

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ASPECTS

OF

INDIAN-WHITE CULTURE CONTACT

IN

WESTERN WASHINGTON

IN

THE MID-19TH CENTURY

BY

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

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THE IDENTITY, TREATY STATUS, AND FISHERIES
OF THE QUINAULT TRIBE OF INDIANS

IDENTITY

The Quinault Tribe of Indians is composed of descendants of the 1855 occupants of villages situated on creeks and rivers in the territory bounded on the north by the Queets River system and on the south by the north shore of Gray's Harbor on the Pacific slope of the Olympic Peninsula in Washington.

All of these people spoke a single language, shared the same culture, and used a common territory. These bonds of language, culture, and territory served to identify them as a group and set them apart from their neighbors who spoke different languages and whose cultures varied in certain important respects from their own.

The Quinault language belongs to a very large linguistic stock known as Coast Salish. All of the immediate neighbors of the Quinault spoke languages of the Coast Salish stock except for the people directly north along the coast. The Hoh River people spoke Quileute as did their neighbors along the Quileute River system. The Quileute language belongs to a completely different linguistic stock, Chemakuan, and the languages

of this stock are mutually unintelligible with Coast Salish languages. Unless he were bilingual, a Quinault speaker could no more understand a Quileute speaker than an English speaking person could understand Finnish.

Within the Coast Salish linguistic stock, the Quinault language is most closely related to the Lower Chehalis language spoken on the lower portion of the Chehalis River and at some of the villages on Gray's Harbor.

George Gibbs, who served as secretary to the 1855 treaty council on the lower Chehalis River commented on the linguistic closeness of the Quinault and Lower Chehalis.

The Kwinautl, of which tribe the Kwo hts-hu form part, were present at the council. This tribe speak little more than a dialect of the Lower Tsihalis tongue.

(Gibbs 1877:172)

Gibbs evidently was impressed with the degree to which Quinault speakers were able to understand Lower Chehalis. Elmendorf (1960:280) has commented with respect to Gibbs' statement

Seemingly wide lexical differences have gone hand in hand here with partial intelligibility.

Contemporary linguists classify the Quinault and Lower Chehalis as separate, albeit closely related languages. Elmendorf (1969:225) concludes that Quinault and Lower Chehalis form a sub-group within the Olympic branch of Coast Salish languages.

Although there is no problem in distinguishing Quinault from Lower Chehalis linguistically, it is not quite clear where the 1855 geographic boundaries between these two languages should be drawn. Presently available documentary evidence leaves some doubt as to whether inhabitants of villages on the Hoquiam River, Chenois Creek, and the Humptulips River spoke Lower Chehalis or Quinault.

Gibbs (1854:435) located the Chehalis on Gray's Harbor and the Chehalis River and the Quin-aitl, &c on the coast from Gray's Harbor northward. Presumably he included the Copalis on the coast as Quinault. Modern tribal and linguistic maps do likewise.

The position of the Humptulips and Hoquiam is somewhat less clear. Gibbs (1877:171) wrote as if all of the settlements on Gray's Harbor in 1855 were Chehalis, but defined Lower Chehalis in such a way as to omit apparently all villages on the north side of the harbor west of the Wishkah River.

The name Chihalis, or Tsihalis, strictly belongs to the village on the beach at the entrance of Gray Harbor. The word itself signifies sand. It has, however, now become applied to all the bands inhabiting the bay and river. The Lower Tsihalis, or those from the mouth of the Satsop down, including the villages on the Whishkah and Wanulchi, and the few on Shoalwater Bay, numbered in all but 217.

Gibbs' failure to mention specifically the Hoquiam, Humptulips, and Chenois Creek people leaves them in somewhat of a limbo. The villages were extant at the time of Gibbs' visit in February 1855 and he was able

to draw on the knowledge of local white residents like James Swan as well as upon that of Indians who were present at the treaty council. It is not likely, in my opinion, that the omission derived from ignorance. Either Gibbs meant to exclude these people from the Lower Chehalis category or else the omission was inadvertant.

As his statement stands, Gibbs appears to draw the western boundary of Lower Chehalis between the Wishkah and the Hoquiam and to exclude the Hoquiam, Chenois Creek and Humptulips people from the Lower Chehalis group.

Hodge (1907:241) lists the Hoquiam and Humptulips as subdivisions of Lower Chehalis.

Edward Curtis, in volume nine of his voluminous work entitled "The North American Indian", described Quinault territory as extending from the Hoquiam River west to the coast.

The territory occupied by the Quinault tribes extends along the coast from Hoquiam river to Queets river. The principal tribe is the Quinault proper (Cht qinaihl), living at the mouth of the river of that name, and the application of the term has been so extended by the whites as to include all the people using the same dialect.¹

¹In the three settlements on the north shore of Grays harbor, -- Hoqiamk, Humtulips, and Qiyaanuhl (Damon's Point), -- as well as in Kpels (Copalis) on the coast, the language possessed a difference noticeable to the Quinault proper. The variation however is negligible.

(Curtis 1913:9)

Curtis' statement deals directly with the Humptulips and Hoquiam

settlements and includes them as part of Quinault territory. Unfortunately, we do not know the basis for the claim. Curtis visited the Quinault circa 1910 and presumably the statement is based on information collected at that time. Curtis was not a trained field ethnologist. In my opinion, his statement cannot be accepted or rejected without further documentation. Similarly, he was not a trained linguist. Without knowing upon what data he based his comments concerning dialect difference, they can be neither accepted uncritically nor rejected out of hand. Until evidence one way or the other is produced, Curtis' assertion that the Humptulips and Hoquiam are Quinault must be noted but cannot be taken as proved.

Swanton (1952:415) locates the Chehalis on the Chehalis River and part of Gray's Harbor and says

Connections.-- The Chehalis belonged to the coastal division of the Salishan linguistic family, being most intimately related to the Humptulips, Wynoochee, and Quinault.

Ronald Olson, the ethnographer of the Quinault, testified at the Indian Claims Commission hearings that the Hoquiam and Humptulips might have belonged tribally with the Quinault, but that information concerning these two groups was too sparse to document a firm opinion (Tr. p. 602).

Culturally, the Quinault and their neighbors in all directions were members of what is known to anthropologists as "The Northwest Coast culture area." Cultures along the Pacific coast from southeastern Alaska to northwestern California share certain basic features of

economy, social organization, and technology which contrast with those of their neighbors in the interior. Basically, the area is characterized by a salmon economy, high development of woodworking, social stratification based on birth and wealth, and widely shared values stressing industriousness and liberality. Despite the core similarities over the larger culture area, local cultures were identifiably distinct.

Quinault culture can be briefly distinguished from that of the Quileute-Hoh to the north by citing features which were present in one culture and lacking in the other.

Both groups built large rectangular multi-family dwellings of adzed cedar planks. Among the Quinault these were gable-roofed, but among the Quileute-Hoh a different architectural plan was followed and the houses were shed-roofed, having a single pitch.

Both the Quileute-Hoh and the Quinault depended upon river-run salmon for their food staple, but among the northern group whale hunting was also an important part of the economy. Whale hunting was not entirely absent among the Quinault, but only a few men among them were whale hunters.

In Quinault mythology xwoni xwoni and misp are central myth figures, whereas among the Quileute their place is taken by qwati, who is also prominent in Makah tales.

Differences between the culture of the Quinault and that of their Coast Salish neighbors to the south and southeast were of a lesser order of difference. There was more frequent and intensive contact to the

south, at least in the early decades of the nineteenth century. Inland trails connected villages on the north side of Gray's Harbor with the Quinault River. Both language and geography made communication with neighbors to the south and southeast easier than with the Quileute speakers to the north.

The relatively greater contact in these directions resulted in greater cultural interchange among the Quinault and neighboring Coast Salish groups like the Lower Chehalis.

Very little ethnographic information has been recorded which specifically related to the Hoquiam-Humptulips-Chenosis Creek region where Lower Chehalis and Quinault culture meet on the north side of Gray's Harbor. Wherever the boundary between the two existed in 1855, it is not likely that cultural differences were as sharply defined at this border as they were in the north.

Historical references to the area in question are not particularly enlightening in part because of the way in which native names were used to designate native groups. In an unpublished manuscript, Gibbs noted the way in which native names were used by the Indians themselves in the mid 1850's.

It is to be observed in regard to Indian nomenclature, that there are rarely if ever names covering any extent of country or the whole course of a stream nor do they among themselves recognize tribal names as belonging to themselves, except where they have been in communication with the whites, each village or band having its own particular designation to which

they always refer themselves. In speaking of others, however, they often apply an appellation which may be considered generic, except that in speaking of the territory of another people they might say for instance, "in the Chehalis country" Almost every noticeable point has its local appellation, and in conversation among themselves they refer to these. Rivers of any size will be spoken of as "the river", "the stream", at such a place on its banks. So too in speaking of themselves they generally refer to the particular village where they live; tribal names being more often applied to other people.

(Gibbs NAA Envelope 704 A)

Gibbs' unpublished note concerning the native use of native names is corroborated independently and consistently in the works of later investigators.

Western Washington Indians in the early decades of the nineteenth century used local village names when identifying themselves and generic names when referring to Indians of other groups. These generic names usually referred to clusters of villages along a river or along an ocean shore. The designation did not imply political discreteness, nor cultural or linguistic disparity. Thus the fact that Humptulips was used as a generic name to refer to several villages along the Humptulips River does not necessarily imply that these villages formed a distinctive political or cultural unit.

Gibbs used many of these generic designations as tribal or band names for the purpose of treaty making, but in so doing he created fictive political units which had no basis in native society.

TREATY STATUS

Governor Stevens met with representatives of the Quinault and other groups in February 1855 on the lower Chehalis River near Gray's Harbor. The council broke up after a week without successfully concluding a treaty.

Gibbs' minutes of the treaty council do not serve to clarify the relationship of the people on the north side of Gray's Harbor with either the Quinault or the Lower Chehalis. On the one hand it seems clear that Gibbs meant to include them with one or the other group. He listed the tribes present at the council as Upper Chehalis, Lower Chehalis, Quinaintl and SubBand Kwihtsa, Lower Chinooks and Cowlitz and noted that except for the Upper Chinooks and certain Klikatats this was thought to subsume all the tribes of the area. He then continued

It was now however found that the Quinalts did not occupy the whole country between the Chihalis and the Makahs, but that another and distinct tribe, the Kwillehyutes were intermediate.

As the Quilleute are north of the Quinault, the above statement makes it appear that Gibbs considered the Quinault to abut the Chehalis on the south. Taken together, the two statements leave no tribal lacunae at Gray's Harbor. The speeches of eighteen named Indians are reported in the minutes and most of them are identified by one of the five tribal names listed above. Two speakers are identified merely as belonging to the "north side of Gray's Harbor." It is unclear why they are not

identified by either a tribal designation (either Quinault or Lower Chinook) or by local stream or village name.

Almost all of the Indian spokesmen insisted on retaining their fisheries. Some were also concerned about pasture for their horses, the right of taking whales that washed up on the beach, and retention of their cranberry bogs. Several were unwilling to sign a treaty without knowing at what place the reservation would be situated. The Quinault signed, and others indicated their willingness to do likewise, but Governor Stevens declined to conclude the treaty as he was unable to persuade all the tribes to accede to his proposals.

Later the same year, M. T. Simmons met with the Quinault and the Quileute on their home grounds and concluded a treaty with them. In his report to Stevens dated December 30, 1855 Simmons stated

July 1st Made a treaty with the Kwillehyute and Kwinaiatl tribes and Huh- and Qui-elts band of the latter.

This treaty was executed by Stevens in Olympia, Washington on January 25, 1856. It was ratified March 8, 1859.

The preamble to the treaty lists as parties other than the United States

the undersigned chiefs, headmen, and delegates of the different tribes and bands of the Qui-nai-elt and Quil-leh-ute Indians. . .

Thirty-one Indian signatories are listed at the close of the treaty document. Three of these are listed as Quil-ley-hute, two as

Qui-nite-'l, and none of the remaining twenty-six signers is identified as to tribe or band affiliation.

Ronald Olson collected extensive genealogical data at Tahola during the years 1925-27. He was able to identify two of the signers as Quinault from the Copalis area and one as a Quinault from the Queets River. (Olson Tr. 498-499)

Because the treaty document does not specify the tribes and bands represented other than the Quinai-elt and Quil-leh-ute, it is unclear how many of the villages on the north shore of Gray's Harbor are included in the treaty as tribes or bands of the Quinault.

THE PLACE OF FISHING IN QUINAULT CULTURE

Salmon (including steelhead) were the most important single source of food for the Quinault. Olson (1936:26) reported

Fish was the one dietary staple of the Quinault. Although a variety of species were relatively abundant in both salt and fresh waters, the salmon was the only one of great importance.

All five species of salmon were available in Quinault waters, but the sockeye were only found in the Quinault River. According to Olson (1936:26) the sockeye run was the most important in terms of numbers of fish taken.

The blueback run was the most important, the number taken probably being as great as the combined number of the other three species. In flavor and fatness they are justly regarded as greatly superior to the huge black salmon, the silvers, and dog salmon.

The superior quality of Quinault River sockeye has been noted by almost every writer dealing either with the Quinault area or with the subject of salmon on the Pacific coast since the 1850's.

James Swan, an early resident at Willapa Bay (then Shoalwater Bay) visited the Quinault River in July 1854, one of the first white men to do so. His comments attest to the regard in which Quinault River sockeye were held at that time by neighboring Indians.

Early in the spring, a species of small salmon enter this river, which are justly celebrated among all the Indians for their superior richness of flavor. This variety is from fourteen to twenty inches in length, rarely exceeding two feet, and weighs from five to ten pounds.

