

IDENTITY, TREATY STATUS AND FISHERIES
OF THE
JAMESTOWN CLALLAM INDIAN COMMUNITY

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
I. INTRODUCTION	1
II. IDENTITY	6
III. THE FOUNDING OF JAMESTOWN	12
IV. TREATY STATUS	24
V. FISHERIES	25
VI. SUMMARY	32
REFERENCES	33
BIBLIOGRAPHY	34
MAP	36
APPENDIX 1. CITIZENS' PETITION FOR REMOVAL OF INDIANS FROM DUNGENESS AREA	37
APPENDIX 2. EXCERPTS OF FISHING DATA FROM KLALLAM ETHNOGRAPHY BY GUNTHER	38

IDENTITY, TREATY STATUS AND FISHERIES
OF THE
JAMESTOWN BAND OF CLALLAM INDIANS

I. INTRODUCTION

In 1855 the Clallam Indians numbered about 1,000 people living in a dozen or so villages along the southern shore of the Strait of Juan de Fuca and at Port Townsend, Port Ludlow, and Port Gamble. All these people shared a common language, a common culture, and were closely connected by marriage and by other features of social organization. The settlers and the government at treaty times regarded the Clallam as a single "tribe," or community.

Today descendants of the 1855 Clallam population are treated administratively as belonging to three separate "tribes," or communities. The Lower Elwha Indian Community is a federally recognized entity residing on a reservation near Port Angeles. The Port Gamble Indian Community is a federally recognized entity residing on a reservation across from Port Gamble. The Jamestown Band of Clallam Indians residing at Jamestown (about midway between Port Angeles and Port Townsend) does not have a reservation and at the present time is not accorded the same kinds of federal recognition as the other two Clallam communities.

The present division of the Clallam people into three separate entities is an artifact of government policy and administrative practice rather than a reflection of ethnographic divisions among the Clallam population.

The present tripartite grouping of the Clallam people is the result of a series of historical events and acts which are explored more fully with respect to the Jamestown Clallam in a later portion of this report.

To summarize the situation briefly, the current state of affairs is a direct outgrowth of the 1855 treaty between the United States and the Clallam Indians and of subsequent efforts on the part of local Indian Office personnel and the Clallam Indians to insure that the Indians would be able to exercise the fishing rights secured to them by Article IV of the treaty.

In brief, the treaty document included two inconsistent provisions. On the one hand, the Clallam were secured the right to fish in their usual and accustomed grounds and stations. On the other hand, they were assigned to a reservation located 100 to 180 miles away from their usual and accustomed fishing places along the Strait of Juan de Fuca.

It was not feasible for the Clallam to remove to the reservation at the Skokomish River and also to fish at their usual and accustomed fisheries on the Strait and the streams and rivers draining into the Strait. The Clallam exercised their treaty fishing rights by remaining in their traditional territory and continuing to fish there.

Local Indian Office personnel acted in accord with this decision on the part of the Indians. When requested by settlers to remove the Clallam Indians to the Skokomish Reservation, they declined to do so on the grounds that this requirement was in conflict with the treaty provision assuring the Indians their continued right to fish at usual and accustomed grounds and stations.

The situation was summed up in a letter written December 22, 1873 by Edwin Eells, the Agent in charge of the Skokomish Reservation, to the Honorable E.P. Smith, Commissioner of Indian Affairs. The letter was written in response to a circular letter sent out by the Commissioner relative to Indians being compelled to remain on their reservations. Eells wrote in part as follows:

As you will see by reference to my last annual report, only about one third of the Indians under my charge live upon the reservation. Some of the reasons why they do not come on to the reservation are there set forth. Their right so to do is set forth in the fourth Article of their treaty which stipulates that "The right of taking fish at usual and accustomed grounds and stations is further secured to said Indians in common with all citizens of the United States, and of erecting temporary houses for the purpose of curing; together with the privilege of hunting and gathering roots and berries on open and unclaimed lands. Provided however, that they shall not take shell fish from any beds staked or cultivated by citizens." Now as it is their custom to take fish at all seasons of the year, and as they subsist principally upon fish, this clause in the treaty virtually allows them to be absent from the reservation all the time. Then as it is impossible for them all comfortably to subsist upon the reservation which has been selected by the government for them, there arises a necessity as well as a right for them to be away most all of the time.

As one of the objects of locating the Indians upon the reservations is to preserve peace upon the borders, I would here say that the Indians under my charge are all of them peaceable and well disposed toward the whites, and that there is no danger to be feared on that score.

. . . there have been numerous applications made to me by the Indians residing away from the reservation to purchase small tracts of land near their fishing grounds upon which to erect their houses. They wish to have small villages on these tracts of ground, to still be under the control of the Department, maintain their tribal relations, draw their proportion of the annuities, but still reside away from the reservation in homes of their own upon lands bought with their own money.

[1]

Eells' report reiterates facts which had been reported to the Department of Indian Affairs previously by other Indian Office personnel in Washington Territory. The two central facts were the inadequacy of the Skokomish Reservation to support the number of Indians assigned to

it and the necessity for the Clallam to reside on the Strait of Juan de Fuca if they were to continue to exercise their fishing rights there.

Michael Simmons, the first Indian agent for the Puget Sound District, and a member of the Stevens treaty commission which negotiated the treaty with the Clallam had assured the Indians that one or more reservations would be made for them in their own territory.

By letter of December 13, 1859 Simmons advised the Superintendent of Indian Affairs that he had caused a notice to be published in the Olympia Pioneer and Democrat to the effect that two sections of land at Clallam Bay had been reserved for the use and benefit of the Indians.

Simmons reported his reasons for this reservation in his annual report for 1859 and again in 1860.

I also advised that the Clallams living on the Straits of Fuca, who are parties to this treaty, should be allowed a reserve at Clallam bay, on said straits. My reason for so advising is that these Indians, reared on the wide waters of the the straits and the ocean, accustomed to taking the whale, black-fish, and halibut, cannot content themselves or be made to remain, except by force, on the narrow waters of Hood's canal, where the reservation is to be situated. I have always advised that, in confining these people to reservations, any change in location that will involve a violent change in habits and pursuits should be avoided.

[2]

Despite the efforts of Simmons and others and in spite of repeated requests on the part of the Clallam Indian leaders, no action to establish official reservations in Clallam territory was taken until many years later.

In the 1870's the Clallam were being forced out of their homes by non-Indians who were able to gain legal title to the lands improved and occupied by the Indians.

Bureaucratic delay in officially designating one or more reservations for the Clallam in their own territory had placed the Indian communities in jeopardy.

The numerically largest Clallam community lived in the Dungeness area. The Indian Department recognized James Balch as their chief. Despairing of timely action on the part of the federal authorities to create reservations and faced with growing non-Indian efforts to displace them, the Dungeness Clallam under Balch, decided to purchase land as a community in order to be secure in their landholding and in their efforts to maintain their group identity.

In 1874 the Dungeness Clallam purchased a tract of land of about 210 acres. The money to purchase the land was contributed by the community members and the deed was conveyed to Lord Jim Balch as head of the community. The new settlement made on this land by the Clallam who were dispossessed from their homes in the neighboring area was named Jamestown in honor of their chief.

Descendants of the original Jamestown settlers continue to live on the land purchased over 100 years ago and continue to identify themselves and are known to others as the Jamestown Band of Clallam Indians or as the the Jamestown Clallam Tribe. Their land has never been officially designated as an Indian reservation.

In 1936 and 1937 the federal government purchased lands in trust for the Indians which became the Port Gamble and Lower Elwha reservations. The two reservations were created for those Clallam Indians who had remained, for the most part, landless.

The foregoing is a brief summary of the events which have led to the present existence of three separately identifiable Clallam bands or tribes. The next two sections of this report explore in more detail the origins and specific history of the Jamestown Clallam group.

II. IDENTITY

As noted earlier, at treaty times the Clallam lived in about a dozen villages most of which were located on the shores of the Strait of Juan de Fuca. Map 1 gives the approximate location of some of these villages. It also shows the location of the modern Jamestown settlement. The people who formed the Jamestown community came mainly from villages in the vicinity of the Dungeness River and what is now known as Sequim Bay (formerly known as Washington Harbor). Other Jamestown families came from Clallam Bay and from Port Discovery.

