U. S. DISTRICT COURT, TACOMA

No. 9213

PLAINTIFF USA 102

EXHIBIT

.US vs Wash

ADMITTED

OCT 28 1975

USA 102

IDENTITY AND TREATY STATUS

OF THE

DUWAMISH TRIBE OF INDIANS

Prepared for: U.S. Department of the Interior

and the Duwamish Tribe of Indians

by: Barbara Lane, Ph.D.

15 October 1975

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I. INTRODUCTION

This report deals with the Duwamish Indians as they existed in 1855 and with their descendants in 1975. In 1855 the name "D'Wamish" (under various spellings) was used to include the people of a number of villages in the vicinity of Seattle. There were villages at Elliott Bay, Shilshole Bay, Duwamish River, Black River, Cedar River, Lake Washington, and environs.

The largest concentration of population was at the confluence of Black and Cedar rivers. Black River no longer exists. At treaty times it drained the southern end of Lake Washington (then called D'Wamish Lake). The name of one of the villages at this place was rendered into English as D'Wamish and then extended to refer to people of all the villages in the vicinity of Seattle.

At treaty times the Duwamish (in the extended sense) were referred to as a "tribe." Leading men at the various villages were referred to as "chiefs."

In this report, the terms "tribe" and "chief" are used in the generally understood sense in which they are used in the documents referred to, and in the various sources dealing with the relations between the United States and Indians.

Today, many of the descendants of the 1855 Duwamish Indians still maintain their separate identity. They call themselves Duwamish and they are known as such by other Indians and by non-Indians. They are represented by the Duwamish Tribal Council. Members of the Duwamish Tribe live in northwestern Washington in or near the traditional territory of the Duwamish of 1855.

Other descendants of the 1855 Duwamish Indians may still identify themselves as Duwamish and be known as such to others, but they are officially enrolled as members of other Indian communities. Some of these are enrolled as Muckleshoot and reside on the Muckleshoot Indian Reservation.

Still other Duwamish are living on other reservations and are enrolled as members of those reservation communities.

The record shows that since treaty times the Bureau of Indian Affairs has recognized the existence of a large population of off-reservation Duwamish. As recently as 1950 the Duwamish Tribal Council was listed as a federally recognized tribal governing body. [1]

It is unclear to me, on the basis of presently available data, as to exactly when and upon what basis the federal government has ceased to recognize the Duwamish Tribe.

Under the terms of the Treaty of Point Elliott, it was intended that the Duwamish Indians would be settled initially on a reservation of two sections of land near Port Madison on the Kitsap Peninsula across the Sound from Seattle.

Ultimately, the Duwamish along with all the Indians in Washington Territory west of the Cascade Mountains were to be settled on a central or general reservation. The Tulalip Reservation was designated as the general reservation. The plan to relocate all of the Indians of western Washington at Tulalip was never realized. However, some Duwamish Indians eventually located on the Tulalip Reservation.

The smaller, temporary reservations were described in Article 2 of the Treaty of Point Elliott. The description of the reservation which was intended for the Duwamish and Suquamish Indians and which was in Suquamish territory is underscored for ease of reference. The underscoring does not appear in the treaty document.

Article 2. There is, however, reserved for the present use and occupation of the said tribes and bands the following tracts of land, viz: the amount of two sections, or twelve hundred and eighty acres, surrounding the small bight at the head of Port Madison, called by the Indians Noo-sohk-um; the amount of two sections or twelve hundred and eighty acres, on the north side of Hwhomish Bay and the creek emptying into the same called Kwilt-seh-da, the peninsula at the southeastern end of Perry's Island, called Shais-quihl, and the island called Chah-choo-sen, situated in the Lummi River at the point of separation of the mouths emptying respectively into Bellingham Bay and the Gulf of Georgia. All which tracts shall be set apart, and so far as necessary surveyed and marked out for their exclusive use; nor shall any white man be permitted to reside upon the same without permission of the said tribes or bands, and of the superintendent or agent, but, if necessary for the public convenience, roads may be run through the said reserves, the Indians being compensated for any damage thereby done them.

[2]

In a report which was written after the treaty negotiations George Gibbs, secretary of the treaty commission, set out clearly which Indians were intended to be located on the Port Madison reservation. In addition to the Suquamish and the Duwamish as described above, the com-

mission intended that the Sammamish Indians, as well as those of the White and Green rivers would be located on the Port Madison Reservation.

Below these is the division of which the Dwamish and Sukwamish are the principal bands, occupying Elliott Bay, Bainbridge Island, and a portion of the peninsula between Hood Canal and Admiralty Inlet. Their head chief is Se-aa-thl, or, as it is usually pronounced, Seattle, from whom the town on Elliott Bay has been named. In this connection are also the Samamish, Skopahmish, Sk'tehlmish, St'kamish, and other small bands lying upon the lakes and the branches of Dwamish River, who are claimed by the others as part of their tribe, but have in reality very little connection with them. A very few of these last possess horses, but the majority are river Indians. The aggregate number of the whole was by census 807, which probably falls a little short of the truth. They differ but slightly from the Niskwalli in language. These tribes were included with all the others of the eastern shore and the islands in the treaty of Mukleteoh, or Point Elliott. A reserve of two sections was retained for them at Port Madison.

[3]

Gibbs was correct in his judgment that the census figure of 807 was too low, but it was more than a little short of the truth. In 1856 a census was taken of those Indians who had come to the temporary reservation at Fort Kitsap. The 1856 census figures were included in a report from Michael T. Simmons, Indian Agent for the Puget Sound District, to Governor Isaac I. Stevens. Simmons reported in part as follows:

Names of Indian Tribes	*Census of Tribes*	*Names of Reservation*
Dwamish	*312*	
Tsabahbish	*64*	*Fort Kitsap*
Skaquamish	*16*	
Suquamish	*550*	

[4]

In the above table, "Tsabahbish" is Simmons' rendering of Sammamish. His "Skaquamish" is meant to denote the people who lived near the present Issaquah. The total figure for the groups listed is 942. While this is only 135 people more than reported in the census

of the previous year, it must be noted that 942 count does not include all of the Duwamish Indians, nor does it include any of the Indians of White River or Green River.

Simmons' report of 312 Duwamish Indians refers only to those who were on the Fort Kitsap Reservation. Simmons' report is dated October 1, 1856.

The following month, George Paige, a local Indian agent reported 375 Duwamish Indians to Governor Stevens under date of November 29, 1856. Paige's figure included several bands of Duwamish who had not come to the Fort Kitsap Reservation or to Holderness Point, an alternate location.

The bands of Duwamish who were not then resident on any reservation were listed as follows:

These bands were as follows, Cultus Curley's band encamped about one mile north of Seattle numbering 30.
Curley's band living at Seattle numbering 38, and Jake's band also encamped at Seattle, numbering 12. . . . .
. . . . Now if to the above number we add William's band, numbering 55, living on Black river we have a total of 375 belonging to the Duwamish tribe.

[5]

Paige's count of 135 Duwamish who were off reservation added to Simmons' count of 312 Duwamish on reservation gives a total of 447 Duwamish. This is somewhat higher than Paige's total of 375. It may be that some people were counted twice.

Whatever the reason for the discrepancy in the total Duwamish figure, if we substitute the lower figure of 375 (rather than 447) as the number of Duwamish in place of Simmons' figure of 312, the total

number of Indians who were meant to be on the Port Madison Reservation now reaches 1005. This figure still does not include the Green River and White River Indians.

It is unclear how many Indians belonged to the Green River and White River villages at that time. Contemporaneous reports varied widely and, in my opinion, are highly unreliable. The White River and Green River people were involved in hostilities with the whites in 1855 and 1856. Those who were interested in presenting the conflict as a "war" estimated larger numbers of hostiles. Those, like Stevens and his supporters, who were interested in asserting that only lawless individuals, and not tribes as such, were involved in the conflict, reported much lower numbers.

Whatever the correct figure for the Green River and White River people may be, it is clear that well over a thousand people were assigned to the two-section reservation at Fort Kitsap (Port Madison).

The land reserved was inadequate for the number of people who were assigned there. In addition, the people on the mainland side were not on friendly terms with the Suquamish and refused to remove to a reservation in Suquamish territory.

The situation was resolved in part by the promise (during the hostilities) of an additional reservation at Muckleshoot prairie for the White River and Green River Indians and some of the Upper Puyallup.

No reservation was set aside for the Duwamish although the need for one was clearly set out by the agent in charge of the Fort Kitsap

Reservation in August 1857. His report summarizes information which had been the subject of correspondence within the Indian Department for over a year.

Fort Kitsap Reservation, W.T.
August 1, 1857.

Sir: In obedience to your instructions of June 3, I respectfully submit the following as my annual report:

I have charge of two tribes of Indians, viz: The Suquamish, who claim all the land lying on the west side of the Sound, between Apple Tree cove on the north, and Gig harbor on the south; and the D'Wamish, living on and claiming the lands on the D'Wamish river.

I regret to say that the most unamicable feelings have long existed between these two tribes; this feeling is so deep rooted that, when the friendly portion of the D'Wamish tribe were directed, by their agent during the war to move to this reservation, they absolutely refused to comply with the order. They were, however, finally persuaded to move to a point on Bainbridge island, about eight miles from the reservation occupied by the Suquamish, where they remained until the close of the war.

Their refusal to comply with the request of their agent naturally caused them to be looked upon as little better than the hostiles. But it must be borne in mind that they were not only required to leave their own lands, but to move upon lands owned and occupied by Indians whom they regarded with feelings of hatred.

They were, moreover, tampered with to a very great extent by unprincipled white men, who taking advantage of their credulity, told them the most absurd and improbable stories, such as: that the agents wished to collect them together, surround them with soldiers, and make a general massacre, and also that the provisions furnished them by the department was poisoned, &c., &c.; and I would here take occasion to say that most of the difficulties encountered in the management of these Indians are caused by the interference of persons unconnected with the Indian department.

On assuming the duties of this agency I was instructed by the then superintendent to use my exertions to bring about an amicable feeling between these two tribes and, if possible, unite them under one head.

After using my utmost endeavours I found it impossible to establish a friendly feeling between them; I therefore applied for and obtained from the superintendent permission to establish a sub-agency for this tribe near the mouth of the D'Wamish river, where I collected them during the month of August, and gave them in charge of Mr. James H. Goudy,

an employe on this reservation, who has remained in charge up to the present time, and who has continued to discharge his duties in a very able and efficient manner.

I do not wish to be understood as representing these two tribes as actually hostile to each other; on the contrary, they are intermarried, and frequently visit each other, and from their proximity are frequently thrown together; yet this feeling of animosity, caused probably by some former feud, will, I am assured, preclude the possibility of their living peaceable together on one reservation.

I would therefore suggest, most respectfully, that the D'Wamish Indians be allowed a reservation on or near the lake fork of the D'Wamish river. This tract of land has been cultivated many years by them, and I am confident that a reservation established at this place would not only conduce greatly to the comfort and prosperity of this tribe, but would prevent all future difficulties between them and the whites.