(Swan 1857:263)

George Gibbs, writing in 1855, makes it evident that the Quinault sockeye were prized by the whites as well as the Indians. Having earlier noted that the spring salmon are the only ones prized as food by the whites, he continues

It seems that the spring salmon ascend only those rivers which take their rise in snow or which are subject to spring freshets. Thus they are found in the Sacramento, the Klamath, the Columbia, and in the Kwinaiutl, where there is a variety considered the finest on the coast.

(Gibbs 1877:195)

Because they were so highly regarded by both Indians and whites as a food fish and because they were unavailable elsewhere on this part of the coast, the sockeye formed a major item of Quinault trade and commerce in the mid-nineteenth century.

The export of Quinault River sockeye to the Makah is noted in the following passage. The time period involved is clearly subsequent to 1811 when the Pacific Fur Company, under the leadership of John Jacob Astor, established a trading post at the site of the present Astoria, Oregon.

Trade was carried on by the Quinault principally with the Makah and the Chinook. The former came down from the north in their great ocean-going canoes to exchange slaves, dried halibut steaks, whale meat and blubber, strings of dentelium shells, and large canoes, for dried blueback salmon, paint, camas, elk-tallow to be used as an unguent, and beads, blankets and guns obtained by the Quinault from the Chinook at the mouth of the Columbia.

(Curtis 1913:11)

Elsewhere, writing of the Quilleute, the same author records that the Quilleute also traded for Quinault salmon. The reference is clearly to the sockeye (blueback).

The principal trade relations of the Quilliute were with their immediate neighbors on the north and south. The Makah and Ozette brought to them dentelium shells and blankets of the Hudson's Bay Company in exchange for camas, whale oil, and dried whale flesh, which in turn they carried northward to Vancouver Island. The shells and blankets were taken southward by the Quilliute to the Quinault and exchanged for the highly prized salmon of that tribe.

(Curtis 1913:145)

The amount of trade in Quinault River sockeye to white buyers in the pre-treaty era is difficult to assess. Clearly the Quinault salmon were widely known to the whites and highly valued. As there was no access to the Quinault River by ship or road, it seems clear that the

Quinault must have been transporting the salmon by canoe to centers such as Gray's Harbor or Willapa Bay from which they could be shipped to more distant markets.

In a report on the fishes collected during the Pacific Railroad Survey, Suckley (1860:323) included the following

Dr. Cooper furnishes me with the following notes concerning a salmon, which he has had many opportunities of observing while residing near the Columbia river:

"The name of this salmon is evidently a corruption of that by which the Indians distinguish a small river north of Chehalis, and which is celebrated among them for the excellence of its salmon. As pronounced by them, it is Quinai-ult. I have eaten fish from there smoked and also salted, but never saw one fresh."

The notes continue with comparison of the Quinault River salmon with specimens collected elsewhere and speculation as to whether this is a distinct species, the Indians contending that this superior salmon is found in the Quinault River only.

Dr. James Cooper, surgeon and naturalist to the Pacific Railroad Survey, arrived at Shoalwater Bay in the spring of 1853 and remained there until February 1855. Evidently he sampled Quinault salmon during that period. The salmon must have been brought south by Indians as almost no whites had visited Quinault territory at that time.

Cooper's note is intriguing in that it documents the fact that the Quinault salmon were arriving at Shoalwater Bay in salted state at that early date. The curing of salmon by salting them was not an aboriginal

preservation method. Salting of fish was introduced by the whites and it was taken up by many Indians. It did not supplant the native curing processes such as drying and smoking, but was added to the repertoire of curing techniques. It may have been adopted in order to provide greater variety in the ubiquitous salmon diet.

In the present instance it is possible that the new technique was adopted in order to cater to the growing export market among the whites. If the Quinault were salting the salmon where they caught them, they must have imported both salt and barrels with which to put up the fish. Both articles, as well as opportunity to learn the new curing technique, were available at no great distance at that time.

The Quinault regularly traveled to the Columbia to trade. A number of white fisheries were already established there salting salmon for export and employing Indian labor.

At Shoalwater Bay a thriving export trade in oysters to San Francisco had already been established for several years. Salt and barrels from San Francisco could be brought in on the return voyage and then taken by canoe from Shoalwater Bay to Gray's Harbor.

Alternatively, the materials could have been procured even nearer to home at Gray's Harbor. A man named Brunn had a fishery in operation there in 1853.

At the abortive treaty council held near Gray's Harbor in February 1855, much of the Indian discussion and resistance related to retaining control of their fisheries. In the official minutes of

the Quinault treaty proceedings, Governor Stevens referred to the present and future importance of the Indian sale of salmon to whites.

You know there are a number of streams north of Gray's Harbor. On the Copalis there is a prairie. Now there used to be twice as many Indians as there are here north of there, and they could not sell Salmon, Oysters and Cranberries to the Settlers for there were none. Well you can now not only sell these things but you will besides be furnished yearly with clothing, tools etc.

Whatever the importance of the white market to the Quinault at treaty times, it is clear that sockeye were a major item in their trade relations with other Indians.

The value of the Quinault fishery in terms of commercial sales to non-Indians is attested by the fact that a man named McGee attempted to establish a fishery at the mouth of the Quinault River by 1860. He had a boat built at Chehalis, imported salt and seines from California, and employed a cooper to make barrels for him. His claim was appropriated by the government when the land was taken for the Quinault Indian reservation. In the ensuing suit for damages, a number of witnesses testified as to the value of the fishery. In a sworn deposition, George Wood testified that

The locality is very valuable on account of the superior quality of the salmon there found and because of the length of time when fish can be taken there.

(NA M234 Roll 909)

Salmon and steelhead were staples in the Quinault diet. Olson (1936:26) reported with respect to the Quinault River that

There is no month in the year in which salmon or steelhead may not be taken with varying success.

He noted that steelhead did not run in as great numbers as the salmon and therefore could not have contributed greatly to the food supply.

While steelhead may have contributed less than salmon insofar as bulk is concerned, steelhead eggs were a highly prized ingredient in the native dietary. Willoughby, who served as Indian agent among the Quinault 1884-1887, had this to say:

Many varieties of salmon taken from the Quinault River form the principal food of this tribe. When fresh it is eaten boiled, or roasted by fastening a stick set firmly in the ground and slanting towards the fire. The Indians also dry and salt their salmon. Salmon eggs, from the large "steel-head" are taken from the fish and packed without salt or cleansing in boxes or barrels until the latter are filled. They are then left to ferment and swell, in many cases bursting the packages. The eggs become indescribably putrid and at last solidify, so that they may be cut like cheese. They are thus considered deliciously "ripe" and fit for food.

(Willoughby 1886:269)

Olson (1936:40) provides additional information relating to the use of salmon eggs in Quinault cuisine. Speaking of salmon generally, and without specifying species, he noted

The eggs were spread out to dry for a time, then stored in a black salmon or seal bladder, which was hung up to dry. In time the eggs formed a sort of "cheese." The fresh eggs of black salmon were sometimes sprinkled in hot ashes, allowed to roast a few minutes, then dusted off and eaten. The milt of the salmon was roasted in hot ashes and eaten.

According to Olson, only the entrails and gills of the salmon were not

eaten. His term "black salmon" refers to Chinook (*O. tshawytscha*).

Fermented salmon eggs are no longer a common item in the Quinault diet. The milt of salmon are still eaten, but it is pan fried rather than roasted in ashes.

Salmon were taken by a variety of techniques depending upon water and weather conditions. The major taking techniques included harpooning, gaffing, dip nets, drift nets, and weirs. Quinault gear have been described and depicted in a number of publications, but the use of the gear is nowhere better summarized than in the following brief passage by Curtis.

In September and October the black salmon appear in the river, which at that season is so low that one can wade across it at its mouth, and the men speared them as they entered the stream. Toward the end of October and throughout the following month silver-side salmon were taken in dip-nets. The river being now swollen from the autumnal rains, the fishermen walked along the banks, permitting the net at the end of a long pole to drift down with the current, and hauling it whenever a salmon swam into it. December and January are the months for steelhead trout, which were taken by means of a drift-net stretched between two canoes floating down stream, each craft being occupied by two men, one to paddle and steer and the other to handle the net. Finally, about the end of January and continuing until the middle of June, but attaining its maximum in May, comes the run of blue-back salmon. Far and wide among the Indians of western Washington Quinault river is famous for the superior quality of the bluebacks it yields. They were caught in dip-nets until about the first of May, when the water had so far subsided as to permit the building of weirs.

(Curtis 1913:9-10)

Most of the salmon taken in the Quinault River were taken at the weirs. Olson (1936:13) reports that

Villages a few miles apart were clustered along its course, the sites being chosen largely on the basis of feasibility of erecting a salmon weir.

Not every village had a salmon weir. Appendix 1 attached to this report shows the location of villages and fish traps (or weirs) along the Quinault River. Four of the villages are noted therein as not having weirs at the village site. In addition to those specifically mentioned therein, it should be noted that the villages near the mouth of the river at the present site of Tahola did not have weirs. Olson (1936:26) mentions that at kwi nai only harpoons and dip nets were employed.

Both Curtis and Olson record data concerning ownership and control of weir sites and weir fishing. Curtis collected his information about 1912.

The right to obstruct the river with a fish-weir was hereditary, and the locations, during the season of weir fishing, were practically the private property of the fortunate possessors. Naturally the location nearest the sea was far the most favorable, inasmuch as few fish could ascend above it when the traps at that point were closed. When the owner of a weir and the families of his dependents had taken all the salmon their temporary needs demanded, the gates were opened and the fish were free to ascend to the next barrier.

(Curtis 1913:10)

It is evident that sufficient numbers of salmon either burrowed under the weirs or were permitted to pass through to enable escapement for spawning

purposes and for supply of up-river people. About 40 villages are located on the map in Appendix 1, all of them on the Quinault River. Olson has estimated that perhaps twenty of these were inhabited at a given time. He also notes that some of the larger villages had two or three weirs.

Olson's data on weir ownership and control were collected at Tahola in 1925-27.

To the casual observer the main evidences of human occupancy at such a village consisted in the houses themselves, the anchored canoes, and the salmon weir stretching fence-like across the stream in front of the village. To the inhabitants themselves the weir was the most important feature of the village. Upon its construction and maintenance depended the very existence of the villagers. Like the houses, it was built by community effort. It was owned by the community and maintained by community effort. At intervals along the weir were fishing platforms where the fishermen stood in manipulating the dip nets. Each head of a family (or each household) had his platform where he fished year after year and where his father had fished before him. The village "chief" usually controlled the rights to the platform most favorably located, where the water was deep.³⁹

³⁹ Although in theory these platform locations were owned by individuals, it was seldom so in practice. The eldest son merely inherited the right as a trustee. His brothers shared in it. It was at best an indefinite type of individual ownership. Besides it was impossible for one person to man the platform both day and night during the fishing season, so two or more men shared the labor and the catch.

It is evident from Olson's footnote comments that he has difficulty reconciling the concept of individual ownership with shared use rights. The situation he describes for the Quinault appears to be similar to that reported for the Skokomish and other western Washington groups. Resource-

producing gear or locations were vested in individual named owners who exercised stewardship over the property. Unfortunately, Olson does not appear to have collected information relating to transfer of ownership, trespass, rent, or other criteria which might elucidate the Quinault concept of ownership. It is now too late to obtain this sort of data.

Numerous ritual observances surrounded the taking and consumption of salmon, particularly at early stages of the run. The Quinault observed the first salmon ceremony, avoided ritual contamination of the river by excluding the parents of newly born twins, menstruants, and others for varying lengths of time. Salmon had to be cut with a mussel shell knife in a particular way. These and associated ideas had as their aim respect for and proper treatment of the salmon so that the runs would continue to return to the river. The disposition of salmon hearts was a particularly critical matter. If they came into contact with someone who had handled a corpse recently, or if they were deposited in proximity to a graveyard, it was thought that the salmon run would be interrupted. The Quinault recognized their great dependence upon salmon and their great concern was to ensure that this fish continued to return to their waters in large numbers.

Today Quinault fishermen still bring home the first salmon of the season and it is baked whole and consumed by the family. Salmon hearts are not eaten, and care is taken to ensure that they are not disposed of where dogs may eat them.

Olson (1936:26) expressed eloquently the place of salmon in Quinault culture when he wrote

The run of salmon, past, present, or prospective, was the year-round subject of discussion among them, just as the wheat crop is the focal point of interest in a North Dakota farming community.

USUAL AND ACCUSTOMED FISHING PLACES

Quinault fisheries included the following rivers and streams: Clearwater, Queets, Salmon, Quinault (including the lake and upper tributaries), Moclips, Copalis, and Joe Creek.

People who were temporarily considered to be in a ritually impure condition avoided the Quinault River so as not to endanger the salmon runs. Parents of newly born twins, and pubescent girls, from villages at the mouth of the Quinault normally resided for a period of time at Moclips and used the river there.

The largest number of villages was located along the Quinault River from near the mouth to above the lake. Most of these villages were associated with weirs, but at the mouth of the river and at the tributaries above the lake fish were speared.

The map in Appendix 1 showing village and fish trap locations was prepared by Dr. Verne Ray, on the basis of all available documentary data. Dr. Ray personally visited most of the sites on foot and by canoe in the company of Quinault Indians in order to verify the accuracy of

the locations.

In addition to the streams mentioned above, the Quinault shared fisheries with other Indians at Gray's Harbor, where they took various saltwater species, particularly flat fishes which frequent the bay.