Gunther's Klallam Ethnography, based on field work done in 1924 and 1925, depended largely on information from Jamestown Clallam people. She recorded the following brief summary of Jamestown history.

Jamestown, called by the Klallam Nuxia antc, white firs, was founded about 1875 when the whites asked the Indians to leave Dungeness. The Indians under the leadership of James Balch, bought a tract of land along the shore for \$500. It was surveyed and divided among the families according to the amount they had contributed to the purchasing price. The settlers at Jamestown were principally from Dungeness with a few families from Washington Harbor and Port Discovery.

[3]

The information regarding village origins which was given to Gunther by knowledgeable Jamestown residents in 1924 and 1925 can be verified by reference to Indian Department records.

Of course, records relating to the modern Jamestown community as such do not antedate its inception in 1874. A separate census roll relating to the Jamestown Clallam was not kept by the Bureau of Indian Affairs prior to 1899. Nevertheless, by using a combination of documents which can be cross-checked for accuracy, it is possible to identify many of the individuals and families who joined the Jamestown settlement and to ascertain their former villages of origin.

The major sorts of documents relied upon are diaries and correspondence of Indian Office personnel and local non-Indian residents in the 1850's and 1860's, annuity distribution records from the 1870's, and annual census records beginning in the 1880's.

For example, the diaries and correspondence of George Gibbs, the lawyer-ethnologist who served as secretary of the Stevens treaty commission in Washington Territory in 1854-1855, identify by name many of the leading Clallam men and women of the time as well as their places of residence. Similar identifications are found in the correspondence and journals of local settlers.

In 1868 there was an affray involving Tsimshian Indians from what is now British Columbia and Clallam Indians in the Dungeness area. The incident resulted in a record being made of Clallam Indians resident at Port Discovery and a second list of Clallam identified as Dungeness Indians.

For a brief period following the Civil War, military personnel served as Indian agents in Washington Territory. During that interval some fairly meticulous records were kept of matters such as census counts and annuity distributions.

On October 31, 1870 a detailed list was made of annuity goods distributed to 241 Clallam families comprising 660 Clallam Indians in all. For each family, the name of the head of family was entered along with the number of wives, sons, and daughters.

By comparing the named family heads in this list with individuals mentioned in earlier records noted above, it is possible to identify those families belonging to the Dungeness--Sequim Bay--Port Discovery area. These same families later appear in separate census rolls of Jamestown Clallam maintained by the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Although some census rolls are available for earlier years, the Bureau of Indian Affairs did not begin keeping annual census rolls on a consistent basis until 1885. From 1885 until 1899 a single Clallam roll was kept in which the total number of Indians listed varied from about 300 to 350. These totals remained fairly consistent until World War I, but it is clear that large numbers of Clallam were simply not included in the census. Both the 1870 count mentioned above and later rolls beginning about 1915 reflect considerably larger figures.

Many of the Clallam who were not included in the earlier census rolls were people who had been displaced from their homes and who had no settled place of residence. The people who are later identified as Jamestown Indians are regularly accounted for in these earlier census lists.

From 1899 to 1907 the Clallam rolls show separate lists according to locality. The Jamestown figures show around 220 to 230 people during this period, but analysis of these lists shows that they included

people from Clallam villages farther west along the Strait of Juan de Fuca as well as people from the Dungeness--Sequim Bay--Port Discovery area. For this reason, the Jamestown census rolls for the period up to 1915 may not be regarded as a precisely accurate record of the Jamestown Clallam population. Even if the records are corrected by deleting those people known to belong to more westerly communities, it still appears that the Jamestown census is incomplete.

As noted above, much larger figures are reported for the Clallam population beginning in 1915. This increase, presumably due to more accurate census-taking, is reflected in the Jamestown figures as well as for other Clallam groups. Jamestown population figures for the period 1915 through 1924 are given in the table below.

Table 1. Jamestown population figures for the period 1915 through 1924.

1915	210
1916	198
1917	201
1918	205
1919	204
1920	
1921	195
1922	197
1923	
1924	194

Figures are lacking or are incomplete for 1920, 1923, 1925 and 1926. Beginning in 1927 figures are again compiled for Clallam as a whole without respect to locality. The Jamestown figures are thus subsumed in the larger Clallam census.

It is possible to trace the Jamestown Clallam in the later rolls by two means. First, the appropriate names can be identified by reference to the earlier rolls in which the Jamestown Clallam were separately identified. Second, some of the later rolls include post office addresses such as Sequim which readily identify the locality in which the person is resident.

While the records are not perfect, they are sufficiently adequate to trace some families from the Dungeness--Sequim Bay--Port Discovery area in treaty times to the Jamestown community as established in 1874 through to the present Jamestown community.

On the basis of the above sorts of records it does not appear feasible to document exactly how many people comprised the Jamestown community when it was established in 1874. It is likely that the first settlers at Jamestown numbered about one hundred people, more or less, and that the number was augmented as additional people moved in from neighboring villages.

Myron Bells, missionary to the Clallam and brother of Edwin Bells, the agent in charge of the Clallam and Skokomish Indians, published census figures for the Clallam settlements for the year 1880. Bells maintained that the census taken between November 29, 1880 and May 1, 1881 was the most complete to date. However, as noted earlier in this report, there is reason to believe that the census is incomplete. Bells included the following information relative to the Clallam.

CLALLAM INDIANS. These are scattered on the western and northern shores of Puget Sound, from Seabeck to Clallam Bay. They number four hundred and eighty-five persons, of which sixty-two were absent on

the English side of the straits of Juan de Fuca. There are one hundred and fifty-eight men, one hundred seventy-two women, eighty-six boys and sixty-nine girls, or two hundred and forty-four males and two hundred and forty-one females.

AGES. Fifty-six were estimated to be under five years of age, forty-four between five and ten, eighty-two between ten and twenty, sixty-four between twenty and thirty, sixty-two between thirty and forty, seventy-four between forty and fifty, sixty-four between fifty and sixty, twenty-eight between sixty and seventy, and eleven over seventy, none being supposed to be over seventy-five.

RESIDENCE. Six were on or near the Skokomish reservation, ten near Seabeck, ninety-six at Port Gamble, six at Port Ludlow, twelve at Port Townsend, twenty-two at Port Discovery, eighteen at Sequim, eighty-six at Jamestown, thirty-six at or near Dungeness, fifty-seven at Port Angelos, sixty-seven at Elkwa, twenty-four at Pyscht, forty-six at Clallam Bay, and three at Hoko.

INTER-MARRIAGE. There are two hundred and ninety full-blooded Clallams, and the rest are intermingled with eighteen other tribes. They were traced back only to the grandparents of the older ones. Thirty were part Cowichan, twenty-eight were mingled with the Makahs, twenty-seven with the Twanas, twenty-three with the Victoria Indians, twenty with the Quillehutes, sixteen with the Chemakums, ten with the Samish Indians, ten with the Nanaimos, nine with the Skagits, five with the Snohomish tribe, three each with the Nootkas, Lumis and Port Madisons, and one each with the Sokes, Nitinats, Puyallups, and Bellingham Bay Indians. Quite a number have the blood of three tribes in their veins, and a few that of four. Fifteen are part white.

[4]

Whatever the shortcomings of the above data, several points are clear. First, the Indians of the Dungeness--Jamestown--Sequim--Port Discovery region accounted for at least 162 people, the largest concentration of Clallam in the 1880 census. Second, the Clallam were intermarried with Makah, Twana (Skokomish), and Chemakum neighbors as well as with Indians from surrounding areas of Puget Sound and beyond. Lastly, Eells' observation that individual Clallam frequently traced relationship to three or four "tribal" groups helps to explain the widespread fishing areas resorted to by Clallam at treaty times and throughout the last half of the nineteenth century.

The Eells report also helps to establish the date at which people from Port Washington (Sequim Bay) moved to the Jamestown settlement. In 1924 and 1925 Gunther collected information about the Port Washington village. She recorded data on the number of houses in the village at about 1880 as well as the names and number of occupants of each house. The total population is given as forty-three.