The number of Indians belonging to the Suquamish tribe, according to a census taken last fall, was four hundred and forty-one; the number of D'Wamish, three hundred and seventy-eight. They generally enjoyed good health during the last year, there having been but sixteen deaths among them, and several of these of old age.

. . . .

G.A. Paige,
Local Indian Agent

Col. J.W. Nesmith,
Superintendent of Indian Affairs, W.T.

[6]

The references in Paige's report to "the then superintendent" and to "the superintendent" are to Nesmith's predecessor, Isaac I. Stevens. It is clear from Paige's report that Stevens was aware that the Suquamish and the Duwamish were not on friendly terms and that they were not "under one head." Evidently Stevens recognized that separate arrangements would have to be made for the Duwamish as he permitted the establishment of a sub-agency in Duwamish territory with an agent in charge at that location.

Paige's recommendation that a reservation for the Duwamish be established on or near the lake fork of the Duwamish River reflected and

supported the requests of the Duwamish Indians themselves. About 150 Duwamish, under the leadership of William, had repeatedly requested to speak to Stevens about the matter. They asserted that if he were properly informed about their situation, he would approve the reservation.

Most of the Duwamish had come down from Black River and environs to the temporary reservations on the Sound. They had nearly starved there because of the lack of fish and had returned to their own territory up the river with the encouragement of the military and contrary to the orders issued by Stevens as Superintendent of Indian Affairs.

The following excerpts from correspondence in the last days of 1856 provide some understanding of the views of the agent and of the Indians.

The first letter is dated Fort Muckleshoot, December 28, 1856. Only the first page of the letter is preserved on microfilm, but from other correspondence it appears that this is part of a letter from Captain Maloney, an army officer, to George Paige, the Indian agent.

Fort Muckleshute, W.T.
December 28, 1856

Sir,

I have instructed the Sergt. at black river to say to the Indians that it was the orders of Governor Stevens that they should go back to their reservations, and that they should and ought to obey their agent by so doing, but the sergt. says he advised them to return and they say if they do that they would die with hunger and that they would rather die on their old ground. he also says that the chief told him if it was properly represented to Governor Stevens that he would have them where they are for they want to live at peace. that they have always been peaceible and intend to live so. . . . . →

[7]

The letter from which the foregoing is an excerpt was forwarded by Paige to Stevens with a letter from Paige to Stevens dated December 29,

1856. Paige's letter contains more information on the same subject.

The following is the entire contents of Paige's letter.

Fort Kitsap Dec 29, 1856

I.I. Stevens
Gov & Supt Ind. affairs
Sir:

I have recently returned from a visit to the Rivers. I left this Reservation on the 10th inst. the wind at the time being so high, I was obliged to employ the Schooner Stevens to carry myself and crew across to the mouth of the Duwamish.

I started up on the 14th and reached Black River the same evening. There I remained two nights in the meantine useing every exertion to induce the Indians to move down to the Reservation.

They all refused to return, with the exception of 4 or 5 families who promised to come down as soon as the fishing season was over. William and others said "This land on Black River belongs to us--our Fathers died here. their bones are buried here; and we also will die here."

"We do not wish to fight the Whites; if they come to drive us from this place we will not resist, but we will lie down and be shot like dogs rather than leave." William also said if there was any more fighting he would collect his people and move down to the reservation until it was over, when he would go back up the river.

They also said if they moved down to the Bay they would soon starve; for no food was to be had except the rations given them by the Agents and these rations they said were entirely too short. They could not subsist on Flour and Molasses they must have fish, and at present there was none to be had on the Bay.

They deny having told Maurer that they would fight the whites should they attempt to drive them from their lands - but say that he misunderstood them. I also charged them with having spoken disrespectfully of yourself, Col. Simmons and the Agents which they also denied, saying that Maurer had either misunderstood them or misrepresented the matter.

At this place I saw 14 large winter houses in which I counted 217 persons, 162 of which have left their Reservations since the first of October. About 60 of this number are men and the remainder Women and Children. On the eastern shore of the Lake there are three large houses containing 38 persons all of them having left their Reservation since the 1st of October.

Failing to get them down I started on the 17th up White River, and arrived at Fort Dent the same evening. Being unwell I did not go out to Muckleshute, but sent a note to Capt. Maloney a copy of which I enclose together with his reply.

I found the Indians at this place better satisfied than on Black River. They said they had no objections to moving down to the Bay, and would all come down as soon as they were done drying salmon. There are 4 large houses at this place. The number of Indians counted was 62 - 24 of which have left the Reservation at different times since the middle of September.

Finding it useless to remain any longer I started for my reservation which I reached on the 20th. The next day I received a letter from Capt. Maloney, which I send you with a copy of my reply. The Duwamish Indians are very anxious to have a talk with you, and were constantly urging me to write to you to come down; this before leaving I promised them I would do. I think the idea is a good one, and should it meet with your approval I will collect them at some suitable place near the mouth of the river. Respectfully &c.

G.A. Paige

[8]

The assertion of the Duwamish that if they came down to the reservation that they would soon starve as there were no fish to be taken at the Bay, is confirmed in a letter dated December 31, 1856 from Paige to Stevens. The complaint of the Duwamish concerning the insufficiency of the rations at the reservations is also corroborated. The full text of Paige's letter is reproduced here.

Fort Kitsap Reservation
W.T. December 31st 1856.

Isaac I. Stevens
Gov & Supt Indian affairs

Sir

I send you by the express my monthly report for December 1856. About the 10th of this month the Suquamish Indians commenced moving in to the Reservation from their fishing gruounds in considerable numbers.

They continued to move in till the 20th since which time with the exception of a few Families at Port Orchard, I have had the whole Tribe on my hands. They reported that they could find no more food, and had to come in to keep from starving. On proceeding to examine their

stock of provisions, I found it very scant. So much so that if the whole amount collected was divided equally amongst them, they could not subsist on it above 3 or 4 weeks.

This scarcity of food, I am convinced is not owing to their indolence, as they have always been willing and even anxious to collect their own provisions whenever it was possible for them to do so.

I have endeavoured in compliance with your directions to reduce as much as possible the amount of food given out; but after one or two trials I found it could not be done to any great extent without causing considerable suffering amongst them.

I have therefore continued to feed them as heretofore, taking care however to give them merely sufficient to keep them above actual want.

The Indians which went up the River some time since have not returned to the Reservation though I have recently from a visit to them [sic] *in which I endeavoured to get them back.*

No more have gone up since the date of my last report; though at times they have been rather discontented and have frequently applied for permission to do so, which I have always refused to give.

Those remaining on the Bay are encamped on the places occupied by them last month. The band of Lake Indians are encamped on the east side of the Lake near the South end.

I am unable at present to send you the Rolls which you directed me to forward of the Duwamish Indians. They are so scattered, that I could get only about half their names. When completed I will forward them to you.

Respectfully
G.A. Paige
Local Ind Agt

[9]

Paige's recommendation that a reservation be set aside for the Duwamish Indians was never acted upon and the Duwamish today remain a landless people because no action was taken.

In 1860 Simmons also reported the impracticability of removing the Duwamish to the Port Madison Reservation, but thought it might be possible to place them on the Muckleshoot Reservation (although that reservation had not been created for their benefit).

In his annual report for 1860, referring to the Port Madison Reservation, Simmons wrote:

There will be some trouble probably in prevailing upon the Dwamish who inhabit the east side of the Sound to come over to this reservation; but their objections must be overcome, or a course pursued with them that I will here explain. The Dwamish Indians live on a river of that name, which is formed by the junction of White and Black rivers. White river has a large tributary, called Green river, and between these two streams, seven miles from the fork, is the Muckleschute reservation. This reservation is secured to the Indians, parties to the treaty of Medicine creek, but is not in the territory ceded by them, has never been occupied for their use, nor does Sub-agent Gosnell, who has charge of those tribes, consider it necessary for them. On the other hand, it is in the limits of the territory ceded by the treaty of Point Elliott. The Indians living there, and in the vicinity, are parties to that treaty, and it is a convenient and excellent place to locate them. Formerly it was a military post, and has fifteen good log buildings upon it, in tolerable repair. These buildings are situated in a fertile prairie that is now ready for the plow, and when cultivated will produce good grain and grass. So it is evident that to make this reserve available no expense is required except to put the stock and tools necessary for labor upon it. I recommended to you, and with your acquiescence advertised in the newspaper, that all the land from this reserve to the junction of White and Green rivers would probably be reserved for the use of the Indians. Whether this will meet with the approbation of the department I am unable to say; but I still consider it advisable; for the Dwamish Indians, who object to go across the Sound, could, I think, be persuaded to come up and settle here; the only difference between this and their present location is, that it is a little higher up the same river. Here, with a fine range for stock summer and winter, warm bottoms for vegetables, and a fertile prairie for grain and grass, besides a river on each side of them teeming with salmon on the proper season, they must surely be self-supporting in a short time.

[10]

The Muckleshoot Reservation was not established including the land lying between the juncture of the Green and White rivers, as Simmons had suggested. If the Muckleshoot Reservation had been so defined, Simmons' alternative plan of placing the Duwamish Indians on that reservation might have been realized. Some Duwamish did eventually locate on the Muckleshoot Reservation, but most continued to reside at Black River.

In November 1869, thirty-one white settlers sent a petition to Colonel Ross, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Washington Territory, petitioning the Indian Department to remove the Indians from the Black and Cedar rivers. The first reason cited was contention over the fisheries.

Dear Sir,

The undersigned hereby represent that in King County W.T. there are you and old, about seventy Indians, living on Black and Cedar rivers, [sic] *not upon or near any designated reservation, and we desire and ask of you their immidiate removal from these places and vicinity, and also beg that* [sic] *you will not allow these Indians or other Indians, when removed to return to these localities and camp or reside on or near our farms, for the following reasons.*

1st. That Black river is now and is likely to be used for purposes of navigation thus destroying their fisheries thereon.

[11]

The Indian fish weirs at the junction of Black River and Cedar River were apparently an impediment to river transport at certain seasons. The above petition drew immediate response from leading citizens of Seattle like the Denny, Smith, and Terry families. A counter petition, signed by about 120 people, was sent to Colonel Ross requesting that the Indians not be removed.

To Colonel Ross
Superintendent of Indian Affairs
Olympia W.T.

The undersigned have learned that a petition is in circulation asking you to remove all the Indians in the bounds of King County to the reservation -- to which we most respectfully enter our protest for the following reasons. First - The Indians generally never were more quiet and peaceably disposed than at the present time, and we deem it injudicious to create the excitement which must result from such an uncalled for act on the part of the Whites. Second. We understand that the treaty concedes to them the right to live fish and hunt amongst the whites as long as they are well behaved, and we think that if individual Indians are guilty of misconduct they alone should be dealt with and not the whole Indian population of the county. Finally, we regard it as wholly uncalled for and most mischevious in its effect and dangerous to the peace of the country.

[12]

The above petition is instructive in several respects. For one thing, it shows that leading white citizens of King County, men like Boren, Denny, Yesler, Terry and others who had been resident in the Seattle area when the treaties were negotiated, did not believe that the Duwamish Indians were breaching the treaty or had forfeited treaty rights by residing off reservation. If that is what the whites believed, it seems reasonable to assume that this was the Indian understanding also.

