

OLYMPIC NATIONAL PARK
ETHNOGRAPHIC
OVERVIEW
AND
ASSESSMENT

BY
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ETHNOGRAPHIC OVERVIEW

AND

ASSESSMENT

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by

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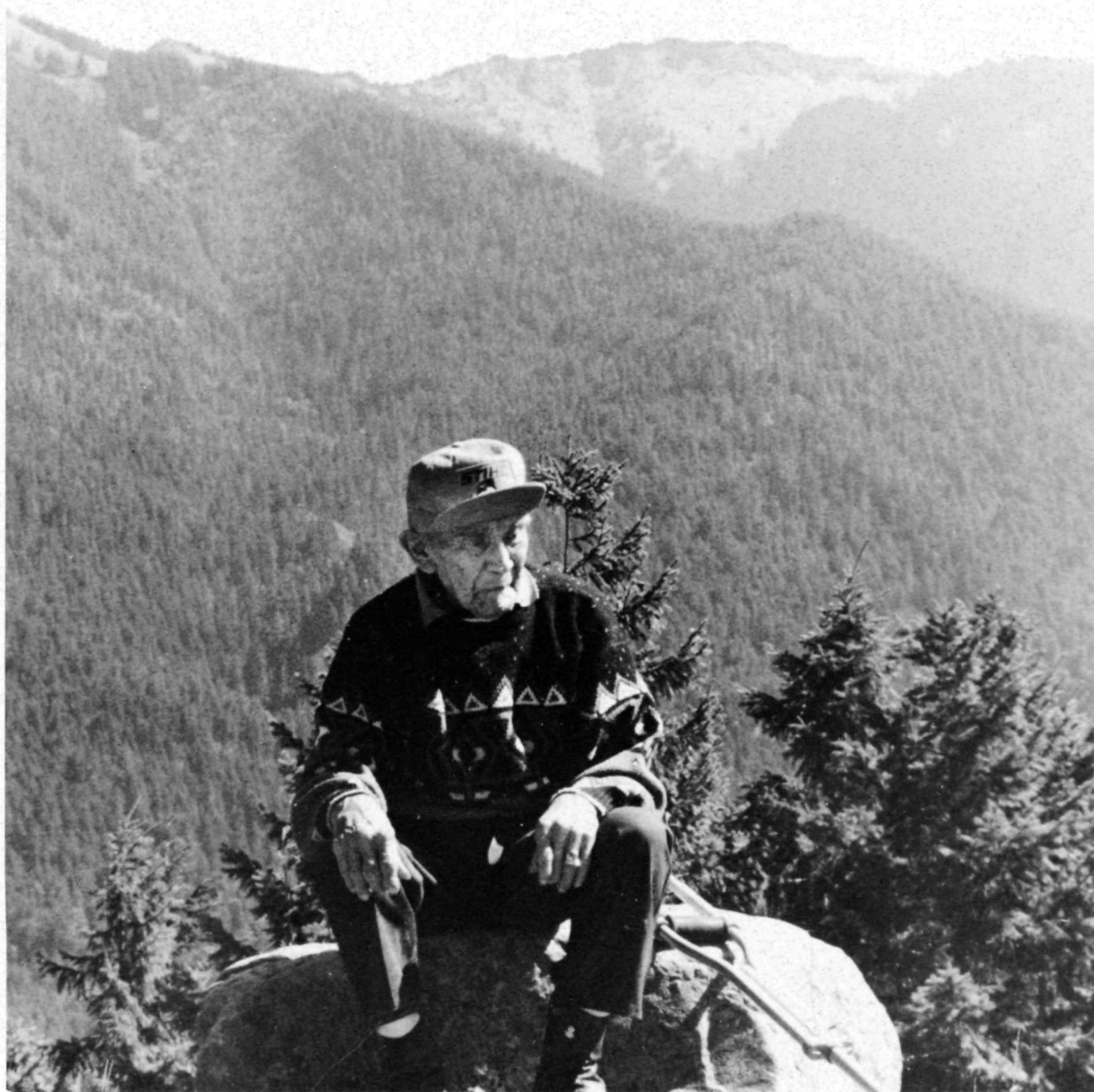
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who shared so graciously

their recollections and insight.



This project is dedicated to
Ed Sampson (1902-1995)
the man who brought life to the past

ABSTRACT

This document considers the relationships of eight tribal groups to Olympic National Park and its resources. These relationships are based on tradition, ancestral practices, and treaties, as well as contemporary law and policy. National Park Service mandates regarding resource protection may conflict with traditional Native American practices. The documentation of information on the lifeways of the indigenous people of the Olympic Peninsula will allow managers to examine existing cultural and natural preservation laws and policies as they relate to traditional use and practices. With this information, park managers can make informed decisions which involve the park, the tribes, and the relationships between and among them.

The views expressed herein do not necessarily represent the official position of Olympic National Park or the National Park Service. The text is, in part, a compilation of primary and secondary source documents for the purpose of providing background and guidance only.

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RESEARCH DESIGN

OBJECTIVES

The objective of this ethnographic overview and assessment (EOA) is to provide the reader with historical and contemporary information about those Native American populations who may recognize associations with Olympic National Park.

The information provided in this overview is necessary to facilitate implementation of cultural preservation law and policy that direct the National Park Service (NPS) in its responsibility as a federal land manager to safeguard places and resources significant to tribal groups and individual Native Americans.

METHODS

Two research methodologies were used in conducting research for this EOA. The first is ethnography: the descriptive and analytic study of the culture of a particular group or groups. This method looks at each group's lifeways from their perspective. Interviews are an important component of ethnographic research. The second method used is ethnohistory: the analysis of historical data from an ethnographic perspective.

Published and unpublished ethnographic literature and historical documents have been collected and analyzed. The data has been summarized and is included in the annotated bibliography (Appendix D).

Tribal members, especially knowledgeable tribal elders, were interviewed. In most cases, individuals' names have been kept confidential. Reference to interviews with tribal members has been limited to the affiliated tribe and date.

The term "ethnographic resource" is used by the NPS to refer to the association Native Americans have with park resources. Any park resource, whether it is a place, cultural object, or natural object that is significant to the associated people's lifeways is considered an ethnographic resource. These resources can also be described as that which have value to a person or group of people with traditional ties to the area.

"Lifeways" has been defined as a contemporary ethnic group's observable expression of the "systems of values and practices that guide community subsistence and spiritual relationships with the environment, ways of organizing family and community life, and ways of celebrating life and mourning death" (Scovill 1987). This term is significant to this document, as it accurately describes an overall way of life.

All words in the native languages appear in italics. Orthography (standardized letters) for the various languages of this region has varied over the years and many of the older ethnographies are non-standard. The native language words have been modified wherever possible to reflect a standard technical alphabet. Words that were written by non-specialists or with symbols that are unknown have been left in their original form. Chinook jargon words are written in English-based letters, but are italicized.

PHONETIC SYMBOLS

The following phonetic symbols and their English pronunciations will assist the reader in pronouncing native words.

ʔ glottal stop
a father
c hats
č church.
e yet
ə sofa or just
i machine
k^w quit
ɬ play
λ atlas
ŋ lung
q call
q^w qualm
u between rule and joke
š English
w tower
x^w which
x huge

Ejectives below are "ejected" out of the mouth with a strong pop.

p'
t'
c'
č'
k'
q'
k',w
q',w

The phonetics font program utilized for this paper was provided by Dr. Timothy Montler, University of North Texas.

FOREWORD

This ethnographic overview and assessment brings to light the importance of understanding background tribal history and contemporary issues that affect each tribe's lifeways. In order to assess NPS management practices in relation to tribal needs, it is essential to consider the spiritual connection tribal members have with the area. This is a difficult topic to put into writing; however, an appreciation of this relationship will be critical to effective park management where the peninsula tribes are concerned.

This manuscript is intended to be a document that employees in any park division can utilize. Readers may find it provocative enough to read cover-to-cover, although it should be useful primarily as a reference source.

INTRODUCTION

American Indians have resided on the Olympic Peninsula for at least 10,000 years. Their relationship to the landscape is recounted in traditional stories that recall geological events associated with glaciation. This ancient relationship continues into the present. It is the responsibility of the National Park Service to protect and recognize these cultural associations as they relate to park lands and resources.

This ethnographic overview and assessment includes a summary of the tribes on the Olympic Peninsula, an overview of each tribe's reservation community and tribal history, and a review of the ethnographic literature that pertains to each tribe. The literature is summarized on the basis of social organization, settlement patterns, resource use, and belief systems. Each tribal chapter provides a synopsis of resource use today and discusses a few pertinent key issues.

The manuscript includes a chapter on the treaties, the rights of the treaty tribes to certain resources, and current issues involving natural resources within Washington State and the Olympic Peninsula. There is a chapter on federal laws and policies that direct the National Park Service and define the special relationship federal agencies have with tribal groups.

This document also addresses the traditional and spiritual relationship of the tribes to the park and considers the importance of places associated with this relationship. Although specific locations are not identified in this document, future documents may detail traditional use sites with regard to the beliefs and customs of each group.

CHAPTER 1

TREATIES AND TRIBES

Until the first treaty was enacted, the people of the Olympic Peninsula were not politically organized as tribes. Both the concept of treaties and that of tribes were imposed on the indigenous populations by European-Americans.

The Act establishing the Oregon Territory in 1848 provided that nothing would impair "the rights of person or property now pertaining to the Indians in said Territory, so long as such rights shall remain unextinguished by treaty between the United States and such Indians" [*United States v. State of Washington*, 384 F. Supp. 312 (1974):353]. The Appropriation Act of March 3, 1853 [10 Stat. 226, 238] authorized the President of the United States to negotiate with Indian tribes to extinguish title to their lands so that citizens of the U.S. could settle these lands.

The land was offered to settlers before title was obtained from the Indians however, and in 1854, Governor and Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Washington Territory, Isaac Stevens, began hurriedly seeking treaty negotiations with the Indians of Western Washington. He was directed to unite the "numerous bands and fragments of tribes into tribes" [*United States v. State of Washington*, 384 F Supp. 312 (1974):354].

Stevens organized a treaty commission in December 1854, and signed the Treaty of Point No Point on January 25, 1855, and Treaty of Neah Bay on January 31, 1855. Stevens began treaty negotiations with the Quinault, Queets, Chehalis, Cowlitz, and Chinook on the Chehalis River in February 1855. These negotiations were aborted when the Chehalis, Cowlitz, and Chinook refused to sign because they did not want to move away from their homelands.

Colonel Michael T. Simmons, special Agent for the Puget Sound District, renegotiated the treaty with the Quinault and Queets; this time the treaty included the Quileute and Hoh¹. The "Treaty with the Quinaielt" or Treaty of Olympia was signed by the tribes on the Quinault River on July 1, 1855, and signed by Stevens in Olympia on January 25, 1856 (Figure 1).

¹The Quileute and Hoh were not party to the earlier negotiations because Stevens was not aware of their existence.

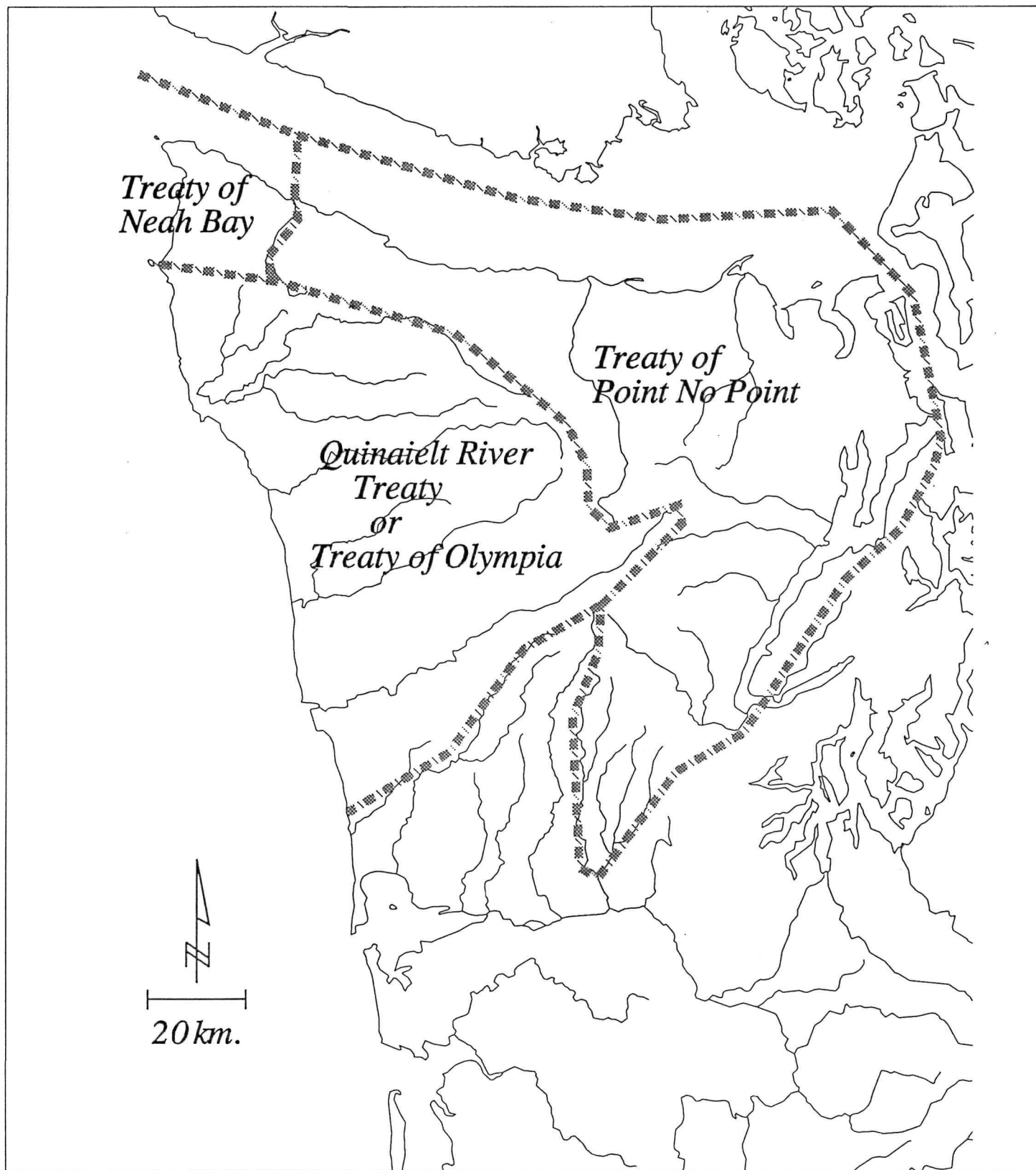


Figure 1
Olympic Peninsula Treaties

The peninsula treaties secured certain rights to hunt, fish, and gather. As stated in *United States v. State of Washington*, the treaties were "not a grant of rights to the Indians, but a grant of rights from them, and a reservation of those not granted" [*United States v. State of Washington*, 384 F. Supp. 312 (1974):323]. These reserved treaty rights were recognized and included in Section 4 of the bill to establish Olympic National Park. This clause stipulated that "the rights reserved by treaty to the Indians of any tribe" are protected [H.R. 4724].