Gunther noted that Eells reported about forty people resident at Sequim (Washington Harbor) in 1878. That figure agreed closely with her data on household composition for about the same time. However, the 1880 census data quoted on the preceding page of this report gives a figure of eighteen for Sequim, suggesting that the Port Washington residents were in the process of removing to Jamestown and that most of them had already moved to Jamestown by 1880.

III. THE FOUNDING OF JAMESTOWN

The circumstances which gave rise to the founding of the Jamestown community by Indian residents from the Dungeness and Washington Harbor area were described briefly in the introductory section of this report.

The following discussion provides more detailed information with special focus on the intent of the Indians to maintain their treaty status and the policy of the federal government as interpreted to the Clallam chief, Lord James Balch.

In the early 1870's there was a concerted move on the part of certain interests to force all Indians who were not already on reservations to vacate their homes and move to reservations. Petitions were signed

by local residents in various parts of Washington Territory requesting the Indian Department to remove all Indians from their local area. The Clallam territory was no exception.

The following is taken from a long report written by Edwin Bells, the agent in charge of the Skokomish and Clallam Indians, to Marshall Blinn, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Washington Territory. The report is dated January 20, 1874.

All of the material relating to the Dungeness area Indians is reproduced here.

In compliance with your orders dated Dec. 26 and 30, 1873 directing me to proceed to Elkwa and New Dungeness to ascertain the causes of certain petitions being sent from those places, requesting the removal of the Indians from those places to the Reservation, I left here on the 1st inst. and proceeded at once to New Dungeness arriving there on the 7th inst. I remained there several days and also visited the Elkwa river and from my investigations beg leave to report the following as to the causes of said petitions.

At New Dungeness there was no complaint whatever that the Indians there molested the whites in any way. The petition seems to have been drawn up and almost exclusively signed in a lodge of Good Templars at that place. It was said by the signers that drunkenness was increasing among the Indians, that in consequence they were killing each other off continually and were fast becoming a public nuisance. The pro's and con's of their removal were thoroughly discussed during my stay by the citizens there. For a time quite a strong party were in favor of their remaining provided the civil authorities should extend their jurisdiction over them, but upon their reckoning up the expense of such a course to the County they all expressed themselves as desirous of having them removed and drew up another petition and signed it asking for their removal, which said petition has been forwarded to you. Upon my leaving there, public opinion seemed divided upon the question in about the following proportions. The majority favored their removal, and some of these were very anxious; about a third were entirely indifferent, and a few were strongly opposed to their removal, holding that they were a great benefit in the way of help in harvesting and potatoe digging time. Their work being had at those times much cheaper than any other help could be had. And it was also advanced that they were very convenient in carrying persons and goods in their canoes. Others said that when they went anywhere with them in their canoes that they so often got drunk and failed to bring them back that they were of more inconvenience

than real assistance. They number in all about one hundred including men women and children. The young men are efficient and know how to do nearly all kinds of farm work, but as soon as they get any money spend it all for whisky. It is very apparent that something ought to be done to prevent their drinking so much, but what course to take I am at a loss to determine. Could they in any way be supported on the Reservation it would no doubt be the best place for them, but as at present situated they could not remain long without leaving to get work and would so soon be scattered as far from the Reservation as they are now. I appointed a police force of Indians and gave them a set of laws restraining drinking and hope it may have some effect.

[5]

The first petition from settlers at New Dungeness was sent to the Acting Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Marshall Blinn, in December 1873. A copy of the petition is included as Appendix 1 with this report. I have not located the second petition referred to in Eells' report.

It is clear from Eells' statements that the Clallam Indians could not support themselves if they removed to the Skokomish Reservation. Eells and his predecessors repeatedly had called attention to the inadequacy of the reservation to support even the Skokomish Indians. The best land within the reservation and adjoining it had already been taken by donation claims and the government did not purchase those claims and enlarge the reservation until after the Dungeness Indians had purchased the Jamestown land.

The situation in the spring of 1874 was a desperate one for the Clallam. They could not support themselves if they moved to the reservation to which they had been assigned. They could not remain where they were because of mounting pressure on the part of some of the local settlers. Furthermore, they could not obtain land through the General Land Office. The Indian Homestead Act (18 Stat. 402) was not passed until March 3, 1875 nearly one year after the Jamestown purchase.

Prior to February 1870, it had not been possible for individuals who were identified as Indians to obtain land through the General Land Office. The land laws required that an individual either be a citizen or declare his intention of becoming a citizen. There was no provision whereby Indians in Washington Territory could become citizens and they were thus unable to avail themselves of the various laws under which title could be taken to unclaimed lands.

The result of this legal disability was that non-Indians were able to file on Indian lands and require the Indians to leave their homes and farms. Many Indians were dispossessed of their holdings in this way in the period until 1870.

In February 1870 Secretary of the Interior Cox decided that under the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution Indians could become citizens and could take up land under the preemption and homestead laws. In order to do so, the individual Indian applying to take up land had to agree to sever his tribal relations. Some Indians in Washington Territory not living on reservations took this means to protect their homes and improved lands from non-Indians who otherwise could file on those lands and dispossess the Indian occupants.

The Dungeness Indians did not want to sever their tribal relations and had not availed themselves of this avenue to take title to the land where they had their homes.

As we noted in the first section of this report, Eells had written to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in December 1873 on this subject.

. . . there have been numerous applications made to me by the Indians residing away from the reservation to purchase small tracts of land near their fishing grounds upon which to erect their houses. They wish to have small villages on these tracts of ground, to still be under the control of the department, maintain their tribal relations, draw their proportion of the annuities, but still reside away from the reservation in homes of their own upon lands bought with their own money. I desire instruction upon this point, whether this could be allowed and encouraged or not.

[6]

Two months later the new Secretary of the Interior issued a decision which reversed previous federal policy. He ruled that individual Indians could not voluntarily sever their tribal relations, that tribal relations could only be severed by a tribe as a tribe, and that specific federal approval for such action was necessary.

On February 23, 1874 Secretary of the Interior Delano wrote to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs

I return, herewith, the letter of Marshall Blynn, Acting Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Washington Territory, and accompanying paper submitted with your report of the 17th instant, in which the question is presented whether, in the absence of Congressional legislation or treaty provision specifically authorizing it, an Indian can by mere act of voluntarily abandoning his tribal relations and ceasing to claim or exercise any of the special privileges, immunities, or exemptions, incident to such a political condition, and by adopting the habits and customs of civilized life, become, without further action on his part, a citizen of the United States.

I am clearly of the opinion that an Indian cannot voluntarily absolve his relations with his tribe and thereby become a citizen of the United States.

The tribal relations must be dissolved by the tribe, as a tribe, and that, too, with the consent of the United States, as shown by treaty or act of Congress, before citizenship is created.

I approve the suggestion that Congress be asked to enact a law authorizing individual Indians to abandon the tribe and thereby become citizens; qualifying it however with such provisions as will prevent the exceedingly ignorant and thriftless, or otherwise incompetent, from being included in its terms.

I will thank you to prepare a draft of a Bill to be presented to Congress, that will if it become a law, confer the right of citizenship upon such individual Indians as may desire to avail themselves of its benefits.

[7]

Delano's new policy made it impossible for the Clallam Indians to secure title to public domain land unless the tribe, as a tribe, received permission from the Congress to abandon tribal relations. The Clallam neither sought nor received such Congressional action.

The Secretary's new policy was immediately made known to the general public through the medium of the Territorial newspapers.

In March 1874 Marshall Blinn was no longer Acting Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Washington Territory, the former Superintendent having been reinstated in his post. Under date of March 23, 1874, Superintendent R.H. Milroy wrote to the Honorable E.P. Smith, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, about the effects of Secretary Delano's decision.