The Quinault also shared fisheries in streams draining into Gray's Harbor, especially the Humptulips, Chenois Creek and Hoquiam. Near the mouths of these streams were excellent areas for collecting marine plants used in basketry and other textile work. Some Quinault undoubtedly shared fishing in the Satsop, Wynoochie, and other neighboring streams, based on kinship ties resulting from intermarriage between Lower Chehalis groups and the Quinault.

In historic times, after the founding of Astoria, the Quinault traveled to the Columbia to trade. Undoubtedly some fishing occurred on these trading expeditions.

In their whaling, surf smelting and other ocean fisheries, the Quinault used the waters adjacent to their territory, primarily from the Queets River area south to Gray's Harbor.

While the foregoing reflect the major fishing areas utilized by the Quinault at treaty times, the list is not necessarily complete, nor does it pretend to be exhaustive. More detailed information on fishing sites is included in Appendix 1 and Appendix 2. Detailed descriptions of gear are provided in Appendix 3.

CONCLUSIONS

1. The Quinault Tribe of Indians is composed primarily of descendants of the 1855 Quinault and associated bands, who were parties to the Treaty of Olympia, January 25, 1856. Additional western Washington Indians, parties to other treaties, were later allotted on the Quinault Reservation.
2. The principal fisheries of these people included the following rivers and streams: Clearwater, Queets, Salmon, Quinault (including the lake and upper tributaries), Moclips, Copalis, and Joe Creek. The Quinault also shared fisheries in Gray's Harbor and some of the streams draining into it. Ocean fisheries were utilized in the waters adjacent to their territory.
3. Fishing constituted the principal economic activity of the Quinault. Salmon and steelhead served as the principal food and as an important item of trade.
4. All five species of salmon and steelhead were taken in Quinault territorial waters.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1:

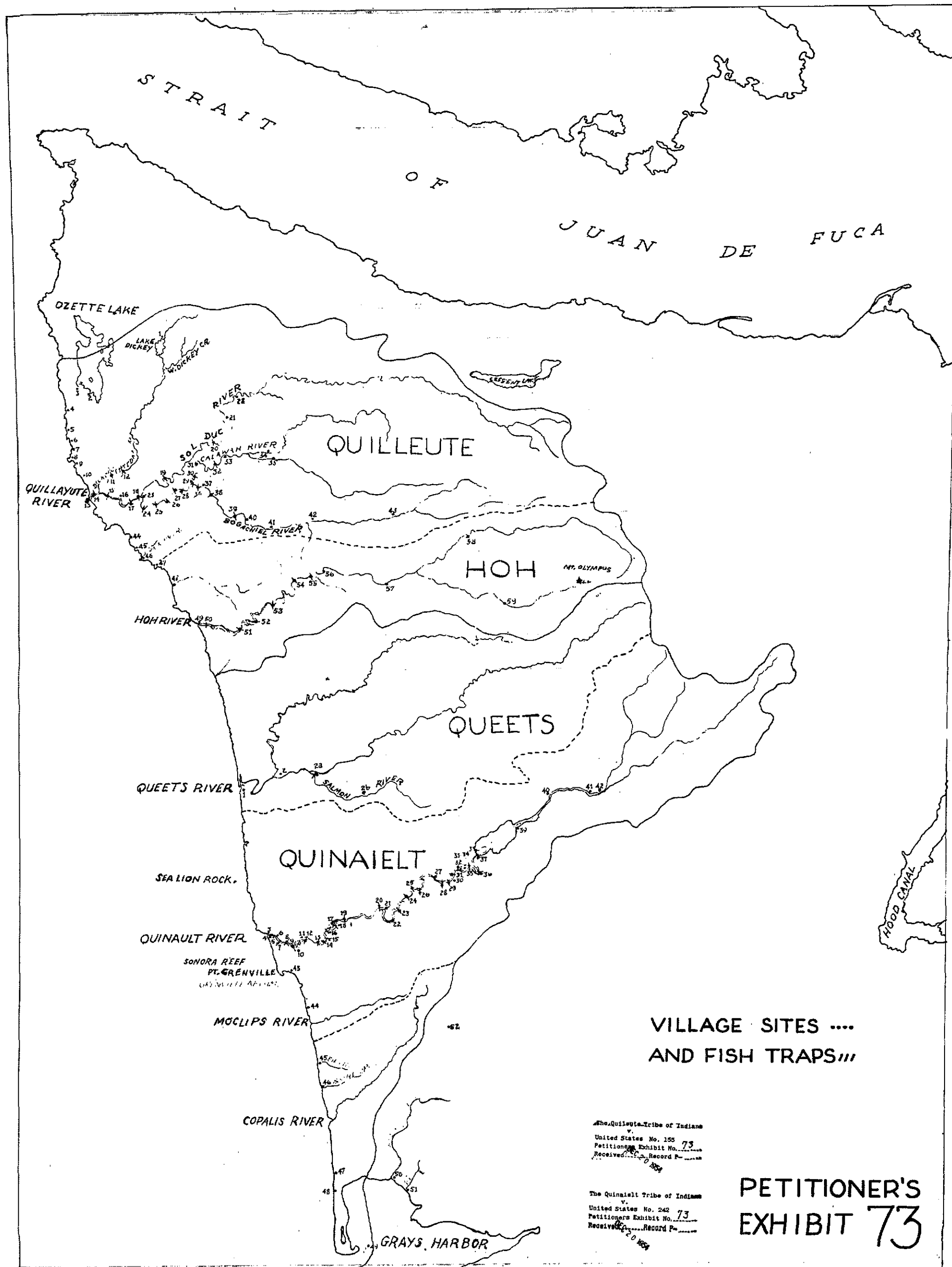
Indian Claims Commission Docket #242. Petitioner's Exhibit
73: Map of Village Sites and Fish Traps.
Indian Claims Commission Docket #242. Petitioner's Exhibit
73(a): Description of Quinault Villages shown on Petitioner's
Exhibit 73.

Appendix 2:

Swindell, E. G. Excerpts of Testimony Relating to Usual and
Accustomed Fishing Grounds taken at the Quinault Indian
Reservation, Washington, October, 1941.

Appendix 3:

Olson, Ronald L. Excerpts of Data on Fishing, including
drawings of fishing gear. The Quinault Indians. University
of Washington, Publications in Anthropology, Volume 6, No. 1,
1936.



VILLAGE SITES
AND FISH TRAPS///

The Quillaiute Tribe of Indians
v.
United States No. 155
Petitioners Exhibit No. 73
Received...Record P-...

The Quinalt Tribe of Indians
v.
United States No. 242
Petitioners Exhibit No. 73
Received...Record P-...

PETITIONER'S
EXHIBIT 73

DESCRIPTION OF QUINAULT VILLAGES SHOWN ON PET. EX. 73

1. *no'statzap*, "on the end of the point." This village was on the south side of the Queets River at the mouth. The neighboring settlement on the north side was called.
2. *q'wilsanett*. Situated between the Queets and Clearwater Rivers at the confluence.
- 2a. *tettle'ak*, "leaning tree." At the confluence of the Queets and Salmon Rivers.
- 2b. *tlilohlels*, "big rocks." On the Salmon River, several miles above the mouth.
3. *late'lap*, "on the bluff." Village of 3 or 4 houses on north bank at mouth of the Quinault River.
4. *me'tsugutsatan*, "middle of the point." Small village; south bank at mouth of the Quinault.
5. *hwi'nait*. Largest village; present site of Taholah.
6. *djexwells*, "round rock." North bank of the Quinault River about 400 rods above

NOTE: The following villages, through number 37, were located on the Quinault River, as indicated on the map. All of them were important fishing sites, each with its fish trap, except numbers 11, 30, 33 and 34.

7. *Kwataitumix*, "burned place." Village on south bank about 500 yards above
8. *no'sluk*, "deepwaters" or "Raven's house."
9. *no'skalan*, "where the whale." Village of 5 houses (1860), north bank, a few miles above
10. *noshtakos*, "water coming." Village of 2 or 3 houses, south bank, mile above
11. *djagaka'lmix*, "sand drifting (with the current) place." Large village, houses both sides of river.
12. South side close to #11
13. *la'lcit*, "vine maple place."
14. *pini'lhs*, "above the point."

15. he'cnit , "place of the monster," or
"place of the dead"; village of 2 houses.
16. la'e'lsint , "sea lion home place"; village of 2 houses.
17. t'o'nans , "logs floating"; small village.
18. nokedja'kt , "prairie," or , "gravel bar";
one of the largest villages. Trails led from here to the
Queets River, to Humptulips, and probably to Baker's prairie.
19. nosco'k , "get up"; small village.
20. nāgo'olatcān , "island there"; village of 4 houses.
21. Village, north bank a short distance above
22. nigwi'tān , "abundant food"; village at mouth of Cook
Creek. A very large village. Hunting, fishing, root-digging.
23. xāgwi'ctap , "hard grass."
24. xwakwā'h , "clean hill"; small village.
25. nomi'llostān , "shaking head"; small village.
26. k'wātai'tāmixw , "burned place."
27. sunusunu'xām , "roaring creek."
28. xwikwa'la , "long stretch (of river)."
29. māgwā'ksnit , "big nose place."
30. t'āmo'ulgutān , "stake there."
31. no'omo'fapcku.
32. tsimi'c .
33. xwakwānixāt- , "threw fish entrails away."
ctān
34. pot'e'iks , "on the point."
35. gutse'ips , "to cross the door."
36. a'alaltsis , "big place."

37. *tcit'āmo'sklāskilāt*, "village of see the lake."
38. Village on southwest bay of Lake Quinault; lake fishing and hunting.
39. *pina'ālat*, "upper lake"; village where upper river enters the lake; lake fishing and hunting.
40. *po'iles*, "crooked nose"; several small houses where people camped during salmon run; spear and net fishing.
41. *pino'tcāntā*, named for man named "Place for drying fish and meat; hunting base; spear and net fishing."
42. *mal'tnīx*, "sharp point place," or "to grind something place."
43. *ātsax*, "cove" or "pocket." A large and important settlement on the bay south of Point Grenville. Razer clams were obtained from this point to Grays Harbor, but not north of Point Grenville. This was a preferred location for gathering mussels. This was the closest place to the mouth of the Quinault River for the safe beaching of ocean-going canoes. A trail led to the mouth of the river. Visitors landed here to buy dried salmon of the choice Quinault River variety. A skid road of logs was permanently maintained from the nearby cedar forests to the beach so that large logs for canoe-making could be brought to the beach.
- 43a. (Omitted from map). *lu'u'mca't*. The village at the mouth of Wreck Creek, occupied primarily during the summer. From here a trail led to the root-digging grounds of Baker's Prairie.
44. *no'motapic*, "big creek." This village was noted as a level and protected site where the silver salmon fishing was excellent. The fish were taken principally by spearings. The location was at the former mouth of the Moclips River.
45. A village at the mouth of Elk Creek. See No. 46.
46. A village at the mouth of Boone Creek. This settlement and the preceding one were productive sites for clamming and surf fishing but they were most noted as bases from which root-digging was carried on in nearby Onslow Prairie.
- 46a. (Not mapped). *gop'iles*, "opposite the rock." This was a village favored for silver salmon fishing.

47. A village near the mouth of Connor Creek. Sea fishing and clamming site. Also, a small root-digging grounds nearby. A fairly populous village. Oil wells are now located at this site.
48. *no'shat*. A village near the site of present Damon. This was the most important clam-digging base of the Quinault.
49. A fishing camp on an island in Grays Harbor.
- Note: The following are outside the claimed area.
50. A village at the mouth of the Humptulips River.
51. *qi'esga'lux*. Village at the mouth of Chenois Creek.
52. Village at the present location of the town of Humptulips. An important root-digging site.

DESCRIPTION OF QUILEUTE VILLAGES
SHOWN ON PETITIONER'S EXHIBIT 73

1. q^udztoiqwax, "little lake." Permanent village site at north end of Lake Dickey. Used as a hunting camp.
2. q^u6.yatq^u. A fishing village at Bernestol Point, Lake Ozette. Blueback salmon were caught in the lake; not elsewhere available in this area.
3. xado/duk'o.t. A fishing village located on Allen Bay, Ozette Lake. Like the preceding, this was also a site from which fishing was carried on for the blueback salmon of Ozette Lake. A net suspended between two boats and used as a sweep net was the most productive method utilized in this place. The fish which were obtained were dried here, and then were taken to storage places. September was the most productive month.
4. kea-ialqu. At the site of present Swedish Memorial, on the coast opposite the lower end of Ozette Lake. This was a small settlement used as a whaling station and also as an intermediate point in the travel of parties from locations on the Quillayute River to the Ozette Lake fishing villages.
5. up'a/xabutsa/qu. This was a site from which the residents fished along the shore during the summer season. It was also an important hair sealing station. Permanent houses were located here.
6. tztz/st'. A whaling village about one mile southeast of Jagged Island.
7. aba'diq^u. A sea fishing village about one mile north of Cape Johnson.
8. q^udau'watq^u, "short beach." North side of Cape Johnson. A village used for whaling, bottom fishing, clam gathering and taking of other seafood.
9. Pa.ta/co.co'dox, Crescent Bay or Deep Bay, south of Cape Johnson. This site was noted for whaling. The residents also dug clams, did bottom fishing and obtained other kinds of sea food. A number of the living Quileute recall having visited or resided at this place in earlier days.
10. taq'wa.t. A fishing village located about three-fourths of a mile north of Ellen Creek.