Because the very idea of being a "tribe" was imposed on indigenous peoples, it is important to define what constitutes an Indian tribe today. According to Stephan L. Pevar, the author of *The Rights of Indians and Tribes: The Basic ACLU Guide to Indian and Tribal Rights*, a tribe is a group of people "who share a common heritage and speak a distinct language" (Pevar 1992:14). However, some tribal groups are defined in terms of their political identity. For instance, the Quinault Tribe consists of people from diverse heritage and language groups. The federal government recognizes 555 Indian entities in the 48 contiguous states and Alaska; 226 of these are Native Alaskan (DOI 1996). In 1995 there were 125 tribal groups seeking federal recognition or acknowledgement (BIA 1995). A tribe is usually recognized by the federal government if a reservation was created by Congress or the President. A tribe can apply for recognition if it satisfies seven requirements for recognition [25 CFR 54], as the Jamestown S'Klallam Tribe succeeded in doing in 1981. These requirements include that the group has been identified as "Indian" from historical times to the present; they have inhabited a community viewed as American Indian, distinct from other populations; they have maintained tribal political influence; they have a governing document with membership criteria; they have a list of current members; and the members are not members of any other tribe.

In 1832 a Commissioner of Indian Affairs was appointed who worked under the War Department. In 1849, The Office of Indian Affairs was transferred to the Department of Interior. Historically, the United States government dealt with the Indians of the Olympic Peninsula during three distinct periods: the treaty period, prior to 1871, when they were treated as foreign nations; the reservation period, 1871-1887, when they were placed on reservations and an agent attempted to exert paternal control; and the allotment or citizenship period, after 1887, when assimilation into white society was enforced by the federal government and its agents (Gillis 1974:95). In the late 1800s there were three Indian Agencies on the Olympic Peninsula: Neah Bay, Quinault, and Skokomish. Today the peninsula agency is centered in Hoquiam.

Native American tribes are "'domestic dependent nations' which exercise inherent sovereign authority over their members and territories" (Pevar 1992:79). Indian tribes should be considered on a government-to-government basis, as "Congress is authorized by the U.S. Constitution to treat Indians as a unique and separate political group" (Pevar 1992:192). Six of the peninsula tribes are self-governance tribes under the amendments to the Indian Self Determination Act (1994) [Public Law 103-413]. The six peninsula self-governance tribes are the Jamestown S'Klallam, Lower Elwha Klallam, Makah, Port Gamble S'Klallam, Quinault, and Skokomish. Self-governance allows tribes to receive funds for programs directly, rather than through the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), and provides for tribes to work with Interior agencies directly to negotiate funding agreements for managing certain programs.

CHAPTER 2

THE OLYMPIC PENINSULA'S FIRST PEOPLE

This chapter will discuss 14 tribal entities, although there are only eight recognized tribes on the Olympic Peninsula. The Olympic Peninsula's eastern boundary is the Hood Canal, and its southern boundary is Grays Harbor and the Chehalis River. Beginning at the northwestern point of the peninsula and moving clockwise, the eight recognized tribes include the Makah, Lower Elwha Klallam, Jamestown S'Klallam², Skokomish, Confederated Tribes of the Chehalis, Quinault, Hoh, and Quileute.

South of the peninsula's southern boundary is the Shoalwater Bay Tribe which has been included because members of this tribe comprise descendants of those whose former territory extended to the peninsula. The Port Gamble S'Klallam are also included; although their reservation is on the east side of Hood Canal, their ceded territory is the same as the other two Klallam tribes (Figure 2).

In addition to these ten recognized tribes, this section will include two politically extinct tribes, the Ozette and the Chemakum. There are also two groups south of the park, the Lower Chehalis and the Copalis, which are not federally recognized tribes, but will be discussed briefly because of historical ties to the lower peninsula.

The tribal groups listed above traditionally spoke distinct languages from three separate language families. Languages within these families are genetically related. Salishan is the largest language family, consisting of 23 languages. Five Salishan languages are spoken on the peninsula: Clallam, Quinault, Upper Chehalis, Lower Chehalis, and Twana. Wakashan consists of two subgroups: Kwakiutlan and Nootkan. The Makah language is in the Nootkan subgroup and is the only Wakashan language in the United States. Chimakuan is a small family with two languages: Chemakum and Quileute (Thompson and Kinkade 1990:40)(Figure 3).

²The Port Gamble and Jamestown S'Klallam use the spelling of S'Klallam that appears in the Point No Point Treaty. The Lower Elwha prefer to use the spelling Klallam.

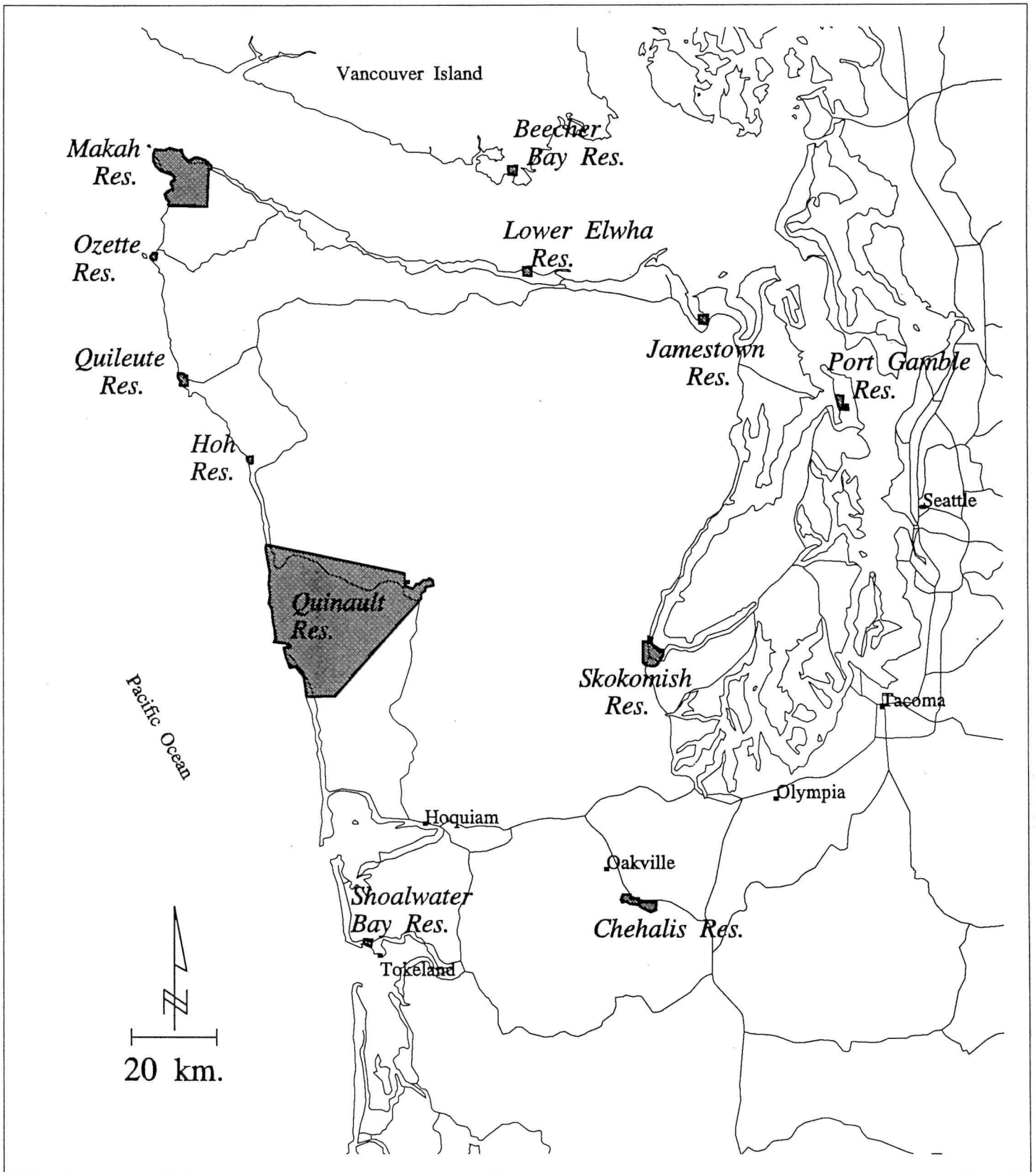


Figure 2
Olympic Peninsula Reservations

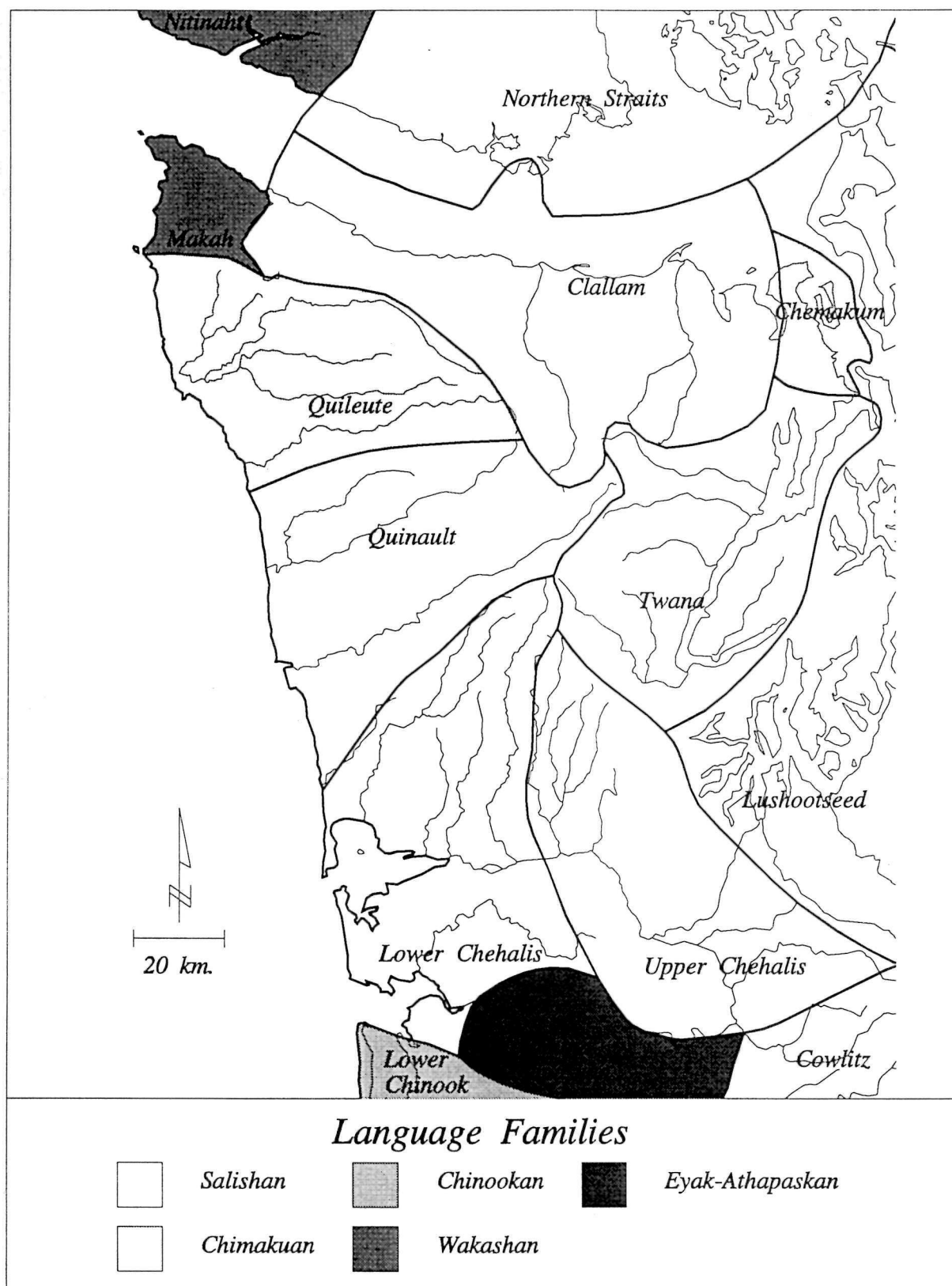


Figure 3
Languages and Language Families

The information presented in this section has been collected from various ethnographic and historical documents, as well as personal communication with tribal members. As the sources of information vary, so do the type, quality, and quantity of information about each tribal group. For example, there are two rather extensive publications on the Makah: James Swan's work from 1860, which recorded early material culture and ceremony; and Elizabeth Colson's 1941-1942 study of Makah assimilation, a limited examination of community interaction. In addition, three comprehensive ethnographic studies have been published on peninsula tribes: Erna Gunther's 1926 Klallam ethnography, Ronald Olson's 1936 study of the Quinault, and William Elmendorf's 1960 dissertation on the Skokomish.

Although these three ethnographies are filled with descriptive information, they lack details about specific resources and places of importance within Olympic National Park. Presumably, the reason for this sparsity is the view that indigenous populations did not utilize the interior landscape, as perceived especially by Gunther.

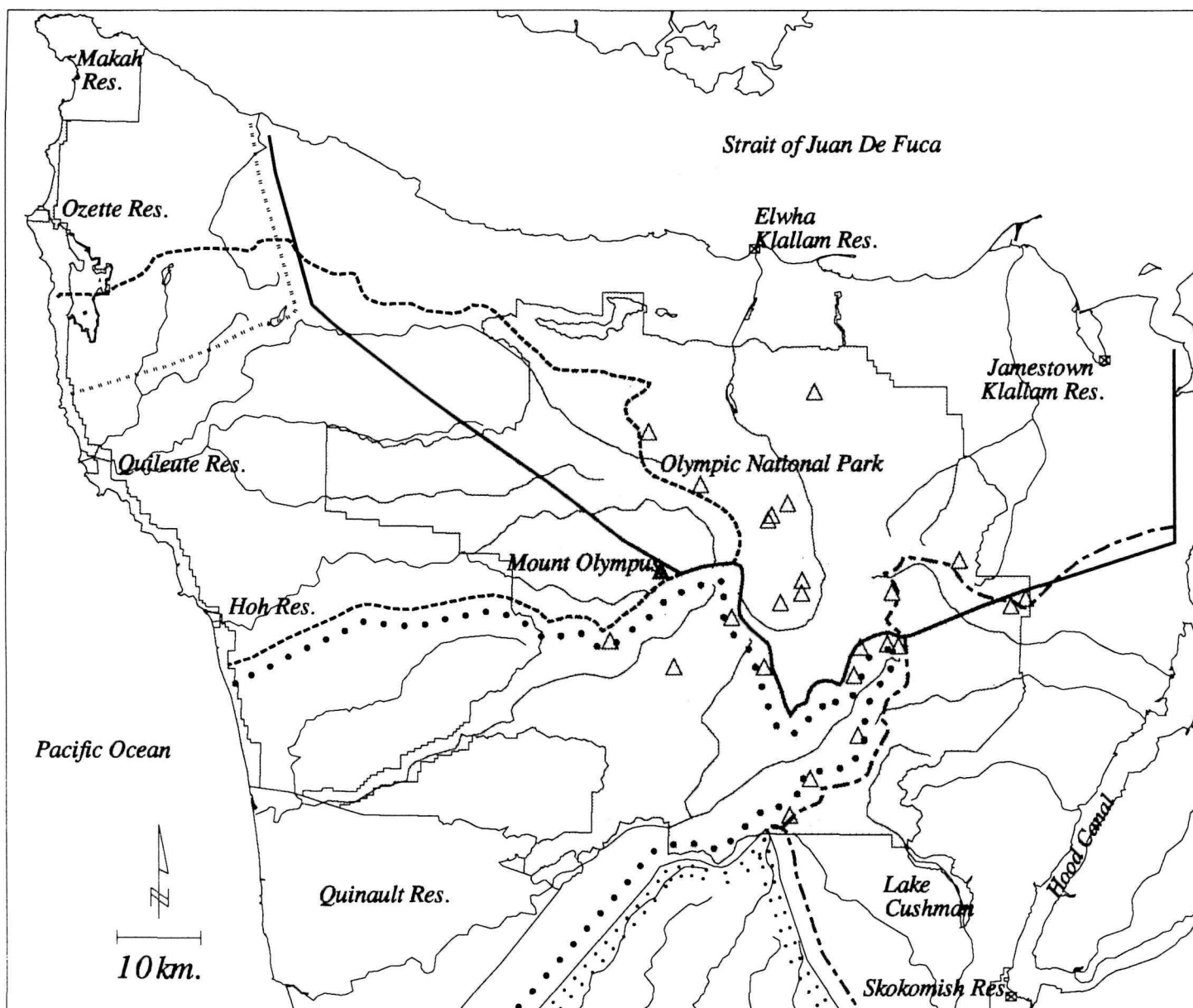
The standard historical approach to anthropological fieldwork was to document social organization, material culture, and belief systems rather than site specific identification. Further, the usual methodology of the cultural anthropologist was to spend time with individuals in the community rather than taking field trips into the interior reaches of the Olympic Peninsula.