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of yours of the 26th ultimo, showing that the decision of Secretary Cox of February 11, 1870, that the 14th Amendment to the Constitution of the U. S. conferred the benefits of the homestead and preemption laws upon Indians, who had severed their tribal relations and disclaimed and relinquished treaty rights and benefits - has been over-ruled by a decision of Secretary Delano under date of the 23rd ult., and that "A draft of a bill will, therefore, be prepared by this (your) office, at an early day for submission to Congress" - "authorizing individual Indians to abandon their respective tribes and thereby become citizens." I wish to say that under the decision of Secretary Cox aforesaid, and in accordance with the forms and instructions transmitted by his order to the local land offices, for their guidance in enabling Indians to avail themselves of the benefits of the homestead and preemption laws, a number of Indians in different parts of this Territory had taken homestead claims and in some instances have made valuable improvements thereon. But, by decision of Secretary Delano, all such claims are illegal and void, and the poor duped Indians who have taken them have no rights thereunder that any white man or negro is bound to respect. The news of this decision of the Hon. Secretary has through the press, become known throughout this Superintendency and the helpless condition of "poor Io," when he has attempted to take a homestead claim, has become generally known.

The consequence is that I have already had complaints from Indians of whitemen "Jumping" their claims and asking me to protect them therein,

in accord with my promises to them mentioned in my annual report for 1872, (See Report Commissioner Ind. Affairs for 1872, p.p. 343 and 344). Please inform me what I can do for these helpless wards of our Great Country.

Permit me to suggest that in the bill you are having prepared "for submission to Congress" on this subject, you have a clause inserted legalizing all claims taken by Indians by authority of and in accordance with instructions carrying into effect said decision of Secretary Cox.

[8]

The following month the Dungeness Indians made up a community purse in order to purchase land from a private party. This was apparently the only means available to them to secure land without severing tribal relations.

On May 2, 1874 Daniel F. Brownfield wrote from Dungeness to Superintendent Milroy at the request of James Balch, or Lord Jim, chief of the Dungeness Clallam. Brownfield was the second settler at Dungeness and had served in the first legislative assembly of the Territory. He was not one of the signers of the December petition.

Lord Jim, Chief of the Clallam tribe of Indians is now here with a request of me to write you for him and say that he had bought a tract of land from Richard Delanta near Dungeness 222 acres for the sum of five hundred dollars and he says he and his people have paid all there money for the land and wants you to assist them to material for building houses and improving land. He wishes you to write and say what you can do. Then he and People will come and see you at Olympia.

Respectfully yours

D H Brownfield

P.S. I hope these people are doing what is right and will be somehow by law and justice. if not they should be advised.

DHB

[9]

There is evidently a word missing in the post script of the above letter. It seems reasonable to assume that the missing word may have been "upheld" or something conveying a similar meaning. The phrase would then read "somehow upheld by law and justice."

The fact that Balch and his people expected the Superintendent to assist them in their new settlement is a clear indication that they did not regard their land purchase as severing their relations with the Indian Department nor as a relinquishment of their treaty rights.

They apparently adhered to that view despite some conflicting information from Eells. Apparently Brownfield's letter was forwarded to Eells by Milroy. On May 13, 1874 Eells wrote to Milroy as follows:

In regard to the enclosed letter of Mr. Brownfield respecting Lord Jim's purchase I have this to say. That during last fall when I was down to Dungeness Lord Jim applied to me for help to purchase that land. Some months later he in connection with other leading Indians from other places made application to purchase land where they resided but still retain their tribal relations. During the past winter I had some correspondence with the Commissioner about the matter and received the following instructions through the Supt's Office at Olympia in a letter dated Jan. 22nd 1874. "In reply you are advised that it is the policy of the Government to collect all Indians living in a tribal capacity upon such reservation as may be provided for their occupation either by Treaty, Act of Congress or Executive Order, in order that their interests may be properly protected, and that they may be within the jurisdiction and control of their respective Agent and Superintendent. Indians cannot therefore be allowed to reside apart from the reservation provided for them engaging in the pursuit of, and living in the midst of a white community and at the same time exempt themselves from the responsibilities of such a mode of life by retaining their tribal relations with the government.

They must live upon the tribal reservation and under the control of their Agent or renounce all claim to participation in the benefit or exemption accruing to them as Indians in a tribal capacity.

It is proper to state, in this connection that under the ruling of the General Land Office, the Indian cannot avail himself of the benefits of the homestead and pre-emption acts except he shall previously abandon his tribal relations."

In accordance with the above letter I informed Lord Jim that if he and his people bought that land and lived on it they could have no more annuities from me. That hereafter I should only help those who resided upon the reservation. I advised him to move his people here and I would help them, but if they bought at Dungeness they must expect nothing from me. By the enclosed letter of Mr. Brownfield it appears that he and his people have concluded to purchase, but despairing of getting aid from me they apply to the Supt.

I give the history of the case that you may act advisedly on the matter. I think if the Sklallam Indians found as I have told them will be the case that the annuity money is only given to those who keep their part of the Treaty by living on the reservation, that they would come here to live for the sake of getting their share.

[11]

In my opinion Eells' final sentence cannot be taken at face value. It is my view that this was a rather bitter comment by Eells on the handling of the entire situation. My reasons for this opinion are as follows. First, the annuity payments were by treaty arrangement only to continue for twenty years. The twenty year period for these payments had very nearly expired. Second, Eells had in another letter pointed out that the annuity payments were so inconsequential as to be of no benefit to the Indians who travelled from the Clallam country to collect them. He pointed out that they would be financially as well or better off if they stayed at home following their normal pursuits.

Whatever Eells may have intended by his concluding remark, it is clear that neither the Dungeness Clallam nor Clallam from other areas moved to the Skokomish Reservation.

It seems reasonable to assume that whatever Eells may have told them concerning the need to remove to the reservation in order to maintain their tribal capacity, the Clallam would have given greater weight to the decision of the Secretary of the Interior that tribal relations could not be abandoned except by specific action of the tribe as a whole and with the express consent of the Congress of the United States.

It is a matter of record that the United States continued to recognize the Jamestown community as part of the Clallam tribe and to extend services as provided by treaty.

In the spring of 1878, a day school was established at Jamestown. The Indian Department supplied the teacher, the land and building having been supplied by the community.

In the annual report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1878, Eells described the Jamestown school.

. . . . in April last there was established a day-school at an Indian village 100 miles distant, which has surpassed my most sanguine expectations. At that place the Indians have secured by purchase a tract of 200 acres of land, divided it up and allotted it to the individuals who furnished the purchase money, have built comfortable lumber houses thereon, and live there, to the number of about 100. Of their own motion they have put up a small building, 16 by 26 feet, for a church and school-house; and a teacher having been furnished them, they have sent 31 scholars regularly to school, and the advancement made by their children in the acquirement of the rudiments of an education has been surprising. No community of white people could have been more earnest and zealous in requiring the regular attendance of their children, neatly clad, and inciting them to study earnestly in order to get an education.

[12]

According to Meany, Eells issued Billy Newton, also known as Cook-House Billy, a certificate as head chief of the Clallam in 1884. Billy Newton served as chief of the Jamestown Clallam for many years. In 1905 Meany reported,

When old Chits-a-mah-han died he was succeeded by Lord Jim or James Balch, the son of Tuls-met-tum, the sub-chief who signed the treaty

When James Balch died he was succeeded by Cook-House Billy, who has a certificate as head chief, signed by Edwin Eells as Indian agent, and dated November 28, 1884. . . . his real name is Billy Newton.

[13]

In addition to the government day-school and the recognition of the head chief, there was also a court of Indian offenses. This was organized by Eells like the one at the Skokomish Reservation, but because of the distance from the reservation it operated in connection with local law enforcement authorities.

In the annual report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1892 Eells gave the following account of the Jamestown Clallam.

The S'Klallam tribe of Indians have no reservation, but own some 200 acres of land near Dungeness, where they have a village and in which is kept a day school of some 25 scholars. They have a court of Indian offenses, which operates in connection with the justice of the peace. There is a church organization, and a Sunday school is kept up by the teacher. A missionary visits them several times a year. They are farmers and citizens. About 100 make this village, which is called Jamestown, their home.

[14]

The government continued to maintain the day school at Jamestown and it was consistently reported as the most successful day school in the agency.