Second, it is clear from the foregoing that a main body of Duwamish continued to reside at their traditional homes at the confluence of Cedar and Black rivers in the neighborhood of the present town of Renton.

Efforts to force all the Indians in Western Washington to the reservations seem to have surged in 1874. There were citizens' petitions in a number of areas complaining about the Indians and demanding that the Indian Department forcibly remove them to the reservations. This may have been connected with the imminent legislation which allowed Indians to legally acquire homesteads on the public domain for the first time.

Whatever the reason, there was another effort to evict the Duwamish Indians from the Black river area. Reverend E.C. Chirouse, in charge of the Tulalip Agency, requested Dr. G.W. Van den Bergh to report on the situation.

The following is the full text of the report.

White River Jan 16 1874

Rev. E.C. Chirouse

U.S. Sub Indian Agent Tulalip. W.T.

Sir

The following report of investigation in regard to the trouble existing between White settlers and Indians on Black and White Rivers, W.T.

After carefully inquiring of different settlers it appears in the first place that an Indian stole some wearing apparel from a white man by the name of McMillan.
This white man is suspected of selling intoxicating liquors to the Indians and I could not find this person and therefore cannot give his version of the transaction. Having made notes of the statements of the different settlers that I visited, they are respectfully submitted herewith.

Patrick Hayes. Says that as to the general behavior of Indians it is good. Allthough when he employed them, they (the Indians) would occasionally take a few potatoes and apples.

Andrew Washburn. thinks that the Indians scattered amongst the settlers is very demoralizing to the young white folks, complains of their gambling and racing on Sunday. he mentions a case of a young man (white) of his acquaintance who had connection with an Indian woman and the woman made the young man sick.

Charles Benson. Finds no fault in regard to the Indians. thinks they are a well behaved Tribe and if treated honestly they (the Indians) would compare with the best.

L.G. Holgate is of the same opinion as Mr. Benson. allthough he has lost a great many farming utensils at various times but does not accuse the Indian more than the whites.

C.M. Van Doren. Keeps a store on White River. On the night of the 23rd of November 1973 his store was broken into by someone to him unknown. But he has nothing to complain of in regard to the Indians. Thinks they are as a general thing a well behaved set.

D.R. McMillan states that if the Whites would treat the Indians fair there would be no cause for complaint on the part of the settlers.

Smithers is of the same opinion as the last named gentleman. Has had the Indians living on his place for a number of years and has found them as honest as the same average of whites.

Respectfully yours
Dr. G.W. Van den Bergh
Physician

[13]

The foregoing report is similar to reports that were received by the Indian Department from other places in western Washington at about the same time. It appears that as of 1874 there had been no policy on the part of the Indian Department to require tribes or bands to remove to the reservations.

Tribes like the Duwamish, Nooksack, Upper Skagit, Sauk-Suiattle, Snoqualmie, and Clallam, as examples, had remained off reservation for one or a combination of the following reasons: (1) insufficient land had been reserved for the tribes and bands assigned to the reservation, (2) the tribes or bands were not on friendly terms with the people in whose territory the reservation was located, and (3) the reservation was far removed from the usual and accustomed fishing places of the tribe and its hunting territories.

In the case of the Duwamish, all three reasons applied. A large portion of the Duwamish remained in their traditional territory in the greater Seattle area and in the area around Renton. They continued to use their traditional fishing and hunting areas until prevented from doing so by non-Indian settlers and by State fish and game regulations.

In 1919 Special Allotting Agent Charles Roblin was detailed to investigate and report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs regarding the large numbers of non-reservation Indians in western Washington. He listed about 143 individuals under the heading "D'Wamish Tribe." Of these 50 individuals were listed as "full blood," two people were listed as "one-eighth," and all the others were "one-quarter," "one-half," "three-quarters," or some other fractional figure between one-half and full-blood, so called.

By the time that Roblin compiled his list, the Duwamish Indians were living in various parts of western Washington in addition to the Seattle and Renton areas.

In 1927 the Duwamish with many other tribes in western Washington joined in a suit against the government, Duwamish et al v. the United States. In connection with that case a large number of Indian people testified and gave their understanding as to treaty obligations unfulfilled by the United States. The Duwamish deponents were uniformly of the opinion that the United States had failed to provide their tribe with a reservation, or with land on other reservations. [15]

On April 8, 1941, O.C. Upchurch, Superintendent of the Tulalip Agency, wrote to John Collier, Commissioner of Indian Affairs regarding the status of the Snoqualmie Tribe and his efforts to obtain a reservation for them. At the close of the letter, Upchurch noted that the Duwamish were in a similar situation. The relevant portions of his letter are reproduced here.

In clarification of the status of the Snoqualmie Tribe, it should be noted that a majority of the Snoqualmie Indians united with the Snohomish Tribe to occupy the Tulalip Reservation. There was insufficient land however to accomodate all the Indians of both tribes and a small band headed by Jerry Kanim received no allotments and little or no other treaty benefits. . . . . I would estimate the present number of adult Indians of Snoqualmie blood unattached to any reservation by allotment or inheritance at about 100. I do not have a copy of their present roll... I have felt that there is a small band of this tribe which has a legitimate claim to further lands and in my Land Acquisition program, I had proposed the acquisition of the Tolt River Valley for them.

In a very similar situation is about the same number of Duwamish Tribe living in the same part of the state. They also proposed last year a jurisdictional claims bill which was unfavorably reported.

[16]

The leadership of the Duwamish Tribe has included descendants of the leading men of the Black River villages from treaty times to the present. The Duwamish Tribe is represented by the Duwamish Tribal Council.

In 1953 the United States Government Printing Office published a Report with Respect to The House Resolution Authorizing the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs to Conduct an Investigation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The report included voluminous materials drawn from the files of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. There are a number of lists and tables summarizing data on Indian tribes throughout the United States.

An alphabetical list of Indian Tribal Organizations is printed at pages 1040 to 1042. The Duwamish are included at page 1041 under the list headed "Alphabetical List of Indian Tribal Organizations (1950) -- Non-IRA."

Table K at pages 1366-1370 lists Indian tribal governing bodies. The Duwamish appear at page 1366 on this list.

Table K.--*Indian tribal governing bodies*--Continued

Name of tribal governing body	Reservation and State	Title	Address in care of agency
Duwamish Tribal Council	Washington	Chairman	Western Washington Agency, Everett, Wash.

A note at the end of the table makes it explicit that the list of tribal governing bodies in the table constitutes the "some 193 tribal governments at present recognized by the Indian Bureau." [17]

II. IDENTITY

We are concerned in this section with the identity of the 1855 Duwamish and particularly with the referent of the term as used by the Stevens treaty commission.

George Gibbs, the lawyer-ethnologist who served as secretary to the treaty commission in its operations west of the Cascade Mountains, submitted a report on the Indians of Washington Territory, dated March 4, 1854. This report, submitted less than a year prior to the actual treaty negotiations, was a summary of existing information prepared especially to provide Governor Stevens with information relating to the numbers and location of the Indians who were to be parties to the treaties.

Following a brief description of the locality inhabited by the Nisqually and their neighbors is the entry relating to the Duwamish.

To the north of this group, another may be formed of those inhabiting the shores of Admiralty inlet from Puyallup river to Suquamish head, including Vashore's and Bainbridge's islands, Port Orchard, Elliott [sic] *bay and the D'Wamish river, and Port Madison. Most of them are nominally under a chief named Se-at-tle, belonging to the Suquamish tribe, but residing principally with another, the D'Wamish. This last is the one called, on the charts of Puget sound, the Nowamish; and it should be mentioned that a very considerable difference in the spelling of almost all these names exists, arising from the fact that several letters of their alphabet are convertible; as D and N, B and M, Q and G. For instance, the band in question are indifferently termed N'Wamish and D'Wamish; another clan of the same trio, the Samamish, are also called the Sababish; and the name Suquamish is frequently changed into _____. The D'Wamish are the best known of this connexion, from their neighborhood to the rising town, named after their chief Se-at-tle, and the whole generally bear their name, though they are by no means the most numerous. Their proper seat is the outlet of a large lake emptying into the D'Wamish river, and not on the main branch. At that place, they, and some others, have small patches of potato ground, amounting altogether to perhaps thirty acres; where, it is stated, they raised during the last year about 3,000 bushels, or an average of one hundred bushels to the acre. Of these they sold a part, reserving the rest*

for their own consumption. Each head of a family plants his own, the quantity being regulated by the number of his women. Their potatoes are very fine, though they have used the same seed on the same ground for a succession of years.

[18]

In the preceding section early census estimates and counts of the Duwamish have been included. In 1870 Samuel Ross, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Washington Territory caused a census of on and off reservation Indians in western Washington to be made. The Duwamish entry reads as follows:

Census of Indians in Washington Territory.

Names of tribes and designation of treaty.	*Names of head chief.*	*Number*			
		Men	*Women*	*Children*	*Total*
Treaty of Point Elliott, made January 22, 1855.					
Dwamish	*Jim Seattle*	*189*	*214*	*263*	*666*

[19]

The Suquamish are not separately named on the list, so it must be assumed that the figure given above is meant to include not only the off reservation Duwamish, but also those Duwamish and Suquamish who were then resident on the Port Madison Reservation.

About 1920 T.T. Waterman, an anthropologist on the faculty at the University of Washington, collected information from Indians in western Washington regarding old village sites, fishing locations, and place-names generally. Some of his data on Duwamish sites is attached to this report as Appendix 1. A typescript copy of his published Duwamish data is attached as Appendix 2.

III. TREATY STATUS

The Duwamishwere a party to the Treaty of Point Elliott which was concluded January 22, 1855 between the United States and twenty-two named groups "and other allied and subordinate tribes and bands."

The text of the preamble is reproduced here with the names of the Duwamish and Sammamish whom Gibbs allied to the Duwamish, underscored for ease of reference. The underscoring does not appear in the treaty document.

> *Articles of agreement and convention made and concluded at Muckl-te-oh, or Point Elliott, in the Territory of Washington, this twenty-second 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, head-men and delegates of the Dwa-mish, Suquamish, Sk'tahl-mish, Sam-ahmish, Smalh-kamish, Skope-ahmish, St-kah-mish, Snoqualmoo, Skai-wha-mish, N'Quentl-ma-mish, Sk-tah-le-jum, Stoluck-wha-mish, Sno-ho-mish, Skagit, Kik-i-allus, Swin-a-mish, Squin-ah-mish, Sah-ku-mehu, Noo-wha-ha, Nook-wa-chah-mish, Mee-see-qua-guilch, Cho-bah-ah-bish, and other allied and subordinate tribes and bands of Indians occupying certain lands situated in said Territory of Washington, on behalf of said tribes, and duly authorized by them.*
>
> [20]

The choice of groups singled out for mention in the preamble appears to have been somewhat fortuitous and does not necessarily reflect the importance of the groups singled out, nor lack of importance of those whose names were not included.