The best source for details on utilization of the interior, both the river valleys and mountainous reaches of the peninsula, are found in Ronald Olson's published manuscript and fieldnotes. The interior was extremely important for spiritual reasons as well as hunting and gathering activities. Although information about interior use of the Olympic Peninsula is unpublished for some tribes, this manuscript attempts to cite all known sources which reference details about this use.

There are various descriptions of territorial boundaries of the tribes prior to the establishment of the reservations. The ceded lands identified in the treaties provide a perspective; however, delineation of geographic features was vague and therefore difficult to plot, and two of the peninsula treaties, the Treaty of Point No Point and Treaty of Olympia, combined several tribes without separating their territories.

The tribes compiled written descriptions of their claimed areas of aboriginal use and occupancy for consideration by the Indian Claims Commission (ICC); however, there were many zones of overlap where two or more tribes utilized the same area (ICC 1953-1970). The ICC compensated the tribes for smaller areas than the tribes claimed, based on the criteria of exclusive use and occupancy.

The tribal descriptions mentioned above provide a specific resource for compiling a visual reference. These land use descriptions were plotted as accurately as possible, given some of the limited information, and prepared as a map to provide an understanding of historical use areas (Figure 4). This map is to be used as a visual aid only, and in no way represents any form of a legal description or even a rigid description of use areas. Some areas of overlap can be seen on the map as there were locations where sharing of resources occurred. This map will be useful in determining which tribes have a historical association to a given place.



Historical Use Areas

::::: Chehalis Makah Quinault
 — Klallam ----- Quileute/Hoh ---- Skokomish

Based on descriptions
Petitioner's submitted
for consideration by
Indian Claims Commis-
sion (1953-1970)

Figure 4
Historical Use Areas

MAKAH

Reservation Community

The Makah Reservation is located on the northwestern tip of the Olympic Peninsula and encompasses 27,265 acres (BIA 1993). The Ozette Reservation, approximately ten miles south at Cape Alava (Flattery Rocks), consists of 719 acres, and is held in trust for the Makah Tribe.

In 1990 there were 1,599 Makah tribal members. Most of the 960 members who lived on the reservation in 1989 resided at the townsite of Neah Bay. There is also a small residential area at Sooes River (MMS 1991).

The Makah Reservation has a work force of about 750. Of this work force, 475 are Makah Tribal members. Most non-Indians work for the Cape Flattery School District, the U.S. Coast Guard, or the Indian Health Service.

The major tribal economy is fishing. In 1990, approximately 500 Makah tribal members were registered as fishers; of those, 175 fished full time. There were approximately 70 Makah trolling fishing vessels operating in 1988. Halibut was once the most important fish for the Makah. The commercial harvest of halibut has been drastically reduced from its former abundance. In 1988 the Makah caught 71,500 pounds of halibut commercially. It was estimated that in 1989, the Makah caught 140,000 pounds of all types of fish, for both commercial and ceremonial use (MMS 1991). These figures suggest that halibut continues to be of substantial importance.

The tribe operates a national fish hatchery at Neah Bay and three satellite hatcheries at Lake Ozette, Hoko and Waatch. In 1997 the main hatchery will release 350,000 coho smolts and 1,500 coho fry. The fisheries division estimates a return of 6,000 chinook. Approximately 200,000 steelhead smolts will be released, with an estimated return of 4,000 to 6,000 (Makah Tribe: Personal Communication 1997).

The tribe's greatest economic asset, after fishing, is tourism. The Makah Cultural and Research Center is a tourist destination. The center is also a curatorial facility for over 80,000 artifacts from Ozette, Hoko, and other sites in the vicinity, and contains a substantial oral history and archive collection. Over 46 Makah artists display and sell their work here (Renker and Pascua 1989; Makah Cultural and Research Center n.d.).

Neah Bay offers services for tourists and sport fishers, including motels, boat rentals and guide services. Some of these properties and businesses are owned or leased by tribal members. The tribe is working on a long range tourism plan that will focus on cultural activities, such as canoe races, salmon bakes, and dances (MMS 1991).

The reservation contains forest resources that provide annual dividends. The BIA estimated in 1989 that the timber harvest potential for the Makah reservation was 22,166 acres with a value of \$885,797.00 (MMS 1991).

These economic opportunities do not provide for everyone, as 49% of household groups live below the poverty level (MMS 1991). Subsistence activities continue to play a major role in Makah lifeways.

The Makah language is part of the Nootkan subgroup of the Wakashan linguistic stock spoken on Vancouver Island. The Makah language separated from the Nitinaht about 1,000 years ago (Jacobson in Renker and Gunther 1990:422).

Tribal History

According to information provided for the Indian Claims Commission, the Makah came to Cape Flattery "from Vancouver Island about 500 years ago" (ICC 1970:172). A story related to Ruth Kirk by a Nuu-chah-nulth elder recounts that at one time there was a village at the Jordan River on Vancouver Island. This ancient village became overpopulated, so the three brothers who lived there went out on their own to establish new residences. One brother settled Whyac and another settled nearby Clo-oose, both on the southwestern shores of Vancouver Island. The third brother settled at Neah Bay (Kirk 1986:23-24).

James Swan recorded a legend that the Makah were created on the Cape. According to Swan, the animals were created first and some of the animals united with a star that fell from heaven. From this union came the Nitinahts, then the Clayoquots and the Makahs (Swan [1868]1972:56).

The word Makah comes from the Clallam word *màq'áʔa*. *Məq'* means full stomach in Clallam. The Makah call themselves *q^widiččaʔatx*, a name said to refer either to Cape Flattery (near Ozette), or to the north end of Vancouver Island (Renker and Gunther 1990:429).

The Makah's earliest recorded contact with Europeans occurred in 1788 when John Meares, commander of the British ship *Felice*, anchored near Tatoosh Island. A large group of Indians in

canoes, including Chief Tatootche, paddled out to the ship. They were armed with spears and bows and arrows. The chiefs prohibited any trade with the ship's crew (Gunther 1972:56-57).

In 1790, the Spanish set foot at Neah Bay and named it Bahia de Nuñez Gaona. In 1792 a Spanish fort was erected at Neah Bay, but was abandoned after a few months because it was not defensible, and the Indians were not cooperative (Gunther 1972:72). In the early 1800s there were several Russian and Japanese shipwrecks at Neah Bay, and the survivors were temporarily held captive (Renker and Gunther 1990:427). Neah Bay became a stopping point for many ships, and the Makah were active in trade with these vessels, as well as with the Hudson Bay Company at Victoria. The Makah and the Ozette signed the Treaty of Neah Bay in 1855 and ceded the following territory:

Commencing at the mouth of the Oke-ho River, on the Straits of Fuca; thence running westwardly with said straits to Cape Classet or Flattery; thence southwardly along the coast to Osett, or the Lower Cape Flattery; thence eastwardly along the line of lands occupied by the kwe-deh-tut or Kwill-eh-yute tribe of Indians, to the summit of the coast-range of mountains, and thence northwardly along the line of lands lately ceded to the United States by the S'Klallam tribe to the place of beginning, including all the islands lying off the same on the straits and coast [*United States v. State of Washington*, 384 F. Supp. 364].

The Makah Reservation was created by the provisions of the 1855 treaty; however, the boundary only encompassed the cape and did not include the villages of Neah, Wayacht, Tsoo-yess, Biheda or Ozette. Thus, the reservation was enlarged in 1873 to include all but Ozette village. In 1893 the Ozette Reservation was established to protect the rights of the 64 individuals living there (Ziontz, Pirtle and Fulle, Tribal Attorneys; Alvin J. Ziontz and Mason D. Morisset, of counsel 1969).

The population of the Ozette Reservation was drastically reduced when families were forced to move to Neah Bay in 1896 so that their children could attend school. Those parents who did not comply were imprisoned (Colson 1953:20). In 1914 there were only two remaining settlements, Neah Bay and Ozette. In that year there were just 17 people residing at Ozette, and by 1932 there were only two.



Figure 5
Neah Bay--Photo by Samuel Morse
Courtesy North Olympic Library, Port Angeles

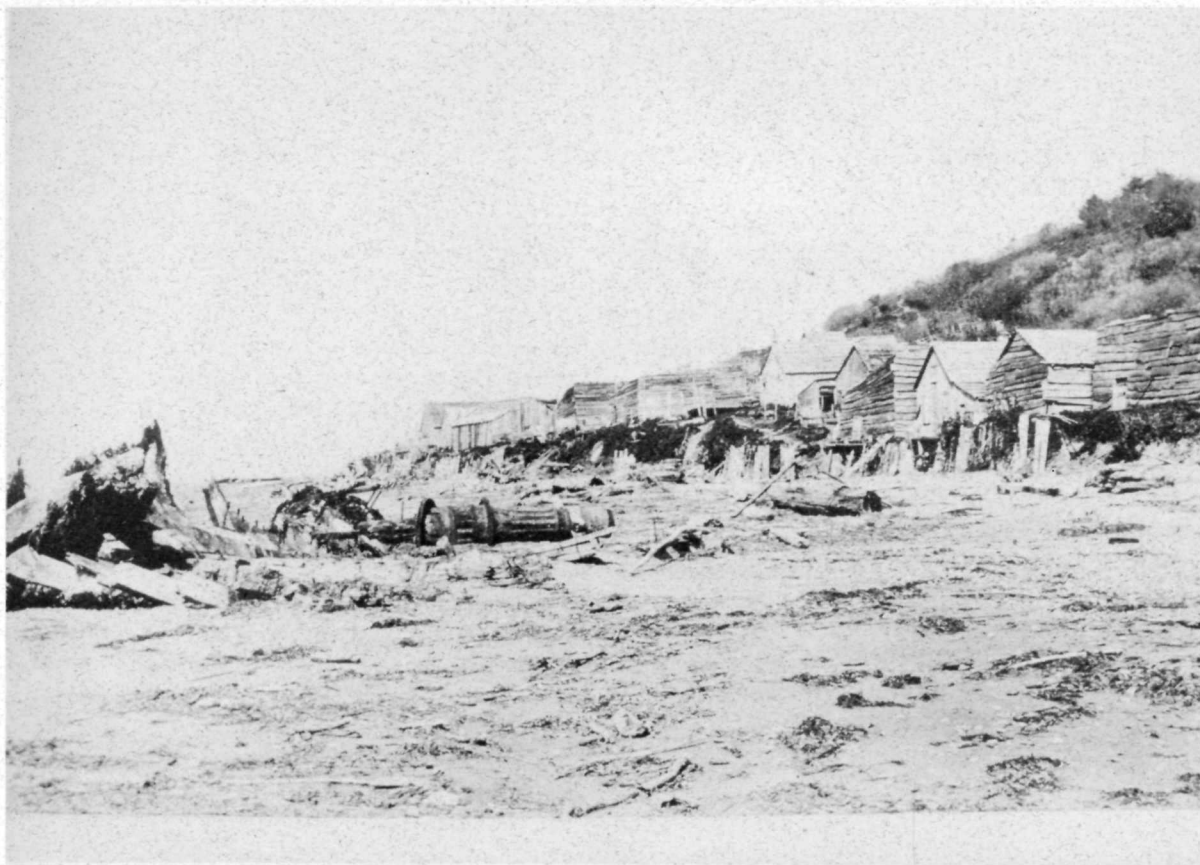


Figure 6
Ozette Village--Photo by Samuel Morse
Courtesy North Olympic Library, Port Angeles

In 1863 the Indian Agency for the Makah and Ozette (later it included the Quileute and Hoh) was located at Neah Bay in order to manage the affairs of the Indians who were wards of the government and to assimilate them into white society. In order to accomplish this goal, the resident agent was instructed to restrict certain traditional activities. Children were isolated from tribal life at the boarding school at Neah Bay³ so they could be indoctrinated into American culture. One agent even proposed the creation of a separate reservation for those people over 55 years of age so that they would have no communication with the young (Colson 1953:17). Children were forbidden to speak their own language, as "teaching a youth in his own barbarous dialect [was considered] a positive detriment to him" (Colson 1953:11). In addition, when a woman's house did not meet the agent's standards of housekeeping, she could be imprisoned (Colson 1953:14).

In 1890 the Indian agent reported that the potlatch was still occurring (Gillis 1974:106), but was soon forbidden because it wasted away economic resources (Colson 1953:16). The Makah had to hide their Indian dances and bone games (Kirk 1986:236). By 1903 the Indian agent reported that he had the old smokehouses or longhouses torn down so that the families would have to move into single family homes (Gillis 1974:110).

The Makah adapted their ceremonies to a form acceptable to the agent. The potlatch continued but in the form of Christmas celebrations and birthday parties, where gift giving was accepted by the agent as appropriate behavior.

The Makah Reservation was allotted in 1907, and individuals received ten acres for agricultural purposes. In 1908 the townsite of Neah Bay was surveyed and it was proposed that certificates of occupancy be issued which would provide for a title. The remaining timber land was proposed for allotments into four-acre tracts (Gillis 1974:112).

Although Makah culture was affected by the establishment of the agency, the remote location of the reservation isolated the Makah from total emergence into European-American culture. It wasn't until 1931 when the road to Neah Bay was built that the Makah were truly absorbed into the acculturation process. With the introduction of automobiles and tourists, women's basketry rose in importance, while men's traditional pursuits lost prominence (Gillis 1974:113). This was especially true of fishing, which was rapidly diminishing as a result of the growing commercial fishing industry (Colson 1953:123).

The agency at Neah Bay was abolished after the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) of 1934. The Makah accepted an IRA

³This boarding school operated from 1874-1895.

constitution in 1936 and charter in 1937 (Ruby and Brown 1986:127). Since the trust period had yet to expire on the allotted lands, the land reverted to tribal trust which is protected from alienation--"an important reason why the tribe accepted the act" (Ruby and Brown 1986:127).

In 1937 the National Park Service began to explore acquisition of the Ozette Reservation for a National Monument. At that time there was only one person who had allotment rights at Ozette. By 1956 the Ozette Reservation was declared surplus federal land and the state began vying to utilize the river and lake as a huge national fish hatchery (Gunther [1958]). The Makah sought legislation to place the Ozette Reservation in trust for the Makah Tribe and the NPS supported this acquisition as long as the land was managed consistent with existing recreation or conservation uses (NPS 1969). This legislation became law in 1970 [Public Law 91-489, Oct. 22, 1970].