The Jamestown community as a whole continued to prosper in contrast to other Clallam groups which had remained landless. In 1897 Frank Terry, the agent in charge, reported

At Jamestown the situation is much better. There the Indians some years ago bought a small tract of land, which they have divided among themselves, each family getting an average of about 10 acres. Though these Indians live mostly by fishing, they have nice little gardens and orchards. They own their own homes and seem to appreciate them.

[15]

The Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Washington, Harry Liston, included the following report on the Jamestown Clallam in his annual report for 1904 to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

Jamestown is a small village near Dungeness, and the Indians living there belong to the Clallam tribe. They have no reservation and their interests are looked after by the day school teacher. Their principal occupation is crab fishing, and their annual income is from \$5,000 to \$8,000. They work as a company in this business and are quite prosperous. Some little work is also done at farming and gardening on land which they have purchased. There is a day school here which, though small, is quite a success, and is the only one at which they could attend. Several pupils were transferred to the Puyallup Boarding School during the past year.

[16]

The Jamestown Clallam were successful in maintaining their community in large part because they acquired a land base early in their own territory where they could continue to support themselves by fishing, shell-fishing, and farming.

Because of their distance from the agent who was charged with their supervision, and because they had removed themselves from the local white community, they had to depend upon their traditional leaders for local government. Traditionally, these leaders were active in directing community economic activities, religious functions, and settling disputes within the community. The Jamestown leaders continued to carry out these functions.

Sometime prior to 1900 the Indian Shaker Church was established at Jamestown and Jamestown became one of the most important centers for this faith. Many of the political leaders of the Jamestown Clallam have also been leaders in the Shaker Church. Jacob Hall, chairman of the Jamestown Tribal Organization in the 1950's is a notable example.

The Jamestown Clallam are unique among all Indian groups in western Washington in that they purchased a land base as a community over one hundred years ago and have continued to reside there and maintain their tribal identity.

IV. TREATY STATUS

The Dungeness--Sequim Bay--Port Discovery Clallam groups whose descendants comprise the modern Jamestown Band of Clallam Indians were parties to the Treaty of Point No Point and all held lands that were within the area ceded by the treaty.

All of the Clallam villages whose members later moved to Jamestown are named in the preamble of the treaty. The preamble of the Treaty of Point No Point is reproduced here with the names of the groups ancestral to the Jamestown Clallam Band underscored for clarity. The underscoring does not appear in the original treaty document.

Articles of agreement and convention made and concluded at Hahdskus, or Point No Point, Suquamish Head, in the Territory of Washington, this twenty-sixth day of January, eighteen hundred and fifty-five, by Isaac I. Stevens, governor and superintendent of Indian affairs for the said Territory, on the part of the United States, and the undersigned chiefs, headmen, and delegates of the different villages of the S'Klallams, viz: Kahtai, Squah-quaihtl, Tchqueen, Stehtlum, Tsohkw, Yennis, Elh-wa, Pishtst, Hunnint, Klat-la-wash, and Oke-ho, and also of the Sko-ko-mish, To-an-hooch, and Chem-a-kum tribes, occupying certain lands on the Straits of Fuca and Hood's Canal, in the Territory of Washington, on behalf of said tribes, and duly authorized by them.

None of the above named Clallam villages is specifically identified on the treaty document with one or more of the Indian "signers." Forty-seven of the Indian signatories listed at the end of the document are identified thereon as "S'klallam," but none is identified as to village.

It is possible, by reference to other contemporaneous documents to identify some of the Clallam signatories with some of the Clallam villages named in the preamble.

Yi-ah-hum, or John Adams, Duke of Clarence, General Taylor and General Scott were all identified elsewhere by Gibbs as Port Discovery

Clallam. Some of the Port Discovery families moved to Jamestown; others joined the Port Gamble community.

Another signer, Tuls-met-tum, or Lord Jim was a Dungeness Indian. His son, also known as Lord Jim, or James Balch, was the founder of the Jamestown community.

The groups which have been identified as mainly ancestral to the modern Jamestown community were named in the preamble to the Treaty of Point No Point and are represented thereon by a number of signatories.

The Jamestown village itself was not named in the preamble because it did not exist at the time that the treaty was made. Waterman, in his Puget Sound Geography, says that there was apparently a small village at that site in aboriginal times. If this information is correct, the post-treaty community had re-established themselves at a pre-treaty village site.

V. FISHERIES

The ancestors of the modern Jamestown community at treaty times fished in the waters of the Strait of Juan de Fuca, in Puget Sound, and in Hood Canal. They fished in Dungeness Bay, Sequim Bay (then called Washington Harbor), and Port Discovery Bay. In addition they fished in the Dungeness River and the smaller streams in their territory draining into the Strait. They harvested shell-fish at all suitable locations along the southern shore of the Strait, on Protection Island, and at various places in Hood Canal.

Spanish and English ships visited the Dungeness--Sequim Bay--Port Discovery area starting in 1790 and some of the early logs and journals contain good descriptions of species harvested by the Indians and of Indian fishing gear.

In 1790 Quimper's expedition went as far as Port Discovery. On July 5, 1790 while in Dungeness Bay the following description was recorded.

. . . many canoes of Indians came out with delicious and abundant fish and shellfish, among which were flounder, ray fish, salmon, mojarras, sea bass, little dogfish, crabs, and some venison.

[17]

Two years later Vancouver's expedition described some of the fish and shellfish found in Discovery Bay. Menzies, the botanist with Vancouver, wrote of their finding a native oyster bed at the head of Discovery Bay. The oyster bed was located in front of an Indian village which was uninhabited at the time of their visit.

On May 2, 1792 Menzies wrote

In the afternoon I accompanied Capt. Vancouver to the head of the Harbour which we found to terminate in a muddy bank of shallow water on which the Pinnace grounded--This lead to the discovery of a species of small Oyster with which the bottom was plentifully strewd but being now out of season they were poor and ill flavord and consequently not worth collecting. We then landed on the East Side where we saw the remains of a deserted village of a few houses one of which had been pretty large.

[18]

The inhabitants of the village were presumably away during the period of Vancouver's visit and perhaps they had removed the roof boards of their houses to another location. Whatever the explanation, the village at the head of the bay was inhabited at treaty time.

Because few Indians were seen during the time of their visit, Vancouver's men were obliged to fish for themselves. Menzies' journal for May 6, 1790 contains the following entry.

The Seine was daily hauled at the Tents & with some degree of success though we seldom obtained a sufficient supply for all hands, the fish generally caught were Bream of two or three kinds, Salmon & Trout & two kinds of flat fish, one of which was a new species of Pleuronectes, with Crabs which were found very good & palatable & we seldom failed in hauling on shore a number of Elephant Fish (Chimoera Callorhynchus) & Scolplings (Cottus scorpius) but the very appearance of these was sufficient to deter the use of them, they therefore generally remained on the Beach.

[19]

The Vancouver expedition was able to barter with the Indians and to obtain specimens of fishing gear which were always carried in the canoes which came along side the ships.

Gunther, who has studied the logs and journals of the eighteenth century expeditions to the Northwest Coast and the collections of Indian artifacts made during the voyages and deposited in European museums, provides the following information.

In addition to bartering fish and other food, the Indians gladly sold their arrows, bows, and fishing tackle, which were always in the canoes. Mr. Hewitt, of the Vancouver expedition, gathered a number of pieces from this general area. . . .

The pieces in the Hewitt collection which originated at Port Discovery have more variety and interest than those from the Strait of Juan de Fuca. . . . The inventory consists of two composite bows, arrows, a war club, two halibut hooks, a scoop or dipper, a rattle, and a necklace of bird beaks.

Included in the "implements" mentioned in the journals were two bent halibut hooks, a familiar item among all coast Indians who have access to halibut banks. These hooks are described in the ethnography of the Klallam, so finding them in a collection of 1792 gives this type of hook some historic continuity.

[20]

Gunther's description of fishing, fishing gear and species harvested by the Clallam is included as Appendix 2 of this report. Much of the material was obtained from Jamestown Clallam and refers to the Dungeness--Sequim Bay--Port Discovery area.

The Dungeness River was the most important river fishery in the area, although the smaller streams draining into the bays and the strait were fished as well.

In 1847 Paul Kane, the artist, sketched a weir at the village of Tsohkw (as it was spelled in the treaty) on the Dungeness River.

