out from underneath.

²³Informal, nonritual weirs may well have had many of their timbers and matting saved for reuse, especially in times when there were no steel axes to cut posts and stringers. But nothing seems to have been recorded on the point. The building of the great weir at Kepel (Waterman and Kroeber, 1938) was highly ritualized, was directed by a formulist called lo' or "dam-builder," and many or possibly all its elements were communally cut, assembled and placed in a fixed sequence, with interludes both of magic and of play. The generic statements made about most dams are that they were left until they washed out.

²⁴Large dams had fishing platforms on the downstream side; the Kepel dam was of 10 sections, each with a "gate" and pen of matting on the upstream side. With smaller structures, dip or plunge nets or harpoons may have been used directly from the main stringer or walkway.

²⁵Besides fishing platforms as part of a weir, the Yurok and their neighbors built individually owned scaffoldings out from strategic points in the river bank. Perhaps it would be more exact to say that it was the site, usually a rock or point with an eddy, that was owned or claimed privately. The year through, probably more salmon were taken from these platforms jutting over the river from shore than from stations on a dam-- which for one thing was always seasonal. The dip or lifting net used by the Yurok from these stagings was quite different from that of the Twana. See note 27.

²⁶A "support stake" was common to the two cultures, but they differed in accord with the nets. The Yurok stake was at the far-out corner of the staging, and the outer one of the two spreading net poles was held to it by a grapevine with the loop, loose enough for the net to be lowered and raised, but sufficient for the net to be kept from being dragged away by the current.

²⁷The difference in the principal dip nets was radical. That of the Twana was circular, bag depth not over half the diameter, and attached to a hoop. This hoop then was attached to a pair of long poles, crossing above, spreading below and held more firmly in place by an attached U-shaped

double point, which turned the lower end of each pole into a trident embedded in the bottom. The Yurok net frame was A-shaped, of two long, spreading poles held vertically, and a crossbar. The opening was trapezoidal, in a vertical plane to the current, which usually eddied opposite to the flow of the river. The net, erker, was attached to the trapezoid opening in the frame, and was a cone, carried horizontally by the current its full length of seven to 15 feet. Drawstrings raised the bottom of the net behind a fish that had entered the hollow of the cone. Only then were frame and net raised to the scaffold and the fish clubbed. The Twana net had the net frame raised above the water to the level of the platform, in the course of which it was rotated a quarter turn, whereupon the fisherman reached down to grasp and club the fish.

²⁸Both nets had a trigger string, branching below, held above by a loop (Twana) or bone or elkhorn button (Yurok), and in both the trigger string advised that a fish was in position. The Yurok fisherman also used the draw or trigger string to close his net before he lifted it by his frame; the Twana lifted his frame and swung it with a twist to enclose the fish.

It is very interesting that certain particular features--the frame of a pair of long poles, a support stake, the trigger string, use from a staging--persist, although the nets are quite unlike in shape, placing, and manipulation.

²⁹The Yurok also do much of their fishing from stagings at night.

³⁰The Yurok gave no feast--they do not know conspicuous consumption --but were likely to give fish, or parts of them, away to those who asked or sat and waited.

³¹Smoke drying was usually completed in the living house, the salmon hanging from square racks over and around the hearth fire.

³²Salmon seems not to have been traded much among the Yurok, probably because theoretically everyone had it available. Most food trading was for regional delicacies: surf fish (smelt), mussels, seaweed by the coast people, against pine nuts, particular species of acorns or seeds, from the interior. Exchanging food for property or valuables would be low life, on both sides. One gave or withheld food or swapped it, but did not sell it for dentalia or treasure. See pp. 141-42, items 84-86

³³It was not so much the staging or scaffold that was "lent" (or inherited, or salable) among the Yurok as the perpetual right to fish at a spot. Such a right or claim sometimes came to be divided among several owners, using it for equal or unequal durations. The idea of "renting"

was not well developed. A man might lend the use of his place, or his share in one, to a fellow villager, a kinsman, or a visiting friend. Coresidence in the same town, as such, would not give anyone a claim or expectation of being lent the privilege. There was also a rule that went with indiscriminate liberality. If a nonowning user slipped, fell, or was injured, he might claim an offense against his person by the place itself, and liability by its owner, to be compensated for by transfer of a share. This seems both fine spun and unlikely to happen often, except as blackmail; but the Yurok keep citing it as a case in law.

³⁴Again, the village community does not enter in because it is not per se a recognized social unit. A local district does enter, with all its inhabitants and a number of towns (or hamlets). Thus the Kepel weir was built and operated, ritually and for the catch, by the people of a certain stretch of river. Weitchpec upriver could attend and visit and be fed, but could not claim to fish from the dam; much as Weitchpec men might be invited as individuals to contribute regalia to the Deerskin dance associated with the weir, or to don regalia or dance or sing; but no Weitchpec family had the right to offer or present a dance party there; any such right as they had was in the Weitchpec Deerskin dance, just as their weir fishing rights were in the weir at Lo'lego, two miles above Weitchpec. These "districts" are most readily defined in terms of World Renewal Rituals (as mapped in Kroeber and Gifford, 1949, World Renewal, map 1); but they seem also to have been community subsistence units (and quite possibly transformed remnants of the "tribelets," or politically and territorially autonomous units), which occur in so much of California. Not every Yurok could share by virtue of his ethnic Yurokship in whales that came ashore in a certain stretch of coast, in the salmon fishing and smoke drying at Lamb's Riffle, or in the hunt when the elk crossed the lower Klamath; although he might visit and receive liberal presents of food to take away. But he did share in all the public or communal claims of his own local district.

The foregoing all refers to communal food rights; it is these that were sectional by district, although the district had no visible political organization. Such communal rights were what remained after reserving of individual and family rights to specific local sources of food, such as a particular salmon eddy, a tan-oak grove, a seed patch, a deer-snaring defile. And these particular food rights were heritable property, maintained through family descent, no doubt originally owned wholly by particular inhabitants of the district, but in part passing through intermarriage, compensation settlements, or occasional outright sale, to families in other Yurok districts or even to Karok, Hupa, or Tolowa families.

Probably the majority of the most productive, dependable, and convenient specific sources of food supply among the Yurok and their neighbors had thus come to be in private ownership. What remained unreserved and public within each district were certain highly productive spots like the rock Oregos at the mouth of the river, Lamb's Riffle, most beaches for surf fishing, many sea stacks for mussels, most of the forested mountains away from the river for deer or furs, scattered unowned oaks everywhere, and the like. Most of the territory and perhaps a full half of its food products were unreserved and public for the district; but they were often less-convenient, more laboriously worked, and more thinly sown sources.

³⁵Double weirs for stranding (or with basket trap) were presumably not very feasible in a large stream like the Klamath, but they were built occasionally in northwest California in creeks or smaller rivers, as by the Tolowa.

³⁶See note 35.

³⁷The Yurok seem also to have lacked invaginated basketry cylinder traps until they learned from the whites to make them for taking lamprey eels.

³⁸The half-unrolled cylinder trap occurs in California, but not among the Klamath Yurok. In this matter of constructed fishing apparatus so much depends on current, volume and width of stream, and on configuration of shore bottom and edge, that devices which may be known are not feasible in many spots.

³⁹Tidal impounding traps and mazes are most characteristic of the Wiyot, who have tidal sloughs radiating out from a large sheltered bay. See the Kroeber-Barrett monograph on Fishing, especially sections contributed by Hewes.

⁴⁰As for the two-pronged salmon harpoon with three-piece composite toggle heads, the Culture Element Distribution surveys (in Anthropological Records, vols. 1, 4, 6-9, 1937-50) have shown this implement to have had a Pacific coast ethnic occurrence about the same as salmonid fishes, and J. A. Bennyhoff's study (California Fish Spears and Harpoons, UC-AR 9: 295-338, 1950) is defined as to details.

⁴¹The Yurok seem to have used the harpoon primarily at riffles, rocks, weir, stream mouths, seldom from canoes. Spearing was considered a recourse open to all, even to families that did not own the right to any individual stagings at eddies.

⁴² Shaft of Douglas fir, eight feet and up, one length of 20.5 feet measured.

⁴³ The California harpoon foreshafts were usually of unequal length, so that the points met the fish (or bottom) simultaneously (one above the other when the shaft was held quartering, at about 45°. However, equal-length foreshafts and harpoons with single foreshaft were made occasionally.

⁴⁴ The description of the three-piece composite toggle head fits exactly, except that the Yurok did not use ironwood.

⁴⁵ However, the Yurok harpoon head for sea lions was different in principle, being one-piece elkhorn with curved barb(s) on one edge. The Twana speared chiefly harbor seals; the Yurok, sea lions, which are many times heavier.

⁴⁶ The exact process of lashing and pitching the Yurok salmon toggle head is little known. Specimens examined are mostly lashed with cord (presumably of iris fiber in native days), but there are some of unidentified tough outer bark. The pitch is well into the lashing and may have been flowed in much as the Twana describe it.

⁴⁷ Fish spears other than harpoons were perhaps most often used by the Coast Yurok in Stone and Big lagoons and by the Wiyot around Humboldt Bay. There seem to be no preserved specimens, but descriptions agree at least generally with the Twana.

⁴⁸ The stabbing gill spear does not seem to have been Yurok.

⁴⁹ Yes--one type of salmon harpoon head only.

⁵⁰ Yes--harpoon shafts often blackened; net poles also.

⁵¹ The Yurok used no ironwood and especially did not know the northern technique of bending and fitting wood by steaming. I do not think they had any recurved wooden hook for any purpose. I must say that the reported detachability of the Twana gaff hook raises doubts as to its feasibility.

⁵² If "eel" means lamprey, the Yurok also use no fish hook; indeed, would a hook catch a jawless cyclostome? The Yurok did have a lamprey gaff with a short, sharp bone pointing back at 135° from the end of the handle, whose effectiveness with the slippery eel-shaped lamprey depended on raking it out of the water with a quick jerk and centrifugal swing.

53 The Yurok trolled little if at all; note 4 above. Sinkers were used as net weights--grooved stones, or perforated, or with natural holes.

54 The spike-serried herring rake or paddle was not known in California.

55 The Yurok had seines, also pairs of nets that were dragged by canoes and closed, apparently set gill nets, "racket-shaped" dip or plunge nets both for small fish and for salmon in turbulent water, and conical or deep bag nets held on a pair of spreading poles, coming in two sizes and meshes: the large, set with the poles vertical from stagings offshore, for salmon; the smaller, with poles held horizontally, for surf fishing of smelt.

56 Yurok net poles spread but did not cross, nor did they run parallel. There seems to have been no net for taking crabs.

57 Net shuttles, with an open eye at each end, were of hardwood or of elk antler, depending on the amount of cord to be carried (the length of a straight horn shuttle is of course limited by the curve of the antler). Net mesh spacers were of rectangular elkhorn or bone, rarely of wood.