The Indian Claims Commission Act [25 U.S.C. Sec. 70(a)] was established to compensate American Indians for properties relinquished without fair compensation. The Makah filed a claim for loss of fishing and sealing resources as a result of two international agreements (ICC 1959). The 1911 North Pacific Sealing Convention suspended pelagic (open ocean) sealing for fifteen years. This convention did reserve the right of Pacific Coast Indians to engage in historic methods of pelagic sealing, using no motorized boats or firearms. The 1924 International Fishery Commission Treaty was established to preserve the dwindling halibut fishery by restricting the length of the fishing season and was applied to the Makah. In 1959 the Indian Claims Commission ruled that the Makah were not entitled to recover for loss of halibut or seals because the purpose of the restrictions were for conservation, protection and rehabilitation of the species and the case was dismissed (ICC 1959).

The Makah did receive compensation for ceded lands held exclusively by the Makah and Ozette at treaty time, described as follows:

Beginning at the mouth of the Hoko River on the north, moving westerly along the coast of the Strait of Juan de Fuca, around Cape Flattery, south down the Pacific Coast to Sand Point, thence due east to Lake Ozette and around its northern shoreline to the mouth of Big River, thence ascending the Big River northeasterly to a point due west of the present Old Royal, thence due east through Old Royal to the Hoko River, thence northeasterly following the Hoko River to the place of beginning (ICC 1970:175).

The Makah also received compensation for \$30,000 worth of fishing apparatus that was promised to them during the treaty negotiations, which they never received. In 1984 the Makah were given, in trust status, the islands of Waadah and Tatoosh as compensation [98 Stat. 179](Ruby and Brown 1986:128).

The most important resource for the Makah people has always been the ocean. They excelled in deep sea fishing, whaling and sealing. While the sea provided the mainstay for Makah subsistence, they also hunted, fished, and gathered cedar products and grasses inland at Lake Ozette and Lake Pleasant (Taylor 1974:41).

Waterman's (1920) identification of Makah place names provides a good indication of the extent of Makah travel to collect resources. He lists place names from Cape Johnson on the coast to Clallam Bay on the strait. Cape Johnson and Clallam Bay overlap into the territory of the Quileute and Klallam respectively. The use of the overlapping areas may have occurred through inter-marriage or by agreement.

In 1859 the Indian agent reported that Makah subsistence was acquired almost entirely from the ocean. The most important food products were the whale and halibut, followed by seals, salmon, cod, perch, shellfish, crab, octopi, and squid (Taylor 1974:25). Fish and marine mammals were so important to the Makah that treaty negotiations were dependent upon their explicit guarantee (Lane 1973:37). The treaty clause reflecting resource acquisition states the following:

The right of taking fish and of whaling or sealing at usual and accustomed grounds and stations is further secured to said Indians in common with all citizens of the United States, and of erecting temporary houses for the purpose of curing, together with the privilege of hunting and gathering roots and berries on open and unclaimed lands: Provided, however, That they shall not take shellfish from any beds staked or cultivated by citizens [Treaty of Neah Bay 1855].

This is the only Washington treaty that specifies whaling. The Makah hunted the gray whale and the humpback whale. Swan estimated that by 1850 the Makah were producing 30,000 gallons of whale oil a year (Taylor 1974:23). The eastern pacific stock of gray whale was taken off the list of endangered species in 1994, and since that time, the Makah have proposed to begin whaling again. They expect to take five gray whales in 1998. The International Whaling Commission has set the quota of stock that can be removed without adversely affecting a sustainable population. For the 1995-97 period, this level was 140 whales per year, taken "only by aborigines or a contracting government on behalf of aborigines, and then only when the meat and products of such whales are to be used

exclusively for local consumption by the aborigines" (Gearin and Demaster 1996:4). Chapter 3 of this document (Resource Utilization) addresses the importance of sea mammals in greater detail.

USUAL AND ACCUSTOMED FISHING PLACES

The Boldt Decision adjudicated the Makah's usual and accustomed fishing places, which include:

the waters of the Strait of Juan de Fuca to Port Crescent (near Port Angeles) extending out into the ocean to an area known as Swiftsure and then south along the Pacific Coast to an area intermediate to Ozette Village and the Quileute Reservation, as well as the rivers along the Strait of Juan de Fuca and down the Pacific shore starting at the Elwha River including the Lyre River, Twin River, Pysht River, Hoko River, Sekiu River, Sooes River, Waatch River, Big River, and Ozette River and Lake Ozette [*United States v. State of Washington*, 384 F. Supp. 312 (1974):364].

The common fishing areas of the Makah Tribe and the Lower Elwha Band are as follows:

The marine waters of the Strait of Juan de Fuca east to Port Crescent (near Port Angeles) and the rivers and streams along the Strait of Juan de Fuca from the Hoko River west to the Lyre River, including the Pysht River and Twin River....

(1) [T]he Makah Tribe and the Lower Elwha Tribe should exercise a joint fishery, wherein neither tribe shall exercise control or regulation over the other, on the Hoko River but that Makah fishing on rivers or streams east of the Hoko to Port Crescent shall be subject to the control and regulation...by the Lower Elwha Band of the Clallam Indian Tribe; (2) the Lower Elwha fishing on the Seiku River shall be subject to the control and regulation by the Makah Indian Tribe; (3) a joint fishery as defined above shall exist with respect to Makah and Lower Elwha fishing in the marine waters of the Strait of Juan de Fuca [*United States v. State of Washington*, 459 F. Supp. 1020 (1978):1067].

Resource Use Today

The Makah rely heavily on ocean resources for their livelihood. The following table is compiled from data published in the Minerals Management Service's 1991 Pacific Outer Continental Shelf Study on potential effects of oil and gas exploration. This table reflects seasonality of resources utilized by the Makah.

SUMMER	FALL	WINTER	SPRING
		Steelhead	Steelhead
Chinook	Chinook	Chinook	Chinook
Coho/Chum	Coho/Chum		
Blueback			
Halibut	Halibut	Halibut	Halibut
Black cod	Black cod	Black cod	Black cod
Ling cod	Ling cod	Ling cod	Ling cod
Flatfish	Flatfish	Flatfish	Flatfish
Bottomfish	Bottomfish	Bottomfish	Bottomfish
Rockfish	Rockfish	Rockfish	Rockfish
Smelt			
Barnacles			Barnacles
Mussels	Mussels	Mussels	Mussels
Hardshell clams	Hardshell clams	Hardshell clams	Hardshell clams
			Razor clams
Sea urchins			
Chitons			
Crabs	Crabs	Crabs	Crabs
Ducks	Ducks		
	Sea birds		
Kelp	Kelp	Kelp	Kelp

Table 1
Seasonal Resources for Makah

Ethnographic Literature

The first ethnographic account concerning Makah culture was written by George Gibbs, interpreter for Isaac Stevens' treaty negotiations, and later ethnologist for the Smithsonian Institution. His brief report on the Makah, written in 1855, was published posthumously in 1877.

James G. Swan was the school teacher at Neah Bay in the 1860s. His extensive documentation of Makah culture was published by the Smithsonian Institution in 1868, and reprinted by Shorey Book Store in 1972. Swan recorded material culture and technology with great detail. He also recorded aspects of social organization and spiritual beliefs. Swan worked with elders who had knowledge of the Spanish fort at Neah Bay, dating back to 1792.

Edward Curtis recorded information about Makah social structure in 1914, before "Wa'atch," "T'sues," and "Hosset" were abandoned as permanent residences.

Erna Gunther conducted ethnographic fieldwork among the Makah after her work with the Klallam in the late 1920s and early 1930s. In 1936 she published "A Preliminary Report on the Zoological Knowledge of the Makah" and her fieldnotes are located in the University of Washington archives.

Alice Henson Ernst conducted fieldwork among the Makah and Quileute for an article in *Theatre Arts* on "Masks of the Northwest Coast." She furthered this research with an extensive study of the wolf ritual of the Northwest Coast, conducting fieldwork from 1932 to 1940. Ernst provides two detailed examples of this ritual as practiced at Neah Bay.

Elizabeth Colson's publication, *The Makah Indians*, focuses on social aspects of Makah culture in 1941-1942. Although she refers to this work as an assimilation study, it is more an examination of how Indians and non-Indians relate to each other in an isolated community.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Prior to the incursions of European culture and diseases, the Makah were organized on a multi-village level. They had five winter villages: Neah Bay, Wayacht, Tsoo-yess, Biheda, and Ozette. Biheda was abandoned after the smallpox epidemic of 1852 that killed hundreds of people. In 1863, the population of the four remaining villages was reduced to 654 (Lane 1973:7). Anthropologist, Dr. Herbert Taylor estimates that prior to epidemics, the population of the Makah was between 1800 and 2000 (Taylor 1963).

According to Swan, the Makah practiced warfare for reprisal--to acquire slaves or avenge a theft or dispute. Every offense was remembered and eventually avenged. The heads of those killed in war were decapitated and displayed on poles in front of the village as trophies. After the establishment of the Indian agency, warfare ceased or was reduced to an occasional murder, because of the threat of incarceration (Swan [1868]1972:7,50).

The Makah captured slaves from as far as the Columbia River to the south and up the eastern shore of Vancouver Island. The slaves were traded in turn to the Nootkans. After the restrictions on Indian warfare imposed by Indian agents, slaves were purchased directly from Vancouver Island tribes. One slave was worth up to 200 blankets (Swan [1868]1972:10).

Slaves were treated with a "mild kind of servitude" (Swan [1868]1972:10) and usually lived as one of the family; however, descendants of slaves did not lose the stigma of slave blood for several generations, if ever (Swan [1868]1972:10). Slaves were an important part of a headman's prestige, for he could not perform acts of labor other than his personal occupation pursuits (Swan [1868]1972:10). When the government agent arrived, he treated both slave and freeman alike. The Indian agent regarded hard workers with praise, and established his own choices for leadership roles. Both actions contributed to a weakening of high class status.

The occupants of the winter villages moved to specific summer villages--called "warmhouses"--each season, to pursue halibut fishing and whaling (Lane 1977:5). The summer residences were located at Tatoosh Island, Achawat and Kydikabbit (Renker and Gunther 1990:422).

Villages consisted of several large houses occupied by related family units. Household groups sometimes aligned as village groups, with a prominent chief. Village groups might unite for warfare, but there was no political structure among the different villages (Taylor 1974).

The relationship between Ozette and other Makah villages has been examined by Dr. Taylor, and others. Taylor suggests that the Ozette were a band of Makah with slight affiliation to the other villages. Ozette villagers did unite with other Makah bands for warfare against the Quileute and Nitinaht, but they also fought against other Makah bands on occasion (Taylor 1974:37).

If the accounts concerning the Makah coming to the cape 500 years ago are valid, then the people of Ozette were either originally a distinct cultural group who merged with the Makah over the years, or as presented by some anthropologists (Powell and Jensen 1976; Ernst 1952:6), a village related to the Quileute or Klallam. The time depth of the two villages might

support this idea, as Wayacht had been occupied for 500 years, whereas Ozette had been occupied for 3500 years (Taylor 1974:74,76).

RESOURCE USE

The Makah possessed great knowledge of ocean resource procurement and navigation. According to Anthropologist Frances Densmore, "the old people valued the water more than the land, and opposed fishing by other tribes of Indians" (Densmore 1939:3). The Makah were prolific halibut fishers and traveled many miles into the strait to 40-Mile Bank and Swiftsure. The economic importance of halibut fishing is unique to the Makah among peninsula tribes (Renker and Pascua 1989). According to Dr. Barbara Lane, the Makah owned the property rights to these banks, and ownership was respected by competing tribes (Lane 1973:11).

The Makah had little harvestable cedar in the vicinity of Cape Flattery, so they traded their valuable processed ocean resources for products they could not easily procure. Prior to the arrival of Europeans, the Makah traded whale oil, blubber, halibut, and herring eggs to the Nootkans on Vancouver Island and to the south as far as the Columbia River. In exchange, they received the following: from the Nootka, cedar canoes, house planks, water boxes, cedar planks, cedar bark, ceremonial masks, dentalium, and slaves; from the Quileute and Quinault, camas, pipe clay, ochre, and canoes; from the Chinooks, sea otters, vermillion or cinnabar; and from the Klallam they acquired sleeping mats (Lane 1973:13-16; Taylor 1974:53).

With the arrival of European culture came new markets and increased wealth, especially given the Makah's strategic ocean location. Neah Bay was a stopping point for European vessels by 1789 and the Makah acted as middlemen in what might be termed an import/export operation (Lane 1973).

The white settlers relied on the Makah for products such as halibut, salmon, whale oil, dog fish oil, cedar bark mats, and furs. Dog fish oil was sold for 50 cents per gallon as a lubricant for lumber mill machinery and for lamp oil. Hudson Bay Company ships and other ocean vessels stopping at Neah Bay also acquired oil from the Makah. In 1852, 30,000 gallons of oil was purchased by ocean vessels. Some of the oil was imported from Nootkan groups, and then exported. Swan reports that the Makah themselves produced about 5,000 gallons of oil per year (Swan [1868]1972). They also traded sea otter pelts at Victoria (Lane 1973:17; Taylor 1974:51). The Makah garnered blankets, beads, guns, kettles, flour, hard bread, rice, molasses, and money through exchange with white settlers.



Figure 7
Women Cleaning Halibut, Neah Bay--Photo by Samuel Morse
Courtesy North Olympic Library, Port Angeles

After trade on Vancouver Island was restricted by the Treaty of Neah Bay, the large scale trade networks were reduced to local exchange between closely related villages (Swan [1868]1972:30; Lane 1973:16).

The Indian agent at Neah Bay initially tried to change the Makah into agriculturists; however, the soil's lack of productivity led to a reversal of this attempt and the Makah were permitted to continue their fishing and sealing lifestyle. The annual report from 1863 recommended that it would be more profitable and beneficial to instruct the Makah in preparing fish for market than it was to turn them into farmers. In 1867 they were taught commercial fishing techniques on-board a large fishing vessel and the agent discussed acquiring a tribal vessel for them (Lane 1973:41-42).

For centuries, sea mammals were the staple of the Makah diet. Whaling was the most prestigious occupation for Makah males. The second most prestigious occupation was that of the halibut fisherman, and the third was that of the sealer (Taylor 1974:24). An individual's status in the community was based on these occupations, which were dependent on acquisition of the appropriate spirit power (Taylor 1974:25).

Whale hunters required the most extensive ritual process for spirit acquisition, including years of bathing in cold water, scouring the body, and swimming and behaving like a whale. The whaler was always a chief or noble of his community and renown for his skill (Arima and Dewhirst 1990:395).

A whaling party consisted of six paddlers and a steersman, along with several support canoes. The whale harpoon was made of yew wood with a mussel shell blade and lines 40 to 60 fathoms long; the harpoon was used in conjunction with sealskin floats and lances. The two prominent species of whale were the California gray whale and humpback; both traveled along the coast from early spring through the summer (Arima and Dewhirst 1990:395). Kirk estimates that each village among the Nuuchah-nulth killed two to three whales a year (Kirk 1986:133). When Colson conducted her fieldwork there were only two remaining men who had been harpooners in their day (Colson 1953:175).

The northern fur seal was the preferred seal and was hunted in the spring, during its migration north. A major fur seal feeding ground is located off of Flattery Rocks at Umatilla Reef. The Ozette archeological site contained extensive evidence of fur seal; these would have been utilized over an extended period of time (Kirk 1986:171).