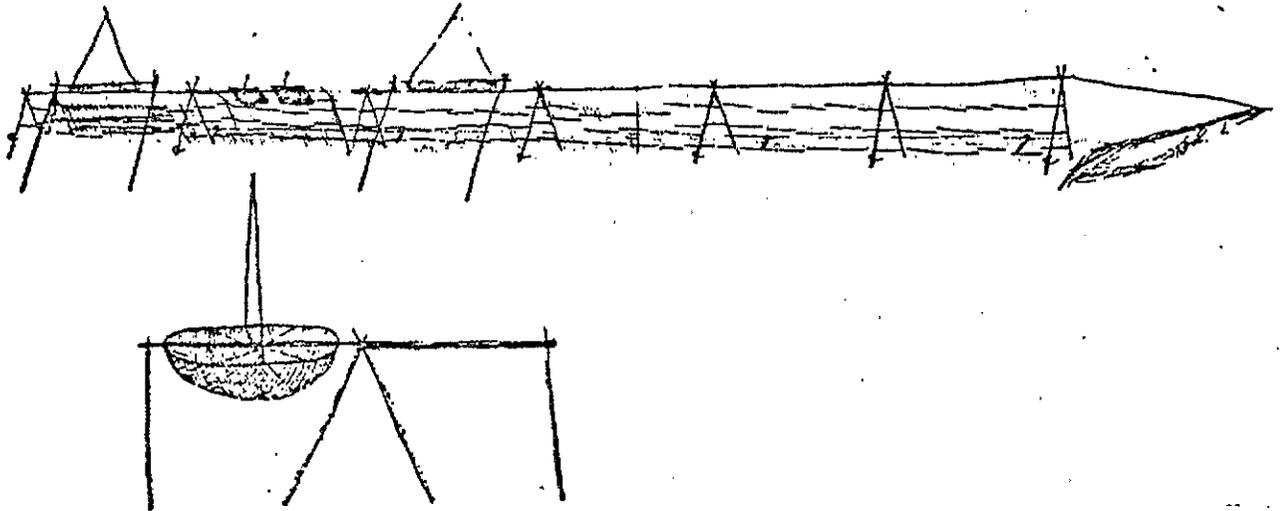
Fig. 182. Salmon trap at Suck.
Stark wwc26; crIV-520.

STARK FOUNDATION, ORANGE, TEXAS



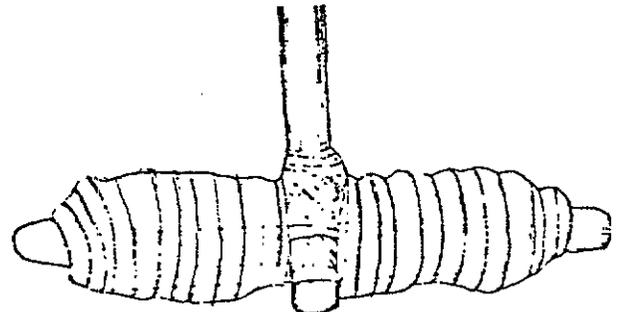
COURTESY STARK FOUNDATION, ORANGE, TEXAS

Some thirty or forty years later, Myron Eells, missionary brother to the agent, sketched a weir of similar design and also provided detail of the lift net and the cleaning rake used with these weirs.



Fish

Fire traps like that illustrated were built across streams to take salmon. Also seen is one of the 2-foot nets made of string secured to a rim, 6 feet broad. When Eells was among them, Indians still used string made of nettle or twisted alder bark, although by that time, American twine was mostly used for making nets.



Rake used by Klallams at a Dungeness fish trap to clean off the weir. Handle and crosspiece were made of wood tied with cedar limb rope. It was used to clean leaves, sticks and sometimes, gravel washed onto the weir.

Gunther recorded details of the use and construction of several types of salmon and steelhead traps. According to her account, every river and creek had at least one salmon trap across it. Her descriptions are given in Appendix 2.

Eells also described a dip net made of nettle fiber and used for collecting sea urchins and small fish. The twine net was described as *about a foot broad, sixteen inches deep, tapering to a point, fastened at the upper edge to a rim of wood or hoop of iron. It is attached to a handle about ten feet long, and is used in gathering sea eggs, and small fish. I have seen it more in use among the Clallam than the other tribes.*

[23]

Eells noted that the Clallam also made seines and he provided details on several types of floats used with these seines.

Sometimes they were made of a large number of sticks, ten or twelve inches long tied together to make a bundle about four inches in diameter. Another type was made of a single block with a hole through it by means of which it was attached to the seine. Another type was made of single cedar blocks with handles at one of the ends through which holes were made; another was made in the shape of a duck "especially as a decoy for porpoises". . . .

[24]

Eells described the sinkers used with the seines as follows:

[Seine sinkers] were of stone, oval, and usually three or three and a half inches long by about two in diameter. Strings of bark are fastened around the stone both lengthwise and crosswise to which the line is affixed. These stones are not manufactured for the purpose, but those of about the right size are selected from beach stones.

[25]

The above descriptions are quoted from notebooks which Eells wrote after 1874 and continuing to about the turn of the century. The sketches were made during the same period. Portions of the notebooks and the accompanying illustrations were recently published by Ruby and Brown. The quoted material used here is in Eells' words as quoted by Ruby and Brown. The Eells drawings are taken from the published reproductions. I have corrected an obvious error in one of the captions. Clearly "Fire trap" should have read "Fish trap."

With their Clallam kin and neighbors up and down the Strait, the ancestors of the Jamestown people fished the marine waters of the Strait, in the San Juan Island--Whidbey Island area, and in Hood Canal.

Documentation of Clallam fishermen in the San Juan Island--Whidbey Island area and in Hood Canal has been presented in the separate reports on the Lower Elwha and Port Gamble Clallam. To avoid unnecessary repetition, the appropriate sections of those reports are incorporated here by reference.

With respect to Clallam fishing in Hood Canal, Elmendorf reported that Clallam visitors used resources in Skokomish territory with the consent of the Skokomish (or Twana). Elmendorf concluded that the special treatment accorded Clallam visitors in Hood Canal was related to the extensive intermarriage between the two peoples which occurred in the nineteenth century. The Twana genealogies which Elmendorf collected show Clallam ancestors from the Dungeness River village of stti'xəm, as well as from villages which are ancestral to the modern Lower Elwha and Port Gamble Clallam communities. The record shows that Clallam from Clallam Bay in the west to Port Gamble at the mouth of Hood Canal were accustomed to come to the Canal for seasonal fishing.

It is not feasible on the basis of the available documentation to identify the village affiliations of Clallam fishermen encountered in the marine areas of the Strait and Puget Sound at treaty time. This is because the accounts refer to these people simply as Clallam. The available evidence indicates that all Clallam fished in the marine areas

indicated. They undoubtedly fished more extensively than is indicated in this report. The report specifies only those areas for which historic documentation is available.

For the Clallam, as for all other Indian groups in western Washington, it is not possible to document precisely the outer limits of marine fishing areas at treaty times.

VI. SUMMARY

The modern Jamestown community is composed largely of descendants of Clallam groups which were parties to the Treaty of Point No Point.

The ancestors of the Jamestown Clallam at treaty times fished in the Strait of Juan de Fuca, in the waters off the south coast of San Juan Island and off the west coast of Whidbey Island. Clallam fishermen made seasonal trips to specific areas of Hood Canal in Skokomish territory where they fished with Skokomish kin and friends.

They also fished in the rivers and streams draining into the Strait of Juan de Fuca, particularly from the Dungeness River in the west to the streams emptying into Port Discovery in the east.

The major species harvested included salmon, steelhead, halibut, sturgeon, ling cod, various kinds of rock fishes and flat fish, anchovies, eulachon and herring, several kinds of marine mammals, as well as a variety of crabs, clams, and other shellfish.

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- 3 Gunther 1927:180
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- 6 Eells to Smith, December 22, 1873
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- 12 Eells in AR-CIA 1878:137-138
- 13 Meany in Seattle Post-Intelligencer, October 22, 1905
- 14 Eells in AR-CIA 1892:500-501
- 15 Terry in AR-CIA 1897:293-294
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*AR-CIA is the abbreviation used for Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

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A P P E N D I X 1.