11. k'udi'tqe'yat. A village and fish trap on the Dickey River about two miles below the mouth of Coal Creek.
12. Doho-ŷ da'tada. Located at the confluence of Coal Creek and Dickey River. A village and fish trap.
13. aqa-lat. James Island. Formerly a very large settlement.
14. kwɛliu'tq̣^u, Quileute. This was the largest Quileute village. Located at the mouth of the Quillayute River on the south side. Seals, sealions, and whales were hunted from here; also an important fishing base.
15. aq'so't, "over the ripple." An important fishing village located on the site of the present town of Mora.
16. tszqia'slz, "straight-standing tree." About 1-1/2 miles below Mora. A permanent village with diversified economic resources.
17. q̣wa-stol', "slow rapids." Located on the south side of Quillayute River. At the entrance of a small stream below Murphy Creek. This was a large village with a very productive fish weir.
18. ~~t'x̣e-x̣e-tx~~ t'ṣix̣e'ḷx̣, "high bank." Located about a half mile below the mouth of Murphy Creek. A very large village and an important fish weir were situated here.
19. q̣wa-ladz'sk^u. This was a large village located near the present Quillayute. There were three large houses here and an important fish weir. "It was a higher class village than the one at the mouth of the Quillayute River."
20. aq-wa-yit, "big rock." A fishing village on the middle Solduc River.
21. co'oxwaq^u. Near Mansfield prairie. The people of this village utilized the adjacent prairie for the gathering of camas and other roots and also built a fish weir in the Solduc River which was very efficient. Temporary camps were located at various places nearby and the whole of the area has come to be known by the geographic designation: suwah or shuwah.
22. Village on the upper Solduc. An upper settlement of co'oxwaq^u.

23. ba'aq'wat, "forks [of river]." Located at the confluence of the Calawah and Boga-chiel Rivers. This was a small settlement except at the time of silver-salmon fishing, that is, the summer period, at which season the settlement was quite populous.
24. t'coxlg'bat, "on the trail." Located at the mouth of Murphy Creek on the Bogachiel River. This was the site of a settlement of medium size and the point of origin of a trail to Jackson Creek.

NOTE: The next group of villages are located on the Bogachiel River at various sites progressively up river as indicated on the map, petitioner's exhibit No. 73.

25. Pi ca'taya-ka . Located at the mouth of Maxfield Creek. A small village and the site of a fish trap.
26. tso'tso'waxtz, "handing brush [over the water]. A village and weir trap was located here. In earlier times it was quite a large settlement.
27. tso'tso'ya'sle, "long tree." Small settlement; fish trap.
28. ts6'28't. A small fishing village.
29. ba qwat, "forks." This was a small village situated at the confluence of the Bogachiel and Calawah Rivers. Its name is the same as that of village No. 23, both being situated at the forks of rivers. No fish trap was located here but one was situated near by on the Bogachiel River.

NOTE: The next villages are located on the Calawah River above the confluence with the Bogachiel.

30. ~~Ja~~ sya-t. A small fishing settlement.
31. 8ese'tel. A small settlement.
32. 8eq'ox. This was one of the important villages of the Calawah, although not large. It was the site of a fish trap and a base for root-digging.
33. tszho't. A village and fish trap. This was also an important root-digging base because of the proximity of Forks Prairie.

34. Duxakaq'a-l. A village at the mouth of the small stream down river from Cool Creek. A fishing and root-digging base.

35. ha'tca'an, "pleasant place." This was a small settlement from which the residents utilized Forks Prairie.

NOTE: The following are up river on the Bogechief from the confluence with the Calawah.

36. ka'baa', "confluence." This was a small fishing village.

37. Hpxsox, "burned ground." A small settlement; no fish trap.

38. t'salzetk', "over the hill." This was a village of several large houses, each with a large number of persons. Root-digging in Forks Prairie, fishing and hunting were some of the resources.

39. ta'ce'let. One large house and fish trap.

40. la-xa'tasal. A small settlement.

41. t'xol's'qstz. This was a large and important permanently occupied village. Roots were gathered nearby and also in Forks Prairie. The population increased during the root-digging season.

42. Hi'ca'ta-q'ut. This was a small village and fish trap.

43. tzta a sz ta. This village was a base for hunting and an elk meat curing place. It was a permanently maintained settlement with permanent drying racks.

. NOTE: The villages immediately following were on the coast.

44. di'ca-qu, "cut short." At the mouth of Scott Creek.

45. dapata. A small settlement at Strawberry Point.

46. Eluq'ya-hiq, "hole in the wall." An important village with a comparatively good harbor and excellent shelter. Numerous permanent homes were maintained here. It was a noted whaling base.

47. tsidi'q'a'Xq. Near the mouth of Goodman Creek. A settlement of considerable size used as a base for land and sea hunting. Permanently occupied.

48. kode/ka-sa't. A settlement of medium size with some permanent houses.
49. tse-ta/e-t. A village at the mouth of the Hoh River.
50. q'elo/le-t. Near the mouth of the Hoh. An important fish trap here.
51. seXetala-q'ag. Near the mouth of Braden Creek. Village and fish trap.
52. kwa-de-siq'asa. At the mouth of Nolan Creek. Village and fish trap.
53. ta-la-cux. Mouth of Casse Creek. Village and fish trap.
54. t'opo-q'wa-t. A mile below the mouth of Winfield Creek. Village and fish trap.
55. He-qotap'. Near the mouth of Elk Creek. A very important hunting village.
56. colo'ya-s, "tall timber." Near the mouth of Willoughby Creek. A village, fish trap and hunting base.
57. duxu/a-qa. At the mouth of Maple Creek. An elk hunting base.
58. so/wa/. At the mouth of Jackson Creek. A hunting village.
59. su/q'e'la, "nature's place." At the mouth of Slate Creek. A hunting base.

APPENDIX 2

QUINAIELT RESERVATION

AGENCY - Taholah.

LOCATION - West Pacific Coast about 35 miles north of Hoquiam, Washington.

AREA - 175,159 acres.

TREATY - July 1, 1855, and January 25, 1856. 12 Stat. 971, 2 Kappler 719.

INDIAN TRIBES - Quinaielt, Queets, and Quileute.

LOCATION OF "U. & A." FISHING GROUNDS -

Pacific Coast and streams entering same from Queets River south to the Columbia River as claimed by Quinaielt tribal council. (See remarks below).

PRESENT FISHING ACTIVITIES, GEAR & REGULATIONS -

Present fishing activities of the Indians of this reservation are confined to reservation waters consisting of the Queets, Raft and Quinaielt rivers. These streams furnish them with an adequate supply of fish both for commercial and subsistence purposes, hence it is not necessary for them at least at this time to fish outside the boundaries of the reservation. The type of gear used within the reservation is set, drift and hand dip nets which, generally speaking are illegal in Washington. At certain times of the year of course the use of drift nets in certain non-reservation streams is authorized by State law. That feature, however, is immaterial inasmuch as that law is not applicable on the reservation. The Taholah agency has estimated that during the 1937-40 period, the total value of the fish taken from the three streams was \$24,720 in 1937; \$97,550 in 1938; \$44,442 in 1939 and \$118,672 in 1940. These figures were obtained from the local fish buyers.

This tribe probably observes more regulation of their fishing activities than any other. The season for steelhead is limited to the months of December and January and that for blueback salmon from April 1st to July 1st.

On the Quinaielt River, all commercial fishing is closed from July 1 to September 15 although Indians are permitted to fish for subsistence purposes during that period. In the lower river all fish nets must be out of the river from 6:00 P. M. Saturday until 6:00 A. M. Monday. The upper river fishermen are permitted to set their nets back in the river 6:00 P. M. Sunday.

A tax of one cent per fish is collected from fish buyers by the treasures of the tribal council and the proceeds in part are used to pay a channel patrolman whose duty it is to patrol the river and enforce the tribally adopted regulations.^{1/}

The secretary of the tribal council reports that the rules are strictly enforced although it is known some violations are bound to and have occurred. Whether these rules are adequate or strictly enough enforced is debatable since it is reported there has been a tendency to overfish the reservation streams.

GENERAL REMARKS -

As indicated in the narrative section of this part of the report, the Quinaielt tribal council advised that their fishing rights within the reservation were sufficient at least for their present needs and for that reason no affidavits were taken with regard to non-reservation usual and accustomed fishing grounds. The tribal council, however, furnished the Indian names and a general description of a number of places which they state were some of the ancient fishing grounds of the Quinaielt tribe.

A brief description of these non-reservation traditional fishing grounds is as follows:

1. Kla-wa-qu. The English name for this place is Ilwaco and the fishing place was located along the beach and shore of the Columbia River at what is now known as Sand Island. It is asserted that it was the jointly used place of the Quinaielt, Lower Chehalis, Willipa and Chinook Indian tribes.

^{1/} Letter of 12/3/41 to Edward G. Swindell, Jr., from Secretary, Quinaielt Tribal Council and data furnished by Agency

2. Newh-munch. This, in English, is North River. The fishing grounds extended from the mouth of the river to up above tide water. This also was jointly used by the Quinaielt, Lower Chehalis and Willipa Indian tribes.

3. Hoguiam. The fishing grounds were located along the Hoguiam River from the mouth to several miles above the tide water and were jointly used by the Quinaielt and Lower Chehalis Tribes.

4. Hump-tulips. The English name is the same. The fishing grounds were located from the mouth of the river up to the junction of the east and west forks and was jointly used by the Quinaielt and Lower Chehalis Tribes.

5. Wh-oo-see. Now known as Bay Center. The fishing grounds were located from the mouth of the Palix River to several miles above tide-water. This was jointly used by the Quinaielt and Willipa Tribes.

6. Klack-spootichom. Now known as Long Island. The fishing grounds extended from the mouth of the Nasalle River to several miles above tide water and were jointly used by the Quinaielt and Willipa Tribes. It will be recalled that Swan in his book on the Northwest Coast (p. 136) specifically mentions the Indian fishery on the Nasalle River.

There, of course, in the pre-discovery days must have been numerous other places used by the Quinaielt Indians with which the present descendants are not familiar. None of the above-listed places are presently being used for the reason that the type of gear which the Indians used there in the pre-treaty days as well as that which they are accustomed to at the present time, is not legal in the State of Washington.

It might also be noted in connection with the Quinaielt River that Swan (p. 264) states that the Indians "fish principally by means of weirs which they build with a great deal of skill and also by spears and hooks." As contrasted with present day fishing activities where the Indians, it is reported, take their fish principally with set nets and some drift nets.

In connection with the fishing in the Quinalt River, it is to be noted that the Supreme Court of the State of Washington, in its decision in the case of the Pioneer Pkg. Co. v. Winslow, 294 Pac. 557, held that the Indians owned the fish in the Quinalt River and that the State of Washington therefore could not restrict the taking of same nor could it restrict the shipment of same to points outside the state since such shipments constituted interstate commerce and therefore were not subject to regulation and control by the State. In the case of Mason v. Sams, 5 P.2d 255, the court held in effect that without legislative authority administrative officials of the Government could not interfere or regulate these Indians' fishing activities.

QUEETS INDIANS

QUINAIELT RESERVATION

AGENCY - Taholah

LOCATION - Northwest corner of Quinaielt Indian Reservation situated in the center of the west coast of the Olympic Peninsula, Washington.

AREA - See Quinaielt Reservation.

TREATY - July 1, 1855, and January 25, 1856.
12 Stat. 971, 2 Kappler 719.

INDIAN TRIBES - Queets and Quinaielt Tribes.

LOCATION OF "U. & A." FISHING GROUNDS -

Queets River and its tributaries, the mouth and lower portion of which is located within the boundaries of the present Quinaielt Reservation. As usual with the tribes in this area the villages and fishing camps were located along the main stream and usually at the mouths of the tributaries where conditions permitted the construction of fish weirs or traps. See attached map of Indian fishing locations on the Olympic Peninsula, Washington.

FISHING GEAR AND REGULATIONS -

Set nets, drift nets, and hand dip nets. Fishing on the Queets River within the Quinaielt Reservation is carried in under rules and regulations adopted by Quinaielt tribal council. For gist of regulations see Quinaielt REMARKS.

PRESENT FISHING ACTIVITIES -

The present fishing activities of the so-called Queets Indians are solely carried on within the boundaries of the reservation since the gear used by them has been declared illegal by Washington law. The value of the catch for the period 1937-1940, inclusive, of this group of Indians has been included

in the estimate of the value of all fish taken from the three streams in that reservation.

GENERAL REMARKS -

The Queets (Quaitso) Indians are also a member of the Salishan family and it has been reported that they probably formed a part of the main Quinaielt Tribe. Since there is a separate community located on the Queets River which is some distance from the main settlement of the Quinaielt Indians at Taholah, Washington, the affidavits of this group were taken separately inasmuch as their original habitat was confined to the Queets River and its tributaries. The location of the present village of Queets is adjacent to the spot where the original main village of that tribe of Indians was situated. They are considered a part of the Quinaielt Tribe, having received allotments of land on that reservation.

AFFIDAVITS OF JOHNNY SHALE AND JACK SAM
QUINAIELT (QUEETS VILLAGE), WASHINGTON

STATE OF WASHINGTON)
COUNTY OF JEFFERSON) SS.