Traditional sealing methods involved ritual preparedness, outstanding navigational abilities, and quality equipment. Sealing canoes were burned to remove splinters so there would

be no bubbles to frighten away the seal, and the paddles had pointed tips to reduce noise. Fur seal hunting was carried out by three to four men, using a harpoon and two inflated floats (Renker and Gunther 1990:425). Commercial sealing began in the late 1860s and the Makah easily adjusted their expertise. Schooners would stop at Neah Bay to pick up Makah seal hunters for expeditions to the Bering Sea. By 1888 the Makah owned at least ten schooners and were sealing on their own boats. This was lucrative for the Makah, who earned \$20,000 from seal hunting in 1880 and were earning \$44,000 by 1896 (Gillis 1974:103).

Commercial canneries had opened on the Puget Sound in 1877 and the fish caught by the Makah were shipped to the canneries for processing. This added to the wage economy. The Makah's exceptional resource base began to decline with the pressure of international commercial fishing, sealing, and whaling in the 1870s. Environmental conditions were also being changed by human activities; for example, the Makah believed that the establishment of the lighthouse on Tatoosh Island repelled the whales from migrating close to the island (Lane 1973:48).

The Makah held ownership rights to certain resource areas until the end of the 19th century. Property rights to halibut and black cod banks, salmon streams, sea mammal hunting grounds, coastal shorelines, cranberry bogs, berry patches, and cedar stands were owned by individual family heads, but were shared by the household or extended family group (Renker and Pascua 1989). The potlatch was the forum to describe the boundaries and sanction ownership of these resources; only those with inherited rights could utilize them. For example, the people who lived at Ozette and Waatch had rights to the halibut banks northwest of Tatoosh Island (Lane 1973:19). They, in turn, might trade halibut with those who had rights to a certain salmon stream. This intricate system dissolved soon after the treaties were signed, because the U.S. Government considered Makah property as tribally owned, and the burgeoning wage economy was usurping the importance of the subsistence/trade economy.

The Makah were absorbed into the regional economic system. They earned wages from hop picking on Puget Sound, cranberry picking near Ozette, cannery work, logging, and fishing. This method of procuring goods was centered on the individual and contributed to a shift from community ownership and solidarity to individual ownership. With the shift to the individual wage earner, status shifted from lineage to individual.



Figure 8
Whale on Beach at Neah Bay
Courtesy North Olympic Library, Port Angeles



Figure 9
Potlatch on Tatoosh Island
Courtesy North Olympic Library, Port Angeles

Belief Systems

During the winter, the Makah held winter ceremonials or "mystical performances" of three types, as noted by Swan ([1868]1972:62). Swan lists the first type as the Dukwally ($\lambda uk^w ali$) wolf or Black Tamanawis ceremony, which is an initiation of those who have found their guardian spirit (Swan [1868]1972:62). This ceremony originated at *It-tat'soo* village near Ucluelet in Barkley Sound on Vancouver Island, Canada (Ernst 1952:99).

The person who gives a $\lambda uk^w ali$ ceremony gathers together as much property as possible for gift giving, and an elaborate quantity of food. Although Swan did not witness the initiation ceremonies, he knew that the first four days of the ceremony were devoted to secret initiations and performances. Swan was of the opinion that this ceremony was given to propitiate the Thunderbird (Swan [1868]1972:62).

Ernst disputes this and states that the Thunderbird was not an essential component, but was one of the dances held on the last day. She suggests that the Thunderbird dance was an inherited right, passed down in certain families, and performed as a welcoming dance. It was danced in conjunction with other dances at various ceremonies (Ernst 1952:21-22).

During the fifth day of the ceremony, the gifts and surplus food were distributed (Ernst 1952:25; Swan 1972). Ernst noted that along Washington's coast there was frequent regional borrowing of this ceremonial, with recognizable variations. However, she also noted that there was no set pattern; in fact, the presentation varied from family to family (Ernst 1952).

The $\lambda uk^w ali$ wolf ceremony creates the link between the everyday world and the mystic realm, which is entered during these sacred winter dances. This relationship to a supernatural creature reflects ancient pacts between animals and humans (Ernst 1952:106).

The second type is a very old ceremony called "*Do-t'hlub*" (*do'xub* for deer). This was formerly the main performance, but was performed infrequently after the introduction of the Thunderbird ceremony (Swan [1868]1972:75). Ernst did not describe the *do'xub*, as this secret order was too complex to detail (Ernst 1952:26).

The third type is the *c'ayiq*, or medicine *tamanawis*⁴, which is performed when someone is sick. According to the Makah, when someone becomes sick, that person will see a dwarfish, supernatural Indian with long, flowing yellow hair and four horns, roaming about at night. This being promises to make the sick person well if certain ceremonies are performed. An Indian doctor performs the required ceremonies, which involve costumes and spectators (Swan [1868]1972:73).

As with other peninsula tribes, there were certain people who were gifted in healing among the Makah. According to Swan, the male healing practitioners went through an ancient ceremony, called *Ka-haip*, to obtain supernatural powers. When Swan was at Neah Bay there were three people who had these powers (Swan [1868]1972:76). One method of curing someone who is ill is to feel for an evil spirit that is within the patient's body. Once the evil is located, the Indian doctor will try to squeeze it out and blow it through his hand. After the object is removed, medicinal herbal remedies are often given (Swan [1868]1972:77).

Soon after the establishment of the Indian Agency at Neah Bay, secret religious and curing societies were restricted, then banned altogether. Indian doctors were ridiculed and their practices forbidden with the threat of jail (Colson 1953:14).

According to Colson, in 1942 all of the Makah over fifty years of age had been initiated into the *λuk^wali* society, but there was no trace left of the actual organization (Colson 1953:178). Those younger than fifty were only familiar with the few dances performed at Makah Days. A couple of elders remembered the *c'ayiq* society, and its costumes are still worn during Makah Days. There was only one man alive who was a member of the *do'λub* society. Colson termed these traditions "latent culture," which was dependent on verbal perpetuation (Colson 1953:173,278).

When Colson conducted her fieldwork, she was unable to ascertain whether there were any living men who had obtained a guardian spirit in recent years. She found that the belief in a power-giving phenomena still existed, though no longer manifested itself. This belief was widespread, even among those affiliated with Presbyterian, Apostolic, and Shaker religions (Colson 1953:249).

⁴Chinook jargon term for power (Suttles and Lane 1990:498).

KLALLAM

RESERVATION COMMUNITY

The Klallam Indians are united by language and kinship and historically lived throughout the northern Olympic Peninsula. Today they are politically divided into three tribes on separate reservations. The Lower Elwha Klallam Reservation is located on the east side of the mouth of the Elwha River and extends upriver about a mile. There is also a section of reservation land on the west side of the river, in the area of Ranger Road. The Jamestown S'Klallam⁵ Reservation is located on Highway 101, at the head of Sequim Bay. The residential community of Jamestown is located east of Dungeness Bay. The Port Gamble S'Klallam Reservation is situated on the North Kitsap Peninsula, across the bay from the town of Port Gamble.

PORT GAMBLE S'KLALLAM TRIBE - *nəx^wqeɫyət*

A Klallam settlement began at Port Gamble⁶ in conjunction with the opening of the Pope and Talbot sawmill in 1853. When Klallam families, from as far west as Clallam Bay, returned from fall fishing along Hood Canal, they would stop at the mill for employment (Gunther 1927:180). Land was purchased for the Klallam at Port Gamble in 1936 and 1937 under the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) and a 1,301 acre reservation was established in 1938 and organized in 1939 (MMS 1991). The Port Gamble S'Klallam became a self-governance tribe in 1992. Today the reservation has 1,341 acres and the current tribal membership is 856 (Port Gamble S'Klallam Tribe: Personal Communication 1997a).

Until 1995 there were still a few employment opportunities at the mill, but these ended when the mill closed in October of 1995. The Port Gamble Klallam are highly dependent on fish and shellfish. In 1997 there were 149 registered tribal fishers and 53 registered fishing vessels (Port Gamble S'Klallam Tribe: Personal Communication 1997b). Shellfish harvesting provides an average of \$350.00 a day during a limited gathering season. Tribal enterprises include a smoke shop and a commercial kelp and herring roe operation. The tribe is developing an oyster culture project and a clam enhancement program. It also operates a coho and chum salmon hatchery. Unemployment on the reservation in 1989 was 82%, and 87% of those employed earned less than \$7,000 a year (MMS 1991:182).

⁵The Jamestown and Port Gamble use of S'Klallam reflects the spelling in the treaty. The Lower Elwha Klallam do not use this spelling. Unless referring to a formal tribal title, this document will use Klallam.

⁶The historic name and the common name used by the tribal community is Little Boston.

LOWER ELWHA KLALLAM TRIBE - ʔéʔíxʷə

Although 353 acres were purchased and put in trust for the Lower Elwha Klallam Tribe in 1937 (Morrison 1939), a reservation was not established at that time. The tribe was organized under the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) in 1968 (BIA 1980; Morrison 1939; Ruby and Brown 1986:107).

As early as 1872 the idea of establishing a reservation at the base of Ediz Hook was considered; however, the land pursued was part of the U.S. Customs House Reserve sold off on speculation (BIA 1980). Around 1934 there were 30 families (120 individuals) living on or near Ediz Hook. Fourteen of these families were assigned land at the Lower Elwha (Morrison 1939:17).



Figure 10
Klallam House at Ediz Hook
Courtesy North Olympic Library, Port Angeles

Today the reservation consists of 427 acres, and current membership is 605 (Wright 1991:26; BIA 1993). The primary economic resource for the tribe is commercial fishing, although most fishing activities are subsistence oriented. In 1988 there were 62 tribal commercial fishers; 37 of these made less than \$1,000 that year. The tribe operates a salmon hatchery and conducts enhancement programs. In 1997 the hatchery released 750,000 coho, 155,000 steelhead, and 50,000 chum and they estimate a return of from one to five percent (Lower Elwha Tribe: Personal Communication 1997).

Fishing and gathering activities are an important component of Elwha subsistence. Tribal members gather clams, oysters, crab, mussels, barnacles, sea urchins, squid, chitons, abalone, octopus, and sea cucumber in their usual and accustomed harvesting areas; these areas extend from the Hoko River to Hood Canal. Ocean fishers fish for Pacific cod, walleye pollack, Pacific tomcod, whiting, flounders, dabs and soles, greenlings, ratfish, sablefish, cabezon, spiny dogfish, rock fish, perch, and sharks. These activities occur year round, with a focus from July through November on the salmon fishery (MMS 1991:161).

The Lower Elwha Klallam Tribe became a self-governance tribe in 1992 and is currently pursuing an annual funding agreement for implementation of the programs related to Elwha River restoration.

JAMESTOWN S'KLALLAM TRIBE - *nəx^wɬəyeʔáw'x^włč*

The settlement known as Jamestown was established when the Klallam residents of the Dungeness and Washington Harbor areas were pressured to leave their homelands as a result of white settlement. Under the leadership of a Klallam man by the name of James Balch, the Jamestown pooled their money and purchased 210 acres of land near Dungeness Bay from a logging company in 1874.

Although the Jamestown S'Klallam were a politically autonomous group, they did not receive federal recognition until 1981. As a result of the Indian Reorganization Act [48 Stat. 984] of 1934, the government attempted to organize the Jamestown S'Klallam with the other two Klallam Tribes. The Jamestown chose to remain where they were, and thus remain unrecognized.

The Jamestown S'Klallam applied for federal recognition and in 1981 were formally recognized or acknowledged by the federal government as a tribe. With federal recognition they were able to acquire five acres of trust reservation land at Sequim Bay for their tribal administrative operations. Federal recognition secured their fishing rights and has allowed the tribe to pursue self-governance. Tribal membership of the Jamestown S'Klallam is 228 (Jamestown S'Klallam Tribe 1993).

Jamestown fishery operations include an oyster aquaculture project at Dungeness and Sequim Bays. Fish and shellfish constitute an important component of subsistence: there are 80 tribal members who fish and gather these resources, as well as 15 commercial fishing vessels owned by tribal members (Jamestown n.d.).

The tribe has its own development company, JKT Development, Inc., which manages the tribe's investments and has implemented a long-term business plan. Investments include a 38 unit apartment complex in Port Angeles, a commercial rental on Bainbridge Island, art publishing, two art galleries, an aquaculture development, and the Seven Cedars Casino on Highway 101 in Blyn. In 1989 unemployment for the tribe was 22%. Of those employed, 59% earned less than \$7,000 per year (Jamestown S'Klallam Tribe n.d.; MMS 1991:174).

The Jamestown S'Klallam Tribe was one of the first 10 tribes in the United States to undertake the Self-Governance Demonstration Project. Their tribal chair, Ron Allen, is a leader in self-governance and was elected to the presidency of the National Council of American Indians in October of 1995.

TRIBAL HISTORY

The word Klallam is an anglicized version of the word *nəx^wsə'áy'əm*, which has been interpreted to mean strong or mighty people; however, this may have no basis in the Klallam language, as the Klallam translation for strong people is *ʔiʔiyiyám* (Montler 1996: Personal Communication; Suttles 1990:474-475). Klallam Indians populated most of the northern Olympic Peninsula prior to European-American settlement. Their villages began at Hoko River and extended to the Quimper Peninsula. After the depopulation of the Chemakum Tribe, the Klallam territory expanded to Port Townsend and Hood Canal.

With the arrival of Europeans, epidemics ravaged many of the villages. Anthropologist, Dr. Herbert Taylor (1963) estimates the population of Klallam⁷, circa 1780, to have been near 2,400. By 1855 Gibbs believed the Klallam population to be 926⁸, although Eells thought this to be too low (Eells 1887:612).

⁷He includes the Chemakum in this figure.

⁸Gibbs' separate population figure for the Chemakum in 1855 was 90.

The Clallam⁹ language is of the Central Salish branch of the Salishan linguistic family and may have spread relatively recently from the Northern Straits language. Dialects of Central Salish are spoken by the Sooke, Saanich, Songhees, Lummi, Samish, and Semiahmoo (Thompson and Kinkade 1990). The Klallam are most closely related linguistically to indigenous populations across the Strait of Juan de Fuca on southern Vancouver Island. Travel across the strait to the Klallam village of Beecher Bay was common, and today there is a Klallam reserve at this location.

The Klallam were signatories to the Treaty of Point No Point, along with the Chemakum and Skokomish. In signing the treaty to cede their land base to the federal government, the Klallam understood that a reservation was to be established for them between Sequim and Dungeness Bay. Treaty journal notes show a reservation was considered "on the straits" (BIA 1980:5). Michael Simmons, Indian Agent for Puget Sound District, recommended in 1859 that the "Clallams, living on the Straits of Fuca, be allowed a reserve at Clallam Bay" (ARCIA 1860:398). However, no reservation was established and they were informed that they had to move onto the Skokomish Reservation. Most Klallams refused to move away from their usual and accustomed fishing areas and traditional gathering locations (BIA 1980:6).

In 1911 the Quinault Reservation was opened for allotment to signatories of the Treaty of Point No Point; however, the Klallam chose not to accept these allotments. They were apprehensive that if they did so, they would relinquish their chances of acquiring their own landbase (BIA 1980:11).

Each Klallam village functioned as a semi-autonomous group, although inter-village relationships and kinship ties were strong between groups. With the arrival of European-American homesteading in the area, the Klallams were forced out of their village sites and began to concentrate into larger villages (BIA 1980:2).