To

Hon Marshall Blinn

Superintendent of Indian Affairs

We the undersigned citizens of New Dungeness Clallam County would respectfully but urgently request to have the Indians removed from this place to the reservation allotted for the Clallam Tribe

Thos. Abernathy

E.H. McAlmond

Charles Mort Robertson

Thomas Dounie

Sarah A. Thornton

Richard Mc Donnell

Jennie Davis

Kate Davis

Ella Davis

Almira Davis

Fannie Davis

Irma Pilcher

Christina Dounie

John Thornton

Edward N. Pilcher

John Williamson

S.T. Foresman

Jno. Willcocks

Jno. Dowling

Chas. Hyde

Andrew Abernathy

A.K. Halls

J.A. Weir

B.G. Hotchkiss

W.F.M. Ludon

Wm. Appleby

Frederick J. Ward

John Nicholl

Thomas Knopp

Lucy A. McAlmond

ECONOMIC LIFE

ANNUAL CYCLE

The Klallam, like other Northwest Coast tribes, depend for their subsistence principally on sea food. The villages are always situated near some fishing grounds; still most people find it necessary to move several times each year to follow the various runs of salmon or to gather vegetable products. Although a village in this way may have several definite abodes during the year, the one where the permanent houses are built is considered the real home of the group.

The Klallam from Clallam Bay to Port Townsend migrate in August to Hood Canal for the dog salmon run. The people from Hoko River do not go because their own river has every variety of salmon, but the same reason does not keep the people from Dungeness at home. The Klallam go as far up the Canal as Tahuya on one side and Union City by the mouth of the Skokomish River on the other. The Hama-Hama River and Brinnon are favorite spots. All these places are in Skokomish territory, but there are no permanent villages at the last two places. When the Skokomish hear that the Klallam have come, they join them for the sake of visiting. The Klallam camp near the permanent villages of the Skokomish at Tahuya and Union City.

The Klallam of Pysht and Clallam Bay go to Sooke Harbor and Beecher Bay to dry dog salmon. They did this even before Beecher Bay was settled by Klallam.

Shorter migrations are undertaken constantly. When the herring come into Washington Harbor the people cross the bay so as to be inside the spit when the fish congregate to spawn. They get salmon at the same time for the salmon come to feed on the herring. They also go to the creek near Blyn when there is a good run of dog salmon. The chief of Washington Harbor has a trap there which he allows someone else to use at night. At the head of Sequim Bay there is a great burnt over patch with no underbrush, having an abundance of blackberries. When the Washington Harbor people go for the berries they also dry clams.

These expeditions are usually entered upon by the entire village, leaving only the very old people behind. Canoes are loaded with provisions, mats and poles for temporary shelters and planks for carrying the load on the way back. When they are ready to return two canoes are bound together and these planks laid over them to form a platform for loading the goods.

The Klallam generally stay along Hood Canal from August until late November or December. They plan to arrive home just in time for the winter dances. Occasionally a few families stay at their camping place on the Canal all winter, returning home just in time for the spring salmon run. Some times one trip is made early in August, the dog salmon caught, dried and brought home, then a second expedition is undertaken in September for huckle-

- berry picking near Brinnon; generally though, these two objects are accomplished in one trip.

Women frequently go considerable distances from the village for vegetable products. Fern roots are particularly good at a place just west of Dungeness along the bluff overlooking the water. The spot has loose sandy soil, yielding large roots that are fairly easy to get. Women often accompany hunting parties to dress and dry the meat before packing it home. Hunters go out in spring when the grass begins to grow.

FOOD GATHERING

The gathering of roots, berries, berry sprouts and all sea food that does not require fishing is done by women, assisted by children and women slaves. At certain seasons the work is intensive, but just like fishing, it never ceases altogether. The only instrument used in digging either roots or clams is a digging stick of ironwood, slightly curved with a crutch handle also of wood.

There was never the slightest attempt at cultivation of any vegetable products. Whether the Klallam burn off the underbrush to help the berry crops as did the Kwakiutl is not known. They do however take advantage of such burning over when it occurs accidentally, for the Washington Harbor people know that the best blackberries are obtainable on a burnt off patch at the head of Sequim Bay.

The women of every village have their favorite places for each variety of food they gather. They never go very far from their own villages unless a whole group of families moves on a fishing, hunting or gathering expedition. Women and children go out in small canoes to reach a good clam beach or a cliff full of china shoes, but they rarely venture far from shore for fear of squalls and especially because they fear marauding northern Indians who are always ready to seize them.

The roots and bulbs as of fern, camas, tiger lily, and Indian carrots are dug on prairies or openings in the forest. Indian rhubarb and horsetail sprouts are obtained in moist places. Berry bushes are generally found on the edge of the forest and fairly near the water.

The following is a partial list of the vegetable products obtained by Klallam women:

In addition to these, Eells lists cranberry, hazelnut and crabapple.⁶⁰

The women also collect such sea food as is obtainable on or near the beaches. Clams of three varieties, horse, cockles, and butter clams are gathered all year. Mussels (tō'ē'ok)⁶¹ are best in winter. They are never used in March and April. China shoes are gathered by the people of Dungeness and Washington Harbor at a place east of the Harbor and on Protection Island. They stick to the rocks and are pried off with a knife. There are two sizes, the larger being called oqlwus and the smaller tuñsū'etc. In addition to fish eggs, sea gull eggs (sganet) are used. The women paddle over to Protection Island and take them out of the nests on the cliffs there. Devil fish (stēxwats!) are obtained by poking into the holes in the rocks where they live with a crooked stick of ironwood, killing the animal. The Klallam unlike some of their northern neighbors do not eat any kind of seaweed.

FISHING

Fishing is economically most important for the Klallam since the largest portion of their food is obtained this way. There is a considerable variety of fish obtainable in the waters of the Klallam territory, including many kinds of salmon, which form the staple food of the Indians. Fishing is carried on all year, either in the rivers or in the Strait. The spring salmon run commences late in April or early in May and from that time on until December there is some variety of salmon in the rivers. Salmon is caught either by means of traps in the rivers, by trolling, by nets, or by spearing at night.

The following table gives the succession of salmon runs together with other fish caught and the methods of catching them:

<i>Fish</i>	<i>Time</i>	<i>Method of catching</i>
Spring salmon kwi'tcuñ	Middle of April to July	Trap; trolling; gill net
Dog salmon mexlets	Late July	Gill net; trap
Humpback xi'nan	August to end of October	Trap; speared; line fishing
Silver salmon q late'gus	October through December	Trap; line fishing in river; gill net outside of spit; speared at night
Dog salmon (another variety) ixwai'	Follow silver salmon	

⁶⁰Eells, (a), 618.

⁶¹This is called to'yuk by Gibbs, (b), 15, and described as a small blue variety.

Steelhead latc'cūn	December, January, February	Trap; line fishing in river
Halibut s!tsutEX	April to September	Line fishing
Ling Cod atct	April to September	Line fishing; speared close to shore
Flounder plauwe	April to September	Speared from canoe in salt water
Herring slō'ungat	Middle of February to late March	Raked
Smelts qwūlxS	September	Hole dug on beach, tide stranded fish in it
Candlefish tcima'na	September to late October	Raked and dipped

Salmon traps. Every river and creek has at least one salmon trap across it. These traps are always kept there except during danger of flood. Of course the trap nearest the mouth of the river is the most desirable one. This is generally owned by the chief of the village, who tends it at night, leaving it during the day-time for his poor relatives who have no traps of their own. There is always a hole left under each trap so some of the salmon can go up the river.