Johnny Shale, 68 years of age, and Jack Sam, 81 years of age, each being duly sworn and put upon oath severally depose and say:

That they are full blood members of the Quinalt Indian Tribe, citizens of the United States of America residing at the village of Queets (Quinalt Indian Reservation, Washington);

That they were born at the old Queets village and have lived all of their lives in the country owned by the Quinalt (Queets) Indians prior to the time the white man first came to the country; that this country was the permanent home of their parents and their parents parents before them and that when they were small boys they were told that their ancestors had always lived in that territory; that during the course of their life they have on various occasions visited the sites of the villages of the Quinalt-Queets Indians which were situated along the streams running through the country originally owned by said Indians; that as a result of their personal observation of the things existing at those places, as well as the information that was given to them when they were small boys and young men by their parents and the older members of their tribe, they are fully familiar with the exact locations of these places as well as with regard to the way the Indians of their tribe were accustomed to obtain their livelihood at the present time as well as prior to the time the white man came to the Indians' country;

That the Queets Indians were accustomed to catching smelt in the Pacific Ocean at a place now called Brown's Point by the white people and that when they were small boys each family that went up there would dry enough smelt so that it would take them three or four trips to carry the dried fish back to the permanent village; that they have fished for smelt at Brown's Point many times during their life but have not done so since the white people passed laws requiring that the Indians have

Affiants further depose and say that the present village of Queets, Washington, is not located on the site of the original village that was in existence when they were small boys; that the old village was located just below the present main highway bridge* on the south bank of the river about a mile from the ocean and approximately 200 to 250 yards from the present village; that the Indians had two names for the Queets Village, one of which was Lee-choe-eeese and the other was Elths-tah-ach which latter meant "on the high bank"; that the village was given this name because it was situated on a bluff on the south bank of the river;

That there were six big smoke houses in the old village and that about six families lived in each house making the population, as they recall, about 180 people all told inasmuch as there was an average of about five people in each family; that these houses were used for smoking the fish caught by the people who lived in them; that this was the permanent and main home of the Queets Indians; that the Indians caught their fish at this place by using a trap when the water conditions were right and that they all shared in the catch from this trap; at other times when the water was too high for a trap they caught fish in a net which was drifted in the stream between two canoes; that in addition to the main village there were two other communities in the same general vicinity, one of which was situated about three-quarters of a mile downstream toward the ocean and known as Yoe-stoe-whoh; that this name meant "new river channel" and the community was situated on the north side of the old channel; that it had one big smoke house and five small ones and in all there were about 16 families, two other smaller houses and six other large ones; that the large houses were also used for social gatherings and that they would estimate the population of this place as being between 85 and 100 people; that they understand from their parents and grandparents that prior to the coming of the white man there were many many more Indians living at this place but the great majority of them were killed off during the smallpox epidemic; that the other village in the same general vicinity was located on the south bank of the Queets River about two miles above the main village or

*Refers to bridge on U. S. 101 crossing the Queets River.

at the spot where the cable now crosses the stream; that the name of this other village was Queets-nilth which meant "wild crabapple"; that there had been one big smoke house and five small ones and that the people who lived at these places were either killed off or moved to the main village of Queets.

Affiants further depose and say that there was another permanent village of the Queets Indians on the Queets River located about 1-1/2 mile above the mouth of what is now known as the Salmon River or approximately one mile outside of the present boundary of the Quinalt Reservation; that the Indian name for this place was Nook-stay-slin, which meant "plenty of salmon"; that when they remember this place it was merely a temporary camping place but the old people told them that prior to the coming of the white man it had been one of the permanent villages of the Queets people; that they had fished there but at the times they did fish at this place, the water was shallow and they used spears because it was easy to catch the fish in that fashion and not necessary to build a trap; that when they recall it, they remember approximately three families used to go there each year up until about 40 or 45 years ago when the white people settled the land and did not want the Indians around; that when they recall this place, there were two or three shacks standing there made out of split logs and covered with cedar bark.

Affiants further depose and say that there was an old permanent village of the Queets Indians on the north bank of the Queets River directly opposite the mouth of what is now known as Mathony Creek; that the Indian name for this village was Poat-tso-itse, which meant "right across from mouth of the creek" or "middle of channel"; that the name of the creek was the same and that during affiants lifetime the Indians only used this as a temporary camp although they were told it used to be one of the permanent villages; that just prior to the time the white people settled the place where this village was located, which was about 40 or 45 years ago, there was only one smokehouse still standing and that some of the people from the main village of the Queets would go up there each year and stay approximately two months at a time during the months of September and October; that they used to catch black, silverside, steelhead and a few dog salmon by spearing them because at that time of the year the water was shallow at this place and a trap was not required.

Affiants further depose and say that there were three other Queets Villages above Poat-tso-itse located on the Queets River as follows: one directly opposite the mouth of Sam's Creek known as Pee-tse, which meant "sneeze"; another located opposite what is known by the white people as Tshletshy Creek for which the Indian name was Tsh-lait-shah meaning "elk cooking rock"; and the third one was located on the north bank of the Queets River just below the mouth of Harlow Creek for which the Indian name was Tsh-stoe, which meant "half way between two big mountains"; that these three places were temporary hunting and fishing places of the Queets Indians; that some of them went there each year for the purpose of hunting bear and elk and that at times if the fish were running in the stream they would catch some for immediate consumption and if there was enough left over, they would dry them and take them back to their permanent village.

Further affiants sayeth not.

(Sgd.) John Shale

HIS
MARK

(Sgd.) Jack Sam

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 11th day
of May, 1942.

(SEAL)

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

STATE OF WASHINGTON)
) SS.
COUNTY OF JEFFERSON)

That he is 81 years of age and a full blood member of the Quinaielt-Queets tribe and a citizen of the United States of America residing in the village of Queets, Quinaielt Indian Reservation, Washington;

Affiant further deposes and says that he is familiar with the following Indian villages located on the Clearwater River:

That this means "middle of the channel" or the same as the meaning of the name of the village known as Poat-tso-itse on the Queets River; that it was located on the south side of Hurst Creek and the east bank of the Clearwater River and that although he never actually saw this village when people were living there, he has seen the posts which they used in constructing their houses; that he has visited and fished there but never camped there for the reason that when the day was over he and other Indians would bring their fish home in their canoes and cure them at their permanent village; that they caught the fish at this place but with a spear.

That affiant does not know the meaning of this name; that there was one big house there; that affiant say it during his lifetime and he and other Indians

used to go to this place for a few days at a time and spear fish, which they took home with them for the purpose of curing; that the Indians have not used this place for approximately 40 years because the land on which it is located has been settled by the white people.

No-qhy-tsales:

That in Indian this meant "dirty rock"; that although affiant has never seen any houses there, he has seen evidence of the fact that houses had once existed at this place; that he has fished here with spears and that the catch would be brought back to his permanent home and the permanent home of the others who fished with him, where they would be cured.

Nah-hah-pish:

That affiant never did see any houses here but saw evidence that houses had once existed at this point; that he does not know the meaning of the Indian name for this place and that although he has fished there with spears, he has never stayed there longer than over night, after which he would return to his permanent home; that it would take two days to reach this place going upstream in canoes and only over night to get back;

Affiant further deposes and says that there were a number of other places on the Clearwater River above Nah-hah-pish but that the Indians used these places principally for hunting purposes although they were accustomed to catching fish there at the times they would camp there during the hunting season.

Affiant further deposes and says that the Queets Indians dug clams and caught smelt at a place called Quailth-tails, which meant "red rock", and which is now known to the white people as Brown's Point; that the Indians a long time ago when they used this place would live in the caves in the rocks along the beach and that they did not erect houses until after the white people had come to the country; that the Indians would only go to this place during the proper season of the year when the clams could be dug from the sand and the smelt were spawning along the beach; that this lasted about two or three months;

That clams were also dug at a place known now as Kalaloch but that they would return to their camps at Brown's Point rather than spend the night at Kalaloch; that the people from all of the Queets villages were accustomed to visiting the ocean during the clam digging time and the time when the smelt were available in order to obtain a supply to take home.

Further affiant sayeth not.

(Sgd.) Jack Sam His mark

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 11th day of May, 1942.

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

AFFIDAVIT OF ROBERT E. LEE

STATE OF WASHINGTON)
) SS.
COUNTY OF JEFFERSON)

Robert E. Lee, being first duly sworn, upon his oath deposes and says:

That he is 68 years of age, a full blood Quileute Indian residing at the village of Queets, Quinalt Indian Reservation, Washington, and a citizen of the United States of America;

That he has lived at the Queets Village for a number of years or ever since the time that the state prohibited the Quileute Indians from fishing in the Quileute River at LaPush; that he and a number of other Quileute Indians moved down to the Queets Village at that time in order that they could fish without being interfered with by the state authorities; that the Quileute Indians and the Queets Indians are in a sense different people although they are all friends and their language is quite similar;

That during his lifetime he has had occasion to visit with his friends, the Queets Indians, a number

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Frank Bennet personally appeared before me this 11th day of May, 1942, and after having the foregoing affidavit read to him in my presence did acknowledge to me that the statements contained therein are true and that he executed same as his voluntary act.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 11th day of May, 1942.

(SEAL)

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

FOOD GATHERING

SALMON FISHING

Fish was the one dietary staple of the Quinault. Although a variety of species were relatively abundant in both salt and fresh waters, the salmon was the only one of great importance. Upon the capture of a sufficient supply of this fish depended the very sustenance of life. The run of salmon, past, present, or prospective, was the year-round subject of discussion among them, just as the wheat crop is the focal point of interest in a North Dakota farming community.

All five species of salmon spawn in the Quinault river. A few blueback (red, or sockeye; *O. nerka*) enter the river as early as December. They gradually increase in numbers until April, when they come in great numbers. By the end of June the peak of the run is over, though stragglers may continue to enter the river until late July or even August. The black salmon (tyee, Chinook, spring, or king; *O. tshawytscha*) come to the river to spawn in August, though a few may be taken as early as June. Silver salmon (coho or white; *O. kisutch*) and dog salmon (keta or chum; *O. keta*) appear in greatest numbers in September and continue to run until mid-November. A few humpbacks (pink; *O. gorbuscha*) run in late August and September but they are of slight importance. The steelhead trout (*Salmo gairdneri*), often classed as a salmon by fishermen, runs in the river from November to May. The steelhead does not come in as great numbers, however, as do the salmon, and could never have contributed greatly to the food supply. There is no month in the year in which salmon or steelhead trout may not be taken with varying success.

The blueback run was the most important, the number taken probably being as great as the combined number of the other three species.¹⁰ In flavor and fatness they are justly regarded as greatly superior to the huge black salmon, the silvers, and dog salmon.¹¹ All these fish were prepared in much the same way and identical means were employed for their capture. Harpoon, dip nets, drift nets, weirs, and gaffs were used according to varying conditions.

Salmon weirs. By far the greater part of the supply of fish was taken by this means. It is said that every village from no'skatla'n to the fork of the upper river had its weir (ska'lip) stretching across the river¹² (fig. 1). Several of the larger villages had two or even three weirs. The gathering of the materials for the building of the weir had been going on for some time before the fish began to arrive in great numbers. Straight poles, about four inches in diameter and varying from four to twelve feet in length, were sought out, trimmed, and pointed. These were for the posts and braces. Then great quantities of slender hemlock or vine maple sticks,

¹⁰Cobb states that records show that 355,007 sockeyes alone were taken in 1915 (p. 23).

¹¹The following words relating to species of salmon were recorded: ka'mika'n, general term for fish; also the general word for food. The blueback is called sa'djo'las. After they have spawned they are called lo'h or swa'tna'k, "come back." Coho are called sa'gwa'k, but the females are sometimes distinguished by the term la'ci. The black or Chinook are called sake'e, and if very large are called kwa'li'h. The latter word is said to be the same in the Chehalis tongue. The female blacks are called mukla'a'e. Dog salmon are termed sxai ("teeth") or kutla tsi ("striped"). Steelhead are called ske'okx, skai'akc, or klo'dja'lte ("small eggs"). Pope gave their name as xwa'-nnoi but it was said by others that this is the name only after they have spawned.

¹²There was no weir at the village of kwi'nail, where only harpoon and dip net were employed.

one-half inch in diameter and as long as the poles, were made ready, as well as limbs from young cedars to be used as cross-weaving in the slender sticks.

As the time for the run grew near stakes were driven about eight feet apart in a row across the river. The tops were allowed to project varying distances above the water. Then a brace stake was paired with each one of these. The brace was driven into the river bottom as deeply as the upright pole. Its lower end was several feet downstream from the upright pole but its upper end crossed the latter several feet above the water line. Then the two were firmly lashed together. A series of poles reaching from end to end of the weir was placed in the crotch formed by the upright and the bracing pole (fig. 1*a*). Two or three lines of poles were lashed to the upright stakes, below the water line. The wattle work sections rested against these (fig. 1*b-d*). Two poles lashed to the brace posts above the high water line served as a walk (fig. 1*e*). At intervals along the weir sets of two or four poles were driven into the bed of the river to serve as supports for platforms (fig. 1*f*). Horizontally-placed poles were lashed across these. Then planks were laid on these stringers so as to form a platform where fishermen stood. The height above the water level for these platforms varied according to the rise and fall of the river. At medium water they would be perhaps four feet above the water. They were sufficiently large to enable one or two men to lie at full length. Blankets and robes were frequently

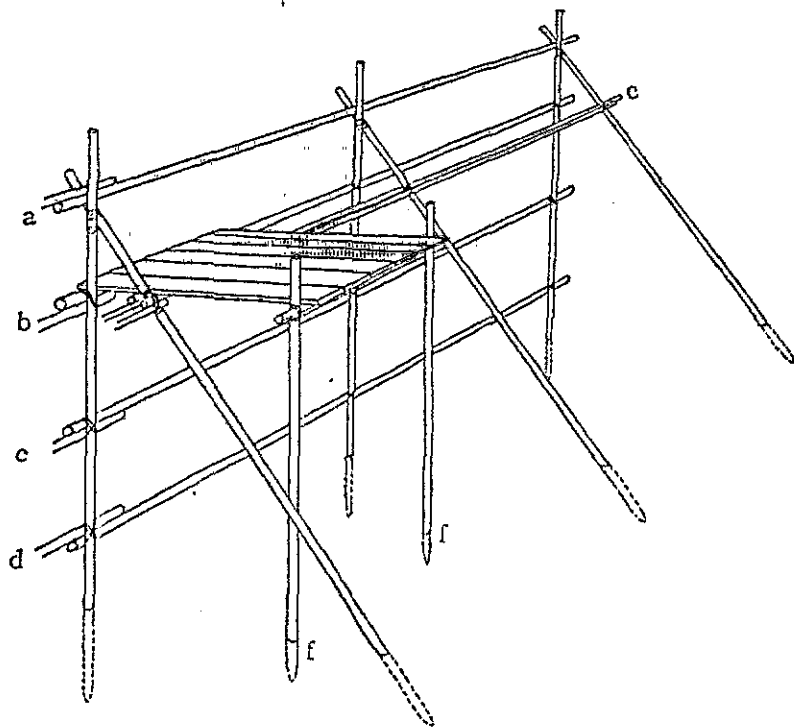


Fig. 1. Framework of weir. *a*, series of poles which rest in crotch of upright and bracing poles; *b-d*, lines of poles lashed to uprights below water line and against which wattle units rest; *e*, two poles which serve as "walk"; *f*, platform supports.

taken to them at night so that the men could rest comfortably in the intervals when no fish seemed to be running.¹³

In the meantime the women were busy weaving units of wattle work (fig. 2). This was simply cross weaving or twining slender cedar withes on a "warp" of hemlock or vine maple poles an inch or less in diameter. Each unit of wattle work was 12 "warps" wide and was wider at the bottom than at the top. The length varied according to the depth of the water, units being made for particular places in the weir. The lower ends of the poles were sharpened. The "warp" poles were placed about one and one-half inches apart. A series of units was made sufficient to reach from bank to bank.