There was a concerted effort by the BIA to reorganize the Klallam under the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) of 1934 [48 Stat. 984] and provide them with reservation land. The first proposal was to combine organization for all of the Klallam bands; however, the effort to organize them together was abandoned in the late 1930s (BIA 1980:13).

The BIA began to organize the Lower Elwha and Port Gamble bands in 1937, and to purchase trust land for them. The Jamestown S'Klallam were given the option to move onto the land purchased for the Lower Elwha and Port Gamble Reservations or stay at Jamestown and remain unorganized (BIA 1980:13-14).

⁹This is the correct spelling for the language name.



Figure 11
Home of Klallam Family (Prince of Wales) at Port Hadlock
Courtesy North Olympic Library, Port Angeles

The Klallam's traditional landbase, ceded to the United States in 1859, extends to the headwaters of the Olympic mountains and lies within several park districts, including Hoodspport, Hurricane, and Lake Crescent.

In 1977 the Indian Claims Commission compensated the Klallam for the cessation of the lands that they had exclusively used and occupied:

Commencing at the mouth of the Hoko River and following up said river to the river bend, approximately 2 1/2 miles west of Royal, Washington; thence southeastward to the south point of Crescent Lake; thence east to Mt. Baldy; thence east along the crest of the "foothills" to Round Mountain; thence to Camp Colonial Shelter at the headwaters of the Dungeness River; thence to the north point of Lake Crocker; thence southeastward to the center of Sandy Lake; thence eastward to a midpoint between Tala Point and Hannon Point on Hood Canal; thence northward along the shoreline, and including Indian Island and Marrowstone Island to the place of beginning (ICC 1974a:353).

This judgement included the Chemakum territory, as the Klallam and Chemakum had merged between 1855 and 1857 (BIA 1980:4).

USUAL AND ACCUSTOMED FISHING PLACES

In signing the Treaty of Point No Point, the Klallam were guaranteed the protection of their resource gathering rights. Article 4 of the treaty states this clearly:

The right of taking fish at usual and accustomed grounds and stations is further secured to said Indians, in common with all citizens of the United States; and of erecting temporary houses for the purpose of curing; together with the privilege of hunting and gathering roots and berries on open and unclaimed lands. Provided, however, that they shall not take shell-fish from any beds staked or cultivated by citizens [Treaty of Point No Point 1855].

Although the three Klallam tribes' usual and accustomed fishing places are nearly coextensive, the legal wording differs slightly. The tribes also have intertribal agreements concerning primary and secondary harvest areas. In *U.S. v. Washington*, the court found that the adjudicated usual and accustomed fishing places for the Lower Elwha Klallam are as follows:

The usual and accustomed fishing places of the Lower Elwha Tribe include all of the streams draining into the Strait of Juan de Fuca from the Hoko River east to the mouth of

Hood Canal and the waters of the Straits of Juan de Fuca [*United States v. State of Washington*, 459 F. Supp. 1020 (1978):1049].

The common fishing areas of the Makah Tribe and the Lower Elwha Band are as follows:

The marine waters of the Strait of Juan de Fuca east to Port Crescent (near Port Angeles) and the rivers and streams along the Strait of Juan de Fuca from the Hoko River west to the Lyre River, including the Pysht River and Twin River....

(1) [T]he Makah Tribe and the Lower Elwha Tribe should exercise a joint fishery, wherein neither tribe shall exercise control or regulation over the other, on the Hoko River but that Makah fishing on rivers or streams east of the Hoko to Port Crescent shall be subject to the control and regulation...by the Lower Elwha Band of the Clallam Indian Tribe; (2) the Lower Elwha fishing on the Seiku River shall be subject to the control and regulation by the Makah Indian Tribe; (3) a joint fishery as defined above shall exist with respect to Makah and Lower Elwha fishing in the marine waters of the Strait of Juan de Fuca [*United States v. State of Washington*, 459 F. Supp. 1020 (1978):1067].

[and] the waters of the San Juan Islands archipelago, the waters off the west coast of Whidby Island, Hood Canal and all streams draining into Hood Canal except the Skokomish River and all of its tributaries [*United States v. State of Washington*, 626 F. Supp. 1405 (1985):1443].

Jamestown's usual and accustomed fishing places:

include the waters of the Strait of Juan de Fuca, all the streams draining into the Strait from the Hoko River east to the mouth of Hood Canal, the waters of the San Juan Islands archipelago, the waters off the west coast of Whidbey Island, the waters of Hood Canal, and all streams draining into Hood Canal except the Skokomish River and its tributaries. In addition, the Jamestown Klallam Tribe has usual and accustomed fishing rights on the Sekiu River, but the fishing on this river shall be subject to the control and regulation of the Makah Indian Tribe [*United States v. State of Washington*, 626 F. Supp. 1405 (1985):1486].

For Port Gamble the wording varies slightly, as follows:

The usual and accustomed fishing grounds of the Port Gamble Band of Klallam Indians include the waters of the Strait of Juan de Fuca, and all the streams draining into

the Strait from the Hoko River east to the mouth of Hood Canal. In addition, the Port Gamble Klallam Band has usual and accustomed fishing rights on the Sekiu River, but the fishing of this river shall be subject to the control and regulation of the Makah Indian Tribe. Furthermore, the usual and accustomed fishing grounds of the Port Gamble Klallam Band include the waters of the San Juan Islands archipelago and the waters off the west coast of Whidby Island. The usual and accustomed fishing grounds of the Port Gamble Klallam Band also include Hood Canal and all streams draining into Hood Canal except the Skokomish River and all of its tributaries [*United States v. State of Washington*, 626 F. Supp. 1405 (1985):1442].

ELWHA DAM

The Elwha Dam, built between 1910 and 1914, flooded the creation site of the Klallam people. Three different sources render details about the creation site. The first is told by geographer T.T. Waterman (1920:58), who noted that there is a "place in the bed of the river where there are pits or excavations in the rock containing water." This spot is called *spčū?*, meaning resembling a basket.

This is the spot where human beings were created. The pits or hollows are the places from which dirt was scooped, out of which the human race was formed. Sometimes people go to these pits to get information about their future life. If a man thrusts his hand into the this water, and brings out deer-hair for example, he knows he will be a good hunter (Waterman 1920:58).

A Klallam elder stated that there is a spot near the lower dam where there is a big flat rock with holes in it. If a person sticks one hand in a hole and pulls something out, like a certain kind of shell, that means wealth (Klallam Interviews 1990-1992).

Dr. Wayne Suttles interviewed a Klallam tribal member in 1952, who said that all of the tribes of this region were created at a place on the Elwha River where there were two big holes in the rock. The place is said to be above the present power plant and now under water. Both Suttles and Waterman identified this spot as the place where the creator bathed the people and blessed them, *sx^wsáyk^wtən* (Waterman 1920:58; Suttles 1991). According to this account, the Elwha were created the highest ranking people, followed by the Sooke. Even the Cowichan were created there. The last to be bathed were the people who lived between old and new Dungeness at the village of *c'əq^w*. In the past the creation site always escaped flooding, but now it is under water. The two holes in the rock are called *spi^hpəču* or "[coiled] baskets" (Suttles 1991).



Figure 12
Elwha River Below Glines Canyon Dam
Courtesy Clallam County Historical Society

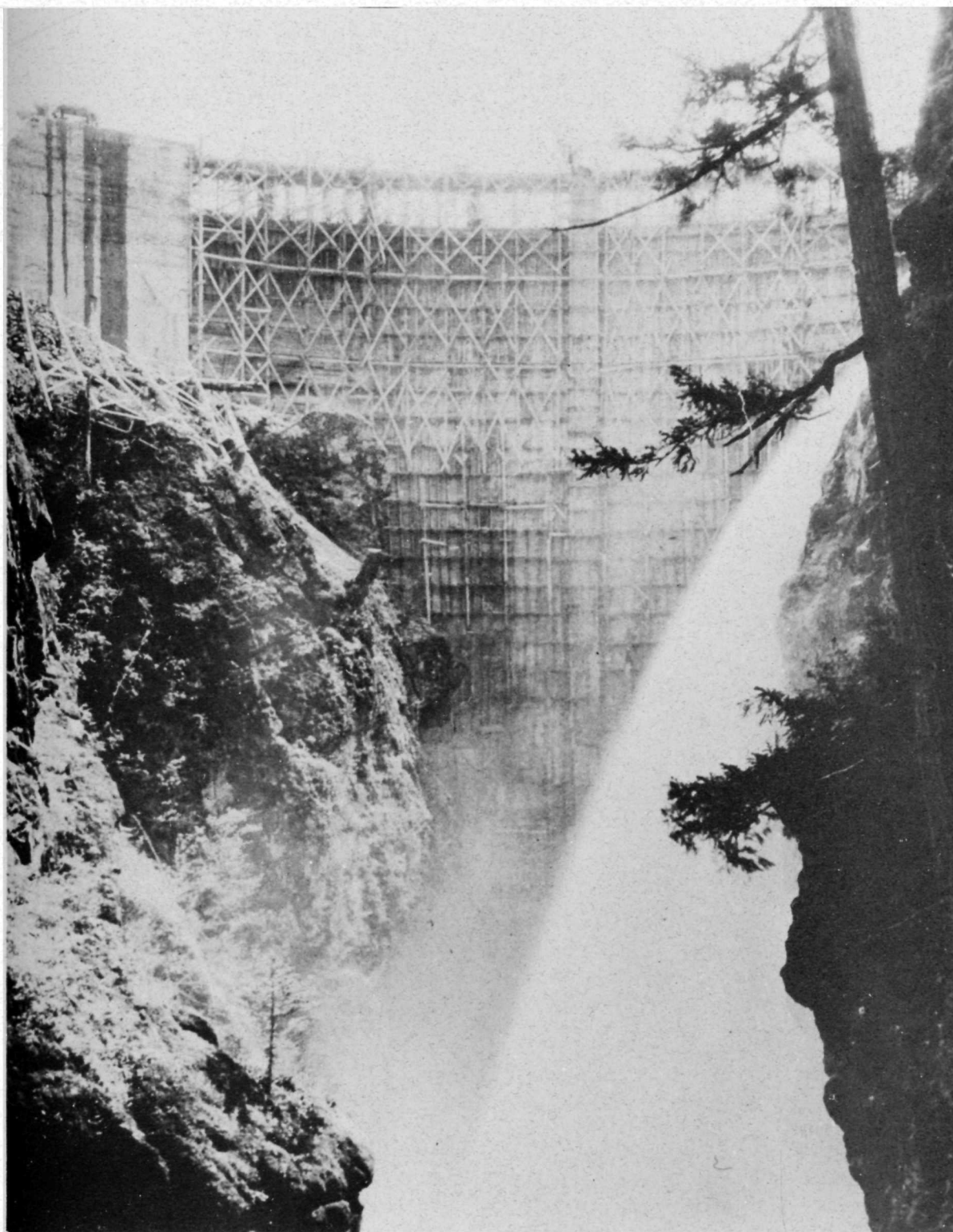


Figure 13
Photo of Glines Canyon Dam Construction
Courtesy Daishowa America Company

Erna Gunther's fieldnotes contain a similar account. According to her consultants, the man who made the first people at Elwha (*tietl*) was *xa'es*. He made the Sooke first in this place, then the Elwha. He finished all the Klallam and bathed them, then he bathed the others (Gunther [1925]:2.15:23).

A permanent Klallam village site at the confluence of Indian Creek and the Elwha River was flooded by the Elwha Dam construction. A few families were still living at this village, and many others were utilizing it seasonally, prior to inundation of the reservoir ([Swindell] 1942:141-142).

The Elwha Indians fished far up the Elwha River. Joe Sampson made trips to the Hayes River, where he saw large chinook salmon (Adamire and Fish [1991]:10). The area around Boulder Creek was a Klallam camp where large chinook were gaffed (Adamire and Fish [1991]:3). Prior to construction of the Elwha Dam, the Elwha River and its tributaries were considered the most prolific for salmon on the peninsula (Lane and Lane Associates 1990:15).

The Glines Canyon Dam was built 8.5 miles upriver from the Elwha Dam in 1927. The Glines Canyon Dam inundated the Boulder Creek Klallam fishing and camping location. Both reservoirs have collected millions of cubic yards of sediment which is needed for sand bar formation in the Strait of Juan de Fuca. The estuaries created by these sand bars provide fertile zones of brackish water for salmon and shellfish.

Ed Sampson recalled this productive river in his 1976 testimony taken for the Federal Power Commission proceedings:

In March to May, there were King Salmon, about 45-50 lbs. From May to August, there were coho, about 35-40 lbs. From October to November, there were chum, about 50 lbs. From November to December, every fourth year, there were humpie, about 15-20 lbs. There were steelhead from October to November. The fish were very bright near the mouth of the river and gradually darkened upstream (Lane and Lane Associates 1990:16).

The Treaty of Point No Point [12 Stat 933], which was signed by the Klallam in 1855 and ratified in 1859, secures the right of taking fish at all usual and accustomed grounds and stations. However, these rights were restricted in 1916 by the State of Washington, when the State Supreme Court ruled that off-reservation fishing was subject to state control (Lane 1990:31). After this ruling the Indians were arrested for fishing in the Elwha and told they could not take fish, even for personal use (Lane and Lane Associates 1990:39).

One report concerning the Lower Elwha Klallam Reservation describes the salmon situation as follows:

A dam on the Elwha River, owned and maintained by a pulp company, has ruined the spawning grounds of the trout and salmon. The opening of this dam several times each year results in killing thousands of fish. The Indians gather the dead fish in order to replenish their food supply. However, the president of the Clallam Indian Tribal Council informed the writer that even the possession of fish thus killed has, in several instances, resulted in jail sentences for the possessor (Morrison 1939:18).

Lands were purchased for a reservation at Port Gamble and Lower Elwha under the Indian Reorganization Act in 1936 and 1937. These Elwha lands were purchased despite opposition by sports fishers who believed that a reservation on the Elwha would "deprive the sportsmen of the privilege of fishing one of the best steelhead and salmon rivers in the north Olympic Peninsula" (Lane and Lane Associates 1990:33). It is interesting that the Port Gamble Reservation was established in 1938, but the Lower Elwha Reservation was not established until 1968. According to the Lanes, the "issue of Indian fishing rights in the Elwha River may have been instrumental in" the delay (Lane and Lane Associates 1990:34).

A Lower Elwha Klallam fishery manager summed up the Elwha Dam issue when she stated that the Elwha Tribe has been subsidizing the dams since they were built (Kowalski 1990). The tribe built its fish hatchery in 1975 to alleviate some of the fish loss. The beaches at Freshwater Bay have eroded, reducing shellfish habitat. Flood control has also been a source of anguish for the tribe, as no housing could be constructed in the lower valley until a levee was built. This did not occur until 1987.

The economic and cultural importance of this drainage is paramount to the Klallam peoples' culture and lifeways. Restriction of this river for the past 80 years has cost the tribe economic and cultural hardship.

Ethnographic Literature

The first ethnographic accounts of the Klallam were recorded as early as 1847 by the artist Paul Kane, and in 1855 by ethnographer, George Gibbs.

Reverend Myron Eells wrote about the Klallam during his tenure at Skokomish, beginning in 1874.

Anthropologist, Dr. Wayne Suttles has collected information about the Klallam which he published in his dissertation, *The*

Economic Life of the Coast Salish of Haro and Rosario Straits (1974), and in a 1987 publication entitled *Coast Salish Essays*.