Similarly, the assignment of "chiefs" and "head chiefs" who appear on the list of signatories was an arbitrary arrangement for the convenience of the treaty commission. The men who were named on the treaty document as chiefs and sub-chiefs were probably important men, but they were not necessarily the most important men nor the only leaders

in their communities. This is patently true of the Duwamish situation. Several important men among the Duwamish who had received commissions as "chiefs" at an earlier time from Stevens or Simmons are not included among the signers.

The first signer to the treaty document was Seattle, designated on the treaty document as "Chief of the Dwamish and Suquamish tribes." As noted elsewhere, this did not reflect either realities of indigenous political organization nor the treaty commission's understanding of native political organization.

Only three other Duwamish signers are listed on the treaty of Point Elliott. They are, in the order in which they appear, but not in sequential order:

Ts'huahntl, Dwamish sub-chief
Now-a-chais, Sub-chief of Dwamish
Ha-seh-doo-an, or Keo-kuck, Dwamish tribe

[21]

Clearly signatories from each of the Duwamish villages were not secured on the treaty document. Keokuck was one of the leading men at the Black River settlement and probably his signature was meant by the treaty commission to serve for all the people of that area. In any event the treaty commission intended that Seattle's signature covered the entire Suquamish and Duwamish population.

The territory of the Duwamish lies wholly within the area ceded to the United States under the terms of the Treaty of Point Elliott.

REFERENCES

[1] U.S. (1953:1041, 1366, 1370)

[2] Treaty of Point Elliott, 12 Stat. 927.

[3] Gibbs (1877:174)

[4] Simmons (1856:2)

[5] Paige (1856)

[6] Paige (1857)

[7] Maloney (1856)

[8] Paige (1856a)

[9] Paige (1856b)

[10] Simmons (1860:193)

[11] Petition (1869)

[12] Petition (1870)

[13] Van den Berghe (1874)

[14] Roblin (1919)

[15] Duwamish et al. (1934)

[16] Upchurch (1941)

[17] U.S. (1953:1041, 1366, 1370)

[18] Gibbs (1855:37-8)

[19] Ross (1870:17)

[20] Treaty of Point Elliott, 12 Stat. 927.

[21] Treaty of Point Elliott, 12 Stat. 927.

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APPENDIX 1

Exerpts from Waterman Manuscript

"Duwamish" Villages on the eastern side of the Sound

A13. SALMON BAY, C̓lco'l, "threading or inserting something," like shoving a thread through a bead. The name refers in a metaphorical way to the manner in which this narrow estuary invades the shore-line. The Indians in going to Lake Washington used this estuary as a highway, threading their way up to where the University is now situated, and there carrying their canoes over a portage. It is noteworthy that this Indian term is used as a place-name in our modern geography, but is put in the wrong place. It is nowadays applied in the form Shilshole Bay to a large bight between two exterior promontories. It really applies to the inner bay only. Costello gives for Salmon bay, "Shul-shale, name of a tribe." He is very much mistaken about the latter part of his statement but correct in the former assertion. The tribe were called the C̓lcol-a'bc. The head-man at this settlement when the whites came in was "Shilshole Curly." The village was situated on the north side of Salmon bay, in the present Ballard district of Seattle. The last Indian to live here was Indian Charlie, whose Indian name was Xwe'Ltct̓d. He was half Samish. His wife was Tc̓lo'lits^{3}a.

A23. Djidjila'l̓tc, a diminutive meaning "a little place where one crosses over." In the vicinity of the present King Street Station in the city of Seattle, there was formerly a little promontory with a lagoon behind it. On the promontory were a few trees. Behind this clump of trees a trail led from the beach over to the lagoon, which gave rise to the name. There was an Indian village on each side of this promontory. In the lagoon flounders were plentiful. The native term for cross-over is now used by the Indians as a name for the whole city of Seattle. The head-man here during the early days of the White occupation was "Seattle Curly," whose native name was Ts^{3}aqw^{3}a'L. Another prominent person was Old Charley; Tsai'lkut̓d.

A30. Tulalt^{u}, "where herrings live" (literally, "herring's house"), a village under the bluff at West Seattle on the river. The head-man here was Tsutsa'lptûd. A man by the name of Boke'latq^{w} was a noted shaman.

A90. Tl^{3}ahwa'd̓s, "something planted erect by a house-fire." This place is at the extreme north end of Lake Washington, overlooking the place where Samamish Slough enters. The people here are spoken of as having been very "poor."

A115. MERCER SLOUGH, on the east side of Lake Washington, Sa'tsakaL, "water at the head of a bay." The people here were called Sa'tsakalEbc. The place is important in mythology.

A123. SExt^{3}i'tc̓b, "place where one wades," an old site near the present Bryn Mawr, on Lake Washington.

A162. Sqwa'ux, not translated, a village near the present town of Issaquah, on the shore of Issaquah Creek, emptying into Sammamish Lake at its southern end. The name Issaquah, now applied both to a creek and a town, is an Anglicized version of the Indian word. The poverty of this group was proverbial among the "Sound" villages. The last survivors of the group, the Zakuse

its greenish tinge. White river is now a dry channel, the waters having been diverted. The following "old men" or head-men were identified with the village at this spot:

Tuja'tebEc, a warrior and a shaman.

Yibo'tobot, a great fisherman.

Kiya'lopkEt, a prominent inhabitant.

One of my own informants, "Big John," came from here. His grandfather, I'lsEb, was a person of great importance, in a previous generation.

A234. Sba'badid, "crags," on Black river, below Renton. There was an unusually large community house here. An important man was Kwia'xtɭd, whose wife was Kaiûk^{ɔ}i'blo. His son Stoda' was later a head-man. Other sons were Kwɭlsk^{ɔ}e'dEb (called "Tecumseh"), Xase'dut, Tco'lusEb, and Sxaedaa'pEb. Another influential man was Kala'ktsut.

A235. Tuxudi'dû^{ɔ}, "Little Cedar river," a diminutive of the Xuda'o, "Cedar river." The name of the group of Indians living at this spot, the ^{ɔ}Dua'bc, has been anglicized as Duwamish (or Dwamish) and used as a name for the river as well as the "tribe" and as a general term for all the Indians on this shore of the Sound.

A237. Tuwa'b-qo, "confluence," a village site at the junction of Cedar river and Black river. At the present time the old site is occupied by a gravel-pit. Costello supplies a term Quob-quo, which, he says, is the name of Black river. Probably his term is intended for the one I have just given. His data are often a bit inexact. This spot is also called Sqoa'l-qo, another word for "confluence." The difference between the two names I cannot explain. The last head-man was Sxwiba'itic. He had a son, Kaka'latac, who was never of any importance.

A249. Duwe'kwɭlc (not translated), the old village at Maple Valley on Cedar River. Two brothers were head-men here, Dibo'Lkt and Ta'solko. Ledosxsxa'lebi and Duwe'kwElɭc were also important men. A well-known shaman here went by the name of "Doctor Jack."

A253. SkqE'bEd, "to make something warm," to "hover" or "shelter", an old site east of Soos creek, on Green river.

A254. Tca'kwab, not translated, a place on a cut-off in Green river. An Indian named Sxo'ltɭd lived here. Another chap who lived at this village was taken as a slave in his boyhood and carried east of the mountains. When he came back he preached a new religion, apparently derived from some Christian contact.

A254a. Stca'k^{w}cɭd, "where a trail descends," located on a flat where a trail descended from Muckleshoot flat to Green river. A man named CuxtsE'ltɭd was leader here.

A265. Tsqwtsq'bats, "where a certain root grows" (not identified), an old and important settlement on upper Green river.

A280. DExk, not translated. This site is near the house where Indian Dan is living now on White river. There is a fine spring here.

A288. Sqw^{ɔ}E'lEts, "huckleberry bush," a village at the mouth of Boise Creek.

family, live near Monohan, and very pleasantly gave me what information they had. Two important men here were Jim Dze'k^{3}yus, a shaman, and his brother, Tyee Jim.

A171. Yile'qwud, "a basket-cap," like that worn by Yakima women. I have little information about this place except that it was on the left bank of the Duwamish river.

A183. Tuqwe'Ltɭd, "a large open space," situated on a large flat in a bend of the Duwamish. The people here were called Q^{3}Elqa'kubi^{u}, "proud or confident people." The village was where the old Georgetown race-trace used to stand.

A200. Sqoa'l-qo, "meeting of rivers," the spot where Black River enters White River. The town stood on the point of land between the two streams.

A213. StEq^{3}, "a log-jam." At a spot on the middle Duwamish a great jam of logs extended across the river. People had to haul their canoes around it. It stayed there so long that grass and bushes grew on it. The head-man in the village was Wapa'wati. The character known as "Chief Seattle" was born at this place. The people here were wealthy and very "superior." They treated their neighbors of the village of Tcu't^{3}ap-alt^{u} in a rather high-handed way. When they had a feast, for example, they would not take the trouble to send an invitation. They just turned a canoe over, and pounded on it. "The people from the other village," my informants say, "would hear that pounding, and come without being otherwise invited." I am told that there were two trails along the river between the two villages. The upper one was used by the StEq^{3} people only, the lower by their poor neighbors. People from this vicinity went in the summer-time to the vicinity of Three Tree Point to camp. This summering place is on the shore of the Sound, across a range of hills.

A214. Tcu't^{3}ap-alt^{u}, "Flea's house," a place just up-stream from the last. A myth recounts that Elk's daughter came to this place and was married to Flea. Fleas were big at that time. She found out they intended to kill her. The Flea people burned bones instead of wood in the fire, trying to smother her in smoke. When she realized her danger "She came to herself," the Indians say, "and found out that she was a great person." She inhaled the smoke. It did no harm! Then she clubbed all the fleas and killed them. She scattered their blood all about. That blood came to life, and that is why fleas are now small. If they were as large now as they formerly were, their bits "would give us blood-poison," and kill us.

A229. Yilal-qo, or Ila'l-qo, possibly "striped water." It stood on the point of land included between Green river and White river where they come together, Ila'l^{3}qu. There was a large village here in the days when White river was running. The large river which resulted from the confluence of the two streams was, for a mile below the forks, muddy on one side, clear and green on the other. I think the name has some reference to that fact. When White river is clear, it is of a blue color, but it is usually charged with sediment. Green river is never blue, but always keeps

A302. StEx, "pushing through," located on Stuck river north of the present town of Sumner. The myth which gave rise to this curious name is recounted below, under "Indian Names for Streams." Two "head-men" here were Wa'losxoi and Kwiya'lx. A man named T^{j}a'tiqEb was said by one of my informants to have kept "more than a thousand dogs." The soldiers killed them at the time of the Indian war (1857). Another informant tole me of Wopona'uya here, "who had twenty dogs." This last is a more reasonable story. One cannot help wondering if he kept them for shearing, for it is a fact that dog-wool was formerly woven into blankets by these people. These dogs are said to have been fed on salmon.

Junction, on the E. bank, T'awē'dɭtc, "river duck."

202. An isolated knoll. There were "piles" of snakes there (apparently water-snakes). An informant found three piles, each of them a yard high when he was a boy. This place would not submit to transformation, so it is a part of the "old" world, as it was before the Transformer came.