All was now ready, and the fishermen awaited the coming of the salmon. However, the river must not be turbulent at the time, else the force of the current would not only prevent the placing of the wattle work sections but actually tear out those in mid-current. Freshets during the fishing season necessitated the removal of some of the middle sections for perhaps a day. When the salmon began to arrive in considerable numbers the men turned out in a body to insert the units of wattle. Expert divers removed the stones from the bottom, so that the sharpened ends of the wattle poles could be shoved into the sand. Divers worked under water, placing the lower ends of the wattle sections in the proper place and aiding in forcing the tips of the poles into the river bottom. When the unit was in its proper position they lashed the sides and top to the frame of the weir. All except the divers worked from canoes.

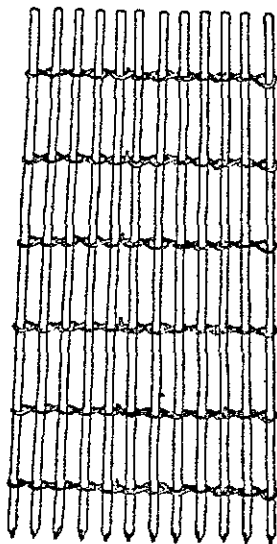


Fig. 2. Wattle work unit or section.

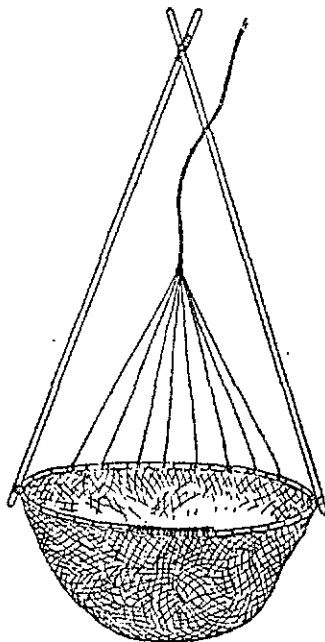


Fig. 3. Special dip net used at salmon weirs.

¹³One informant stated that there were invariably four such platforms at each weir. It is probable, however, that he was thinking of the weir at his home village. The number probably varied according to the size of the village or the width of the river.

The fish were taken in a special bag-like nettle fiber dip net, the mouth of which was secured to a frame (fig. 3). The mesh of the net was perhaps two inches—sufficiently small to prevent a small salmon from wriggling through. The frame was of yew, bent in an oval about seven by five feet. At either end a slender pole was lashed to extend above the frame, and helped when raising the net. The net and frame rested on the bottom. Eight signal strings of elk sinew, fine as grocer's twine, were tied at regular intervals on the (upstream) side of the frame. These converged to the surface of the water where they united to form the single strand held in the hand of the fisherman. A fish coming upstream, or searching along the weir, would come in contact with these strings. The tug on the string was the signal that a salmon was directly above the net. The lifting poles were seized and the net raised as rapidly as possible. Sometimes the fish succeeded in escaping, but usually the deep trap-like net assured his capture. Several fish were often taken in one lifting. Net and fish were laid on the platform and the struggling salmon quickly despatched with the ever-ready club. The fish were then thrown onto the platform, or into a canoe which was moored alongside. At intervals the canoe was paddled ashore and the fish given to the women who prepared them for drying.

No part of the weir would last for more than two years, and for the most part it must be built anew every season. The pilings would decay or be bent or torn out by the freshets of the rainy season. The brace poles were always removed at the end of the season, and, if vine maple, could be used a second time. Guide fences of wattle to force the fish to the places where the lifting nets rested seem to have been unknown. Torches were never used in night fishing at the weirs. Trout were occasionally taken while fishing for salmon.

It was said there were no rules requiring that the weirs of the lower villages be opened at times to allow the fish to proceed upstream where the people of the upper villages might take them. In this respect the people of the lower villages had an advantage.

Drift nets. At night, or during periods when the river water was muddy, salmon or trout might be taken in the drift net (*kunt dja'n*). These were made of nettle fiber in a long tapering shape (fig. 4). When in use the mouth of the net was spread to about four by ten feet. From the mouth the net tapered to the rounded point about ten feet distant. Two canoes with two persons in each were required to manipulate the contrivance. A man in the stern of each canoe handled his side of the net, while a man or woman in the bow paddled easily and splashed with the paddle and threw stones to frighten the fish into the net. At each lower corner of the mouth of the net a five-grooved sinker was tied. A pole tied to the sinker was held by the man in the stern enabling him to control the position of the net. He also held a cord tied to an upper corner to keep the net open.

The bows of the canoes were spread so as to guide the fish toward the net. The net could only be used as the canoes drifted downstream. Just enough more speed than that of the current was maintained to keep the net in position. The canoes came alongside each other when a fish was caught. One informant claimed that a second string was tied at the sinker and was held by the person in the bow. This

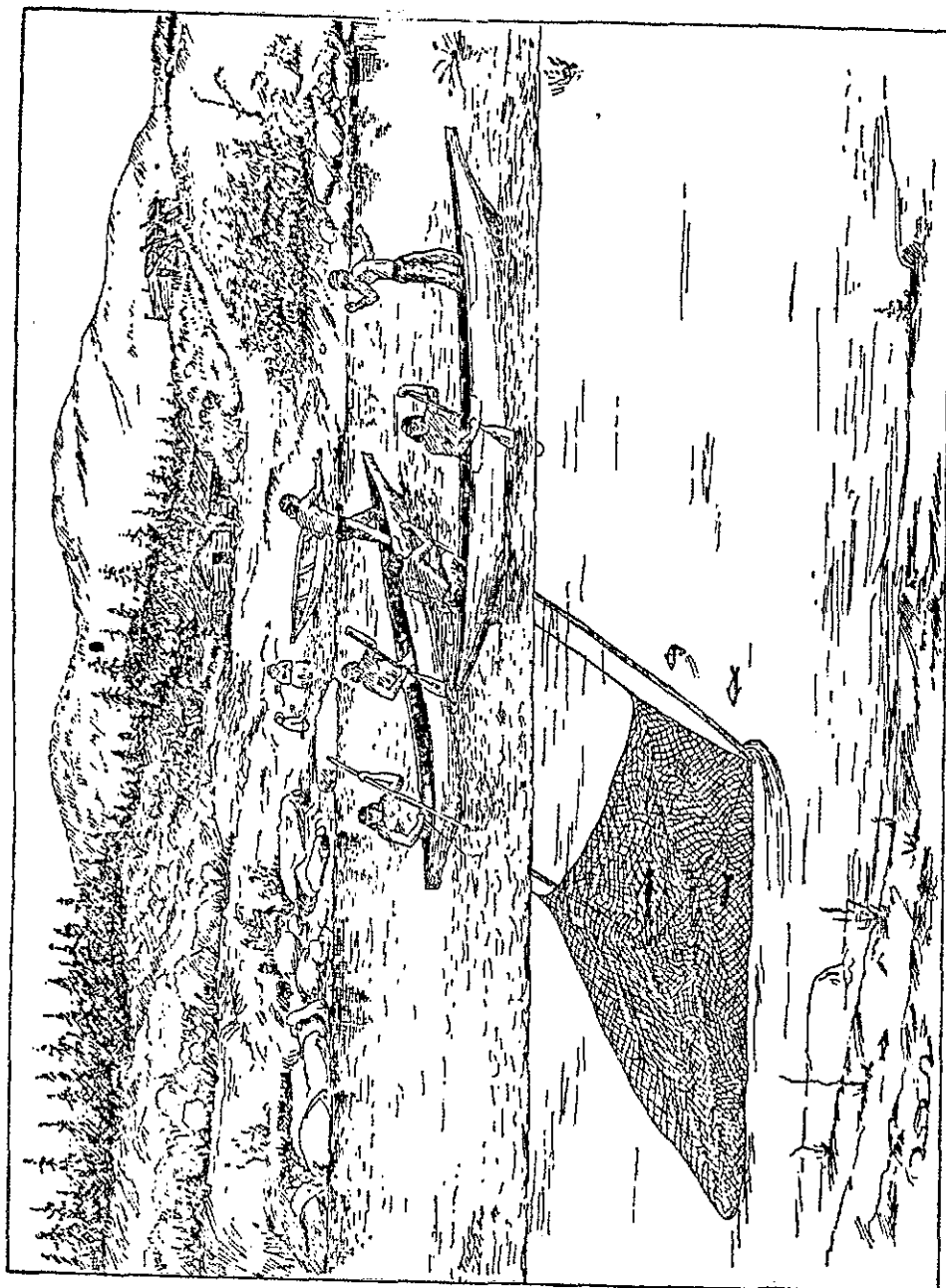


Fig. 4. Drift net used in salmon fishing. (After Willoughby.)

served as an aid in keeping the net in position. It is said that the sinkers were the five-grooved stones sometimes called "gambling stones."

Dip nets. Below the village of no'skalán no weirs were constructed, and the dip net was the chief means employed in taking the salmon. The Quinault still use this method, though set gill nets today catch most of the fish. The dip net is used only at the river mouth where the banks are free from brush and where the swift current of the river as it flows down the slope of the beach causes the salmon to swim near the banks. It cannot be employed at high tide because of the slackness of the current at that time. Times of freshet, when the water is muddy so that the fish cannot see the net, are especially favorable; but clear water does not seriously hamper the operations. The course and depth of the river at the mouth change with almost every tide, and have a great effect on the success of the fishermen.

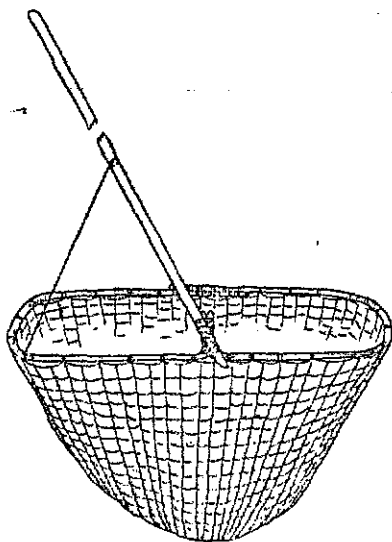


Fig. 5. Dip net used in taking salmon at river mouth.

The dip net is pocket-shaped, measuring about two and one-half feet from mouth to bottom (fig. 5). Ordinary gill net mesh is employed, but in pre-European days nettle fiber cord was used. The mouth of the net is tied to a frame (skási'h) at intervals of six or eight inches. The frame is made from two tapering yew wood (klama'k) poles. The butts of the frame poles are flattened for a foot or more and firmly lashed together for about four inches. They are then bent sharply in opposite directions so that each forms one-half of the frame; then each is further bent so as to come together at their tips and form a quadrangle. The poles chosen are very slender near their tips so that this part of the frame (the under part) shall be as inconspicuous as possible. The tips are slightly flattened and lashed together for a foot or less at the center of the under part of the frame. The entire frame is commonly about two by five feet, with rounded corners. A handle twelve to twenty feet long is lashed to the butts of the frame sticks which project six inches perpendicular to the plane of the frame. The handle is lashed not quite parallel, but in such a

manner that one side of the frame forms an angle of fifty to sixty degrees with the handle. A stout cord is stretched from a corner of the upper part of the frame to a point perhaps five feet up the handle. Spruce is preferred for the handle and the pole is sometimes flattened to decrease the weight without lessening the strength for dragging the net.

When the tide is at the half, or lower, the fisherman carries his net to the water's edge, or ten feet or more out in the stream if the water is shallow, and drops it where the current is swift. The handle is held so that the outer end of the frame is farther downstream than the shore end and the net is slightly to the rear of the fisherman. The handle is held tightly and as the fisherman proceeds at a running walk pressure is exerted on it so that the net may move a little faster than the current and thereby be kept distended. The salmon, moving near shore to avoid the racing current of mid-stream is directly caught on its way up, or, glimpsing the fisherman or net, it darts away from the bank only to run into the open mouth of the net. The fish striking the net jars the handle sufficiently to warn the fisherman, who draws the net ashore as quickly as possible and unceremoniously strikes the fish a sharp blow on the head with a beach pebble. On a hot sunshiny day the fish are sometimes covered with sand to prevent their softening in the sun.