The only ethnography written specifically about the Klallam is Erna Gunther's *Klallam Ethnography*, published in 1927. Her principal consultants were from the Dungeness area. Although this ethnography is quite extensive, it lacks some of the depth of knowledge found in the work of Suttles.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

Erna Gunther conducted ethnographic fieldwork among the Klallam from 1924 to 1935. Her principle consultants lived at Jamestown. At the time of Gunther's fieldwork, the following villages were occupied: Hoko River, Clallam Bay, Pysht, Elwha mouth, upper Elwha, Ediz, Ienis, Jamestown, Washington Harbor, Port Townsend, Little Boston, and Beecher Bay. According to Gunther, Dungeness and Port Discovery were the only historic villages no longer occupied at that time. However, there were other historic villages, some occupied into the 20th century, that she does not list. These include Sekiu, Jim Creek, Deep Creek, Twin Rivers, Lyre River, Crescent Bay, Salt Creek, East Lake Crescent, Freshwater Bay, Morse Creek, Protection Island, Chevy Chase, Port Ludlow, and Seabeck (Klallam Interviews 1990-1992; Gunther 1927:178).

Gunther describes the village at Washington Harbor in detail, and refers to it as a typical Klallam village. This village consisted of ten houses and a potlatch house where the chief lived. The potlatch house had a shed roof supported with large cedar posts (Gunther 1927:184). The chief's guardian spirit, the sun, was painted on the center post. Outside the house stood numerous poles painted with red and white stripes and carved with birds on top. The entire village was stockaded with cedar puncheons. The slave community, next to the main village, was strategically positioned to take the impact of enemy attacks. Between the slaves' houses and the main village stood poles with the heads of enemies mounted on top (Gunther 1927:183-187).

RESOURCE USE

According to Gunther, most village groups moved several times each year to follow the salmon and to gather other resources. In August the Klallam traveled to Hood Canal and Beecher Bay for dog salmon (Gunther 1927:195). The favorite locations were the Hamma Hamma River and the Brinnon area, where huckleberries were plentiful in September. The time spent at Hood Canal was important for socializing and trading between the Skokomish and Klallam. The Klallam traded dried clams and fish for baskets and dried meat. Some families stayed at the canal all winter, but the majority returned home in November to attend the winter ceremonials (Gunther 1927:195).



Figure 14
Canoes at Hollywood Beach
Courtesy North Olympic Library, Port Angeles



Figure 15
Clamming at Point Hudson
Courtesy North Olympic Library, Port Angeles

Gunther states that the Klallam men did the hunting and fishing and the women did the gathering. Gunther compiled a list of plants the Klallam utilized, which includes acorn, ferns, blackberry, black cap, camas, crabapple, cranberry, elderberry, gooseberry, hazelnut, horsetail, huckleberry, mustard, oregon grape, current, salal, salmonberry, thimbleberry, tiger lily, western dock, wild carrot, clover, and onion (Gunther 1927:197). Gunther also lists the following food gathered from the littoral: horse clams, cockles, butter clams, mussels, china shoes, devil fish, and sea gull eggs (Gunther 1927:198).

The largest portion of food was obtained from fishing. Salmon were caught using various methods, including traps, trolling, gill net, spears, and lines. In addition to relying upon the five species of salmon, the Klallam also caught steelhead, halibut, lingcod, flounder, herring, smelts, and candlefish (Gunther 1927:198-199).

The importance of salmon is evidenced by its prominence in ritual and by the care required in its handling. Gunther (1926; 1928) wrote two articles on the first salmon ceremony of the Klallam and other tribes. She recorded that the first salmon is boiled into a soup, and the entire village partakes in the meal. Each village may have had a ritual revolving around a different species of salmon, unique to a particular drainage. One thing common to all the tribes Gunther worked with is that the salmon was revered so that it would return to its abode the next season (Gunther 1926; 1927; 1928).

Gunther recorded that land mammal hunting was undertaken by only a select few--usually one hunter per village--who traveled to the mountains for deer and elk. Sea mammals such as whales, porpoise, blackfish, and seal were also hunted. Duck hunting, with nets pulled between forty foot high poles, was carried out near marshes and sand spits (Gunther 1927:204-5).

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

When Gunther conducted her fieldwork, Klallam society was divided into upper and lower classes. The upper class was comprised of prestigious families, based on wealth. The lower class consisted of freed slaves, and those who were not socially superior or wealthy. Gunther notes that there were no hunters among the lower class (Gunther 1927:260-261).

Social ties were often based on marriage alliances. The most sought after marriage partners were the Makah, the Skokomish, and the people on Vancouver Island (Gunther 1927:242).

There were certain tribes with which the Klallam were often at war, such as the Cowichan, Duwamish, Snohomish, and Tsimshian. The Klallam were also at war at various times with the Quinault and Makah (Swan 1971; Gunther 1927:272).



Figure 16
Clallam Bay Wedding
Courtesy North Olympic Library, Port Angeles

Warfare was usually a result of refusal to pay blood money for an injustice. The Klallam were regarded as fierce warriors. Among the best warriors were those who retained the Thunderbird power. Thunderbird is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 5. One of Gunther's consultants said that the Klallam never went to war "unless the thunder answered their supplication" (Gunther 1927:268).

BELIEF SYSTEMS

Erna Gunther describes Klallam spiritual beliefs in relation to their diffusion from the Kwakiutl in northern British Columbia. Her opinion is that the Klallam have a "bare skeleton" version of the elaborate ceremonial complex to the north (Gunther 1927:287). Dr. Suttles has examined the development of Salish art and found that the simplicity of the art is not a diffused imitation of Kwakiutl or Nootka art, but a different form of art, based on differing concepts (Suttles 1983:67-87). The same interpretation may hold true for Klallam ceremonies: they are not a watered down version of a more elaborate complex, but developed the way they did to accommodate different lifeways.

The secret society of the Klallam is termed *ḡaxənítí* which means "to growl." The society, according to Gunther (1927:281), had no formal rituals, other than the initiation ceremony, which occurred at a potlatch ceremony given by the family of the initiate. The potlatch was an important component of the society, for it was here that the initiate's membership was sanctified.

At the time that Gunther conducted her fieldwork, there were probably very few people alive who had been initiated into the society. A Klallam Indian wrote of his initiation in 1893 (Williams 1916-1917), just before the society was repressed. The last initiation at Jamestown occurred around 1900; however, the society was still functioning on Vancouver Island in 1925. During the time the society was active, its members were prohibited from revealing its secrets. Those who did so were killed; therefore, those who knew its secrets may have been reluctant to discuss them with Gunther.

Franz Boas gave a detailed description of the QEnqani'tEl [*ḡaxənítí*] ceremony among the Lku'ngEn¹⁰ (Boas 1891:578). He stated that when a young man was to be initiated, his father invited the community for a feast and performances were conducted for five days. At the end of the five days, the boy was bathed in the sea then led into the woods, where he remained until he met a spirit who initiated him. During this

¹⁰Generally known by the name Songhees, and located west of Victoria on Vancouver Island.

time he was secretly led to a house and taught the secrets of the society. When he returned, the father gave a feast and the initiate performed his first dance. The new member slept in the woods where he continued to bathe. In the spring he was thrown into the sea, and the initiation was complete (Boas 1891:579).

This information is contrary to Gunther, who stated that initiation into the society was not dependent on acquiring a guardian spirit. Gunther may not have had enough information to fully analyze and describe these belief systems as they relate to spiritual beings. Suttles (1974), however, has written an excellent summary of the beliefs of the Coast Salish, including the Klallam.

According to Suttles, spirit power came from "living things, natural objects, natural forces, monsters, and, rarely, even manmade objects" (Suttles 1974:327). Spirit questing began when the children were small. They would be instructed to bathe and scrub in icy water, and to go out on dark and stormy nights. As the children neared puberty, they began fasting. When an individual was clean, the spirit power would come to him or her. The spirit gave a song to its owner which brought the power into force. The song itself was a spiritual or physical entity (Suttles 1974:327-328).

When a person¹¹ returned from a spirit quest, that individual kept the event quiet for a year or until the spirit was revealed at the next potlatch, when the spirit song was sung. Guardian spirits visited the owners once a year. When the power came, the person became ill. Instead of calling a shaman in, the Klallam called in friends to help sing the songs for several days, until the spirit was satisfied and left. The only difference between a shaman power and that of a lay person was the way in which it was acquired. The spirit power provided a form of wealth or power which would bring prestige to the individual (Suttles 1974; Gunther 1927:290).

Gunther compiled a short list of spirits that individuals had attained and the power they provided. Although spirit acquisition was a personal achievement, the benefits were often shared by the village; for example, the halibut spirit could make fish come to the shore, so that all of the village could acquire them (Gunther 1927:291-295). The Thunderbird spirit was the strongest spirit for war, and the most difficult to obtain. A male or female warrior with this spirit power could shoot lightning into another person (Gunther 1927:295).

¹¹Gunther (1927:289) noted that girls are sent out before adolescence and can get the same spirit that boys can obtain.

According to Gunther, every Klallam person had a soul that was a four inch high miniature of the owner. When a person became ill, his or her soul had left the body. If a shaman was called in time, the soul might be retrieved; if not, it traveled to the land of the dead and became a ghost. Everything in the land of the dead is opposite to that which exists in the living world. The Klallam believed that every evening the ghosts from the land of the dead came to this world and took souls back with them (Gunther 1927:295-296).

Perhaps what Gunther termed a "bare skeleton" is a reflection of acculturation and assimilation into a community of increasing European-American settlement. The Klallam, like most of the tribes on the peninsula, have had to adjust to land settlement and development around them. The Klallam say that they were once a huge tribe, thousands and thousands of Indians, with many more villages up the river drainages than we know of from written historical accounts (Klallam Interviews 1990-1992).

Depopulation of these interior villages may be associated with the influx of European trade items. Captain George Vancouver wrote the following in 1792, while near Port Discovery:

It may not be unreasonable to conjecture, that the present apparent depopulation may have arisen in some measure from the inhabitants of this interior part having been induced to quit their former abode, and to have moved nearer the exterior coast for the convenience of obtaining in the immediate mart, with more ease and at a cheaper rate, those valuable articles of commerce, that within these late years have been brought to the sea coasts of this continent by Europeans and the citizens of America, and which are in great estimation amongst these people, being possessed by all in a greater or less degree (Vancouver 1798:257).

Vancouver encountered numerous burials along the northern peninsula, so many that he speculated an epidemic or war had killed these people. The smallpox scars he saw on those who remained suggest an epidemic. With the reduction in populations came consolidation of the numerous villages into a smaller number of larger settlements.

PARK RESOURCES

This chapter discusses use of the park more extensively than the other chapters, because of the work that was conducted with Klallam elders during the early stages of this project. There are numerous places of importance to the Klallam located within Olympic National Park. These places include resource

procurement areas, places of spiritual importance, and former home and village sites.

Perhaps the most interior Klallam village is that referenced by Erna Gunther as being 20 miles up the Elwha River. This would place it between Idaho Creek and the Lillian River. Gunther labeled this village site with the name *Sestie'tl* (Gunther 1927:177-178). However, that is properly *titi?eł*, the name of the former village at Indian Creek (Waterman 1920). It is possible that she combined information about two different villages or was mistaken on the distance.

George Gibbs, ethnographer for Isaac Stevens and the treaty commission, documented Klallam village sites. In one of his private journals, Gibbs wrote that John Adams, a Klallam from Port Discovery, told him that there were houses far up the Elwha River (Lane 1975:7).

The people who lived at Indian Creek were considered hunters, and the name of the headman of this village was Hunter John. Contemporary descendants of Hunter John have recollections of camping locations in the mountainous regions of the Elwha. Happy Lake was an established campsite for this family until the 1930s. Another was located on Hurricane Hill ridge. This site was utilized year round by one family that was curing their young son of tuberculosis using traditional medicinal skills (Klallam Interviews 1990-1992).

T.T. Waterman has listed in his place names, *Tete toIn* (*cəcʔey'əŋ*, which means going up high) said to mean farthest up stream, which he placed near the boundary of Mount Olympus National Monument (Waterman 1920). In 1920 the monument boundary would have been near Windfall Creek.

Waterman (1920) notes a location called *sma:I ts* (*sməyəc*, which means elk) as the Devil's Backbone on the forest service map¹². The Press Expedition met four Indians who had been hunting elk at their encampment about a mile above the present Elwha Ranger Station. These Indians told the expedition about a trail that led to the foot of a mountain spur called by the downriver settlers the Devil's Backbone (Wood 1967:63-65). This trail traversed a steep mountainside and descended to the river bottom where the expedition found "an old Indian

¹²A diary by Ed Isbell, who lived on the Elwha in the early 1900s, refers to the Devil's Backbone as well. From his description it appears to be a mountain side, possibly Windy Arm (Diary courtesy of Harriet Fish).

smokehouse," probably across from Boulder Creek.¹³ A book about the history of the Elwha River states that Boulder Creek was a hunting camp¹⁴ where Billy Everett observed Boston Charlie gaffing large chinook salmon and that the Indians had canoes up the river this far (Adamire and Fish [1991]:3). Further up river, in the vicinity of Idaho Creek, the Press Expedition found what they believed was an old wringing post used for dressing elk hides (Wood 1967:98-99).

Dr. Suttles mentions the Klallam hunting elk in the mountains "as far as Elwha Lake--past the mountains" before European contact (Suttles 1991). Elwha Lake could be a lake dammed by a landslide up the Elwha (Wood 1967:103) or a high mountain lake. One of Suttles' Klallam consultants hunted Elk with Boston Charlie "up to the head of the Elwha" (Suttles 1991). Another consultant said the Klallam hunted elk east and west of Mount Olympus (Suttles 1991).

MOUNTAIN USE

Mountain use was seldom recorded in early anthropological and historical documents. Interviews conducted with Klallam tribal members and research of anthropologists' fieldnotes reveal that mountain use was actually quite common. Therefore, it is important to summarize the information on this use to emphasize that it was a major part of the lifeways of the Klallam and other tribes of the peninsula.

Dr. Wayne Suttles' fieldnotes contain information pertaining to Klallam use of the interior reaches of the Elwha. This information was obtained during interviews he conducted in the 1950s and 1960s with Klallam consultants at Lower Elwha and at Beecher Bay in Canada. Dr. Suttles recorded the Klallam name for the Olympic Mountains as *nəx^wsəl'áy'əməl*, meaning belongs to the Klallam. At Musqueam, at the mouth of the Fraser River, Suttles recorded the Halkomelem word for the Olympic Mountains as *sx^wsəl'əməl sment*, "Clallam Mountains" (Suttles 1991).

Few individual mountains have names today. Perhaps most of the mountains were never named. A place name study at Glacier Bay National Park revealed that mountains were named by the Tlingit only 4% of the time. There was no practical reason to name the

¹³Isbell, in the same diary, refers to a cabin on the west side across from Sergie's [Segel] rocks known as the smokehouse, where the trail started to Happy Lake. This would place it in the vicinity of Boulder Creek. Perhaps the cabin was called smokehouse because it was originally used as a smokehouse or it was built at the same location as the one mentioned by the Press Expedition.

¹⁴Adamire and Fish ([1991]:5) also refer to this site as a winter village.

mountains, unless they contained special significance (Thornton 1993). It is likely that more mountains have Clallam names than are remembered today, however. The Clallam language general term for mountains is *sxayk^wəyéʔč* (Klallam Interviews 1990-1992).