58 Fish hooks on lines were used occasionally, but there was almost no trolling of them.

59 Fish clubs were strictly utilitarian, of wood, sometimes gnarled, never decoratively carved.

60 The Yurok transport of fish was by the same method as used by the Twana.

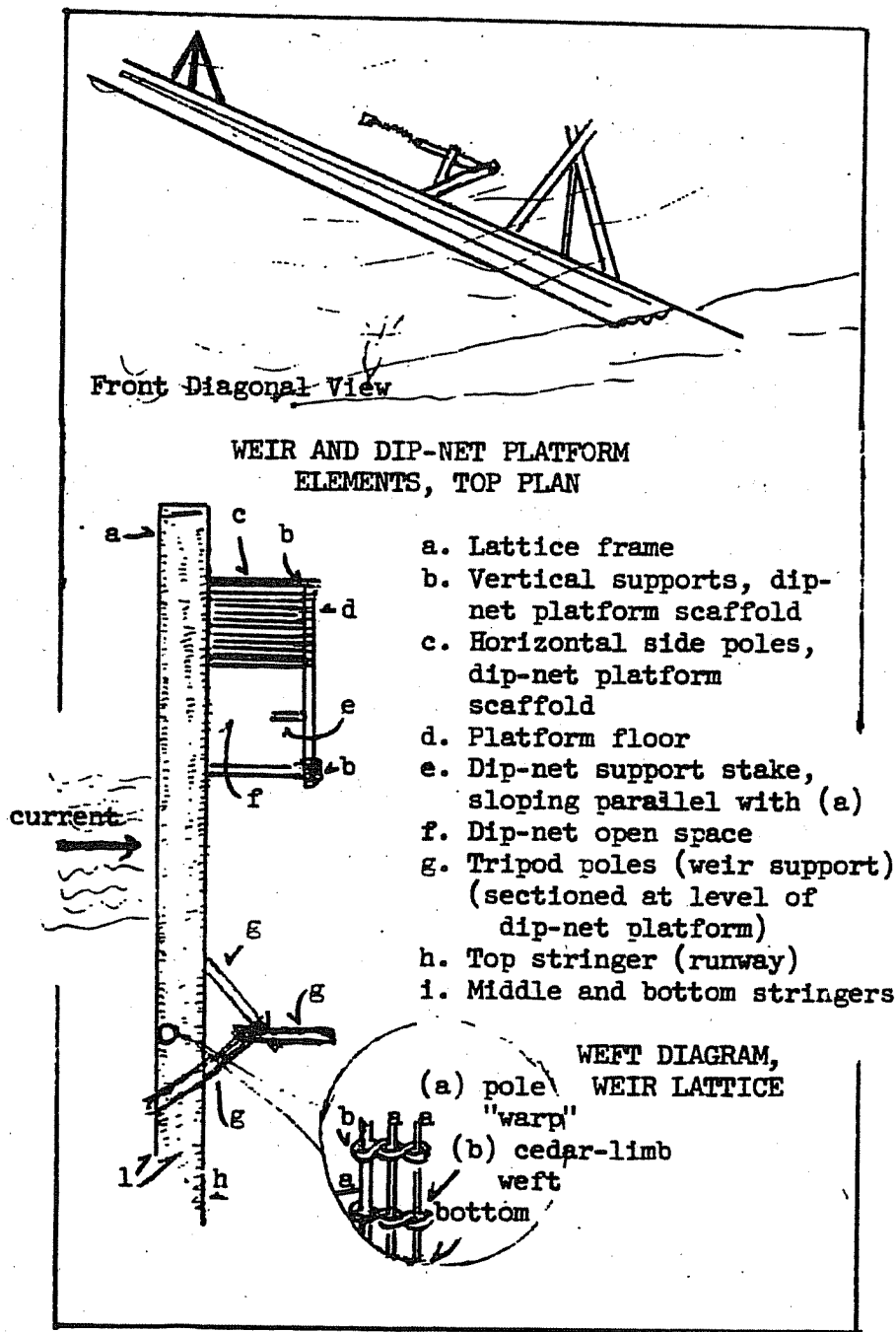


Figure 1. Weir and dip-net platform

DIP NET

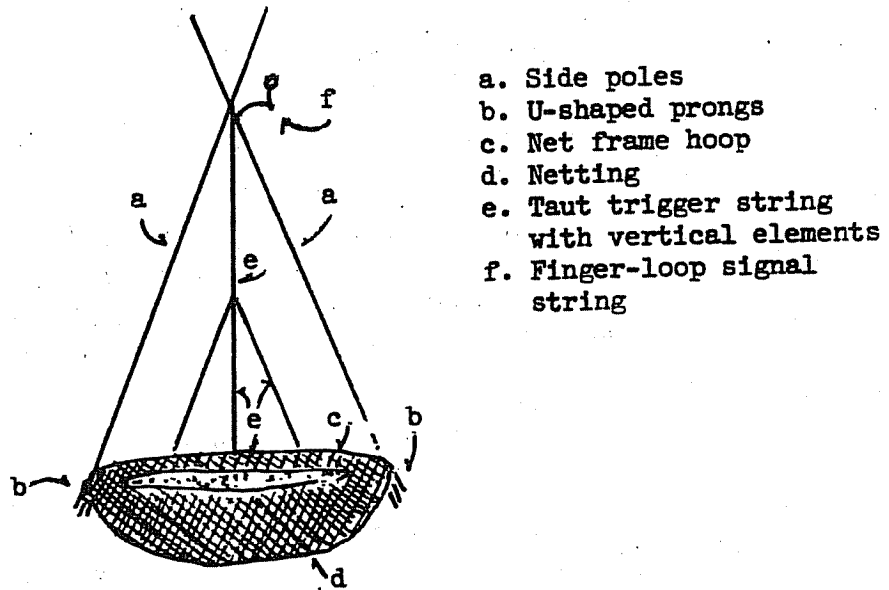


Figure 2. Dip net.

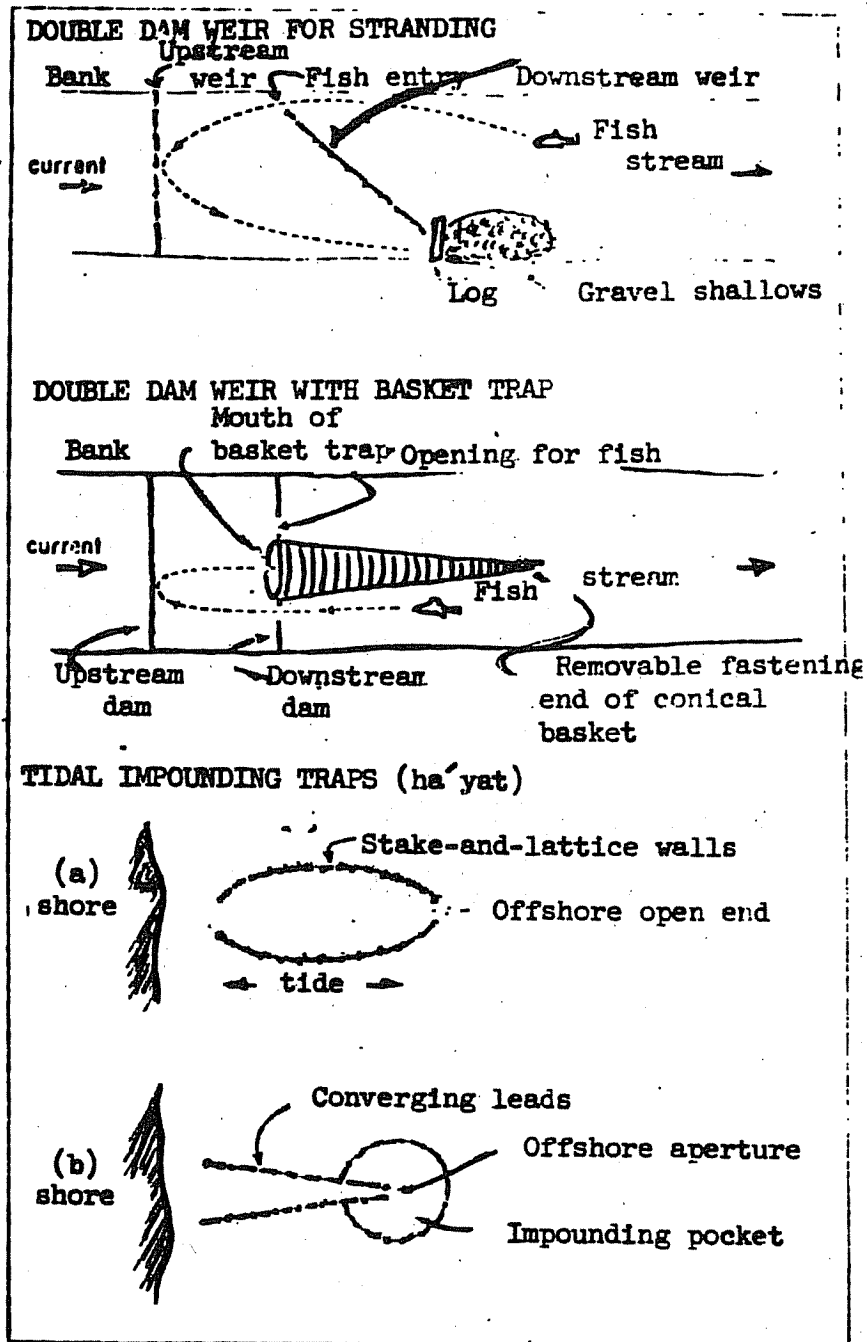


Figure 3. Various fish traps

FISH SPEARS, GAFFS AND HOOKS

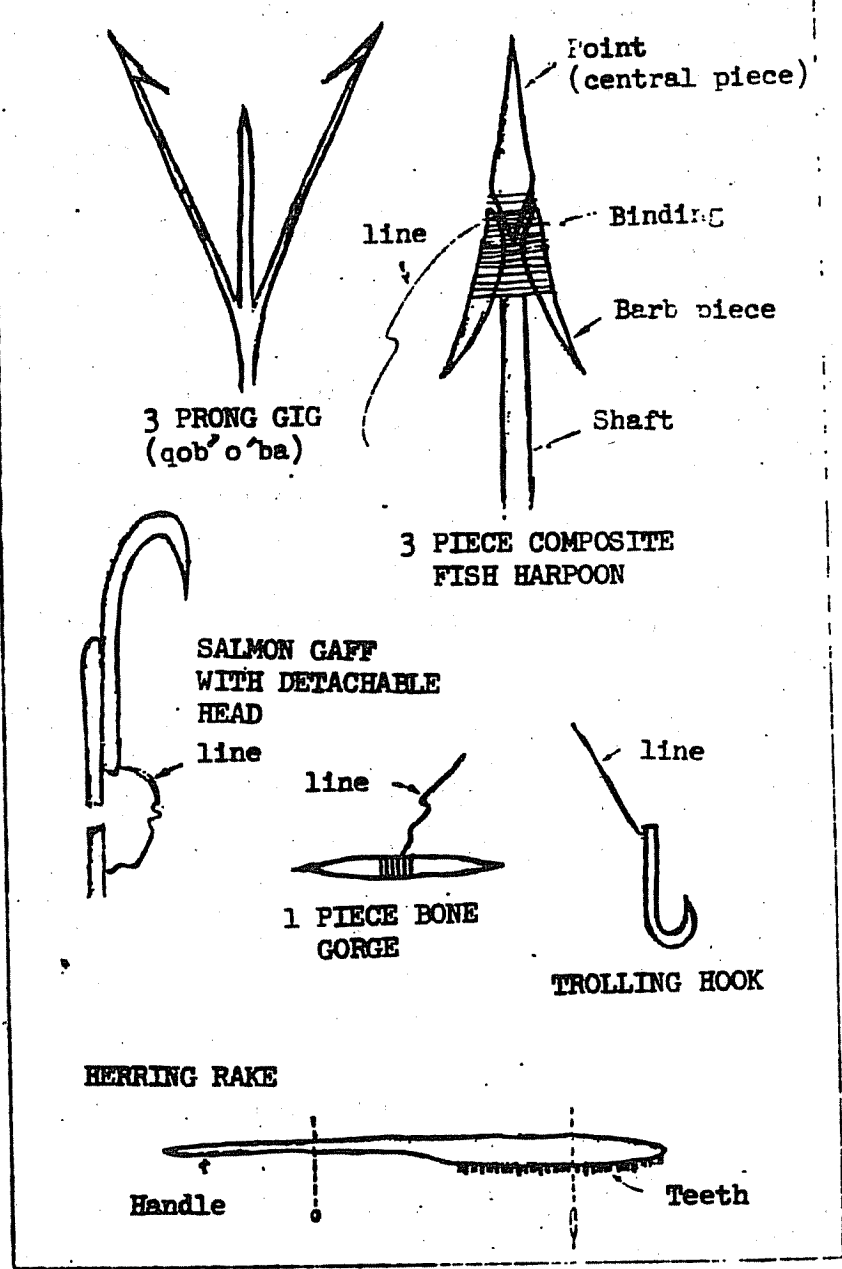


Figure 4. Fishing equipment

APPENDIX 3. List of Twana Site Names collected by
T.T. Waterman about 1920

Geography of the Skokomish area
(Hood Canal)
General discussion

The people included under the term Skokomish are called by several names. The term Skokomish (Sqoqo-a'bc) means literally "dwellers on the river", and refers primarily to the particular group living at the mouth of the Skokomish River, the present site of the reservation. There is a tendency in the literature to use in place of the term Skokomish, the word Twana. The aboriginal form of this latter is Tua'dsu, which is said to mean "a portage". This refers to the narrow isthmus which separates the arm of the sea inhabited by the Skokomish, from Case's Inlet, to the southward. I never succeeded in finding any term which the Indians recognize as applying to their whole group. All the terms so used are, without exception, the names of particular villages or sites. The term Twana as used by ourselves applies really to a dialectic group, and the concept of a dialectic group means little to these Indians. It is a fact that each group was usually friendly with their nearest neighbors and on terms of hostility with everybody else, quite without regard to linguistic differences or similarities.

It is worth noting that the term Skokomish takes various forms in the books, readily confused with the names of entirely different groups. For example, there is a geographic name for a bay opposite Port Gamble which appears on the maps as Squamish Harbor. There is a term Suquamish which is the name of another group, which has an entirely separate history, and which sometimes takes, in the printed works, this same identical form. Hill-Tout has given some considerable publicity to a third Salish group, this time in British Columbia, which he calls the Skqomic. This word, like the others, sometimes takes the form Squamish or Squawmish. In The Handbook of American Indians these terms are thoroughly confused and mixed up. I dare say it would be more convenient if the present group could be referred to in all cases as the Twana. It may well be noted in passing, however, the Twana is really the name of a locality, and when applied to the group is only a convenient nickname.

Curtis is authority for the statement that the Twana are divided into five bands. He lists these bands as the Chle'lapsh, Skok'obsh, Soatlkobsh, Sqūsidobsh, and Slchōksbīsh. This is very convenient and serves very well, if it is remembered that these bands were not bands. The names quoted mean in every case the people living at a certain spot or village. I have explained elsewhere that there was little cohesion in such cases, hardly enough to justify the use of the word band, which suggests some political or social integration. The terms given by Curtis are purely geographic. In listing the names, it will be convenient to divide Twana territory as Curtis indicates, merely for purposes of presentation. Myron Eells divides the Skokomish into

three bands, instead of five, naming the Dhulaylips, Skokobsh, and Kolseeds (Quilcenes). This is due merely to his characteristic carelessness and indifference to details. The "bands" given by Curtis at least represent the important villages within the area. Eells' threefold division represents nothing.

The Twana inhabit a most interesting and beautiful body of water known as Hood's Canal. This term Canal in the usage of the Northwest means, curiously enough, an arm of the sea. Vancouver says that he named it Hood's Channel, after Lord Hood, but his map shows Hood's Canal, which corresponds to a very prevalent usage in the region. The Board of Geographic Nomenclature has officially dropped the apostrophe and the s, but without affecting the local usage. It is a most picturesque body of water, clear and blue, lined with gleaming beaches, and overshadowed on the west by the foot-hills of the Olympics. Into this western margin tumble some of the most beautiful cascades imaginable. The Skokomish or Twana have been written up briefly by Curtis (vol. IX) and are represented in the rather scattered and sometimes silly and superficial writings of the missionary Myron Eells, whose headquarters for 20 years were on the present reservation. In his paper on geographic names he deals with some of their words for places. The carelessness and indifference of this observer are illustrated by this fact; that I recorded more place-names, by actual count, in two hours and forty minutes, than he did in twenty years.

Names of places on the upper arm of the Canal,
from its head to the Skokomish River

1. The "portage" from Hood Canal to Case's Inlet, Tu³a'dxu. This is given by Myron Eells in the form Tu-ad-hu. An old trail led over the low hills connecting these two bodies of water. It is a fact that if an Indian wished to go from one of these two points to the other by canoe he had to make a journey of 200 miles. On the other hand, the journey by trail across the isthmus was only two miles long. On the other hand, there were plenty of boats in both places, and I do not exactly see why the Indians should have made a practice of carrying their craft on portages, even for two miles. The term just given is not the usual term for a portage, which is swa'tsugw'l (swad, "to lift"; -gw'l, "with reference to a canoe"). The highest elevation on this so-called "portage" is 342 feet. Curtis (vol. IX page. . .) is inclined to doubt that this was even a real portage.