203. A sandy point, now occupied by the picnic-grounds at Renton Junction, Cuhu'dutugwEl, "burning each other;" (hud, "to burn"). Snakes who land here after swimming across the river, in the summer time, get burned by the sand and die.

203a. A place on the W. bank of the river, Bɭs|q'a'ka, "where there are crows."

203b. Number not used.

203c. A bluff overhanging the river on its W. side, Bsts|xEbe'dats, "place of ironwood." People used to go there for ironwood, tsE'x^{w}bɭd.

204. A creek in the town of Orillia, BɭbLe'tcd, "a burden," "load." A woman was carrying a load with a pack-strap and threw it off here. It turned into a small knoll.

205. Clark's creek at the town of Kent, Sō'dEkts.

205a. Clark lake, source of Clark creek, N. of Kent, TLEko'bc, "a big-leafed plant which grows in that lake."

206. A place on the W. side of the river, Bɭsq'a'q'a, "where there are crows." This is said to be a different spot from the one named above.

206. A place on the W. bank of the river, Sta'tc'ats, "cedar spreader to hold a salmon open."

206a. A pond E. of the river below Orillia, Bs|tsol'al'ats, "place of cat-tails."

207. A swamp W. of the Duwamish, Bɭs|xu'qɭd, "where there are swans."

207a. A "spring brook" flowing from Panther lake and emptying into a swamp, Sp'a'kwûlcuL, "white stuff which comes upon water."

207b. A sandy promontory a quarter of a mile below the Pat Hayes orphanage, Sqwi'tks, "sharp point." Snoqualmie raiders used to camp here.

207c. A stream on the Mess place, opposite the Hayes orphanage, Tskw'i'kwitsadi, "little silver salmon."

208. Angle lake, TcûxcE'b. This was formerly the home of some kind of monster.

208a. A flat lying near the W. bank of the river, Qwe'LqweL, "lots of edible roots."

208b. A place close by the preceding, Tsk'a'lbats, "gooseberries."

209. A spot on the E. bank, Xwida'dali.

210. An open place on the E. bank, by the Hayes orphanage, Xwiya'L, "scared"; "with one's hear thumping."

210a. Spot on the W. bank, Tsa'btsabt-Ets, "red-elderberry place." The people used to camp here to pick berries.

211. A place in the middle of a large flat, on the W. side of the river, Pa'lEqw, "marsh"; "spring."

189. A small promontory, Tsitskadi'b, "clitoris."

190. A small creek entering the Duwamish from the w', GwEshwallt^{u}. This term suggests to my informants gwEx^{w}, "string," and alt^{u}, "house." I do not know the reason for the name.

191. An isolated knoll, N. of the bridge where the Puget Sound electric trains cross the Duwamish on the way to Tacoma, Cxi'yap^{u}, said to mean "beaver." This and two other nearby elevations stand out on the plain separate from the ridge. They are the scene of a famous story, the story of North-wind and South-wind. In effect it is as follows: North-wind, whose name is Stu'bla, had a village on the lower part of the Duwamish. South-wind had a village farther up-stream. War arose, and South-wind and his people were destroyed. His wife, Mountain-beaver, escaped by digging through the ground and went to her father. There her baby boy grew up. With the help of his old grandmother young South-wind put North-wind to flight. The last place the latter stopped was at Yeomalt (on the W. of the Sound). This name is an Americanization of Yeboa'lt^{u}, "fighting house," and was formerly spelled on the early maps Yemealt. Here the two winds had their last "tussle." Hence the breakers roll high on that point, even today. This is why we do not have constant winter in the Duwamish valley. South-wind, you see, drove North-wind away.

192. A place on the hillside south of the Interurban bridge, just mentioned, Stu'bla, "North-wind." This is the site of North-wind's ancient village. A few yards below, a great reef of rocks which stretches across the river representing his fish-dam, destroyed and ruined by young South-wind.

193. A conical elevation crowned with large boulders, just at the bridge, Stkax^{u}, "beaver lodge." I think it derives its name from its dome-like appearance.

194. An isolated hill, with cliffs on its eastern face, Sq^{ɔ}u'l^{ɛ}a'ts, "dirty face." This hill is where lived the old grandmother of Young South-wind. When her people were driven away, the ravens belonging to North-wind came and defecated on her face. This explains the mottled appearance of the cliffs. The river sweeps along the base of this elevation.

195. A flat, near the hill just mentioned, N. of Black River forks, W. of the viaduct which crosses the Northern Pacific, Yila'kwilqo, "where two streams meet."

196. A place where the river strikes in at the foot of a low bluff, QwIla'us, "a blind, behind which a hunter hides in shooting game"; for example, brush piled upon the bow of a canoe.

197. A spot on the E. bank of the river, Qw^{ɔ}ō'xwiqs, "crooked nose."

198. Another spot on the E. bank, QulE'x^{u}, "a hole in the bank where a creek cuts under."

199. A highland, extending down to the river, Sqali'ls, "bad-looking;" the rocks are "ugly."

200. Where Black river enters White river, Sqoa'l-qo, "meeting of rivers," a village. See list of villages above.

201. The level land below the mouth of Black river at Renton

212. A place on the river, due W. of the town of O'Brien, PE'lsp!dop, "water boiling or bubbling up." A second place in this vicinity has the same name.

212a. A small stream on a wide flat, Bs|a'iyax, "crayfish."

213. An ancient village-site on what afterward came to be the Van Doren place, StEq^{3}, "a big jam of logs." See list of villages above.

214. The village up-stream from the one just mentioned, Tcu't^{3}ap-alt^{w}, "Fleas' house." See list of villages above.

215. A place where the river washes the base of a ridge at the S. end of the flat, Stktsotcid.

216. Place on the W. bank of the river, Ctcagkqs, "where a trail comes down to a beach." Here was where the trail from De Moines on the Sound came over the ridge and down to the river.

216a. A flat in a bend of the river, T^{3}ka'xwEts, "crabapple trees."

217. A side-channel of the river above the Henry McCabe place, CugtLä'lgw!L, "resembling a pathway," "canoe-trails."

217a. A place formerly known as Langston's ferry, Bs|skwEd, "where there is a waterfall." Mink was coming up river once, bringing with him his lunch, which consisted mostly of mussels. The world suddenly changed. The lunch is still there on West bank. You can pick fossil mussels out of the rock.

217b. A flat on the W. side of the river, xE'bxEb, "horse-tail rush." The outside of the root was used in basketry design as a black element; the inner part was edible. Along with numerous other plants it is spoken of as an "Indian potato."

218. The mouth of Mill creek, TLpaLxadōtsid.

218a. A place on the river-bank close by the town of Kent, Bs|tL^{3}a'kwawats, "where there is a certain edible plant"; called tsla'gwEts. People resorted here to gather this plant.

219. Mill creek, TLpa'Lxad, "marshes." This creek drains the level land on the W. side of the river.

219a. Doloff lake, Bɪs|kwa'dis, "where there are whales." This lake is the source of Mill creek, just mentioned. A tradition recounts that whales used to come into this lake by an underground channel.

220. A point just below the old wagon-bridge which crosses the Duwamish at Alvord's place, SpE'd, "buried." The term spEdgwEs means "a long object the middle of which is buried."

220a. A place on the W. bank of the Duwamish, Tcakwabid. Elk formerly came down to water here. The Transformer was accustomed to point at them, when all would drop dead at once.

221. The "Nose of the hill" near Kent, Kwa'botcele, "a vine of some sort."

222. Site of the John Thomas place, in a big bend of the river just above Kent, PEbca'lq^{w}. The term is a diminutive of pce'lq^{w}, not translated. The nearby station called Pialschie is a transliteration of the proper name Paiya'Ltc!d, belonging to an Indian called by the Whites "Curly" Nelson. The "town"

was so named by John Thomas, the first white settler on the upper Duwamish.

223. A place in the river, TsE'btsEb̓dop, "bubbling up."

224. Site of the James Crow place, E. of the river, above Kent, Xoxwa'daip.

224a. A place on the steep hillside E. of the river, StExwa'btsali, "arrangement for pulling something." This term is applied to a skid road. The name and the situation suggest that at this point planks or logs were dragged down from the plateau.

225. The mouth of the creek on a Mr. King's land, Tsaxē'lo:ts-id. This is at a place below the bridge on Green river, above the Dick Jeff place. The Indians formerly had a fish-weir there.

226. A level flat on the W. side of the river, SbEqʷ, "a ball." The name comes from the fact that the Indian game of ball, or "shinny," was played here. The place was sometimes called SEpo'sadi, "where it is thrown about."

226a. A rock midway on the hillside E. of the river, Bs|tɬk³ai'yu, "wolf." There was once a rock on the hillside there in the form of a crouching wolf. The wolves heard that Xá̓de (the Transformer) was coming, and ran away. The last one was lingering, or watching, and "hollering" across the river. He was turned to stone. That stone is now blasted to clear the way for the road. It rolled down-hill in pieces.

227. Site of the Brandon place, S. of the town of Auburn, T³i'ɬakwEts, "strawberries."

228. A place on the E. bank of the river, a short distance below the confluence of Green river, Ts³lä̓'swiltu.

228a. A bend in the river, Swobsti, "water lilies."

229. A village site on the point of land between Green river and White river, Yila'l-qo, "striped water." See list of villages above.

Names of places along the course of Black river and Cedar river

230. Place on the N. side of Black river, above the confluence, Spa'tus, "going around in a long circle." The name may refer to the configuration of the bluff.

231. A place on the S. bank of the river, Hwa'utsegwiL, "to carry canoe over." They carried canoes over and put them in a little creek leading to a swamp.

231a. A creek, draining a swamp, Ct³u'lEgwEli, "resembling a trail." They caught lots of salmon-trout ("silver salmon") in it. They built a little fish-weir in the middle course of it.

232. A deep place in the river, Tuwa'Ldad³-aL³t, "jack-salmon's home." The salmon were just "loaded in" there in the summer.

233. A rocky place, Ts³u'ts³ubûls "rocky"; "full of boulders." There is a high trestle there now. Rocks formerly stuck up out of the water. The term means literally "projecting-in-a-distributive-sense rocks."

234. A deep hole in the river, with cliffs on both sides,

Sba'badi'd, "crags," a village-site. See list of villages above.

235. A place in Black river where a creek enters from the E., Pa'pxwEtsût, "riffle"; "place where water is swift." This is below the present Golf grounds.

235a. A spring in Renton, Tu sudīdû', "little xuda'o" (the latter being the term for "Cedar river"), site of an important town. See list of villages above.

236. The site of the present habitation of Mrs. Jimmy Moses, an Indian informant, in the town of Renton, SkEtē'lubc.

237. The place where Cedar river flows into Black river, TuwE'b-qo, "confluence," a village site. See list of villages above.

238. Place between two railroad tracks where the Renton brick-yard and clay-pipe factory now stands, U'a'x, "gravel always falling."