The most important trap in use by the Klallam is a weir (sū'xtal) extending across the river. Young firs about four inches in diameter and ten feet tall are driven into the river bed in two rows, slanting so that they cross at the top. They are placed at intervals of twelve feet across the stream. The crossed tops which extend above the water are tied with stripped cedar limbs. Poles are laid in the crotch of these tied trees. Then two parallel poles are tied to the upstream side of the slanting poles; one just below the water, the other just above the river bed. Now a webbing is made of little fir trees about one inch in diameter. These trees are taken from a place where there is a thick growth so that there are no limbs on the lower part of the trunks. The tops are cut off so that they measure about six feet long. The webbing is made by tying these small trees together with twined cedar limbs and it is then laid against the parallel poles that were tied to the upstream side of the weir. The current pressing against it holds the webbing in place. In the center of the webbing is an opening about three feet broad to which a door is attached. The door (sūx!) is looped on with cedar limbs and can be opened and closed like a window. About twelve feet beyond this door is another webbing about twelve feet broad and with sides extending to the trap, thus forming a pocket. On the right side of this pocket, going upstream, a platform (sukitca'i'a) is built. Heavy posts are driven into the river bed to support it on the upstream side

while the downstream side of the platform rests on the trap itself. The fisherman sleeps on this platform with his head against the protruding poles of the trap so that he can feel the salmon beat against the upstream side of the pocket. Salmon are taken out with a gaff hook. Before the iron hook came into use they used a sack net on a pole.

The owner of such a fish trap always uses his trap at night because more fish can be caught then. He always allows other people to use the trap during the daytime. He tells his friends to be careful not to walk on the webbing of the trap to reach the platform. Generally a little board walk is built from one shore to the platform. The first trap in a river has the best position. After the owner's death his relatives decide who should own the trap. There is no prescribed inheritance.

The current could work its way under this trap and keep an opening for the fish to go through. Also the river bottom is never level, thus leaving holes which the salmon use in ascending the streams.

Spring salmon are called *kwitcuñ* when they are still in the salt water, but after they go up the river to spawn they are called *takwa'xlan*.

At Dungeness they troll for spring salmon as soon as the run comes inside the spit, using cockles for bait. The hook is made of two pieces of elk bone crossed at an acute angle and tied with elk sinew. The end of the shorter bone is sharpened to receive the bait. The line is of kelp about five fathoms⁶² long with a stone sinker in the middle of the line and the hook at the end. Trolling is done from a canoe in the morning and evening. The people of Washington Harbor troll for salmon inside the sand spit, but it is more profitable to use the gill net when the herring are spawning there. The net is of nettle twine, mounted on a pole of cedar at the top to keep it afloat and weighted with sinkers at the bottom. The fisherman goes out in a canoe and lets the net down where the herring spawn, for salmon congregate there to feed on them. Strings run along the loose sides of the net and by these the net is hauled in when it is full. At the little spit at Dungeness there is also a spawning ground for herring where it is profitable to use the gill net.

Although each village has good fishing grounds at home short trips are sometimes undertaken when there is an especially good run within a short distance. People from Washington Harbor and Dungeness often go to Port Discovery Bay because it is famous for its spring salmon. Then, when the spring salmon runs up the Dungeness River, the people from Discovery and Washington Harbor go there.

While the spring salmon are still running the dog salmon begins to come, that is about the latter part of July. Dog salmon are not trolled for because they do not bite at any kind of bait. Before they enter the river they are often caught with the gill net. The same trap is used for them that is set up for spring salmon. Dog salmon do not run far upstream, so only the traps near

⁶² A fathom, which is the constant unit of measurement used by the old men here, is the distance between the tips of the middle fingers when the arms are outstretched at shoulder level.

the mouth of the river are good. When they are caught in the trap they are either speared or taken out with the gaff.

The Washington Harbor people fish for dog salmon in a creek near Blyn. The chief owns the trap at the mouth of the creek. This trap has no pocket; just two rows of webbing with a door in the downstream row. There is no platform on this trap but the owner goes out early in the morning and takes all the salmon out with a gaff.

Humpback salmon run from August to the end of October. Before they run up the Dungeness River where they are caught in traps, they are speared at the spit. The Washington Harbor people come to Dungeness for their humpback salmon for they have none near their own village. Humpbacks are supposed to run well every four years.

Silver salmon run from October through December when, toward the end of the month, they get old. They are taken in the gill net, caught in the river by hook and in traps, and speared by torch light at night. The Washington Harbor people troll for silver salmon inside the spit. Recently another variety of dog salmon has been following the silver salmon up the Dungeness River. This kind always used to run in Hood Canal when the Klallam went fishing there. The variety has a finer flavor and is fatter than the early dog salmon.

Steelhead salmon runs in December, January and February. It is not trolled for, but caught by trap. A special trap for steelheads consists of a row of vertical sticks set in the river bed from bank to bank. The sticks protrude above the water and above the level of the platform which is erected over the trap. As the fisherman leans against the sticks he can feel the salmon striking against the trap as they come downstream. The steelheads follow the river till it rises and then come back to the salt water. A scoop net (*poiya'ten*) is placed on the upstream side of the trap.

There is also a river net (*camen*) which is used for all kinds of salmon. A basket net of nettle twine is made about six feet long, tapering, and as wide at its mouth as it is long. Fir or cedar poles about twelve or thirteen feet long are attached at opposite sides of the mouth. The mouth of the net is closed by means of drawstrings. Two fishermen take these poles and wade up the river, holding the net between them. In deep places they float on the poles. This type of net is used only in rivers.

Flounders are caught from April to September. Formerly they were caught only by hook and line. The line is of nettle twine; the hook is set a yard above the sinker. The hook is of two pieces of elk bone tied in a cross. The shorter cross piece has two sharpened ends. Clam meat as bait is stuck in the middle of the hook. At present both this method and spearing from a canoe, night or day, are used. Flounders can be caught anywhere in salt water. They are eaten fresh, never dried.

Halibut are caught from April to September at any place between Jamestown and Port Angeles. They are sometimes speared in Sequim Bay. A hali-

but bank out from Green Point was used in the old days. There are no property rights to these fishing places. When the tide runs out early in the morning, the halibut fishers go out to the banks. Usually two go together, either men or a man and a woman. Women do not bring bad luck at this. They help pull in the lines. For catching halibut two lines of nettle twine are put out. There is a distance of one and one-half feet from the hook to the sinker. The paunch of a seal is used for a buoy. When the fish bites the buoy sinks. The bait used is devilfish. The hook is made of wood, bent into the desired shape by steaming. The Klallam call the wood used for this *teltcalte*, a word for which no translation was obtained. Eells states that they used hemlock wood for this kind of hook.⁶³ As a barb at the upper end of the hook a piece of sharpened elk bone is lashed with cherry bark. The other end is wound with nettle string.

Ling cod is caught at the same time as halibut and in the same way. When close to shore they are speared. It is not liked as well as halibut.

Herring are taken with a rake (*latumum*) which consists of a board two inches wide set with teeth of sharpened elk bone, which in Eells' day had been replaced by nails.⁶⁴ The board is attached to a long pole of fir. The fisherman goes out in a canoe and with the rake lifts the herring into his boat behind him. Herring are caught from the middle of February to the end of March. They are especially plentiful at the old wharf at Dungeness, at the spit at Washington Harbor, and at a cove half way up the left side of Sequim Bay. Herring eggs are considered a delicacy and are collected in this manner: twigs of hemlock (*Tsuga heterophylla* Sarg.) are laid where the herring spawn so that the eggs are collected on them. The branches are lifted out of the water, allowed to dry and the eggs shaken off into baskets.

Smelts come in September. A second variety which is probably the candlefish comes a little later and are especially good late in October. These are very fat. Both kinds are secured in the same way. A hole about six inches deep is dug on the beach before high tide. When the tide recedes the hole is found full of smelts which have been stranded. These small fish are also splashed up by the surf and after high tide picked up on the beach. Likewise a rake is used for them or a basket with a rigid hoop around the top is attached to a pole and pulled in from outside the line of smelts in the water. The Klallam do not extract the oil of the candlefish.

Fishing taboos. The salmon, being the principal source of food, is the subject of many taboos. The Klallam like most tribes that use salmon extensively have a certain veneration for the fish and mark its coming in the spring with a ceremony. The first fish is handled with great care. After being cut along the two sides, the parts are laid together again and it is hung with the head up. The first fish is boiled into a soup and all the people of the village partake of it except the host. The cooking is done by the host's wife.

⁶³ Eells, (a), 634.

⁶⁴ Eells, (a), 633.