The peninsula connected with the mainland by this neck, making up the whole of Kitsap County and part of Pierce County, is recognized by the Indians as an island. It is intersected deeply by many arms of the Sound, and almost cut off entirely where Case's Inlet and the Canal approach each other. The Indians evidently considered the difference not worth bothering about. Our own cartographers call many bodies of land "islands" which are really peninsulas: for example, Marrowstone Island and Maury Island. The latter is connected to another body of land by a grass-covered spit.

2. The flats at the head of the Canal where Union River enters, Tuxule'lop. This word means "a flat place at the head of a bay". Myron Eells gives this term in the form Tu-hle-lips, which he does not translate (Smith's rep. for 1887, p. 605). In the form Tulalip it persists as the name of an Indian reservation north of Everett, on the eastern shore of Puget Sound, in the Snohomish area.

3. A small cove in the south shore of the Canal, Tuska³a'axu,EdaL. This term is the diminutive form of the name of a place, Anglicized as Squaxin, near Olympia, on the southern end of Puget Sound. This has come to be recognized as the name of a group or tribe, and (more recently) of an island and reservation. The reason why these two places have related names I never succeeded in finding out.

4. A tiny inlet on the north shore, Sla'Lqai, "thinle-berry bush." An Indian called Old Jackson formerly lived here.

5. A promontory west of the above, Yala'xwiyus, not translated.

6. Big Mission Creek, Tuxh'ukw'a'bc, "sucking the back-bone of a fish." The term mission appearing in this and the following is due to the fact that there was a Catholic mission here in the early days.

7. Mission Creek, Pula'gwap, "boiling outlet." The stem pal or pul, to boil up, often refers to the way the water acts in boiling out of a spring, or eddying around a point.

8. A tiny hooked promontory, Qalc'³. This term was explained to me as meaning "bad", and it was said that people who loitered near this promontory felt supernatural influences and became "crazy" (possessed). This is literally the name for "snail-woman". In the myths of this region, Snail-woman was an ogress, who went about with a basket on her back, stealing children to eat. That is why the snail has a shell on its back now.

8a. A cove called Holyoke Bend, on the opposite shore, Do'tsox, not translated.

9. A blunt promontory, west of number 8, Wawa'³toEd, "to put a bar across a door."

10. A rather large creek near a promontory, Kwi'³sai, not translated.

11. A place on the shore-line, Tsts'a'wab, "shallow".

12. A little cove and promontory, with two creeks, Bisk'ale'huwEtEb, not translated.

13. A swampy promontory, B₁swol³a'lkut, "where there are cat-tail rushes" (ol³al).

14. A promontory on the opposite shore of the Canal, Xatsa'ks, "long promontory."

15. A small creek, Sq'aLa'l³uw!ts!, not translated. Salmon run in this stream, though it is very small.

16. A second small creek, just west of the above, Sq'ala'al'uw!ts. This is the diminutive form of the name just given.

17. A place on the shore-line, Ts!its'iwExai, "many madrone trees" (ts'wExai, madrone).

18. A small body of water known as Lake Maggie, BĴsxwai'yatci. This name is explained as follows. The lake, which has perpendicular shores, is the abode of something supernatural. Something resembling a hand sometimes comes up out of the water. The name refers to this.

This same idea of a hand emerging is associated with other places, and seems to be a myth idea very common in this region.

A colored man named Rodney White lived for years by this lake. For that reason it is known locally as "Rodney's Lake. Whether or not he ever felt the supernatural influences, my records do not state.

19. A place on the beach just west of the last-named, Li³slatcEb, "stranded whale." The name is somewhat curious, as whales do not frequent the Canal. Possibly there is something there resembling a stranded whale. There is an old platform there for loading logs.

20. A spot on the opposite shore of the Canal from the last-named, called locally Lone Tree, SLaiqLElxEdokode, "elderberry place" (LE'lxEd, "elderberry").

21. A creek, Piuxwa'da, said to be connected with aspiux, "scattered."

22. A large creek, Xwa'sap (a'sxwas, "soiled"). The first ship which came into the canal watered here, according to my informants.

23. On the opposite shore of the Canal, a small promontory, Qwaqwa³lāts, "where young hemlocks are growing" (qwa³l, "hemlock"; -āts, "emerging").

24. A place on the shoulder of the large promontory (Sisters Point) west of the above, Qaxtsiqatsitā'bEs. The stem tsiqa'xtEb means "to poke." The expression means in effect that this is a place where people travelling by canoe must not touch bottom with a paddle or canoe-pole. To do this brings on bad weather.

25. Place on the front of this promontory, D₂uxt!āt'awas, "many mussel-shells (t'au). This point used to be a graveyard, where bodies (in the old days) were hauled up in canoes into the trees.

26. The promontory known as Sisters Point (or, to speak more accurately, the tip of this promontory) XāxE'qcld, "place where one can beach a canoe" (xE'xEx, to beach a canoe). A fine beach runs along the front of this point.

27. A locality on the southern shore of the Canal, Te₁tc:-tca'ts'Ed, "where they obtain beams to make the plates for the construction of a house." There is a logging camp here at the present time.

28. A beach on the western side of Sisters Point, T!aqwi³tsqEd. This expression is explained as meaning "resembling something licking one's leg." From similar names in other localities, I think it refers to the way the waves wash up on certain rocks here.

29. Tahuyeh River and its estuary, Taxu'lya. This name very obstinately resists etymology. I have no idea what it refers to.

30. The beach stretching westward from Tahuyeh River, L³aíbuts, "good beach." The suffix -bEts is said to mean a sand beach. The beach here is very smooth and has no rocks; hence the name.

31. A cove on the south side of the Canal, known now as Alderbrook Beach, Sli³'sli³p'u³Es, not translated.

32. Promontory west of Alderbrook, Sxpa³'liya:q, not translated.

33. A very small cove, spanned at the present time by a bridge, Tsit³'kwElqo, not translated.

34. The site of Union City, on the eastern boundary of Anna's Bay, Tuxlo³'qwatEd, not translated.

35. A large boulder on the beach just west of the hotel at Union City, Ts³oyoku³'lus, not translated. Poking this rock with a stick causes a spell of bad weather.

36. Ayre's Point, where the Canal bends northward, A³'i³us, "good face" or "good cliff." It is known locally as Bald Point. I think the Indian name refers to this fact, that is, that the point was open and sunny. This region is so heavily timbered that any open place is rather noteworthy.

37. A small stream known as Dry Creek, Tuba³'dadtbad, not translated.

Names of places in the vicinity of Anna's Bay and Skokomish River

38. An old village-site on a small flat at the mouth of a creek, Xkwi³'bultx, not translated.

39. A small creek, Tuxxwa³'d³ts, not translated.

40. A small creek, Tsatsa³'alc³d, not translated.

41. A slough which intersects the marsh lying on the east of the river, Duxqo³'ot³d, "a cut-off".

42. A narrow flat, said to be the site of a former village, Ts³'alqe³'dub, not translated.

43. Mouth of the Skokomish River, Dabo³'ts³d, not translated.

44. Flat on the west side of the Skokomish where the old agency buildings stand (now abandoned). Swep³la³'tcEb, not translated.

45. Slough which intersects the marsh, cutting off the old agency from the mainland, Qwaqwa³'Ltc-qo, not translated.

46. The creek entering the river up stream from the old agency buildings, Ska³'bab, not translated.

Several mythical ideas are connected with this creek. In the first place, a seal was supposed to live in it. Anyone who saw him died very soon thereafter. The aunt of one of my informants was once crossing this creek on a foot-log, going after cat-tail rushes to make matting. She ~~saw~~ the seal, and told of it on arriving at her house. Soon after that, she passed away.

There is a certain deep hole in this creek, overshadowed and dark. A subterranean passage is supposed to connect this pool with the sea. A whale comes into the creek from time to time, through

this tunnel, and cracks his flukes on the water. Some of my informants have heard this sound! It always brings on bad weather.

47. A place on the west bank of the Skokomish river, Qla'xad. This is the word used at present with the meaning of "fence." In aboriginal times it meant a "stockade."

48. Site of the Fishery on the east bank of the Skokomish River, Lbaka'iyEgo, "yew water."

49. Creek a quarter of a mile above the Hatchery, Do³xtcä'lowc, not translated.

50. A place near the western end of the steel highway-bridge over the Skokomish River, Tabi'³ux, not translated.

51. Place across the river from Henry Allen's house, Dukutcti³L, not translated.

52. Purdy cañon, Lci'ubad, not translated.

53. Flat near the forks of the Skokomish, Ts!a'L-qo, not translated.

54. Forks of the Skokomish, Ila'lqo, "confluence."

55. Location occupied by the present cemetery on the reservation, BElä'tc-qod. This expression BElä'tc means "possessed" or under supernatural influence; "crazy" in the language of my younger informants. The suffix -qod means the top or head of anything.

56. Enetai Creek, TuxLwa'Laqu, not translated. The word Enetai is the Chinook jargon word for "beyond."

57. A small sand-bar lying off the front of the reservation, Sxwi'yak, "cut off by the high tide."

58. A place on the beach, on the western side of the reservation, Swip'a'ksEb, "swaying in the water."

59. A very flat, sandy promontory, Taba'³das, not translated.

60. A cove just north of the preceding, La'kwas, not translated.

61. Spot on the shoreline, Dosta'³albid, not translated.

62. A small creek south of the ~~town~~^{town} of Potlatch, Skebyo'³Lqo, "skunk's water."

63. The next creek northward, Ts!ääw/L³Lqo, said to mean "black-bear's water."

64. A broad and gently-sloping promontory, DELe'³baL. This word is the diminutive of ... below.

This spot was a "cemetery" in aboriginal days. The first whites to arrive found the ground covered with bones and the trees full of grave boxes.

65. Site of the present town of Potlatch. This is the site of an important aboriginal village. A potlatch house which stood here was 477 feet long. The great house-posts stood long after the rest was gone. They were cut down some ten years before my visit. The name of this village was DE'L³b, not translated.

66. Hill creek, Kwats'L³Lqo, "chipmunk's water." A great many salmon formerly entered this stream in the spawning season.

67. Site of the present town of Hoodspout, Slalala'Ltubu³, not translated.

Names of places on Hood Canal from Hoodspout to Dusawallips

68. Miller's Creek, Kqwa'tax, "lean; skinny." A story exists concerning a great gambling-match which took place here in myth-times. Somebody here was gambling with somebody across the Canal. He staked his fish, and lost them. That is the reason there are few fish in Miller's Creek, while there are plenty in the stream directly across the inlet.

69. A ledge of rock jutting out into the water, near the tip of a small promontory, Cda'cEd, "foot print." The Transformer, Do'kwebaL, left the print of his foot here in the rock. It can be seen from a canoe at low tide.

70. Sund's Cove, Qaqwi'laiya, "Crow's fish-trap." On the headland north of the cove there was formerly an outcrop, which looked "exactly" like a crow. Running out into the cove are two rows of rocks, which can be seen at low tide. The whole arrangement has some resemblance to the fish-traps, made of piles and nets, with which these people took salmon. The myth is that Crow formerly had a trap here, but was turned into stone, together with the trap, by the Transformer.

The outcrop suggesting the form of a bird was blasted off in building the highway which runs along the west shore of the Canal.

On the Forest Service map, Sund's Creek appears as Sound's Creek, which, I understand, is incorrect.

71. A tall cliff on the eastern shore of the Canal, marked Red Bluff on the Coast Survey chart, Holiob'a's, "painted face."

The word hob refers to the red face-paint made from a dried fungus (Ganoderma) obtained from the hemlock.

72. A place on the shore-line north of the above, Dä'dEx, "gossip." I understand that the waves washing up on this point make a sound like people talking.

73. A small cove south of Dewatto Bay, Duwa'atxwaL. This is the diminutive of the term for Dewatto (see below).

74. Dewatto Bay, Du'wa'tax, not translated.

75. A spot on the shore-line across the Canal, just south of Lilliwaup, A'cäc, "water monsters." Certain rocks here, visible at low tide are believed to be water-monsters, transformed into stone by Do'kwebaL. They used to make it dangerous here for people travelling in canoes.

76. A small cove lying just at the entrance to Lilliwaup Bay, Lyla'apaL, "little Lilliwaup" (a diminutive for the term below).

77. Lilliwaup Bay, Lyla'wa'p. This is a beautiful bay or lagoon, winding back for some distance into the hills. Into the upper end of it, hidden by a shoulder of the cliff, plunges a magnificent waterfall. The spot as I recall it forms a romantic picture. The native term seems to mean what the Scandinavians call a fiord; that is, an arm of the sea passing far into the shore-line.

There were many dog-salmon here in the old days, and the people also took quantities of herring.

78. Eagle Creek, Q!Eye'baL. This term has the curious meaning of "running down other people." It refers to the fact that the people here gave potlatches, and became exalted. One informant translated it "proud", but the term means a good deal more than that.

79. The small promontory just alongside Ayock Point, Aya'zksa'L, "little Ayock" (see below).

80. Ayock Point, Aiya'ks. This is made up of the term for "good", already encountered, and the suffix -ks, "promontory". The present-day name, Ayock, is of course a transliteration of the native name.

On the Forest Service map it is spelled Ayoch, evidently through error.

81. Capstan Rock, a boulder in the water on the opposite shore of the Canal, A't!a'q!tc!d. This expression refers in some way to "adolescent girl." A myth recounts that Do'kwebaL transformed into this rock a young girl having her first menses who went walking abroad instead of staying in seclusion. The ordinary term for a girl at puberty is ba'isxko.

82. A small cove and creek, TuxusElbi'yawai, not translated.

83. A promontory projecting from the east shore of the Canal, called locally Gilman Spit, Tuxutc!sdo'b. The term tc!sdo'b is the name of a bulb with a flat white flower. The official name for this promontory, Chinom Point, is a transcription of this native word.