After dragging the net down the river as far as the depth is favorable, or to the point where breakers make further progress hazardous, the fisherman removes the net from the water, places it over his shoulder and returns upstream to the point where the rapid current begins. On days when few fish are ascending more time is spent idling about the beach than in actual manipulation of the net. The taking of a fish by more ambitious souls who persist despite infrequent captures is the signal for all the idlers to seize their nets and try their fortune again. Sometimes one may work the whole period of low tide without netting a fish. But on days when the fish are running freely several may be taken at one dip and hundreds by one person in a day. In 1924 one woman caught over two hundred dog salmon in a single afternoon.

Below high tide mark fishing is, and always has been, open to anyone. Lack of success on one bank often tempts the unlucky fisherman to try the other. But in order to do so he must change the tying of the handle (because it is not set at right angles to the frame) and paddle across the river, so it is usual to spend an entire low tide period on one side. During times of good run the more diligent men fish at every low tide, day or night. Night fishing is quite dangerous, however, because of inability to see just where the bank slopes sharply off to the deep current, and because it is not easy to tell just when a large wave from the roaring surf may sweep the fisherman off his feet and the current carry him out to sea. Accidents of this sort are quite common and few succeed in escaping from the pounding surf or the undertow.

On some days the river spreads out in a shallow broad fan on the beach at low tide. The fish ascending in this water about a foot deep may be seen from the shore. Their position is indicated by the points of the waves of their wake as they swim rapidly upstream. Another use is now made of the dip net. The fisherman stands on the shore or at a strategic point in the stream and watches the river downstream. When he sees a fish ascending he wades to a point near where the fish will pass, for

they usually swim straight against the current. When the fish is abreast of him he drops the net just beyond and with a rapid pull usually succeeds in getting the fish in the toils of the net. He then either lifts the net clear of the water and carries the fish ashore, or, if already near the shore, he runs up the bank dragging net and fish after him. Several fish are often taken in a single dip in this way. It is said that the dip net was never used except at the mouth of the river.

Harpooning. Salmon were harpooned in the riffles at the river mouth where the dip net was used. Harpoons seem to have been used less frequently than the nets, perhaps because very shallow water was necessary for accurate determination of the position of the fish. When the water was very clear, however, the harpoon could be used anywhere along the river. Late in the season when the water was low the fish could be easily speared as they lay spawning on the gravelly bottom. Even where the water was too deep to permit harpooning from the bank or in the stream, the harpoon could be used from the canoe. But this last means was seldom employed because it was obviously inferior to the surer means of weir or net.

The harpoon was the type common over the whole Northwest coast (fig. 6). A handle of fir an inch in diameter and from ten to fifteen feet long terminating in two prongs of separate pieces three feet long tipped with detachable heads was the invariable form. The prongs were scarfed and lashed securely to the lower end of the main part of the handle. One of the prongs was always about four inches longer

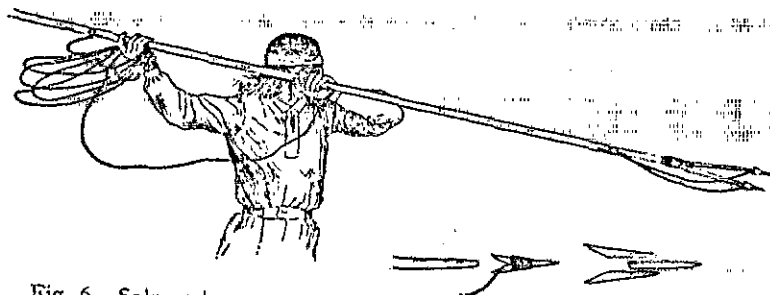


Fig. 6. Salmon harpoon. (After Willoughby.) Inset: details of point.

than its mate. The heads were the usual type of the region. Two pieces of elk horn shaped to fit closely around a nail-like point of bone and firmly lashed together formed the body of the head. One end of a strand of elk hide was wrapped around the horn pieces inside the lashings. The lashings and upper part of the point were covered with a smooth coating of pitch so that the head would pierce through easily. The upper parts of the elk horn pieces diverged so as to form two barbs. The elk sinew came out at one side of the barbs at the upper part of the lashings. The inner sides of the barbs were hollowed out so that they would fit snugly over the carefully formed tip of the prong of the handle. The strings from each point met about three feet from the heads where they were tied to a thong or nettle cord about thirty feet long. This cord passed through a lashing near the lower end of the handle so that when disengaged from the heads the handle would not be lost. A loop at the end of the cord passed around the fisherman's left wrist. The extra feet of cord were held coiled in the left hand. The entire harpoon might be thrown at a distant fish but

often the handle never left the hands of the fisherman. The head of the harpoon commonly passed entirely through the salmon.

Using the gaff. The Quinault practiced this unique method of taking salmon in pre-European times. In recent times the gaff is a very large hook socketed to a long handle. Swan has given a description of the method employed at Shoalwater bay which will serve as well for the Quinault method:

"We proceeded up the stream about a mile, where we commenced floating down with the ebb. The water was from ten to twenty feet deep, and the process of catching the salmon was as follows: The hooks . . . after being properly adjusted to the poles, which were about twenty feet long, are put over the side and held in a vertical position, keeping the hook just clear of the bottom. It is usual to have but two persons in a canoe, one to steer and the other, who sits at the bow, to fish. As the boat drifts down with the tide, the pole, with the hook attached to it, comes in contact with the salmon, who, when not in active motion, usually lie near the bottom, and are generally quiet as soon as the tide begins to ebb.

"As soon as the Indian feels the fish, he jerks up the pole, and rarely fails to fasten the hook into one salmon, who is then pulled on board and knocked on the head. The whole operation requires a great deal of dexterity and practice, not only to distinguish the difference between a salmon and old logs, with which the bottoms of the rivers are usually covered, but also to get the fish into the canoe; for the salmon is a very powerful fish, and a large one makes a great commotion when hauled to the surface of the water, splashing and thrashing about in a fearful manner."¹⁴

*Salmon taboos and beliefs.*¹⁵ The salmon run begins in the Quinault river with the coming of the sockeye in December or January (in exceptional years as late as February or even March). When the first salmon was caught it was carefully laid on the bank with the head upstream. It was then carried to the house and given the wife to prepare. Everyone in the village was then invited to the house to partake of the fish. Above all the fish must not be cut crosswise or cut with anything but a mussel shell knife. It was cut down either side of the backbone (beginning at the head) so that skin and flesh formed a layer about one half inch thick. The entrails were then removed and the heart burned in the fire. If an animal, or even a person, were to eat the heart the run of fish would immediately stop. The head was not severed from the backbone but cooked (or dried) with that portion of the meat. Everyone in the village was given a portion of the first fish caught. This feasting was not observed at the taking of the first of other species.

After this initial ceremony no further rites were observed. But throughout the run the bluebacks (at least) were laid with their heads pointing upstream. Until the butterball ducks (la'e'nopo) came into the river, or a small bird called skoit appeared, the fish must be cut lengthwise and only with a knife of mussel shell.¹⁶ After that the fish might be cut crosswise and the head, backbone, and tail might be hung head down to dry. But the hearts were always burned.

¹⁴Northwest Coast, 137.

¹⁵Gunther has collected and analyzed the rites centering around the taking of the first salmon throughout the area (*Analysis of the First Salmon Ceremony*, A. A. n.s., 28, 1926, 605-617; and, *A Further Analysis of the First Salmon Ceremony*, this series, 2, 1928, 129-173).

¹⁶At least one informant stated that the same restrictions held throughout the year, but this is doubtful. One informant also stated that none of the taboos held for dog salmon. The Lower Chehalis followed much the same ritual for Cohoe salmon.

The bones of all salmon were thrown on the bank of the river (not in the water). The salmon, returning to the ocean (see below) were believed to take these bones back with them to the salmon home where they again became salmon.

If twins had been born to a couple within the year they could not go near the river, nor dared they eat fresh fish from the Quinault river lest the run stop. The fish they ate must be caught in small streams, such as Moclips river. The older children of the couple were not restricted.

A person who had handled a corpse could eat no fresh fish from the Quinault river or the salmon would stop running.

Evil magic could stop the salmon run indefinitely and any person found practicing such was killed. There were several ways of working the magic. The motive might be jealousy of a person who was having more than his share of luck, or who was taking more fish than he needed. The following acts stopped the run of fish:

Burying a fish in the ground, especially placing it among the roots of a tree or under rotten wood.

Placing the heart in clam or mussel shells and burying them. This was called *sipxwanti'tsimul* (hiding heart.). The fish would stop running until shells and heart were placed in the river.

Worst of all was the hiding or burying of a fish or the heart of a fish in the graveyard.

It was believed that the ghosts of the dead sometimes came to this world, stole the spirits of the fish, and carried them to the underworld. This also stopped the run of salmon. In this event people persuaded a shaman to go to the land of the dead, where his guardian spirit attempted to steal a fish from the dead and bring it back to this world. The dead, however, were on the lookout for this and it was a difficult procedure. The shaman was often well paid for his services. If he succeeded, the guardian spirit carried the fish to the mouth of the river, placed it in the water, and washed his hands there. The salmon run would begin again within a day or two. Similar magic worked against other fish as well as salmon.

Misp (or Xwoni Xwoni) initiated these things. He would say to the salmon, "Run now"! Then he would bury one or mistreat the heart and say, "Stop now," and they would stop. So it has been ever since. He also told the first men how to treat the fish after being caught.

The following beliefs regarding the life of the salmon contain both fact and fancy. But I leave it to the ichthyologists to determine which is which.

The blueback and steelhead spawn far up the creeks (sometimes staying for a time or even spawning in the lakes). Few of them die after spawning but start their return to the ocean. Once they reach salt water their sores start to heal and they are soon strong and shiny. (One informant stated that all those who spawn die, but that some come back downstream without spawning; these live.) But few dog salmon and humpbacks live after spawning. Most of the black salmon get back to the ocean. The fish which die upriver also return (*i.e.*, their spirits do), and go out to their home under the ocean again.

The old salmon who return to the ocean serve as guides in the run of the following year, showing the younger salmon when and where to come—for they are just like people in that way.

It was believed that the blueback matured in five years, that they then returned to the river where they were spawned.

OTHER FISH

Trout. Although trout were sometimes caught in the dip nets at the weirs, a commoner method was to place a trap called *skeli'h* in the small streams. These were constructed of small hemlock or vine maple poles, one-half or three-fourths of an inch in diameter, woven across with slender cedar limbs. The trap was conical, being about one and one-half or two feet in diameter at the mouth and tapering to a point at its other end, some six or seven feet away. The cedar limbs were woven at right angles to the poles which ran the entire length. Six loops were placed on the inside which served as ribs to maintain the circular shape.

At the mouth of the cone small straight sticks pointed from the rim inward and toward the center, where they were cut so as to form a small circular opening which permitted access to the trap but made escape difficult. There were no divisions inside the trap; the whole interior formed one compartment. The trap was placed in the middle of the creek with the open end upstream. It was never set to catch fish going up the current. Wattle work fences, resembling those used in weir construction, extended from either side of the trap to the bank to prevent fish from going around the sides of the trap. A rock was placed on top to hold the contrivance on the bottom. It was arranged so that when a number of fish were imprisoned the stone automatically fell off and allowed the trap to float to the surface.

Smelt and candlefish. The people of the lower villages often came down to the river mouth to catch smelt (*komo'imil*) and candlefish (*pa'agwa'ls*). Both were taken in the surf of the beach, though the candlefish often ascend the river for several miles. There was usually a big run every three or four years, when the water was literally filled with fish. The time of the run varied, usually occurring between January and April.

A dip net (fig. 7) was used in taking the fish. This consisted of a conical net some three feet deep, knitted at its mouth to two poles each about five feet long, which served to hold the mouth open. (This opening measured about one and one-half by five feet.) A handle (*tsikja'tcamin*), about two inches in diameter and five feet long, was lashed at its lower end to the two poles attached to the net. It curved downward at its upper end. On some a crossbar there served as a grip for the left hand. The fisherman stood at the edge of the surf and held the net under the curl of incoming waves. The fish were carried along by this over-wash and fell directly into the net. A large basket was often filled from a single dip. When the candlefish were in the river they could be taken with the same net or with a net of small mesh secured to a salmon net frame.