239. A high bluff E. of Renton, Tu qwi'tLûs, "red face."

240. A place where Cedar River runs in a narrow channel with a cliff on each side, Xa'lcɬd, "bridge." The term is applied to both sides of the river, and refers to some mythical tale, the details of which I do not know.

241. An open glade or "prairie" lying north of the river, T'ila'kwats, "strawberry plants." There is another word, stci'u, which means the berries themselves.

242. A plateau close to the river, Sbaq"; "shinny-ball."

243. A plateau farther up-stream than the last, Q'ulia'p, "stump." The name is probably a description of the place.

244. A flat close to the river, SExwi'xwiwEd, "where one customarily whistles" (sxwi"wad, "to whistle"). I did not succeed in obtaining an explanation.

245. Cliffs on opposite sides of the river, Saugû't'agwEl, "place where dogs bark at each other."

246. Echo Lake, Bōstce'tla, "four stones."

247. A lake S. of Cedar river, probably Otter lake, Tsla'ci (tsalac, "duck").

248. Number not used.

249. Village-site at Maple valley, Duwē'kwɬlc.

APPENDIX 2

Names of Places on the Shore of Puget Sound near Seattle

From article by T. T. Waterman on "The Geographical Names Used by the Indians of the Pacific Coast," Geographical Review, Vol. XII, part 2; April 1922 pp. 175-194.

1. Meadow Point, a sandy promontory north of the Ballard District, Seattle: Qe'L^{E}bEd. The word suggests Qe'lbid, "canoe."

2. A very minute promontory, barely visible on the map, at the northern side of the entrance to Salmon Bay in the Ballard District, Seattle: Tce'dkedad, "lying curled on a pillow." The name refers to the shape of the spit, which is curled about on itself, owing to the wash of the tides at that point. There were formerly many clams here.

3. The narrow opening which leads into Salmon Bay: Cilco'l-utsid, "mouth of Ci'lcol" (see below).

4. Salmon Bay: Ci'lcol, "shoving a thread through a bead;" "threading or inserting something." The Indians used to paddle in from the Sound and traverse the length of this inlet on their way to Lake Washington. The name refers to the way in which this narrow estuary invades the shore line. Costello gives for Salmon Bay "Shul-shale, the name of a tribe." He is very much misled in this matter. The tribe were the Cilcol-a'bc or "Shilsholamish," dwellers on Shilshole." It is noteworthy that the word Shilshole, which is a transcription in ordinary spelling of the Indian name, still appears on the map, but it has drifted down with the tide, so to speak, and has now come to rest in the waters outside of the "heads," which are the Shilshole Bay of recent published maps.

5. A very small creek entering the northern side of Salmon Bay: Bitida'kt, "a kind of supernatural power." This "power" enabled one to journey to the underworld and recover souls from the land of the dead. The performances and paraphernalia of the ceremony have often been described; for example, by Dorsey, in the Univ. of Pennsylvania Museum Bulletin, and by Haeberlin, in the Amer. Anthropologist.

6. A still smaller creek than the above, entering the same tiny inlet: Qslula'stab, "a small bush with white flowers and black berries." This is not the dogwood, as might seem likely, but some other plant.

7. A creek which drains down a straight gully into the southern side of Salmon Bay from the neighborhood of Fort Lawton: Hwiwa'iq, said to mean "large; having lots of water."

8. West Point, a promontory ending in an elongated sand spit: Pka'dzEltcu, "thrust far out." This cape lies just north of Seattle harbor, or Elliott Bay. The stem is paLkt, "to thrust ahead," or "to push one's way through brush," for example. It is also used of leaves "pushing out" in the spring. The term refers to the way in which the point seems to thrust itself forward into the Sound. Costello gives Per-co-dus-chule, not translated.

9. Four-mile Rock: LE'plEpL. The rock in question is a great boulder standing in the water at the foot of Magnolia Bluff. Its name was also recorded in the form La'pub. Another name, Tc!ĕ'tla, which is sometimes used, means simply "rock;" "boulder." A myth recounts that an ancient hero named Sta'kub could take a gigantic dragnet made of cedar and hazel branches and throw it over this rock while standing himself on the distant beach.

10. A small creek draining down a gully from Fort Lawton: TLo'xwatL-qo, "land-otter water." This creek flowed only in wet weather. The gully is now occupied by a paved road.

11. Mouth of the creek draining into Smith Cove: Sila'qwotsid, said to mean "talking."

12. A creek formerly entering the Sound south of Smith Cove: T!E'kEp, "an aerial net for snaring ducks." It is said that ducks which were "started up" on Lake Union would always fly over the low place between Queen Anne Hill and the business district of Seattle. Duck snares were accordingly set at this point. It is also said to have been used by the Indians as a camping place.

13. An open space, or series of spaces, in the forest which formerly grew north of what is now the business district of Seattle: Baba'kwob, "prairies" (ba'kwob, "prairie"). The earliest white settlement at this point was called Belltown. It lay just north of the present water front with its wharves.

14. A village site in Seattle: Djidjilal'ĭtc, a diminutive, meaning "a little place where one crosses over." At this point there formerly extended a little promontory with a lagoon behind it. On the promontory were a few trees, and behind this clump of trees a trail led from the beach over to the lagoon; hence the name. Indian villages existed on each side of this point and flounders were plentiful in the lagoon. This is exactly where the King Street Station now stands. The term for this spot is now applied by Indians to the whole city.

15. A little "spit" or beach, at the edge of the easternmost of the mouths of the Dwamish River: Tux̌pa'ctEb.

16. A small promontory on an island: Tĕta'lks. The place is said to have been used as a lookout point by the Indians, who built a stockade here.

17. A slough passing to the south of the above: Slu'wiL. The term means literally "a perforation for a canoe." The word slu is applied, for example, to the holes bored to test the thickness of a canoe hull. In the present case the word refers to a grassy marsh intersected with channels, into and through which canoes can be pushed. The term was also defined to me as "a short cut;" "a canoe pass."

18. The largest of the branches into which Dwamish River divides at its mouth: XwEq!, "slough."

19. A place on the western shore of the above slough: Q!ul-q!ula'di, "shaggy," "tangled." The stem qul means "bad," "brushy." A lot of fir "snags" or "stubs" (that is tree trunks with the roots attached) drifted in here and lodged, masking the shore so that no one could land.

20. Harbor Island, a flat surrounded by watercourses, and rather marshy: Ts!E'kas, "muddy." An old informant, George Si'towaL, lived in a float house here with his aged wife until in the year 1920 they starved to death.

21. An old village site on the western bank of the Dwamish, at the foot of the bluff: Tul'a'lt , "herring's house."

22. Longfellow Creek, draining into Young's Cove, in West Seattle: Tua'wi, "trout".

23. A trickle of water draining down a little gully near Luna Park in West Seattle: CuxutsE'xud, "something to split with."

24. Dwamish Head: SqwEdqs, "promontory at the foot of something" (sqwEd, "the under part of anything;" qs, "promontory"). The name is descriptive of the sand spit which juts forward from the foot of an abrupt overbeetling headland, once heavily timbered. Costello gives the name Squ-ducks for this place, translating it "promontory."

25. Alki Point: SbEkwa'b 'qs, "prairies" (ba'kwob, "prairie"), so named because the flat, sandy promontory, which juts out half a mile from the shore line, had among the trees many open places.

26. A depression a mile or more inland from Dwamish Head: Tuxqo'tEb. This lies on top of the plateau and was once a cranberry swamp.

27. A small creek south of Alki Point: T!E'sbEd, "a winter house" (t!as, "cold"). The reason for giving this name to the place I do not know. There was a brickyard here some years ago.

28. Another small creek, south of the preceding: GwEl, "to capsize."

29. Point Williams: Tcĭxha´idus, "crowded," "tight."

30. Brace Point: Psaiya´hus, "horned snake." This promontory was considered to be the abode of one of these monsters. They were regarded with supernatural dread. They take the form of an enormous snake, having, according to some accounts, the antlers and forelegs of a deer. At the base of this promontory is a big reddish boulder weighing half a ton or more. It was formerly believed that anyone looking at this boulder would become twisted into a knot. The boulder itself was believed to change its form. Certain people had this boulder for a supernatural helper.

31. A bend, or cove, south of Brace Point: Tukwa´sus, "scorching the face." There is a gravel pit here now.

Names of Places on Lake Union and Lake Washington

The author already mentioned, Costello, gives two curious words for the names of these two lakes. He says that the name for Lake Washington is At-kow-chug, meaning "large body of fresh water," while for Lake Union he gives the name Kah-chug, which he translates "lake." As a matter of fact these two expressions are forms of the same word, though from our author's way of transcribing them one would hardly suspect it. The word for Lake Washington is Xa´tcu, which is simply a word for "lake." This is the one spelled "At-kow-chug" by Costello. To form the name for Lake Union, the Indians insert a "glottal stop" in this word, which makes a diminutive of it and gives the form Xa´'tcu. This closely resembles the other word but means "little lake." Used as a name for Lake Union, it is the term written by Costello "Kah-chug." His remarks are therefore an indirect approximation to the truth. Lake Sammamish, which is east of Lake Washington, the Indians call Xa´tcxatcu, which also means a small lake but one not quite so small as a Xa´'tcu.

32. A place on Lake Union, where an outlet drains into Salmon Bay: Gwa´xwop, "outlet." The stream flowing in this channel now supplies the locks of the Government Canal.

33. A small creek, just east of the railroad bridge in the Ballard District, Seattle: Ctciwa´t-qo, "place where one whips the water." The people used to hit the water with sticks to drive fish into the narrow brook, where they were easily captured.

34. A promontory jutting into Lake Union from its northern shore: Stĕ´tciL, "a prop." It looks, say my informants, as though it were "leaning against" the opposite shore. This promontory is now occupied by a gas plant.

35. A "prairie," or open space, near Lake Union: Ba´qwob. This was at the northern abutment of the Latona bridge, in the city of Seattle.

36. A small creek entering Lake Union just east of the Latona bridge: Waq!e´qlab (waq!e´q!, "frog").

37. A tiny promontory jutting into Lake Union, where the boat-house of the University Boat Club now stands: Sqwitsqs, "little promontory."

38. The marsh lying between Laurel Point and the buildings of the University of Washington: SLuwi´L, "perforation for a canoe." The term refers to the fact that the marsh was intersected with channels into which a canoe could be thrust. The creek which enters the bay through this swamp flows out of Green Lake through a conduit into Ravenna Park. A large aboriginal fish trap made of piles formerly stood in this bay. Its ruins are said to have been exposed some years ago when the level of the lake was lowered by the digging of a canal.

39. Green Lake: ᴰᵘtLĕ´c. This lake furnished quantities of suckers and perch, which were taken in basket traps. Salmon also entered the lake by the creek mentioned just above.

40. A little cove on the western side of Laurel Point: A´did, an exclamation translated "Dear me!" The spot was formerly the property of a certain Joe Somers and previously to that had been set aside as a camping place for Indians.

41. Laurel Point: Cebu´lt$^{\omega}$, "dry." This promontory is now called "Webster Point" on the maps and is styled "Whiskey Point" by Indian informants.