84. A bay and creek, known on the Coast Survey chart as Hamahama. Myron Eells (1887, p. 676) refers to this place as Humhummi. The native name, which these purport to represent is XEbxE'bai, xE'bxEb being the native name of the horse-tail rush (Equisetum).

85. Waketichie Creek. The Indian name for this stream is Katcqa'a'lydds, which means that fish are unwilling to run up it. The term appearing on the map is the equivalent in the Chinook jargon of the native term (wake tiki), "not want" or "no like".

86. The promontory south of Anderson Cove, near Holly, Ba'we; not translated.

87. Tekiu Point, Stjk!a'iyu, "elk".

88. The site where Mellita now stands, TLatLa'li. This term was explained to me as meaning "salt-water pool."

89. Triton Head, Tuxkukə'ti, not translated.

90. Hood Point, Tux'xwadi/qwEbEd. This term means "hump-backed salmon". These fish were plentiful there.

91. The lagoon north of Stavis Bay, Cte'uwas, "spearing something." I think that people went there to spear flounders.

92. A long straight beach leading to Point Misery, with a tiny lagoon entering the shore-line, Tuxtsu'iyu'b, not translated.

93. Duckabush River, DEqwi'abus, "where there is a red cliff." Myron Eells, quoted by Meany, gives this term as Do-hi-a-boos, "reddish face." The suffix -us, already mentioned, refers to a cliff or face of rock, and the human face. The word for red is qwo'tL!

94. Pleasant Harbor, Tcts!o'tsad. This is said to mean "closing up a full sack of something."

Names for places on Dabop Bay, near Quilcene

95. The small lagoon west of Wawa Point, Sxwi'yaqw, "cut off."

96. Jackson's Cove, Cxo'tsid, not translated.

97. Pulali Point. This suggests pule'la, wild cherry, but I am not sure of the derivation.

98. Big River. This is the name of the stream which enters Quilcene Bay below the town of Quilcene. Its native name is Lɛlɛ'psEd, "limbs of trees hanging down into the river."

99. An old village site, Qwalsi't, not translated. This word has come to be used as a designation for one division of the Twana group. The Qwalsi'tb/c were in the original sense the people of this one definite spot only. The native word, as noted already, has been printed in various forms, of which Quilcene bids fair to survive permanently.

100. Little River, entering the Canal northward of the town of Quilcene, Sk!ok!o'lq, "hidden from sight."

101. Creek just at the head of Quilcene Bay, Do'xwai, said to mean "good".

102. Flat lying to the eastward of the above creek, S'Ebs'u'bai, explained as meaning "crabapples." The word for crabapples however is very different from this.

This land here was at one time, my informants say, an Indian reservation.

103. Small curved promontory, inclosing a lagoon, at the tip of Bolton Peninsula, Tuxtc!a's'ats. This is said to refer to the fact that the tide runs very strongly here.

104. The sand promontory, in Dabop Bay, known as Broad Spit, Tust!o'olbEd, "lots of herrings."

105. Place at the head of Dabop Bay, Tuxwaha'o, said to mean "owl."

106. A promontory known as Long Spit, Tuxswaq'e'q!Eb, "frogs."

107. A rounded promontory, Sduda'wats, said to mean "where the waves are large."

108. A promontory south of the above, Tuxsikwa'bats, "skinning something."

109. Tabook Point, Ta'aboxu, not translated.

110. Tskutsko Point, Tutsxoo'tsid. The word was explained as meaning something producing a x-x-x noise, "like a telegraph instrument does." The term refers to the waves washing over the pebbles here.

Names for places on Hood Canal in the vicinity of Seabeck

111. Point Misery, Xadq'bEd, not translated. The Indian word given by Wilkes in the form Seabuck (whence Seabeck) I cannot identify.

112. The lagoon and flat at the head of Seabeck Bay, TusdE'bEdEb. A myth recounts that certain people here were dancing on planks placed on the ground. The sound dE'bEdEb, from which the place derives its name, represents the thumping

of their feet.

113. The small promontory in the present town of Seabeck, TLka'abaqw, said to mean "suckling." This term is given by Costello in the form L-ka-bak-hu, not translated.

114. An inlet known as Little Beef Harbor, Tatq!a'tsa, the diminutive of 115, below.

115. Beef Harbor, Q!etsak. This term is said to refer to the fact that some certain individual "did not wipe himself."

116. The creek draining into Beef Harbor, Sp!oa'lqo, "flatus water."

A curious myth concerning the origin of this name is exactly parallel to a myth already given concerning a locality on White River. It is characteristic of the region that a certain myth episode is often very carefully localized in several different places.

117. A boulder lying off-shore below Seabeck, known as Capstan Rock, La'otaiyEqw, not translated.

118. An old village-site north of Seabeck, Ctca'oks. The suffix -ks, as heretofore explained, indicates a promontory, while the remainder of the name means "a place where a trail descends." The term refers to the old trail which led from this point over the hills to Puget Sound, at Dye's Inlet, near the town of Silverdale.

119. Fisherman's Harbor, Tuxdu'wɔp, not translated. This is a most picturesque inlet, only a few yards wide but three quarters of a mile in length, winding into the end of Toandos Peninsula. Its walls are very steep, and it is always warm and quiet in here, even in the wildest weather.

120. Hazel Point, Tsa³tsj'lwɪtc. This term is the diminutive of the word for "pond", though why it should be applied here is a mystery to me.

North of this point on the Canal, the names of places were obtained from Clallam informants, and I have accordingly listed them with the other Clallam names. The dialect originally spoken north of this locality was very likely Chimakum.

APPENDIX 4. Affidavits concerning Twana Usual and Accustomed
Fishing Places collected by E.G. Swindell in 1942

COPIES OF AFFIDAVITS MADE BY SKOKOMISH INDIANS

FROM

REPORT ON SOURCE, NATURE AND EXTENT OF THE FISHING
HUNTING AND MISCELLANEOUS RELATED RIGHTS OF CERTAIN
INDIAN TRIBES IN WASHINGTON AND OREGON, TOGETHER
WITH AFFIDAVITS SHOWING LOCATION OF A NUMBER OF
USUAL AND ACCUSTOMED FISHING GROUNDS AND STATIONS

United States
Department of the Interior
Office of Indian Affairs
Division of Forestry and Grazing
Los Angeles, California
July, 1942

AFFIDAVIT OF ROBERT LEWIS
Skokomish Indians

STATE OF WASHINGTON)
) SS.
COUNTY OF MASON)

Robert Lewis, being first duly sworn, upon his oath deposes and says:

That he is over 100 years of age, a full blood member of the Skokomish Indian Tribe and a citizen of the United States of America residing on the Skokomish Indian Reservation, Washington;

That all of his life has been spent in the country owned by the Skokomish Indians prior to the coming of the white people and during the course of his life he has had occasion to visit a number of the places where the Skokomish Indians either had permanent villages or where they were accustomed to go year in and year out for the purpose of obtaining a supply of fish which was the most important part of their food supply; that as a result of the personal knowledge he thus acquired from actual observation of how the Indians lived and fished at such places, he was selected by the Skokomish Indians to give information about such matters to representatives of the Indian Service; that in addition to his knowledge gained from actual observation, he was told about such places, when he was a small boy and a young man, by his parents and the older members of the Skokomish tribe; that it was customary for the Indians to pass along such information in such fashion from one generation to another in order that the new generation would know where these places were and how they had been used by the Indians ever since anyone could remember.

Affiant further deposes and says that he is familiar with the names and locations of old Skokomish villages and usual and accustomed fishing grounds as follows:

1. QUIL-CEED, which the white people now call Quilecene; that there was a permanent village of the Skokomish location on the north side of the beach at Quilecene Bay in which there were many houses when he was a young man; that the Indians in the old days caught considerable quantities of fish by using traps in each fork of the river and with spears in the shallow water.

(1)

2. TAM-BAAGH, known to the white people as Dabob; that he never saw this place but was told that long prior to the coming of the white people the Indians had lived at this place and caught lots of fish.

(1) Tarboo on Metzker's maps of Washington

3. DOSE-WHAL-LUPS, known to the white people as Dosewallips; that there was a large village of many houses located at this place near the mouth of the river of the same name and affiant has fished there many times throughout his lifetime, the first time having been when he was a very young boy; that the fish were caught with a trap and spears.

4. QHUB-QHUB-EYE, now known to the white people as Hamma Hamma and located at the mouth of the river bearing the same name; that this was a temporary fishing and camp ground at which the Indians would remain as long as the fish were running; that the Indians in addition to catching salmon with a trap and spears, also dug clams from beach and at night time they would spear ling cod from canoes using lighted torches to bring the fish to the surface; that the surplus fish and clams were dried for future use when fresh fish was not available or for trading purposes with other Indians.

5. DUCQH-YAH-BOOSE, now known to the white people as Duckabush and located at the mouth of and on the south side of the present Duckabush River; that it meant "Wind around the Point" from the fact that it was located at spot not touched by the winds prevalent at this particular place; that although the Indians had houses located at this place, it was only used during the time when the fish were running in the river; that the fish were caught with a trap.

6. DUE-WAH-TAGH, now known as Dewatto; that affiant does not know the meaning of the Indian name; that it was the permanent home of a large number of Skokomish Indians and they were able to catch plenty of fish and dig large quantities of clams; that in the summer the Indians moved upstream from the permanent village at the mouth of the Dewatto River to a place about two miles distant where the river was narrow and fish were caught there with spears and gaff hooks; that he has at various times caught fish there.

7. LIL-LAH-WHOP, which meant inlet and is now known as Lilliwaup; that there was a permanent village situated on both sides of the creek and located close to its mouth; that a large number of Indians used to live at that place catching fish with spears and gaff hooks; that in the spring this was a good place to catch herring.

8. DUE-QHAH-WILL-LUP, which meant "steelhead salmon stream" and which is now known as Steelhead Creek; that this was a temporary fishing ground and camp of the Skokomish Indians whose permanent homes were around Hoodspport, Washington; that they spent considerable time at this place which was also good for hunting and berry gathering purposes.

9. TSCHO-QHAH-LULTH and YEE-LOUGH-QHOE which, prior to their being flooded by the water from the City of Tacoma's power dam, were located respectively at the falls and forks of the Skokomish River; that there were a number of small villages on the Skokomish River and the people who lived in them were accustomed to fishing at these places as well as at some of those along the Hoods Canal.

10. DUCQH-LAY-LAHP, now known as Union River; that there was a permanent Skokomish village about a mile from the mouth of the Union River at the head of Hood Canal near Belfair, Washington; that he has fished there during his life and the fish were caught by trap and spears and gaff hooks.

11. DUCQH-QHOE-QUAPSH, now known as Mission Creek; that this was a temporary fishing and camping place for the Indians living at Ducqh-lahp and it was located at the mouth of Mission Creek.

12. TAH-QHOO-YAH, now known as Tahuya, Washington; that this was the permanent home of a group of Skokomish Indians where they caught fish with a trap as well as with spears and gaff hooks.

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

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

Further affiant sayeth not.

(Sgd.) Robert Lewis his
Robert Lewis mark

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 12th day of May, 1942.

(Sgd.) Frank D. Beaulieu
Notary Public in and for the State
of Washington residing at Hoquiam

(Seal)

AFFIDAVIT OF INTERPRETER

STATE OF WASHINGTON)
) SS
 COUNTY OF MASON)

Lucy Allen, being first duly sworn, upon her oath deposes and says:

That she is a member of the Skokomish Indian Tribe and a citizen of the United States residing on the Skokomish Indian Reservation, Washington.

That she is thoroughly conversant with the English language and with the language spoken by the Skokomish Indians and can translate the English language into the Skokomish Indian language and the Skokomish Indian language into the English language.

That on December 2, 1941, in the presence of Robert Lewis, deponent in the foregoing affidavit, and Edward G. Swindell, Jr., U. S. Indian Service, affiant did, at the request of Mr. Swindell, interrogate the said Robert Lewis with regard to certain matters concerning the location of the permanent villages and usual and accustomed fishing grounds of the Skokomish Indians, as well as with regard to the way they and their ancestors obtained a livelihood; that she translated the questions of Mr. Swindell from the English language into the Skokomish Indian language which the said Robert Lewis speaks and understands; that she translated the answers of the said Robert Lewis from the Skokomish language into the English language; that at the time Mr. Swindell made written notes of the information given by the said Robert Lewis and said information has been reduced to the narrative form as given in the above and foregoing affidavit of said Robert Lewis.

Affiant further deposes and says that on the 12th day of May, 1942, in the presence of Robert Lewis and Mr. Swindell, she translated the information contained in the aforesaid affidavit from the English language into the Skokomish language as said affidavit was read to affiant by Mr. Swindell; that the deponent, Robert Lewis, told affiant that the said narrative affidavit contained the information given by him to Mr. Swindell on December 2, 1941, and that he had therefor signed said affidavit because the information contained therein was true.

Further affiant sayeth not.

(Sgd.) Lucy Allen

Lucy Allen personally appeared before me this 12th day of May, 1942, and after having the foregoing affidavit read to her in my presence, did acknowledge to me that the statements contained therein were true and that she executed same as her voluntary act.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 12th day of May, 1942.

(Sgd.) Frank D. Beaulieu
 Notary Public in and for the State
 of Washington, residing at Hoquiam

(Seal)

JOINT AFFIDAVIT OF BEN JOHNS, GEORGE ADAMS, AND CHARLIE CUSH.