Halibut (*tcalo's*), cod, rock cod (*toxla'tse*), sea bass (*ke'toh*), and sole were caught with hook and line. They could be taken anywhere along the coast within

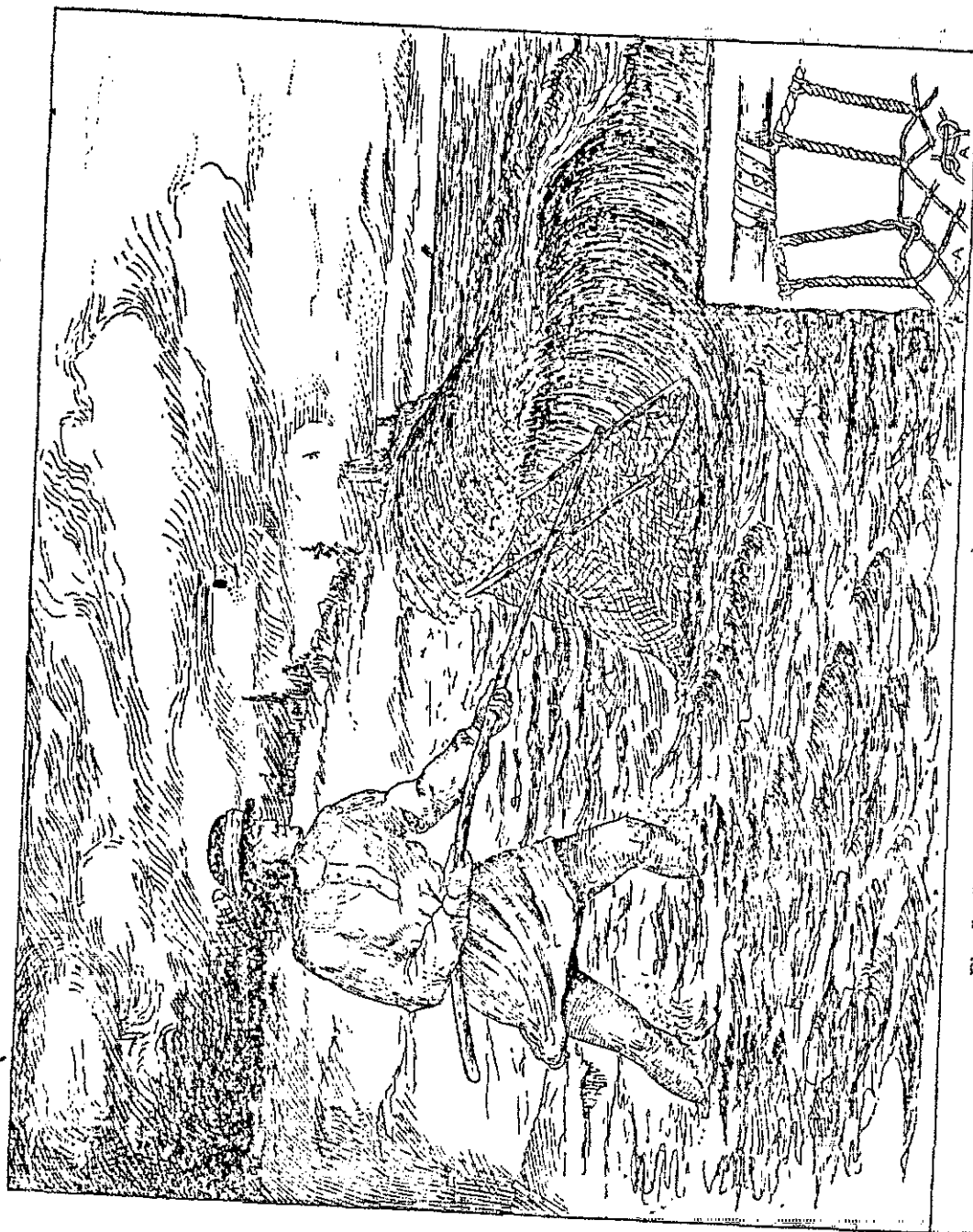


Fig. 7. Dip net used in taking smelt and candlefish. (After Wilboughby.)

six miles of shore. Calm weather was essential, so the period from June to September was the only time that anyone attempted to take these fish. Flounders might be taken in the ocean in the same way, but more frequently they were caught in the lower miles of the river. The same equipment was used for all these fish. The line was of dried and twisted stems of kelp (xo'tkah) fastened together to make the desired length. A grooved stone sinker (kai'sa'k) was tied to the end. This rested on the bottom. Several feet from the sinker a short line or leader (tu'lnatcta'n), about three feet long, was tied to the main line. The lure was tied at the end of this leader. It was simply a rounded plug of newly cut white willow to which was lashed a barb. The hook was a straight piece of bone, with a fork on one end which straddled the plug. The other end tapered to a long sharp point and was so fixed that it formed an acute angle with the pointed end of the plug, to which the line was attached. No bait of any kind seems to have been used.¹⁷ Trout may have been caught in the river and creeks with hook and line, with salmon roe for bait.¹⁸

A method of fishing on flat shallow beaches has been described by Swan. The Quinault used this method while on their frequent visits to Grays Harbor.

"The turbot and flounders are caught while wading in the water by means of the feet. The Indian wades along slowly, and, as soon as he feels the fish with his feet, he steps quickly on it and holds it firmly until he can reach hold of it with his hand, when he gives it a jerk, and away it flies far into the flats. This process is repeated until enough fish are caught, when they are picked up, put in a basket, and carried to the canoe. They are easily taken by this method of the Indians, as their rough backs prevent them from slipping under the feet. The catching affords a deal of fun, as usually quite a number are engaged in the sport, and their splashing, slipping, screaming, and laughing make a lively time. These fish, like all the fish in the bay, are very fine and well flavored."¹⁹

Herring appeared in great numbers during the summer. They were taken anywhere within a mile of the beach. The herring rake, common everywhere on the Northwest coast, was used from a canoe. It was simply a long sword-like stick with sharp bones set in one edge. An edgewise sweep through the water impaled the fish on the points and the fish were then shaken off in the canoe. A canoe could be filled in a short time. The rake was not used for smelt or candlefish.

Other sea foods. Razor clams (haitssaw'us) were an important source of food. While there were no good clam beds near the mouth of the river they could be found just south of Point Grenville, less than two hours walk from kwi'nail. The beds between Grenville and Moclips river were usually resorted to for small supplies of fresh clams. But the best digging was to be had at Copalis Beach and in the vicinity of Oyhut. Dozens of families moved to these places every summer to dry clams for the winter's supply. It is said that the shell heaps at Copalis are miles long and

¹⁷Another informant stated that either willow or alder might be used for a plug and that a whole smelt might be used for bait in bass and cod fishing. The hook rested either directly on the bottom or a few feet above. Where bait was used it seems likely that a more elaborate form of hook was employed. Sunny days were especially favorable for ocean fishing.

One informant stated that trolling was known; that Coho salmon, cod, and black bass were caught in the ocean in this way. The "spoon" was the white stem of a devil club carved in the shape of a fish, with a bone barb lashed to it.

¹⁸Swan, *Northwest Coast*, 139-140.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, 83.

many feet deep. Clams might be gathered at any time of the year, but those dug in May were considered best. A flat digging stick of yew was used. One must always face the ocean while digging, otherwise the clam will be missed or one's fingers get cut.

It requires no mean amount of dexterity and skill to be able to consistently catch the majority of those located, for the clam is more wily than is generally supposed. At the instant that the implement starts to pierce the sand he quickly draws in his neck, reaches the foot down into the soft watery sand below, enlarges it at the end and pulls himself rapidly downward. Unless he can be seized by the neck when the first scoop of sand is flicked away one may as well pass on, for by the time a second scoop is made he will be a foot below the surface. The digging stick was placed about four inches toward the sea from the barely perceptible depression that marks the spot directly above the clam. A single movement shoved the implement downward four inches and removed the sand. The right hand reached quickly downward and seized the neck and the bivalve was slowly pulled to the surface. It was usual to run about over the sand to cause the clams to dig down slightly so that the depressions became visible. This task usually fell to the children, who, upon sighting such a spot, marked a ring around it so that the women would be able to locate the clams more readily. As they were dug the clams were placed in a large open-work basket.

Razor clams were dug with less labor in calm weather, when there were low tides and the surf rolled in and spread out over the velvety sand in wide sheets of water not more than an inch deep. On the strip of beach continually covered with a film of water the clam necks could be seen protruding out of the sand. It was only necessary to seize the neck, give a slight dig and remove the clam.

Mud clams (*mita'ks*) were secured at the same places as razor clams, but they could be gathered only during a few of the very lowest tides in May. The small hole marking the spot above them served to locate them. A digging stick was not necessary in digging them.

Rock oysters (*sklapa'ligwa*) were a favorite food. About a mile south of *kwi'-nail* are several beds of blue clay, visible at low tide, which are hardened to almost the consistency of rock, but not so hard that pieces could not be split off quite readily. The substance was honeycombed with the burrows of these curious molluscs. The old method of gathering them was to split off sections of the rock by means of mauls and wedges. These were broken into smaller pieces and the oysters removed and placed in baskets to be carried home.

Huge black-shelled mussels (*kwapi't*) abounded on the rocks of Cape Elizabeth and Point Grenville. It was usual to voyage after them in canoes as they were too heavy to carry. In the old days their shells were used for knives and harpoon heads. "China slippers" (*tsa'al*) were treated like clams.

Sea anemones were secured at Cape Elizabeth. Crabs were frequently found along the beaches and in the pools of water near rocks at low tide. Herring eggs were not gathered by the Quinault, but they state that the Lower Chehalis of the south shore of Gray's Harbor made use of them. I neglected to obtain information on skate, squid, and sea urchins as food.

PREPARATION AND USE OF SEA FOODS

In addition to the material given in the preceding sections, I secured some additional information regarding the preparation and use of various foods which I will give here.

The work of preparing the salmon for drying fell to the women. The fish were "skinned out" in the usual Northwest coast manner by splitting down either side of the backbone so that a fairly uniform layer of flesh about one half inch thick remained with the skin. The stroke of the mussel shell knife was always from head toward tail. If the fish were very large a second layer of flesh was trimmed off. If the head, tail, and backbone were to be dried the entrails were removed and the "blood" along the backbone removed. The pieces were strung on racks which rose in tiers above the fire of alder or maple. Each day the pieces were moved up one tier and at the end of about a week were sufficiently dry to be stored away. Salmon so dried would keep almost indefinitely so long as it was not allowed to get damp. It was eaten either boiled, roasted, or as it was. The heads, tails, and fins were strung on strings and dried. (The taboo on cutting crosswise of the fish evidently extended only to the flesh, not to the removal of tail and head.) Only the gills were not eaten.

The eggs were spread out to dry for a time, then stored in a black salmon or seal bladder, which was hung up to dry. In time the eggs formed a sort of "cheese." The fresh eggs of black salmon were sometimes sprinkled in hot ashes, allowed to roast a few minutes, then dusted off and eaten. The milt of the male salmon was roasted in hot ashes and eaten.

Halibut, rock cod, and bass were dressed and dried in the same manner as salmon. They were usually soaked in water and boiled before being eaten.

Candlefish were dried whole. If their oil was wanted it was rendered by placing the fish in a large trough and adding water. They were then boiled by adding hot stones. The fish were pressed on a flat stone to extract more oil. The oil was used for dunking dried meat and berries.

Clams were prepared for drying by dashing them with hot water until the shells opened. The fleshy parts were then removed and strung on salmonberry sticks and roasted over the fire for a time, then dried in the sun. When thoroughly dry they were strung on cords and stored. They might be eaten without further preparation or soaked and boiled. Fresh clams were sometimes roasted before the fire until the shells opened, then eaten. Fresh clams were also prepared by placing them on hot rocks in a pit and covering them with leaves and sand.

Rock oysters were usually prepared by boiling them for five minutes. The nectar was drunk.

Mussels were always prepared by baking them in a pit for an hour or so.

Crabs were cooked by placing them on a rack a few inches above hot stones. They were then covered with mats and leaves and water was thrown on the stones. They were steamed an hour or two. Clams and fish were sometimes prepared in this same way.

A rather peculiar method of cooking was by means of a bark-lined pit. A hole of the desired shape and size was first dug, then large sections of hemlock bark par-

tially fitted into it. Hot water was then poured over the bark until it assumed the shape of the pit. The bark was then carefully removed and the seams sewed. It was then replaced in the pit, water poured in, and hot stones added until the water boiled. This affair could be used over a period of months. The same method was sometimes employed for the making of a container for the storing of fat or even meat.

HUNTING

Though not as important in Quinault economy as was fishing, hunting was looked upon as a profitable way to spend the month or two following the salmon runs. Game was now and then sought near the permanent villages along the river below Quinault lake, but the upper river and the mountains were the objectives when it was desired to lay by a supply of meat against the winter months. The entire family, or several families from the same village (usually relatives), frequently moved to the mountains during the late summer. Elk (*sli'ka'tsi'em*), bear, and deer were most sought after, but no hunter could afford to scorn lesser game. Once in the mountains, the family proceeded to erect a semi-permanent camp of poles and brush, and from this as a center the hunter, or hunters, ranged far and near in search of game, while the women and children stayed at camp drying the meat and in their spare time gathering berries and basket grasses and barks.

A somewhat romantic aura surrounded the pursuit of hunting, whether of the sea mammals or of elk and bear, and men were fond of relating their hunting experiences. For this reason they looked with a sort of disdain upon men who were not reckoned good hunters and who found it more profitable to spend most of their time fishing. "A good hunter's camp could be smelled from afar by reason of the odor of decaying refuse and offal—that was the mark of a good hunter."

For weapons the hunter carried only his bow and arrows, supplemented by a mussel-shell knife to be used in skinning and dismembering the game. His clothing consisted of a crude, untailored elk skin, belted at the waist, leggings to protect him from thorns and brush, and sock-like moccasins made from the hock skin of an elk or large deer (the hock forming the heel). If he expected to be long away from camp he took with him a pouch or bag containing a little dried meat or fish. If night overtook him far from camp, he sought a sheltering rock or tree and slept on the ground with only his daytime garb as a covering.

Some hunters used an elk call to lure the male elk within arrow range. This was a sort of double-ended whistle about eight inches long (fig. 8). It was made of a section of elderberry stem, well scraped, its pith pushed out and a plug inserted at the center. To make the proper sound the whistle was held vertically across the lips, the air being forced through the small lateral opening and across the end opening. The sound produced only remotely resembled any sound made by elk, but the males

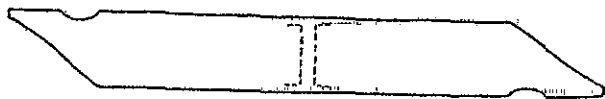


Fig. 8. A double-ended whistle used as an elk call.