42. The shore of Lake Washington, north of Laurel Point: T$^{\omega}$tsa´xwub, "beating." A fine cliff here, overshadowed with heavy timber, overhangs the beach.

43. A spot on the beach north of the preceding: T!lels, "minnows," or "shiners." These are otherwise called tomcod, I believe.

44. A flat open area without timber, south of Sand Point: BEbqwa´bEks, "prairies" (cf. ba´kwob, "prairie").

45. A little channel which drains a pond south of Sand Point: Tc!aa´Lqo, "channel," "watercourse." There is a myth which refers to this channel, but I could not obtain the details.

46. The pond at Sand Point: Wisa´lpEbc.

47. Sand Point, an extensive promontory, very level: Sq$^{\omega}$sEb.

48. The northern shore of Sand Point: T!uda´xEde, a plant with small, inedible white berries.

49. Cove at the inner end of the promontory: Sla´gwElagwEts, literally "cedar bark, where it grows."

50. The shore north of the preceding: XwExwi´yaqwais, said to mean "pulling on a line which is made fast to something."

51. A creek north of Sand Point: ᵀᵘxu´bid.

52. A cranberry marsh lying some three miles from the lake shore: SLo´q!qed, "bald head." This marsh is drained by one branch of the creek just mentioned.

53. A little promontory: Tsixtsix-a´ltᵘ, "eagle's house." There is the nest of an eagle (tsistsis) in a tree on this point.

54. A place on the lake shore, at the edge of a bluff: Xwiyaqwa´di-a´ltᵘ, "thunderbird's house." The mythical fowls which are supposed to cause thunderstorms by clapping their wings and winking their eyes were believed to nest here in the trees.

55. A very "dangerous" place at the edge of the lake: StL!Epqs, "deep promontory." People swimming here were formerly "taken away" by something supernatural.

56. An enormous boulder on the lake shore: ᵉˢtcĕ´tla, "rock."

57. The mouth of McAleer Creek: S!a´tsutsid, "mouth of sla´tsu." (See No. 58).

58. McAleer Lake: Sla´tsu, "face."

59. A small creek: Sts!kE´l, "a certain small bird."

60. A spot where a sawmill stands, at the northern end of Lake Washington: Sta´tabEb, "lots of people talking."

61. A small creek: Tcĕtca´L.

62. A level flat at the mouth of Swamp Creek: Ts!Ebta´ltᵘ, "elderberry's house" (ts´abt, "elderberry").

63. Swamp Creek: TuLq!a´b, variously translated. The word Lq!ab means "the bark of a dog." Another informant said that the present term means "the other side of something," like the opposite surface of a log.

64. An old village site on the northern shore of the lake, at its head, near where the Sammamish River enters: TL!ahwa´dis, "something growing or sprouting." According to informants dwelling on the Sound the people here were "poor."

65. Where Sammamish River enters Lake Washington: Cxa´tcugwEs, "where the lake becomes elongated." The expression refers to the way in which the lake at its northern end gradually narrows into a long estuary.

66. Squawk Slough, otherwise known as Sammamish River: sts!ap, "crooked," "meandering." This stream was originally crooked almost past belief. It has now been dredged out and straightened, so that mill logs can be floated through it from the lake above. The people living here were called the sts!apa´bc, "meander dwellers," anglicized as "Sammamish." This name for the people has now been applied to the lake and the river.

67. Peterson's Point: Qwai´tĕd, said to mean "across." This is a headland lying south of the mouth of Sammamish River.

68. A small promontory: Xwi´alad$^{x\underline{u}}$, "niggardly;" "scanty." It was difficult to catch fish at this place; whence the name.

69. North Point: U'a´s, "gravel rattling down." Gravel continuously rolls down from this promontory.

70. A spot on the eastern shore of Lake Washington, south of the preceding: Li´lskut.

71. An open space near the present town of Juanita: Tcĕ´tcubEd.

72. The creek at Juanita: TE´btubĭ$^{\underline{u}}$, "loamy place" (tE´b$^{\underline{u}}$, "earth," "loam."

73. Nelson Point: Leqa´bt, translated "paint." The term means literally "something gathered or scooped up with the fingers." Material called "rust" by my informants (evidently ochre) was scraped from a cliff at this point and baked in a bonfire. The reddest portions were then picked out and used for face paint.

74. The beach north of the town of Kirkland: Wĭcqab-al´t$^{\underline{u}}$.

75. A water channel on the hillside north of the town of Kirkland: Tse´xub, "dripping water."

76. The site of the town of Kirkland: Sta´LaL.

77. The mouth of Northup Creek, south of Kirkland: Tc!u´tsid, "mouth of Tc!u." (See below.)

78. Northup Creek: Tc!u.

79. A swamp at the head of Northup Creek: Txwa´bats, "pulling something toward one."

80. Three promontories with narrow inlets between: SLi^{u}Li´uqs, "three promontories" (Liux, "three"). The promontories are Hunt Point, Fairweather Point, and a third which has no name in English.

81. A small creek at the head of Anderson's Bay: Tca´bqwEsEbEts.

82. A small marsh at the head of the inlet west of the above: DE´q!tus.

83. Groat Point, near Peterson's Landing: CtcE´gwus, "place where a trail descends into the water."

84. A little creek at head of Meydenbauer Inlet: TLhai´si, named for a certain species of fish. This fish, called tLhais, has a stripe on the side and is very bony. They "ran" in great numbers at this point.

85. A promontory south of Meydenbauer Inlet: Lcwild.

86. A promontory west of Mercer Slough: TL!utsa´'lus, "tying a mesh."

87. Coal Creek: SqE´bEqsid.

88. Mercer Slough: Sa tsakaL, "water at head of a bay," an old village site.

89. May Creek: Cbal't^{u}, "place where things are dried." Great quantities of redfish were taken at this point.

90. A small promontory: Kwa´kwau.

91. A place opposite the south end of Mercer Island, at the foot of Lake Washington: P!E´swi, "pressed back," "crowded back."

92. Marshes at the south end of Lake Washington, to the east of Black River: Spa´pLxad, "marshes." The word was given to me also in the form Spapa´pLxad, "several little marshes."

93. A little promontory on the lake shore at the middle of the marshy flats just mentioned: ^{t}u´ci´tsabd , "to thrust or shove," especially to shove one's canoe into the brush.

94. Where Black River flows out of Lake Washington: Ciqe´d, "head," or "source." This is "the place from which Black River starts," whence the name.

95. A place near the head of Black River (probably the small island there): Tcitc!o´yaq^{w}.

96. An old village site at a place now called Bryn Mawr: SExt!i´tcĭb, "place where one wades."

97. A small creek north of Bryn Mawr: Tsi´ptsip, "ducklings." The term means literally "something which emits a squeak or peep."

98. A creek draining into an inlet north of Ranier Beach: Tux"oo´kwib, "loon." Surrounding this inlet there is a deep swamp or marsh where loons nested.

99. A promontory, separated from the mainland by the marsh just mentioned: TLi´Ltcus, "small island." It lies west of the south end of Mercer Island.

100. Brighton Beach: Xaxao´Ltc, "taboo," "forbidden." Some supernatural monster lived at this point.

101. The isthmus connecting Bailey Peninsula with the mainland: Cka´lapsEb, "the upper part of one's neck." It is employed regularly in the sense of "isthmus."

102. Bailey Peninsula, especially its northern end: SkEba´kst, "nose" (bE´ksĭd, "nostril").

103. A creek emptying into Wetmore Slough: Sqa´tsĭd, "choked-up mouth;" astqo´tsid is the expression for closing a door, or blocking up an opening. A lot of snags here blocked up the mouth of the creek. The place was at one time a hopyard. Silver salmon formerly frequented this creek.

104. Wetmore Slough (or place on the shore of the slough): Ska´bo, "nipple," or "milk."

105. A place on the lake shore, opposite the northern end of Mercer Island: Saiya´hos, "horned snake." This is an enormous supernatural monster which lived at this point on the shore.

106. A place slightly north of the preceding: Hwoqwe´yE-qwaiEks, "rushes used for a certain kind of matting." This rush, the name for which was given to me in the form sqwe´qwats, is smaller than the cat-tail.

107. A place near Yesler Park: Bĭsti´Exq!e´u. This word was untranslated; but it suggested to one of my informants stĭk!a´iyu, "wolf." The water is very deep here.

108. Madison Park, at the end of the Madison Street cable line: XĕtL, "where one chops." I do not know the reason for the name.

109. The southernmost of the two promontories forming Union Bay: Bĭskwi´kwiL, "skate." This point of land is very level and is turned up at the tip, resembling the nose of a skate.

110. Foster Island, a small island in Union Bay: Sti´titci, diminutive of stE´tci, "island." This island was formerly used as a graveyard. The Indians of this part of America formerly hoisted their dead into the trees. My informants can remember when the trees here were full of boxes with skeletons in them. The lashings of these boxes gave way from time to time, and the ground was covered with bones which had rattled down from above.

111. A creek entering Union Bay from the south: Sta´LaL (staL, "fathom;" "stretch of the arms"). I do not know the reason for this name.

112. A place where there was formerly "portage" from Lake Washington to Lake Union: Sxwa´tsugwiL. The stem means "to lift up." The suffix, -gwiL, is well known in the Salish dialects and means "with reference to a canoe." The whole name means "where one lifts his canoe." Costello gives this term as "Squaltz-quilth," not translated. At this point the Indians, and after them the early settlers, carried their boats from one lake to the other. The path which they followed was just south of where the present canal is cut. I am informed that a little creek drained out of Lake Washington, up which the boats were pushed as far as they could be made to go.

113. The flats at the southern end of the bight in Lake Union, facing the University campus: Spa´Lxad, "marsh," "wet flats."

114. A place on the shore of Lake Union, opposite the present site of the gas works: Sxwuba´bats, "place where jumping occurred." A number of house boats are now moored along the water front here. One informant explained that the water front here was encumbered with logs over which one had to jump.

115. A place just south of the preceding: StLep, "deep." The beach here is very abrupt.

116. A place at the southern end of Lake Union: Ctca´q^{w}cid, "where a trail descends to the water." At this point an old trail from Seattle harbor came down the hill to Lake Union. This is where the pioneer sawmill stood, belonging to David Denny ("Dabe Duddy" according to the Indian pronunciation of his name).

117. A bluff at the foot of Lake Union on the southern shore: TL!pe´lgwiL, "deep for canoes."

118. East Seattle, a district on the northern end of Mercer Island: TsEktsEk!a´bats, "where gooseberry bushes grow." The particular locality named herein is the site of the old Proctor Ranch. Wild roses were formerly plentiful here.

119. South Point, the southernmost promontory of Mercer Island: La´gwitsatEb, "taking off;" "stripping." An old man once went to this place in a canoe to get bark from the dead trees. The influences there caused him to become "crazy," however, and he had to go away. There were supernatural beings there, called swa´wati´tid, "earth-beings," living in the old stumps. Removing the bark from the stumps, therefore, was like removing clothing from a person. The Indians were afraid to go to the spot after that.