State of Washington)
) ss
 County of Mason)

Ben Johns, 65 years of age, George Adams, 62 years of age, and Charlie Cush, 77 years of age, each being first duly sworn and put upon his oath does severally depose and say;

That they are members of the Skokomish Indian Tribe and citizens of the United States of America residing on the Skokomish Indian Reservation, Washington;

That they were either born on the Skokomish Indian Reservation or in the country formerly owned by the Skokomish Indians and sold to the United States Government pursuant to their treaty negotiated by Governor Stevens; that they have lived in the Skokomish Indian country or on the Skokomish Indian Reservation all of their respective lives, and at various times they have had occasion to visit a number of the sites of the old Skokomish Indian villages and fishing grounds; that as a result of their visits to these places, they are personally familiar with the actual conditions which existed at some of these places as a result of actual observation of the Indians living or fishing there; that in addition to the knowledge thus personally gained from actual conversation, they when small boys and young men were told by their parents and the older members of the Skokomish Indian tribe as to the location of these villages and fishing grounds and as to the way the Indians used to live and fish there prior to the time of their birth and prior to the time of the coming of the white man; that affiants therefore feel they are familiar with the situation which existed at those various places and can give relevant information with regard thereto;

Affiants further severally depose and say that on October 16, 1941, they were present at the community house on the Skokomish Indian Reservation when Robert Lewis, a member of the Skokomish Indian tribe, answered certain questions propounded by Edward G. Swindell, Jr., U. S. Indian Service, concerning the location of Skokomish villages and fishing grounds as said Robert Lewis, one of the oldest living members of the tribe, was able to recall and identify same; that they listened carefully, and clearly heard both the questions and the answers given thereto and that they can and do confirm the information contained in said answers insofar as they are personally familiar therewith from actual observation during their respective lifetimes; that so far as the information given by the said Robert Lewis related to things that occurred prior to their respective lifetimes, they can and do confirm them as being true inasmuch as the same things were told to them by their parents when they were small boys and young men.

Affiants further depose and say that on the 9th day of June, 1942, they were present when an affidavit containing the information previously given by the said Robert Lewis was read back to them; that the information given by the said Robert Lewis under date of October 16, 1941; that the information contained in said affidavit is true to the best of affiants' knowledge and belief.

Affiants further sayeth not.

(Sgd.) Ben Johns

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 9th day of June, 1942.

(Seal) (Sgd.) Merle Haggmann
Notary Public

(Sgd.) George Adams
George Adams

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 9th day of June, 1942.

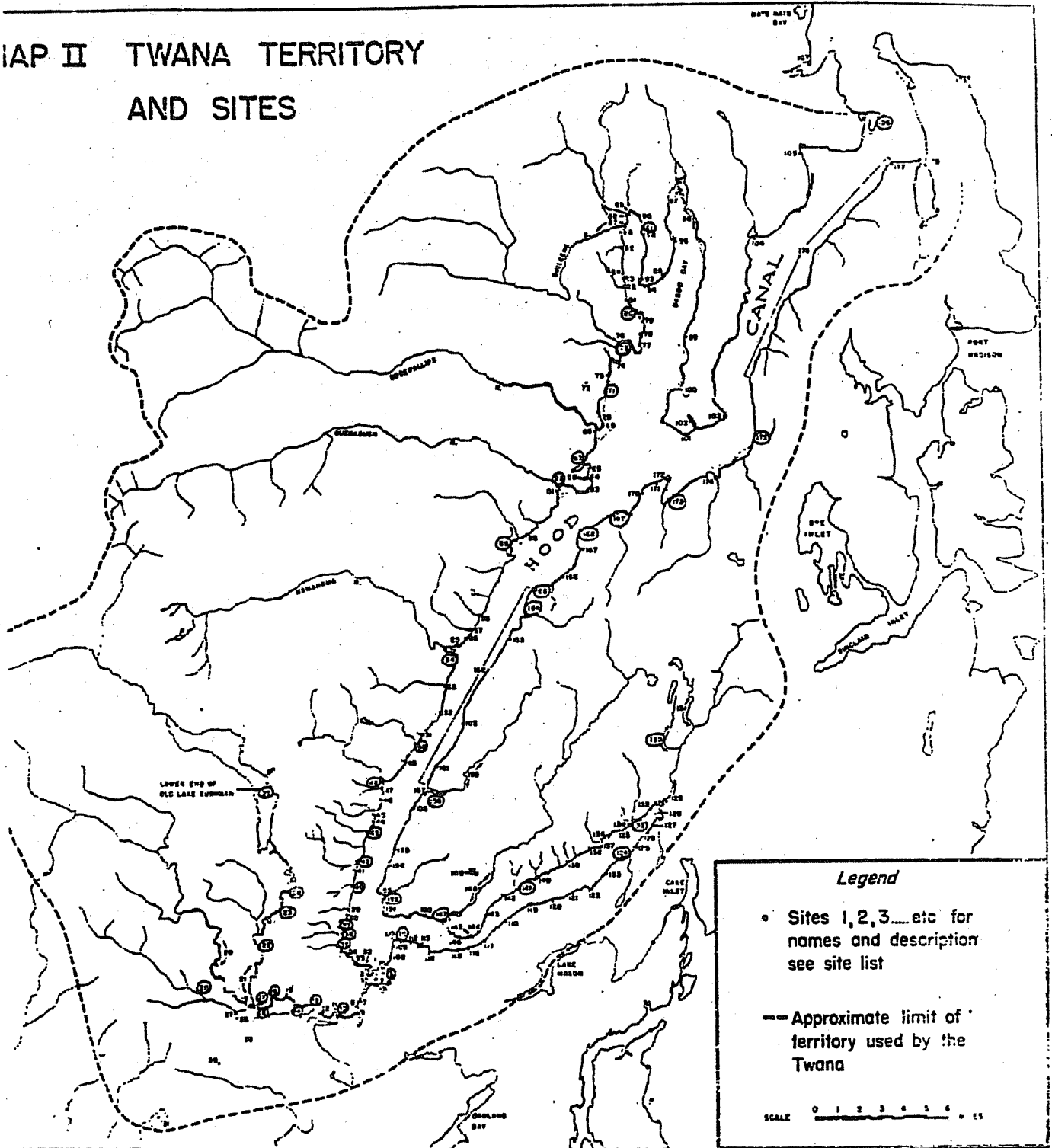
(Seal) (Sgd.) Merle Haggmann
Notary Public

(Sgd.) Charlie Cush ^{his} mark
Charlie Cush

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 9th day of June, 1942.

(SEAL) (Sgd.) Merle Haggmann
Notary Public

IAP II TWANA TERRITORY AND SITES



GEOGRAPHIC SITES

Nature of site data. The following list of Twana geographic sites should serve to document both the preceding section on Geographic Nomenclature and the chapter on Land Use, Ownership, Boundaries below. It may also be of linguistic and archeological as well as ethnographic interest. The list includes all native place names within the Hood Canal drainage that I was able to obtain, plus some information about each site or area designated. Ascribed locations are not all exact; I was unable to visit some areas; e.g., part of the eastern canal shoreline and much of the upper Skokomish drainage, in the company of an informant. Locations in these areas were worked out from maps and informants' descriptions. Where data on a location are approximate or doubtful, this has been indicated. HA seems to have overestimated distances between sites in the Skokomish River area by a factor of about four.

When a site name is meaningful, an English translation, as given by the informant, follows the native word; in some cases suggested derivation, or explanation, has been added in parentheses. Site names followed by no translation were unanalyzable to informants. All names were checked for etymology with informant HA. Native terms are Twana unless otherwise indicated.

Site list. Site numbers in the list are keyed to area outline map (No. II, opposite p. 48). Numbers proceed in the following areal order: 1-31, Skokomish River drainage, from mouth to headwaters; 32-107, west shore of Hood Canal, from mouth of Skokomish River north to Port Ludlow; 108-131, south shore of south arm of Hood Canal, from mouth of Skokomish River east to Union River at head of canal; 132-151, north shore of south arm, from head of canal west to Ayres Point; 152-179, east shore of Hood Canal, from Ayres Point north to Point No Point.

Skokomish River (1-32)

1 sqoqj, "the river." The Skokomish River from the mouth of its main channel to the forks of the river near Mohrweis. The term did not refer to branches above the forks. Its derivative sqoqj-bæ, "people of the river," denoted villagers on the north fork of the Skokomish, as well as on the main stream and the canal shore at its mouth (see below, pp 259, 315).

2 q^vaq^va^vclqo, "brackish water." The west channel of the Skokomish River, emptying into the canal about 1/2 mile west from the main mouth. Also a camping site on the west side of this channel about 1/2 mile from its mouth.

3 duXad^šč. A shallow riffle near the mouth of the main (east) channel of the Skokomish, and a camping site on the east bank, at "Onion Ranch." Here people b^sčq³a³a, waited for salmon to come up the river and speared them from canoes in the shallows at low tide. A trail led from here south to q³pa³laixo³, a Sahewamish village at Shelton, on Oakland Bay.

4 caca³a³lš³ad (from ca³alš³ad, a blue clay for making a black dye used in basketry). A camping site on the east bank of the main (east) channel of the Skokomish, 1/4-1/2 mile above site no. 3.

5 dux³q³at³ad, "watering place" (q³ "water"). A small creek running into the east bank of the main channel of the Skokomish, a short distance upstream from no. 4, and about 1/2 mile from the mouth. The source of the creek was a spring up the hill to the east; its water was clear and fresh. People camping at site no. 6 came here for water.

6 swi³p³la³č³eb (from sup³la³č³eb, "go overland"). A site on the west bank of the main channel 1/2 mile or less from the mouth, immediately south of a present gun club. This was a large summer settlement in postwhite times, most of the people wintering at t ba das on the canal shore (no. 36).

7 q³w³ele³ba³lw³ltx³, "restless house." A camping site about 2 miles upriver (stream distance) from no. 6, at a bend in the river where the current was dangerous for canoes. The distance (from HA) may be overestimated.

8 b^ssq³la³xad, "having a stockade." A camping site on the west (?) bank of the Skokomish, less than 1/2 mile upriver from no. 7, near the site of a former reservation school.

9 ā³ba³q³əy³lq³, "yew tree creek." A creek emptying into the Skokomish River on its south side, and a camping site at the creek mouth, about 3/4 mile upstream from the bridge on the Union-Hoodspout road. This is the site of a present (1938) fish hatchery.

10 dux³t³a³laqb³ad, "place where one eats mussels out of the shell." A camping site and after 1860 possibly a permanent settlement slightly over 1 mile above no. 9, on the north bank of the Skokomish, near the mouth of Purdy Creek. This was the site of the first salmon weir encountered in going upstream; it was the earliest trap to be set up each year. The site was just above the limit of tide water.

11 assa³w³el, "portage" (from ša³wi³, "carry canoe"). A camping site on the north bank of the Skokomish, "4 miles" (HA) above no. 10; more likely less than 1/4 mile.

12 sta'q, "log jam." A camping site on the north bank of the Skokomish, where the old road of the Olympic highway crossed the river. Given by HA as "4 miles" above no. 11; the actual distance is about 3/4 mile.

13 sp'up'jqs (from sp'j, "fart"). A camping site on the north bank of the Skokomish, near the Sunnyside bridge and the present west boundary of the Skokomish reservation. HA gave as "about 2 miles above" no. 12; actually about 1/2 mile. This was the next Skokomish fish weir site upstream from no. 10. In the 1850's the weir was supervised by da'x^wl^wq, one of the Skokomish signers of the treaty of Point No Point.

14 hiw^hh^h. A fishing site on the south bank of the Skokomish in a slough or side channel. Given by HA as "4 miles" above no. 12. Possibly near the mouth of Weaver Creek, somewhat under 1 mile upstream from no. 13.

15 c'qa'lqo. A creek emptying on the north bank of the river, with no settlement. "1 mile" (HA), probably slightly over 1/2 mile, above no. 14.

16 pasa'dl^les, "burnt-off ground" (?); the word is from pa's, "burn." A large sandbar along the north bank of the Skokomish; a fishing place but no settlement. "About 1 mile" (HA), actually 3/4 mile, above no. 15.

17 c'c'a'q'pay, "fir tree" (literally, "spear-shaft tree"). A camping site on the north bank of the Skokomish, "about 1 mile" (HA), actually 1/4 mile, above no. 16. Fir trees grew there in the river bottom. It was a good site for spearing salmon.

18 y^lla'lqo, "forks of the river." A large, permanent winter village on the south bank of the Skokomish River immediately downstream from the forks. HA gave the location as "1/2 mile above" no. 17 and "1/2 mile below the forks." This was the principal Skokomish settlement in prewhite times; the y^lla'lqo headman was recognized as a community leader by the other settlements in the Skokomish drainage. There was a fish weir here, the third in the river counting from the mouth. A graveyard nearby was used in aboriginal times by people all along the river. FA gave the following account of his childhood memory (c. 1865) of this site: "There were two big plank houses; my father and great-uncle su'stX lived in one, sda'y^ltx^w and his relatives in the other. Before that there had been another large house across the river which belonged to ta'd^lct." The river has shifted and eroded its banks extensively in this area during the past century.

19 k^wak^wa'cqs, "point between." A camping site on the point at the junction of the north and south forks of the Skokomish River. For name, cf. no. 64.

20 dux^ws^lq^w. The south fork of the Skokomish. No one lived up this stream, but the Skokomish in a group went up to its headwaters in the autumn for elk hunting (see Elmendorf, MS. b, item 20). A valley, termed c^ll' i' q^wat, at the head of the south fork, was the principal site of these Skokomish community hunts in August and later.

21 d^lslabu'xt. The north fork of the Skokomish River.

22 xc'a-yay (HA), b^lsxc'a-yay (FA) (from sxc'a-y', "ironwood roasting spit"). A winter village on the east bank of the north fork of the Skokomish, about 3 miles upriver from its junction with the south fork. The people of this village (c^ltsxc'a-yay) were Skokomish; they or some of them were supposed to have moved to the country at the head of Hood Canal in prewhite times, and to have become the Twana group known as c^wx^wle'lap or Duhlelap Twana. (See nos. 128, 133; account in Elmendorf, MS. b, item 1.)

23 c'el^wx^wcod, "in the canyon." A small winter village above no. 22 on the north fork of the Skokomish; its location is quite uncertain and should possibly be listed as upstream from no. 24. The headman here in the early nineteenth century was a professional warrior named st^w'k'ebicuD.

24 c'ok^wa'lal (also c'ud^wa'lal), "narrows." The falls of the north fork, 5 to 6 miles (stream distance) above no. 22 and 2 to 3 miles below the present (upper) Cushman power dam; in another connection HA gave the location as "about 2 miles below the lower end of old Lake Cushman." Half a mile below the falls on the east bank in a small flat was a small winter settlement of the same name, inhabited by at least one family. This was a good locality for salmon spearing; other Skokomish gathered here during the salmon season. From the falls two trails led east to the canal, one ending at Pctlatch (no. 39), the other at Hoodsport (no. 42). Slaves of the Hoodsport people used to catch and dry fish at the falls.

25 e'lo'ax. Lake Cushman (in its former extent), Mt. Washington, and the surrounding country. The name also applied to a small settlement at the (former) lower end of Lake Cushman, near the outlet of the north fork of the Skokomish. FA said that at least one family wintered here; HA said that no one wintered above site no. 24, but seems to have been referring to postwhite times. The present dam at the lower end of the lake is about halfway between no. 24 and the lower end of the old, predam lake. There were no falls where the dam is now, but the river ran out through a deep, rock-wall canyon. There were no bad rapids for some distance below the present dam site. FA's loon spirit (qo'o'la) had his house in a small lake of uncertain location, north of Lake Cushman. This lake was designated b^ls'e'lo'ax, or q^w(l)'tse'lo'axl, "lake of e'lo'ax."

26 q'wɔlq'we'li, "cedar trees." Vance Creek and the territory in its drainage. This stream empties into the south fork of the Skokomish on its south bank about 400 yards upstream from the confluence of the south and north forks. This was country of the čtq'wɔlq'we'li or Vance Creek people, a Twana-speaking group distinct from the Skokomish and wholly inland in habitat. The main settlement of the Vance Creek Twana, also called q'wɔlq'we'li, lay in a prairie or open space on the north bank of the creek about 3 or 4 miles from its mouth.

27 čat'q'wad. A stream (possibly Kirkland Creek) entering Vance Creek on its south side, 1 mile or less from the junction of the latter with the south fork of the Skokomish. The Satsop (sa'cəss) trail led south overland from the mouth of no. 27 to the east fork of the Satsop River; the route continuing by canoe down the Satsop and Chehalis rivers to Grays Harbor. This was an important trade route; iron fish hooks and knives made from barrel hoops were passing north along it to the Skokomish before they had seen a European. Most of the commodities originated with the Lower Chehalis people at Westport (c'xe'ləs) village on Grays Harbor.

28 ba'l'ä'. A large rock about 200 yards up the Satsop trail from the mouth of no. 27; goods were cached under it. This rock had been a woman in myth times who did not wish the Skokomish River to flow into Oakland Bay, on Puget Sound, as it did then; she wished it to come to Hood Canal, as it does now. So she put her daughter in the river, and the current carried the daughter about 3 miles toward Shelton, but there she stuck and dammed the stream and made it go where it now runs. The daughter is now a rock in the former channel (no. 29) not as large as ba'l'ä', called bə'dəs ba'l'ä', "daughter of ba'l'ä'."

29 qelqə', "was a river." A dry channel said to run from near the mouth of no. 27 to Shelton on Oakland Bay. It was a good place for blueberries. The channel was explained as the former course of the Skokomish River, when it ran to Oakland Bay, in myth times (see no. 28). This was a convenient overland route to the Sahewamish village at Shelton (cf. no. 3).

30 pu'dlecəd, "halfway." A settlement, probably seasonal, on the top of a hill on the Satsop trail, about halfway between Vance Creek and the Satsop River. The people were Vance Creek Twana, who hunted around no. 31, to the west, and no. 29, to the east. South of this site was Satsop, not Twana territory.

31 da'wacləɪ, "big lake" (perhaps a Satsop word in Twana form). Lake Nahwatzel. The surrounding country was hunting territory of the Vance Creek people, operating from the settlement at no. 30.

West Shore of Hood Canal (32-107)

32 $sx^{w1}qk^w$, "cut" (referring to sandbar cut in two). A camping site and possibly a late, postwhite winter settlement on a long sandbar a short distance west of the mouth of the west channel of the Skokomish River (no. 2) on the canal shore. Geese were hunted here at night offshore (Elmendorf, MS. b, item 55).

33 $t^3 b\alpha'x^w ay$, "gooseberry bush." A site on the canal shore nearly 1 mile west of no. 32, anciently a summer camping place. One family seems to have wintered here after the middle of the nineteenth century. HA remembered one large plank house at the site in the 1870's, used in winter spirit dancing.

34 $swi'p'a'qs\alpha b$, "lacks a point" (?). A camping and possible early wintering site on the canal shore about 1/2 mile west of no. 33. Mr. Wyatt, owner of a former store on the site, reported artifacts from a depth of 6 feet in digging a well.

35 $dux^{w*}x^w a'laq^w$. Village site at Inatai, where the highway meets the canal at the north edge of the Skokomish reservation. Extensive settlement here was postreservation in date; earlier the place was probably only a summer or fall settlement. A potlatch house still stood here in the late nineteenth century, and a burial ground (possibly postreservation) nearby is still in use. A rock called $h^w a' a' x^w at$, "thunder," used to be here; it had eyes and a nose. Trails led from this site to sites nos. 13 and 22.

36 $t\alpha ba' das$. A village site on the canal shore a mile or less north of no. 35. This was the principal settlement of the Skokomish in the 1860's, following gradual abandonment of the upriver wintering sites. FA was born at $y\lambda la' lqo$ (no. 18) about 1860; by the time of his brother HA's birth some five years later the family had ceased to winter at site no. 18.

37 $dust^3- \acute{1} b\alpha d$, "herring place" (from $st^3 j^3 \acute{1}$, "herring"). Village site at Tilikum Beach, site of the present Tacoma power plant, on the canal shore 1/2 mile north of no. 36. Herring spawned here in a little cove. The settlement here was also largely post-1850. FA indicated that sites 35-37 were "like one village, not much space between them," in the 1860's.

38 $d\alpha \acute{X} a' bal$ (diminutive of name of no. 39). Site of a graveyard a short distance south of no. 39; grave canoes were here on posts 6 to 8 feet high. People buried here from Lilliwaup to Union, Dewatto, Tahuya, and the canal shore area around the "bend." The people at the head of the canal (see nos. 128, 133) had their own burial ground, according to FA.

39 də'k'e'b. Anciently a camping site at Potlatch; in the 1860's a large village, the population mostly Duhlelap Twana from the head of Hood Canal. After the reservation was founded the Duhlelap people moved here and gave a famous potlatch (referred to in Olson, 1936:129) to signalize their landing. The site has no creek; it would never have been used for more than temporary camps in aboriginal times.

40 q'wə'c't:lqo, "squirrel creek" (sq'wə'c'al, "squirrel"). Hill Creek, between Potlatch and Hoodsport, and a summer camp site of the Hoodsport people at its mouth. Salmon ran in the creek.

41 t ak'w'ru. A small creek and village of slaves, about 1/2 mile south of Hoodsport. The slaves belonged to the Hoodsport people; their settlement was on a small point on the south side of the mouth of the creek.

42 sla'l'allaltəbə'x'w (said to be from slah'1, "disk game," təbi'x'w, "land, country"). Finch Creek, a salmon stream, and a large winter village at Hoodsport. Most of the houses of the settlement were on the south side of the mouth of the creek. The Hoodsport people (čtsla'l'allaltəbə'x'w) were Twana but not Skokomish.

43 q'w'q'w'a'tax'w, "poor place" (q'w'ta'x'w, "poor, thin, lean"). Miller Creek and a camping site for fishing in a small cove near the mouth of the creek. The site was used by people from all over the canal. The creek is a little less than 2 miles north of Hoodsport at the "Horseshoe."

44 da'sə'd, "tracks." Also called d'isk'adu's. Rocky Point and camping site on its south side, about 1/2 mile north of no. 43. There were three large tracks in the cliff here, made by Transformer (du'k'w'ibaɽ) as he went north along the western canal shore in myth times.

45 (Name not recalled.) A small creek, the next stream north of no. 44; possibly Sund Creek. There was a summer camp site at the mouth of the creek but no permanent settlement.

46 ba't'qs, "suck-nose" (a Puget Sound word; Twana would be bu't'qs.). A bluff extending into the water on the west shore of Hood Canal between nos. 44 and 48. This was a monster transformed by du'k'w'ibaɽ at the end of myth times (see Elmendorf, MS. a, item 5).

47 sləl·ə'ä'wəal, also recorded ləlā'wəal (diminutive of site name no. 48). A creek emptying into a cove just south of Lilliwaup Bay. The southernmost houses of the Lilliwaup settlement (no. 48) were on the south side of this cove, according to HA.

48 släl-a-wap, "inlet" (ləwα'p, "go into bay or river"). Lilli-waup Creek, Bay, and a settlement from the south side of the creek mouth south to no. 47. This was probably never a permanent or winter settlement aboriginally. Plank houses were erected here, however, during summer and fall fishing seasons; some of them belonged to Skokomish. FA and HA's father owned a house here, according to FA.

49 iyä-əqsal, "nice little point, pretty good point" (diminutive of name of no. 52; either meaning given is possible). A summer camping site on the canal shore, about 1 mile north of no. 48, 1 mile south of no. 50.

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

51 q^wi'i'bal (from q^wi'bd, "disparage one's ancestry"). A creek of swift, cold water, about 3/4 mile north of Eagle Creek (no. 50). It was considered "polite" to land and drink at this creek if one was going by along the canal shore, on foot or in a canoe. HA: "You shouldn't go by without drinking, or the creek will call you names, like 'slave' or 'no good blood.'" There was no settlement.

52 iya'qs, "good point." Ayock Point and camping site on the north side of the point at the present (1939) Stetson Camping Grounds, a little over a mile north of no. 51. This was a good locality for summer hunting, berrying, and clam digging.

53 dux^wyu^səwəlbəd, "battle field" (from yu^si'wəwəl, "battle"). Jorsted Creek and camping site at its mouth. A flat extends out from the mouth of the creek.

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

55 habi'biəlqo, "cascara creek" (habi'bay, "cascara plant" Rhamnus purshiana; habi'b, "pigeon," which eats the cascara berries). A small creek and camping site at its mouth, just north of no. 54, near Cummings Point. The stream was associated with Snake Basket Witch in a myth (Elmendorf, MS. a, item 5).

56 k'əwə'cəwəlwəltx^w, "cougar's house" (k'əwə'c'əθ, "cougar"). A large hill of rock on the canal shore between Cummings Point and Waketickeh Creek, nearer the latter.

57 qačq'a. *əθdəs, "no salmon run up." Waketickeh Creek, the first stream north of Cummings Point. The creek is full of boulders, lacks gravel bottom, is unsuitable for salmon spawning. In myth times the creek was full of salmon; Transformer (du'k^wibal) slipped on them while crossing and cursed the stream, saying, "in the future no salmon will run up here" (Elmendorf, MS. a, item 5). There was no settlement.

58 bəl-αqs, "point painted with one stripe on either side" (bə'l'/bəl'α-, "painted with stripe"; -qs, "nose, point"). Hidden Cove, a small cove with a rock projecting into the canal, about 1 mile north of no. 57. There was a camping site here.

59 a'α'sč's, "rock cod." Triton Cove, Fulton Creek, and neighboring territory. Rock cod were numerous off Triton Head, and there were butter clams at the mouth of the creek. A very good camping site.

60 cqe'lastəlbī (from cqe'l, "climb"). A point immediately south of McDaniel Cove and about 1 mile north of no. 59. Here a woman slave whom the Dosewallips Twana had obtained from the Quinault escaped by climbing up the face of the bluff (Elmendorf, MS. b, item 20).

61 sduk^wa'k'pu.bəš, "elks." A series of large rock ledges in a tideflat on the south side of the mouth of the Duckabush River. The name has probable myth reference.

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

63 k^waca'p. Quatsop Point.

64 k^wak^wa'cqs, "between two points" (cf. no. 19). A camping site on a stretch of beach immediately north of Quatsop Point; the present Old Orchard Beach.

65 q^wcqə', "between two creeks" (for phonetics and etymology cf. nos. 19 and 64). A point on the south side of the entrance to Pleasant Harbor.

66 qagaqale wxt. A former small lake north of Quatsop Point, back of Old Orchard Beach; it was full of shamanistic guardian spirits (swa'das) in the form of reptiles. When the lake was drained long ago by loggers, the swa'das reptiles came rushing down the outlet. The loggers fled, except one who was later found dead on the spot and with contorted limbs. He was ē'idi'təb, "electrocuted" or struck by the power of the shaman spirits (CC).

67 čc'o-ca'təd, "bar across mouth of channel." Pleasant Harbor and a camping site there; a seasonal fishing station.

68 duswa-ylups, "place of thieves, selfish people, people who'll take it away from you" (?). Winter village at Brinnon, on beach at the mouth of the Dosewallips River; the river itself; and a mountain ("Mt. Dosewallips") far inland to the west (Mt. Jupiter?, Mt. Constance?). The mountain is on the left hand as one goes upriver. It is flanked by a series of hills called bədbə'das ti sba'dits duswa-ylups, "Mt. Dosewallips' children."

69 spəl-aqas duswa-ylups, "Mt. Dosewallips' penis." A point near the mouth and apparently north of the Dosewallips River (Sylopash Point?). The name was obtained from CC. HA knew of no myth connection and claimed the place was not mentioned in the story "Mt. Dosewallips' Wives," although it is in a version told by George Adams.

70 čba'y'qr, "mink." A point north of the mouth of the Dosewallips River; this was Mink's penis, left here in myth times (CC). HA: "CC is confused"; this is the point (no. 69) spəl-aqas duswa-ylups.

71 biswa-đis, "shaman power country" (?); HA suggests derivation from swa'das, "shamanistic guardian spirit." A camping site and seasonal fishing station at Seal Rock, about 2 miles north of the mouth of the Dosewallips River.

72 xexe'c'sb, also xexe'c'səb, "face torn" (or alternatively, from xe'c'os, "mean faced"). A mountain inland (west) from Seal Rock (no. 71); probably either Green Hill or Mt. Turner. The name has reference to the myth "Mt. Dosewallips' Wives." This was the wife whose face was torn by Mt. Rainier (Elmendorf, MS. a, item 23).