120. A place on the western shore of Mercer Island: Q!oq!o´btsi, "water lilies," a plant with a large yellow flower.

Names of Places Along Dwamish River

121. An old village site on the western bank of the river: Yile´q!ud, said to mean a basket cap, such as that worn by the Yakima people.

122. A spot at the southern end of Harbor Island: Ska´bk!abEb, "backwater where there is no current."

123. A level flat on the western side of the Dwamish: Xo´lxolp!i, "grassy place."

124. A spot on the western side of the Dwamish, where a bend in the river washes the foot of the bluffs: Tkba´le, "spot where they place an aerial net for trapping ducks."

125. A point of land on the eastern side of the river: TcE´btcEbid, "fir trees on the ground." People went there to get dry bark for fuel.

126. A small creek entering the Dwamish from the west: Ta´litc, "a frame for drying fish."

127. A slough cutting across a point: TatL!qe´d, "head of the short cut." At high tide the Indians made a short cut through a channel here in going up the river in their canoes.

128. A bank or cliff on the eastern side of the Dwamish: Bia´ptEb, "ground dropping down" (bia´p, "to fall"). Material is continually falling from the bank here.

129. A place below Georgetown: Ts!kwa´lad, "forked house post." The river forms curves suggesting the shape of this timber.

130. A small channel across a flat on the western side of the river: Lwalb, "abandoned." It is an old river channel, the river having changed its course.

131. A place where there were numerous tree trunks and dead timber: T!la´Lt!aLusid, translated "where there is something overhead across the path." The term in its literal sense signifies the crossbeams in the roof of a house.

132. A place on the western bank of the river: Hutcsa´tci, "hand cut in two." Several legends cluster around this spot, and the Indians call it a "bad place," meaning that supernatural beings lurk here. Once some people were passing this spot in a canoe, going up river. They were conversing about the name. "I wonder why this place has the name 'hand-cut-in-two,'" said one of them. A hand suddenly rose up out of the river, the fingers of which were cut off. The hand stood up by the boat, and the supernatural being down in the river spoke. "That is why," was all that he said. The people, of course, were terrified.

At the time when the Transformer came two men were fighting here. He turned one of them into a large cottonwood tree on the western bank, which still shoots sparks occasionally at its ancient enemy--a big white fir across the river. One of my informants once, on a pitch-dark night, saw sparks passing back and forth across the river!

133. A large flat in a bend of the river: Tuqwe´ltĭd, "a large open space;" "a plain." A village stood here.

134. A place where a lot of material caved down on a trail: TEtc!gwEs, "a brace or upright supporting a rafter." I fancy that the name came from some tree trunks involved in the landslide.

135. A narrow promontory about which the river makes a sharp turn: Cka´lapsEb, "neck." This was formerly an open place where they got camas (lily bulbs) for food.

136. A place on a wide flat, near the head of the old river channel mentioned above: Hwa´pitcĭd, "where one throws something." I do not know the reason for the name.

137. A place where there are three symmetrical knolls on an extensive flat, on the western side of the river, in South Park: Qiyawa´lapsEb. The name suggests "eel's throat" to one of my informants (quya´u, "eel"). The largest knoll is surmounted now by a Catholic orphanage.

138. A flat in a bend of the river on the eastern side: Xo´bxobti, "canoe paddles." Ash trees here, which supplied wood for paddles, gave the place its name.

139. A small creek entering the Dwamish from the west: GwExhwallt^{u}. This term suggests to my informants gwEx^{u}, "string," and alt^{u}, "house." I do not know the reason for calling it this name.

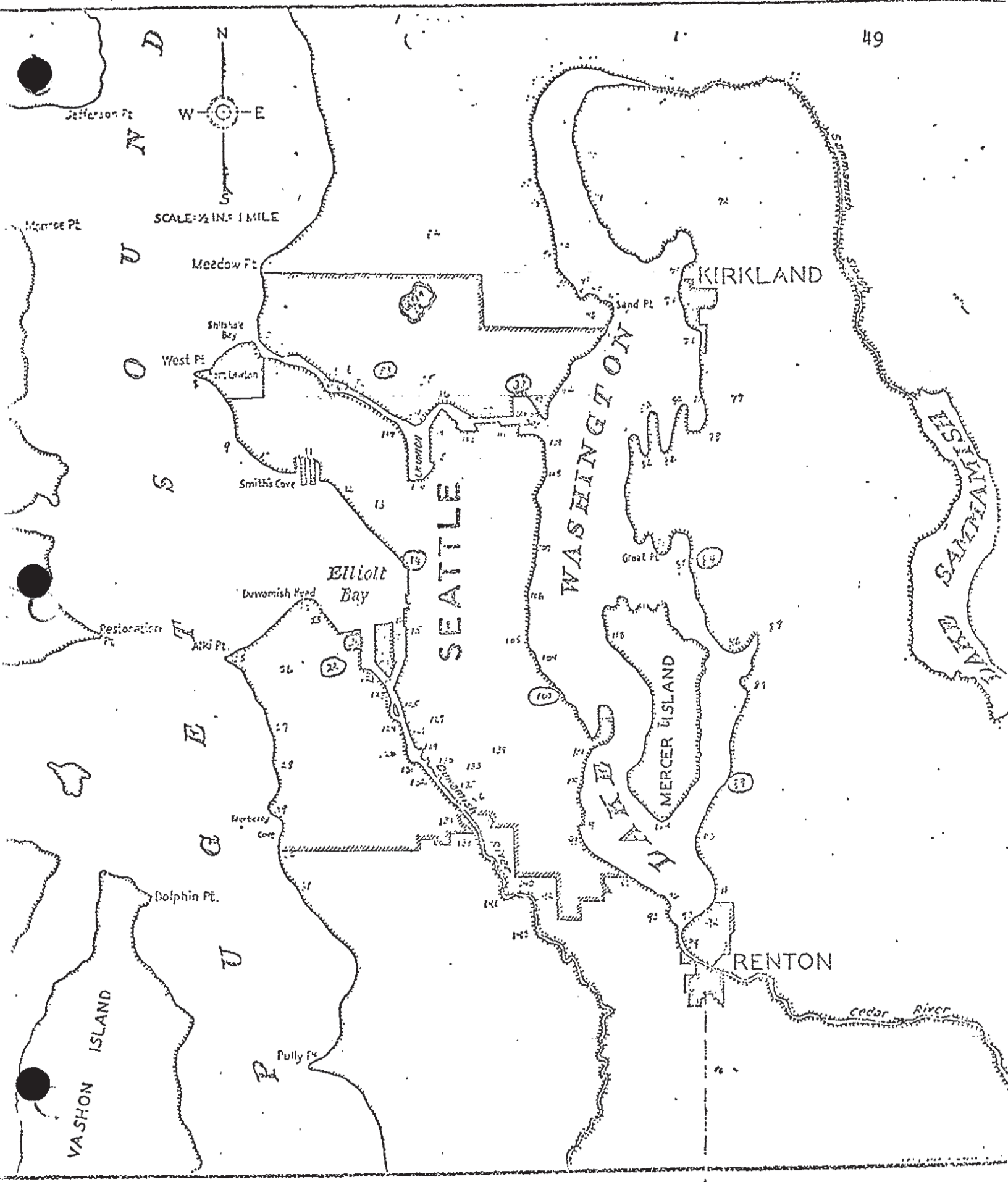
140. An isolated knoll north of the bridge where the Puget Sound electric trains cross the Dwamish on the way to Tacoma: Cxi´yaq^{u}, said to mean "beaver." This and two other near-by elevations stand out on the plain separate from the near-by ridge. They are the scene

of a famous story, the legend of North Wind and South Wind. In effect it is as follows: North Wind, whose name is Stu´bla, had a village on the lower part of the Dwamish. South Wind had a village farther up the stream. War arose, and while South Wind and his people were destroyed, his wife, Mountain Beaver, escaped by digging through the ground and went to her father. There her baby boy grew up. With the help of his old grandmother, young South Wind afterwards put North Wind to flight. The last place where the latter stopped was at the present Yeomalt (west of the Sound). This name is an Americanization of Yeboa´lt^{u}, "fighting house," which was formerly spelled on the early maps Yemoalt (notice the order of the letters, which has undergone a change on modern maps). Here the two winds had their last "tussle." Hence the breakers roll high on that point even today. This is why we do not have constant winter in the Dwamish valley, they say. South Wind drove North Wind away.

141. A place on the hillside south of the Interurban bridge just mentioned: Stu´bla, "North Wind." This is the site of North Wind's ancient village. A few yards below this spot a great reef of rocks stretches across the river, representing his fish dam, destroyed and ruined by young South Wind.

142. A conical elevation crowned with large boulders, just at the bridge: Stkax^{u}, "beaver lodge." I think it derives its name from its domelike appearance.

143. An isolated hill, with cliffs on its eastern face: Sq!u´ʔlats, "dirty face." This hill is where lived the aged grandmother of young South Wind. After her people were driven away, she became very poor, and her face became dirty. This explains the mottled appearance of the cliffs. The river sweeps along the base of this elevation.


N
W
E
S
SCALE: ½ IN. = 1 MILE
Jefferson Pt
Meadow Pt
West Pt
Smith's Cove
Elliott Bay
Duwamish Head
Alki Pt.
Restoration Pt
Dolphin Pt.
Vashon Island
Puget Sound
SEATTLE
Lake Washington
KIRKLAND
Sand Pt
Mercer Island
RENTON
Cedar River

APPENDIX 3

THE SALMON WEIR ON GREEN RIVER IN WESTERN WASHINGTON

Arthur C. Ballard

In the literature of the Pacific Northwest occasional brief and cursory reference is made to the salmon weir. More than two generations have elapsed since the white man's law began to prohibit this type of fishing in the Puget Sound region and most of the individuals who participated in such activity or observed it with understanding are no longer living. This structure, which played so important a role in the material culture and economic life of the aboriginal inhabitants of the Pacific Northwest seems worthy of more attention than it has received in our literature. The following discussion is an endeavor to describe in some detail its parts and their function together with its nomenclature in the Snuqualmi-Dwamish dialect of Salish.

Specifically, the structure to be described is the salmon weir formerly built and used by the aboriginal population of the Green River region of southern King County. With possible minor variations, the structure found on Green River was, in my opinion, identical in style and use with others to be found on most of the rivers tributary to Puget Sound. A divergent type found on the rivers leading from the Olympic Mountains to the sea is outside the scope of this study (Olson, 1936:27). On Green River, the salmon weir has not been in general use since the last decade of the nineteenth century, more than two generations ago. At that time legislative restrictions were imposed upon its use in this area. In later years, however, salmon weirs were set up at times and used surreptitiously. The descriptions presented here are for the most part based on verbal accounts of those who participated in its installation and use. At first they were confusing and contradictory. It was not until a small model was constructed that these contradictions were resolved and omissions corrected. Verbal descriptions by pioneer friends who themselves in years past had boarded the trap and taken fish, add to a further understanding of its parts and their uses. Despite this good fortune and the clarification it has afforded, it would be rash to say that the last word has been spoken. Some obscurities still remain and at this late date may never be resolved. However, further study may still be rewarding.