73 dux'č'o.čč'c. A stretch of beach between sites nos. 71 and 74; used for clam digging.

74 ? aqs. Wawa Point, south of Jackson Cove.

75 sxo'o'cəd, "rough water." Pulali Point, Jackson Cove, and a creek at the head of the cove, either Jackson Creek or Spencer Creek. Salmon ran in the creek; this was a seasonal fishing station.

76 dux^vt' bo t'əbəd (CC), dux^vbu t bəd (HA), "place of woman's breasts." Two rock points running out into the water inside Jackson Cove, between Jackson Creek and Pulali Point. These were the breasts of no. 72, torn off and thrown here by dux^vwa'k^w (Mt. Rainier) in the tale "Mt. Dosewallips' Wives." In a version of this story from HA the site is referred to as bətbo't'bəd (Elmendorf, MS. a, item 23). These points used to be known as the "Tatoosh Rocks," a Chinook Jargon rendering of the Twana name.

77 šaša'1' bəb, "backside over something." A rock point with a tree leaning out over it, about 1/2 mile north of Pulali Point (no. 75). This was a man who was defecating when the world was changed at the end of myth times.

78 ya'li'i' x̄bi. A group of rocks on the shore, north of no. 77.

79 st'a-t' at' či, "leading canoe by wading alongside it in shallow water" (from pə't' at', "drift ashore or into shallows"; -či, "by hand"). Rock point north of no. 78, 1/4 mile south of no. 80.

80 dux^vq'a'āi, "place of perch." Whitney Point and a small lagoon back of it where perch were caught. A summer camp site.

Location of the following six sites (nos. 81-86) between Whitney Point and the Quilcene River is uncertain. The names were supplied by CC who had lived as a boy at Quilcene (no. 89). They are given in order from south to north.

81 dux^vx'q' X (HA thought this might be Quilcene dialect for "cold"). A small creek with swift running water; the first stream north from no. 80.

82 s̄da'wa'x̄o' (probably diminutive, from du'w̄i'x̄o', "tide flat"). A creek, the next stream north of no. 81.

83 x'aqe'q'w̄o (from x'aqe'd, "stick a feather in your hair"). A large rock with a tree growing out of the top, north of no. 82. The name has myth reference, but the story was not obtained.

84 ya'ya' s̄d̄i'x̄, "carrying baby on back." A rock on the beach north of no. 83, resembling a mother with a baby on her back. She left her man (no. 83), and he followed her along the beach, going north. They were changed to rock at the p'ə'lə'č', the transformation of the world at the end of myth times (Lee Cush).

85 dux^vlw'qay, "place of alder." A creek, the next north from no. 84.

86 *lal·a'x^wi·yəq*, "belly sunk in with hunger." A stretch of mud flats, north of no. 84.

87 *lil'i'p'cəd* (from *lip'u'cad*, "cover up something," because stream overhung with brush (CC). HA gave *lil'i'p'cəd*; possibly a dialect difference). The Quilcene River.

88 *dux^wa'y*, "good place." The Little Quilcene River.

89 *q^wəlsi'd* (CC, HA), *q^wəl'si'd* (FA). The name is not translatable, although Eells (1892:30) gives the meaning as "salt water" through an apparent confusion with *si'dak^w*, "salt water." A winter village on a good beach a little north of the mouth of the Little Quilcene River, between the latter and Donovan Creek; near the head of Quilcene Bay. The people here were *sq^wəl'si'dəbəs* (HA), *q^wəl'si'dəbəs* (FA). FA stated: "The *q^wəl'si'dəbəs* talked like we (Skokomish) do, but just a little bit different; they were savages, bad people at Quilcene" (cf. Elmendorf, MS. b, item 40).

The following three places (nos. 90-92) on the east side of Quilcene Bay, in order from north to south, were not definitely located.

90 *dux^wwaha'w* (from *waha'w*, a kind of owl). A stretch of beach south of Donovan Creek, on the east side of Quilcene Bay.

91 *dust'ə'lbəd*, "landing for herring" (so CC; cf. no. 37). A stretch of beach south of no. 90 and herring spawning ground off the beach. A camping site.

92 *b'iswəq'e'q'ab*, "having frogs." A creek south of no. 91, about 1 mile south of the head of Quilcene Bay, in which were many frogs.

93 *dux^wc'a'salc* (from *ax^wc'ə'c'ak*, "facing crossways," because crosswise to the south wind). A point at the entrance to Quilcene Bay, on the east side, with a lagoon on its landward side.

94 *sdəl'da'wak*, "breakers, breaking surf." The next point east of no. 93, at the south end of Bolton Peninsula; a very windy place.

95 *dux^wsi'k^wa'bac* (from *sik^wi'd*, "pull bark off tree," as in getting cedar bark). A good beach and camping site in Dabop Bay, 1 mile north of no. 94.

96 *sp'la'c*, "pond on dry land." Broad Spit, a point with lagoon behind it, and a camping site, on the west side of Dabop Bay about 4 miles from the head of the bay.

97 *ta'bx^w*. A winter village on Long Spit, near the head of Dabop Bay. Residents were *ctta'bx^w*, an independent Twana community.

No one lived there when CC was a boy at Quilcene, about 1870-1880. "Dabop" or "Dabob" is a map name of doubtful origin; older white residents still call the bay "Tarboo" after the native name (see Elmendorf, MS. a, item 32).

Location of the following two sites (nos. 98-99) on the east side of Dabop Bay is uncertain. According to CC there was little good or usable territory on the east side of the bay.

98 ʔa kʷsəd, "raise dust with the feet." A stretch of territory along the shore south of Long Spit.

99 scəβ co'obi, "crabapples." A point south of no. 98, on the east shore of Dabop Bay, with adjacent pleasant camping sites.

100 sla a ltxʷqs, "inside the point." Zelatched Point, a cove to its north, and a creek debouching into the latter (CC). HA would restrict the name to the cove and creek. A camping site.

101 duxʷyabu's (cf. no. 62). Oak Head (CC). HA considered the name erroneous.

102 duxʷlwəp, "where the water runs in." Fisherman Harbor, an inlet landlocked at low tide at the south end of Toandos Peninsula; the present site of Coyle. This was a camping site. CC thought a permanent village was there, but this is exceedingly doubtful.

103 (A Twana name, not recalled.) Hazel Point.

104 (A Twana name, not recalled.) Thorndike Bay. This was a camping site for late clam digging in the fall.

105 duxʷho' bəd (FA), duxʷho' bəd (HA). A stretch of territory on the west side of Hood Canal, across from Port Gamble; probably territory in Squamish Harbor. There were camping sites here on a good sand beach. Twana from all over the canal area went here for late summer and fall clam digging.

106 duxʷXa y. A site and adjacent territory on the west side of Hood Canal, 4 to 5 miles north of Squamish Harbor; possibly Hood Head. This was a camping site for fishing and clam digging. It marked the northern limit of Twana territory on the west side of the canal, according to FA. According to HA, "Whiskey Spit," 4 or 5 miles south of Port Ludlow, was the northern limit; this may refer to the same place.

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

South Shore of South Arm (108-131)

108 s'ci' sbəlyaq, "back from shore" (ɬci'sab, "up the water, away from shore, inland"). A camping site about 1/2 mile north of the main channel (east) mouth of the Skokomish River, on the canal shore south of Union. In 1938 site of gas station (Michael's).

109 Xq^we'bəltx^w. A camping site on the canal shore north of no. 108 and about 1/4 mile south of Union. In 1938 site of Enoch Nelson's Cabins.

110 c'oyo k^wələs, "Oregon grape rock" (from c'oyo x^w, "Oregon grape"). This name may be misrecorded; the correct term for Oregon grape is č'u'yu'x^wələs, and for the plant, č'u'yu'x^way'si. A large rock in the canal off the point immediately west of Union. People believed that to touch it with hand or paddle when passing by in a canoe would cause a storm.

111 dux^wlu'q^wa'təd, "place where you can't step outdoors without getting excrement on you" (so HA; from ɬu'q^wsəd, "have dirt on one's foot"). A large camping site or summer village on the site of the present Union. The people were Skokomish, most of them wintering at site no. 18, or in later times at no. 36. Some appear to have wintered at Union, at least after the abandonment of site no. 18 for site no. 36, which had occurred by the early 1860's. The Union site had a large population during the fishing season, although there is no sizable stream in the vicinity. This was probably the summer settlement seen by Vancouver (1798:242). Informant HA was born here, about 1865.

112 citā'q^wəlqəl. A small cove and creek slightly more than 1/2 mile east of Union, on the south shore of the south arm of Hood Canal. A camping site.

113 sXpa'levaq, "go around, come back again." A cove and camping site between two points 1 mile and 1 1/2 miles, respectively, east of no. 111; "Toe Jam Cove."

114 ɬili'p'las, "brush hanging over." A cove ("Robin Hood Cove") and camping site with creek, around the point to the east of no. 113. The name also applied to territory along the beach for about 3/4 of a mile east of the head of the cove.

115 č'č'α'c'səd, "view across the canal" (?) (from č'c'ə'd, "crosswise"). Seattle Point and camping site, directly across the south arm of the canal from Sisters Point, at the narrowest part of the canal. Site of present Camp Hood. Also, territory east from this point for approximately 1 mile, west for 1/2 mile.

116 (Name not recalled.) Hillyer's Point, 1/2 mile east of Seattle Point (no. 115). This was a camping site.

117 x^wasa p, "long hip, hind quarters" (?). Patricia Beach, a straight stretch of shore about 1 mile long, east from no. 116. This was a camping site for clam digging.

118 *'a'k'xdi, "lots of elderberry bushes" (*'a'lxad, "elderberry"). A camping site and stretch of shore about 1 mile long, east of no. 117.

119 ha'caqs, "long point." A camping site on Lone Tree Point, Twanoh State Park. This was the center of a stretch of territory of the same name, which extended for approximately 1 mile along the canal shore on the south side of the south arm.

120 sxwq^we'lbəd (in rapid pronunciation, sxq^we'lbəd), "place to pull canoes up on land." A creek and camping site at the present Camp Moore, 1 mile east of Lone Tree Point (no. 119); also the neighboring shore territory.

121 ca'ca'βqo, "two creek mouths." Two creeks with adjoining camping site, 1 mile east of no. 120, and neighboring stretch of beach.

122 (Name not recalled.) The bay, its shore territory, and a camping site at Happy Hollow.

123 bəsta'b-aɪ, "having red paint." A straight beach, 1 1/4 miles long, starting at the western end from a point about 3 miles east of Lone Tree Point (no. 119) in a straight line, 3/4 mile east of no. 121. Here red clay, used for paint (ta'b-aɪ), oozed through the ground.

124 duscu'x^w. Sunset Beach, a long sand point with lagoon, on the south shore of the south arm of Hood Canal, a little over 4 miles east in a direct line from Lone Tree Point (no. 119). This was a camping site with fine herring and salt-water salmon fishing. According to HA herring turned up here again, after many years' absence, in the spring of 1939.

125 pa'l'ci, "make with hand." A stretch of shore extending east 1 1/4 miles from a point slightly over 1/4 mile east of site no. 124. On the beach occur clay or chalk concretions resembling men, porpoises, balls, etc. Transformer (du'k^wibaɪ) made these as he passed this way.

126 sča-uqs, "where the trail comes out to the beach" (cf. no. 175). A small bay and creek at the eastern limit of no. 125. This was the Hood Canal end of a trail leading south, past Lake Devereaux, to the Squaxon village dusk^wa'x^wsəd at Allyn on Case Inlet.

127 dusk^wa'x^wsədal (diminutive of dusk^wa'x^wsəd; see no. 126). A camping site immediately east of no. 126, and adjacent stretch of shore territory east to the head of Hood Canal.

128 dux^wle'lap, "place at the farthest-in tail end (of the water)." (The word is said to contain a Puget Sound stem le'l, "far, far in," plus Twana formatives dux^w-, a prefix common on names of places, and -ap, "tail, head of inlet.") An extended-area term for all the territory at the head of Hood Canal; in specific reference, the actual end of the inlet, the mouth of the Union River.

129 dux^wle'lapkɔ (qɔ'), "fresh water, stream"; see no. 128). The Union River. There was no settlement on this stream; its mouth is swampy, with extensive mud flats.

130 bask^wa'x^wc, "having silver salmon." The north branch of the Union River, debouching from the left as one goes upstream. This is the first large fork in the river, about 1/4 mile upstream from the point where the highway crosses.

131 bāsc'ä'wɔɣ, "having black bear" (cf. no. 177). Bear Creek, the first branch stream to the left, going up no. 130. The entire drainage area of the Union River was Twana berrying and hunting territory, as far as the Black Hills back of Bremerton. The latter were termed ba'ba'dɔt, diminutive of sba'dɔt, "mountain."

North Shore of South Arm (132-151)

132 slɔ'ɪqc' (from ɪɔlqay, "thimbleberry bush"). A stretch of shore on the north side of the south arm of Hood Canal, extending west about 1/2 mile from a point 1/2 mile west of the mouth of the Union River (no. 129).

133 dux^wk'u'k^wašs, "where they eat backbones of salmon" (from k'uk'u'b, "eat salmon backbone"; k'uk'u'k^w, "salmon backbone"). Winter village at the mouth of Big Mission Creek, home of the čx^wle'lap, "people of dux^wle'lap" (no. 128), or Duhlelap Twana. This group supposedly originated as migrants from the Skokomish River village xc'a'yay (see no. 22). If reference were specifically to their winter village residence, these people could also be termed ctdux^wk'u'k^wašs.

134 pəl'q^wap, "water boiling far in" (pəl'q^wad, "boil"; -ap, "tail, head of bay"). Little Mission Creek, emptying on the north side of the south arm of Hood Canal, 1/4 mile west of no. 133. Springs bubble up in the water here at the mouth of the creek.

135 sk'ɔl'ä', "bogey man, dangerous being." A stretch of shore territory about 1/2 mile long, running west from a point 1/4 mile west of no. 133. The chief feature of this country was a small, dense fir forest, home of a band of tɔbta'ba^w dwarfs, or "little earths" in informants' English. From the village at no. 133 the Duhlelap people could see the shadow flares of these dwarfs as they went out at night

in canoes to spear ducks. Human beings had to wait until the dwarfs had finished hunting before they went out themselves, or they would have no luck. There was an old canoe here on the beach, that the dwarfs used; if pushed out from shore, the dwarfs would bring it back to the same place. HA suggested that the current probably was responsible. The Duhlelap Twana regarded the earth dwarfs at sk'αl.ä' as friendly neighbors; other people were afraid of them.

136 sk'wok'wō'x' (from k'wū'x'u'd, "hide, conceal"). A cove concealed behind two points, either a short distance west from, or actually in, the territory designated as site no. 135. Here was an earth-dwarf village; consequently human beings avoided using the site. In later days, when a white man, Cyclone Johnson, settled here, it was remarked that the "little earths" must have moved away like the Duhlelap Twana.

137 sk'wissa'í'. A long point 1 1/2 miles west of no. 134. The name also referred to adjoining territory, including a creek running into the canal just west of the point.

138 cc'αwāb (from asc'α'w, "shallow"). A stretch of shore over 1 mile long just west of no. 137. The name is puzzling, according to HA; the beach is steep, and there is an abrupt drop-off into deep water.

139 bəsqal-ä'wäd, "having a lagoon" (qalä'wäi, "lagoon"). A point and small lagoon 1 3/4 miles west of no. 137, with two small creeks immediately east of the point and a camping site on a clear, grassy place. Oysters were gathered in the lagoon. There was a reputed ancient (pre-nineteenth century) village site at the mouth of a creek 1/4 mile west of the point.

140 bəs.əl'α'x'walkut, "having rushes" (səl.α'x'walkut, a long, slim, round-stemmed rush growing in swampy ground, used for mats; not cattail), cf. no. 171. A small point 1 1/2 miles west of no. 139, with adjoining shore territory; the point was a camping site. Rushes were gathered there in swampy ground.

141 sk'afla'ləwǎč. A point 1 mile west of no. 140, with a creek immediately west of it; known to old residents of the area as "Fly-blow" or "Shoofly" Point. This was a camp site during the nineteenth century. Oysters were gathered in the lagoon behind the point, and pilchards (p'α'dʒs) used to come to the beach here in numbers. Traditionally, a winter village was once situated between the lagoon and the creek; it had not been inhabited within the memory of anyone living when HA was a boy, i.e., since about 1800. Many years ago HA and Mr. Ed Dalby of Union and Seattle excavated a small portion of the site and found it apparently stratified: 1 foot of broken shell and occupation debris, 6 inches of sterile soil, and a second lower and deeper layer of shell deposit (see Elmendorf, MS. b, item 48).

142 bəsc'w'Xe', "having madrona trees." A stretch of shore extending west about 1 1/2 miles, from a place a little west of no. 141. There were many madrona trees and a number of small streams along this shore. People camped, seasonally, here and there along the entire stretch.

143 q^wa'si', "smudge" (?). A point immediately west of no. 142; 2 miles in a direct line from the point of no. 141.

144 qačc' Xqačsətəbəs, "don't spear his face." A point with beach all around it, 3/4 mile west of no. 143. HA designated this as the easternmost of the three Sisters points. People never touched it when going past in a canoe, lest it storm (cf. no. 110).

145 (Name not recalled.) A point designated by HA as "Middle Sisters Point"; slightly over 1/4 mile west of no. 144. There was a graveyard here, used presumably by the Tahuya people.

146 x⁽ⁱ⁾aq'šed, "foot going ashore" (i.e., landing place). Sisters Point, 1/2 mile west of no. 145, on the north shore of the south arm of the canal at its narrowest section. This was a camping site.

147 ta.xu ya. (Not translatable; Eells' (1892:33) etymology as "that done" approaches the limit of implausibility.) A winter village at the present Tahuya, on the beach to the west of the mouth of the Tahuya River. According to HA the houses here were burned when the Skokomish reservation was established (1859) and the people forced to move on to the reservation. The Tahuya Twana were designated as čtta.xu'ya.

148 ta.xu'yəlqo. The Tahuya River. Other grammatically possible but less common forms were ta.xu'yəlq³' and q³'as ta.xu'ya.

149 bəsqal.a'ci, "having black hand, having bad hand" (?). Lake Maggie, approximately 2 miles northwest of Tahuya (no. 147), in the Kitsap Peninsula. This was a tama'namis (Chinook Jargon for guardian spirit, or more generally, "supernatural") lake. Tamanamis horses were seen there on the shore; when approached they would go into the water and disappear.

150 q^wcq^wa'ca'X^w (from q^wca'X^w, "shove log or canoe"). A locality 1 mile west of Tahuya (no. 147) including: a steep beach and good landing place for canoes, from which they could be easily pushed down into the water; two small points or sandbars about 1/4 mile apart; and two creeks coming out on the points. A camping site. HA subsequently said that this was the name of a site on the west shore of the canal between nos. 39 and 40.

151 ay'u's, "good face" (-u's, "face, bluff"). Ayres Point (Bald Point), at the bend of Hood Canal, and territory for about 1/2 mile on either side of it. Clam digging was good to the east of the point.

East Shore of Hood Canal (152-179)

152 q^weq^we'elat (from q^wel' e'd, "scrutinize closely, look with hand shading eyes"; the sun shines in one's eyes at this site in the evening). Rendsland Creek (Dry Creek), to the north of no. 151, on the east shore of the main arm of Hood Canal, and a camping site at the mouth of the creek on its south side. The creek is said to contain water only in winter and spring, but to have a dog salmon run (!).

153 q^wəlq^we'li, "cedar trees" (first given by HA as bəsq^we'li, "having cedar tree"; cf. no. 26). Musqueti Point, 1/2 mile north of no. 152, and the nearby shore territory on either side of the point.

154 bəsda'k'əwəd, "having a harpoon." A point (sandbar) and small creek, about 1 mile north of no. 153. The term includes considerable territory on either side of the point. There was a graveyard here where, anciently, a porpoise hunter (sč'əc'u's) was buried with a harpoon (bə'k'əwəd) stuck upright beside his burial canoe.

155 hoho'bas, "face paint" (literally, "red face"). A bluff (Red Bluff) with red ochre showing in its face, 2 miles north of no. 153; the ochre would break off in lumps and fall to the beach. A creek runs out nearby, to the south. This was a camping site.

156 bəsaxa'dač (cf. no. 172). A small bay with a creek emptying into it, 2 miles north of no. 155, 1 mile south of no. 158. A camping site.

157 duwa'tx^wał (diminutive of name of site no. 158). A small bay and creek on the south side of the entrance to Dewatto Bay. A camping site.

158 duwa'tax^w (HA), du'wā'tax^w (FA). Dewatto Bay and creek. On the south side of the bay was a settlement, not occupied the year around. The site was used chiefly during the summer and fall fishing season, by people from all over the Hood Canal area.

159 duwa'tax^włq^w''. Dewatto Creek (HA); it was also called duwa'tx^wəlq^w' and q^w'as duwa'tax^w. (For linguistic form, cf. no. 148).

160 swā'txqo, "middle of the water, halfway down the water." A 10-mile-long stretch of shore from no. 158 north to Tekin Point (no. 165) or farther. People who camped along this shore in summer were called swā'txqvlbəs; they formed a purely geographical, not a social, grouping (cf. no. 176).

161 dux^wxa' b.d. A point 1 mile north of no. 158, in the territory designated by no. 160. HA specified as "the next point north of Dewatto."

162 a'ta k'w'cäd, "first-time menstruant" (literally, "she breaks a string in her back"). Capstan Rock, 3 1/2 miles north of no. 158, 2 1/2 miles north of no. 161; a hardpan column offshore, 30 feet or more in height. A girl was sent out to look for spirit power here in myth times, and was changed into this column by Transformer for some breach of taboo (Elmendorf, MS. a, item 5).

163 ʔ'æ'c'so-bəš, "porpoise spearmen, sea mammal hunters" (plural of sč'æ'c'u's, "professional sea mammal hunter"). A beach locality, "1 or 2 miles" south of Tekiu Point (no. 165), where a group of porpoise hunters who were breaching (q'w'su'wi'ɪ, charring and scraping canoe bottom) their canoes on the shore in the myth period were changed by Transformer into rocks with a black substance on them.

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

165 dušuyay, "wolf." Tekiu Point, 2 miles north of Holly. The map name, apparently bestowed by the Wilkes expedition in 1841, seems to represent the Puget Sound word stɬXqay, "wolf." Silver salmon gathered off the point in August and trolling for them was good throughout the fall.

166 ʔ'æ'p'cäd, "steep front" (ʔ'æ'p, "deep"). A camping site at Nellita, 1 1/2 miles north of no. 165. The tide beach here slopes off abruptly into the water.

167 t'o-laxw, "mussel flat" (t'a'w', "mussel"; or cf. st'ɔ', "herring"). A tideflat area given by HA as "1 mile north" of no. 165; more probably 1 mile south of Hoods Point (no. 168). A creek here runs out into the tideflat. Mussels were numerous here and were gathered at low tide.

168 duxw'hwɔ'Xq'w'bd, "place of humpback salmon." Hoods Point. Humpback salmon (hwɔ'Xq'w) gathered off the point every other year, in July and August, before running up the Duckabush River on the other side of the canal. They were taken off the point by trolling from canoes.

169 čti'was. Stavis Bay, 2 miles north of no. 168, and a creek emptying into it. At the mouth of the bay on its southwest side was a camping site. On the north side of the entrance to the bay is a landlocked lagoon, designated by the same name.

170 $y\acute{t}\alpha\acute{t}\text{-}a\acute{w}di$, "salmonberry place" (plural of $y\acute{t}\alpha\acute{w}di$, "salmonberry bush"). A locality on and near the shore, 1 mile north of no. 169, where salmonberries were obtained in abundance (Elmendorf, MS. b, item 48).

171 $b\acute{s}\text{-}\acute{e}k\acute{x}\acute{w}alk\acute{u}t$, "having rushes" (cf. no. 140). A small lagoon 1/2 mile or less south of Misery Point (no. 172). There was a temporary potlatch house of rush mats here at one time, but no winter settlement.

172 $dux\acute{w}\acute{a}x\acute{a}\text{-}d\acute{a}c$ (cf. no. 156). Misery Point, on the west side of the mouth of Seabeck Bay.

173 $\acute{I}q\acute{a}\text{-}ba\acute{X}q\acute{w}$ (HA), $\acute{I}q\acute{a}\text{-}baq\acute{w}$ (FA). Seabeck Bay and adjoining territory. There was a settlement 1 mile north of the head of the bay, at the present town of Seabeck, but this was probably postwhite in origin. Earlier, Twana of villages nos. 89 and 97 had summer camps in the locale.

174 $t\acute{q}\acute{a}\text{-}t\acute{s}\acute{a}\text{-}d$, "splatter, splashing." Beef Harbor and a creek at its head, 2 miles east (by north) in a direct line from no. 172. Over 1/2 mile northeast of the mouth of the harbor is a large rock (Lone Rock) out from shore, of the same name.

175 $s\acute{c}\acute{a}\text{-}\acute{u}q\acute{s}$, "where the trail comes out" (cf. no. 126). The Hood Canal end of a trail leading across the Kitsap Peninsula to Silverdale on Dye Inlet; the people at the latter place were $s\acute{X}\acute{a}\text{-}q\acute{t}\acute{a}b\acute{s}$, a Puget-Sound-speaking group. HA gave the locality as "4 miles north of Seabeck, 2 miles south of Bangor." While these distances do not check, I locate it tentatively at a little more than 2 miles south of Bangor, somewhat under 1/3 the distance between Bangor and Seabeck.

176 $s\acute{I}c\acute{a}\text{-}w\acute{k}\acute{s}$, "farthest down stretch" (from $\acute{I}c\acute{a}\text{-}w$, "farthest down the beach, farthest down the inlet"). The east shore of Hood Canal from Bangor (King Spit) north to Port Gamble. There were no permanent settlements along this stretch, but people camped here in summer, particularly during the late clam digging in August. These temporary sojourners were termed $s\acute{I}c\acute{a}\text{-}w\acute{k}\acute{s}b\acute{e}\acute{s}$; they formed no social unit, but were a mere seasonal aggregation of families from several Twana winter villages (cf. no. 160).

177 $b\acute{e}sc\acute{a}\text{-}\acute{a}\text{-}w\acute{e}d$, "having black bear" (cf. no. 131). Salsbury Point (?), 1 mile west of Port Gamble. HA said the name applied to three points south of Port Gamble, on one of which an Indian woman was living with a Chinese man.

178 dux^wk'e'lat (HA), dux^wk'e'latəd (FA). (On etymology HA remarked: "This sounds like a Puget Sound, not a Twana word; k'e'1 is Puget Sound for 'get to the top, get into smooth water,' and after you get into the bay here you lose the current; the Klallam name, nux^wk'e'd, 'nux^wk' i' yəD, sounds funny and doesn't mean anything in that language.") Port Gamble and surrounding territory, and particularly the Indian village "Boston" on the east shore of the entrance to the inlet, across from the town of Port Gamble. For many years this had a largely Klallam population, originally from Dungeness, Port Discovery, and Port Townsend, later from the new community at Jamestown. However, this Klallam settlement was postwhite in date and largely attracted by sawmill employment. According to HA the locality was in aboriginal times a Twana camping site; FA said that anciently the people here were Suquamish (swu'q'abš), later Klallam.

179 ha'dsqš, "long point" (literally, "long nose"; cf. no. 119. A Puget Sound, not a Twana, word). Point No Point, east of the entrance to Hood Canal. This was a Suquamish name and territory. HA thought that Foulweather Bluff, at the mouth of Hood Canal, was called qa'·bqəb, although not certain that the term was correct.

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