Griff and Unicorn Peaks, as seen from the Lower Elwha, are known in Klallam as *Mi^ˈm^ˈx^wtən*, or woman lying down. Waterman lists *Me muxtIn* as the place where people used to go to hunt and describes it as a place "where two mountains come together" (Waterman 1920). He states that game animals passed through this narrow pass¹⁵ (Waterman 1920).

The Klallam and other peninsula tribes traveled through the mountains to visit different communities. Klallam consultants recall how their great grandmother traveled across the Olympics with her children to Taholah to visit relatives. Consultants believe the route began on the Elwha River and continued up to Hurricane Hill. The natural route would be to follow the ridge to Grand Pass and what is now the existing NPS trail system into the Quinault drainage. The Press Expedition refers to following an old Indian trail in their accounts (Wood 1967:103).

Boston Charlie (*wəgi'nəxən*) was a Klallam Indian who loved the mountains. Boston Charlie Camp, at the base of Cat Peak, was named for him, as it is a place where he often camped. According to Klallam consultants, Boston Charlie had an encounter with a mountain being here in the early 1900s:

The last time [he traveled to the mountains] he had a very close call because he was lying on the ground where they [his family] found him. He was weak and I imagine he didn't have anything to eat for several days. When they brought him down, he said that he was right by a cliff laying there. He said the sun was going down and this huge being came up from the cliff that was almost impossible for a human being to do. And he said, he thought to himself, "Now this is the day I am going to die. I don't know what this man is going to do to me." This *čičayik^wtən*¹⁶ had great big leaves with blueberries and thimbleberries and it was wet. He put it in Boston's mouth and disappeared down the cliff (Klallam Interviews 1990-1992).

¹⁵He is probably referring to Hurricane Hill, which lies south of Griff and Unicorn peaks and is more accessible.

¹⁶This Klallam word means "comes from the mountains" and was used by two Klallam consultants instead of the term sasquatch.



Figure 17
Klallam Family Pushing Wagon up Hurricane Hill
Courtesy Adeline Smith



Figure 18
Boston Charlie
Courtesy Adeline Smith

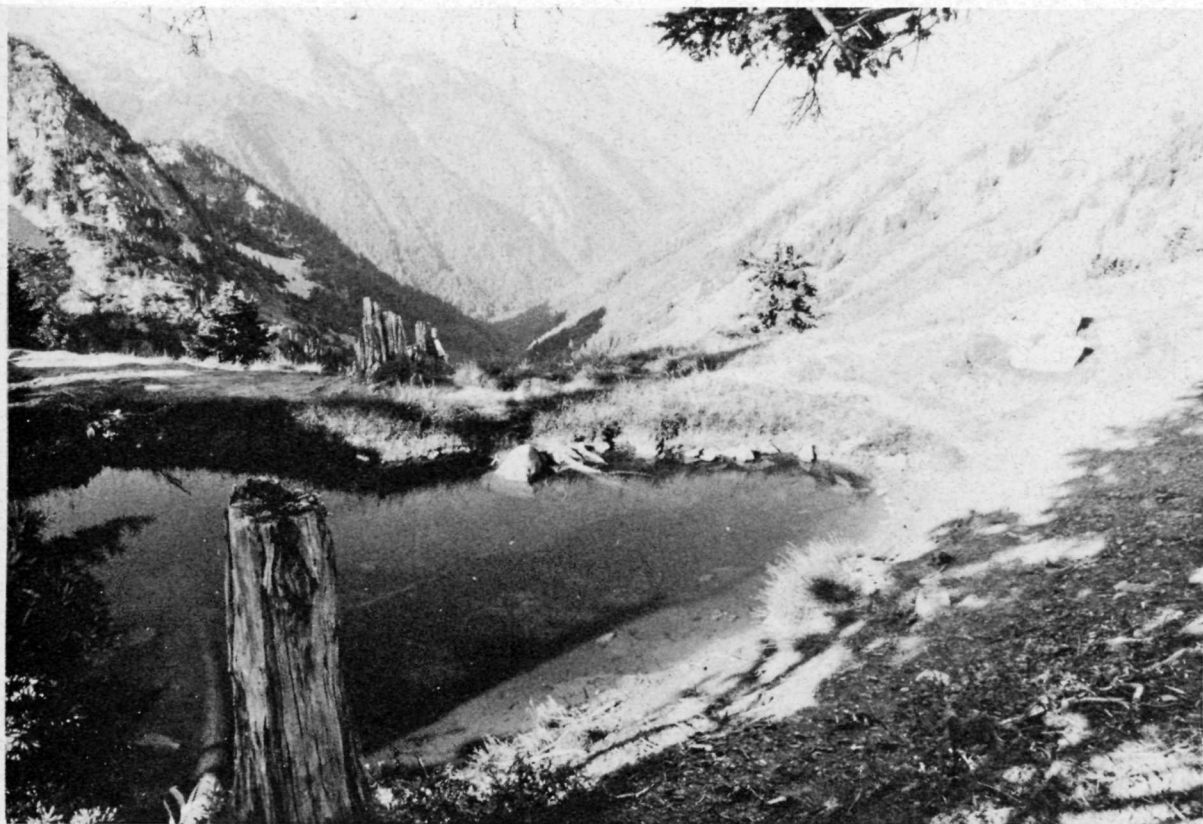


Figure 19
Boston Charlie Camp
Photo by Jacilee Wray



Figure 20
Boston Charlie and Nephews in the Mountains
Courtesy Adeline Smith

Boston Charlie had a second encounter with čičayík^wtən on the Lower Elwha. One evening he filled his smokehouse with salmon, and the next morning it was all gone. A few days later the čičayík^wtən brought Boston a dressed elk in payment for the fish taken (Klallam Interviews 1990-1992).

One Klallam consultant classifies čičayík^wtən as a human being, but a different breed that could not intermarry with the Indians. If a person really needed help, čičayík^wtən would come. They would never harm anyone, only help as a friend would help (Klallam Interviews 1990-1992).

SPIRITUAL BELIEFS

When Klallam people are ready to seek a spirit sometimes they go into the mountains to the high lakes and into caves. Ed Sampson, a Klallam elder, stated that those who are not prepared shouldn't go into caves because "that thing, Sínəłqi,¹⁷ shoots that power into you and you die" (Klallam Interviews 1990-1992). When the Klallam people are seeking a spirit they go into dangerous places. One man got a boulder and jumped into a deep hole in Lake Crescent and sank down to the bottom. When people seek the spirit they bathe everyday and go without eating. Some look for a spirit for weeks or months, and some never acquire a spirit during this process. When they succeed, some become great fisherman, others great hunters. After they receive a spirit, food will come to them, rather than their going out looking for it (Klallam Interviews 1990-1991). Ed Sampson related the following account of a man who received a spirit:

One Elwha man was a weakling. None of the younger people would play with him, so he went to look for a spirit. He went all over looking for a spirit. Up the canal and over to Hoko. All over the mountains and he didn't get anything. Up by the Little River, he was following the creek and pretty soon he heard something splashing ahead of him. He searched, sneaking over to look down at the creek. He was getting closer to the splashing and he finally could see that person bathing, with a great big limb which he was using for his brush, scraping his body [This is called q'^wax^wəqs, meaning scrubbing yourself].

The Indian watched it for a while, wondering...that person was just as white as a sheet, but his body was like a human being. He was just white. He looked down the edge of the creek there and saw something, clothing or fur. He

¹⁷Which means cave spirit in Klallam.

looked at it and he looked at the person and then he saw that the person wasn't a human being. So he sneaked a little bit farther until he got above that pile of fur. That person was busy bathing and didn't notice this Indian up above there. That Indian jumped down and landed on that pile. That was that thing's clothes. It was a hide and when that Indian landed on that, the one that was bathing, he was shying away. He made signs with his fingers. He signed that he would give that Indian whatever he wanted.

Then he took and bent one little finger and then he went to the second one and finally the Indian said OK. That person that was bathing took something, must have been soap or something. He took it and threw it. So he got off that thing's clothes and walked back away. Then that thing started coming towards his clothes. When that person got to the pile, in the twinkling of an eye, he just kind of shook himself and he turned into a bear. It was a bear bathing in there, not a human being. That was the spirit he got. He got to be the strongest man on the whole peninsula (Klallam Interviews 1990-1992).

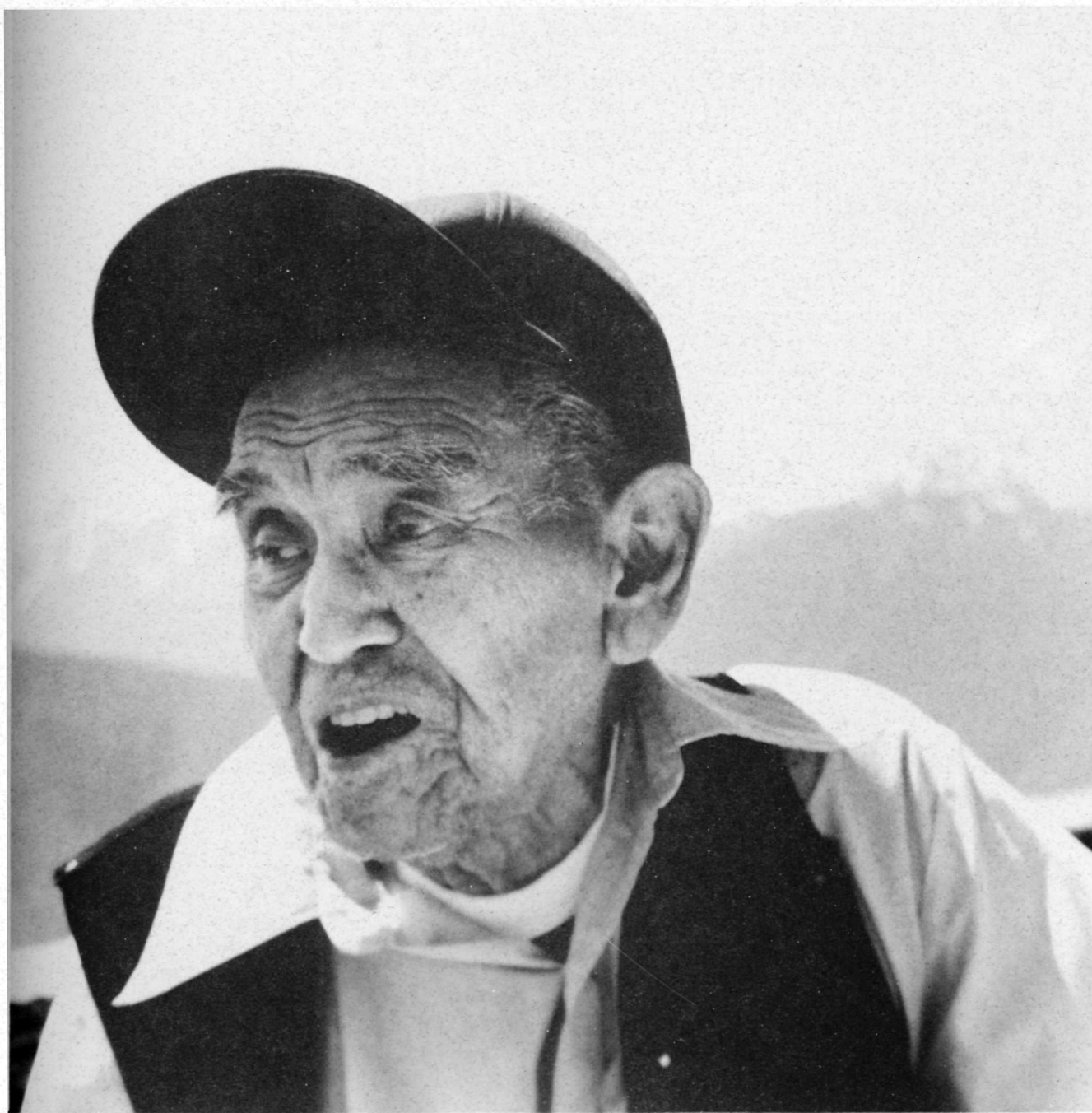


Figure 21
I Sampson at Hurricane Ridge 1993
Photo by Jacilee Wray

SKOKOMISH

RESERVATION COMMUNITY

The Skokomish Reservation was created as a result of the 1855, Treaty of Point No Point, ratified by Congress on March 25, 1859, and enlarged to its present 5,213 acres by Executive Order on February 25, 1874. Indian ownership, as trust land, incorporates 2874 acres, and 173 acres are tribal land for a school and cemeteries (BIA 1993). The reservation is located at the head of Hood Canal, with its southern boundary along the Skokomish River and extending north to the community of Potlatch. Olympic National Park's Hood Canal district is within the ancestral area of the Skokomish.

The Skokomish are a federally recognized tribal government, organized pursuant to section 16 of the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) of June 18, 1934 (Skokomish n.d.). Today there are 682 Skokomish tribal members; 532 who reside on the Skokomish Reservation (Skokomish n.d.). The Skokomish became a self-governance tribe in 1995.

There are few economic opportunities on the reservation. In 1991 unemployment was 43% for the Skokomish. Tribal enterprises include a trade center on Highway 101 that comprises a convenience store, service station, and fish market. There are over 100 tribal fishers who fish commercially on Hood Canal and in the Skokomish River (Skokomish n.d.). The reservation contains about 700 acres of land suitable for grazing and some of the river bottom land is suitable for cultivation, although prone to flooding. Hay is the principle crop used for their dairy farms, which provide another source of income (BIA 1993). The tribal center houses a health facility and Head Start program. The tribe also has a fishery department and a hatchery on Enetai Creek. In 1997, 3,500,000 chum salmon were released, along with a small number of chinook (Skokomish Tribe: Personal Communication 1997).

Cultural preservation is a priority for the tribe. They have a formal cultural committee, composed of elders, spiritual leaders and other tribal members, who advise the tribal council on cultural issues. Many tribal members carry on traditional activities, such as ceremonial practices and traditional food and medicine gathering. A number of these activities are practiced in the park. The Staircase area of Olympic National Park was important for spirit acquisition and for resource gathering in the past, and continues to be today.

TRIBAL HISTORY

The difference between the two terms, Twana and Skokomish can sometimes be confusing. The following paragraph may clarify this difference.

The Twana, *tu waduxq*, speaking people lived along the Hood Canal and its drainages (Suttles 1990:501). Nine different communities along the Hood Canal, including the Skokomish, spoke the Twana language (Elmendorf [1960]1992:1). Twana is in the Central Salish branch of the Salishan language family. The closest related language is Lushootseed, or Puget Salish, which is the language of the Squaxin, Nisqually, and other Puget Sound groups; however, Twana and Lushootseed are as different as Italian and French (Thompson and Kincade 1990:33-39).

The Twana were signatories to the Treaty of Point No Point, along with the Chemakum and Klallam. Prior to signing the 1855 treaty, Twana speakers lived at many distinct villages from Dabop Bay and Quilcene to the head of Hood Canal, and further southwest to Vance Creek. These communities were uprooted and removed to the Skokomish Reservation in 1859. This is also the time period when the Skokomish abandoned their upriver village sites and moved near the mouth of the Skokomish River (Elmendorf [1960]1992:273,316). When these communities were placed on reservation lands, they soon lost their distinctive identities and were all regarded as Skokomish.

The allotment system of 1877 divided and allotted reservation land to individual families. Land that was not allotted to tribal members was sold to the federal government as surplus, and opened to homesteading. As a result, 40% of Skokomish Reservation land is owned by non-Indians today (Skokomish n.d.).

In 1953 the Skokomish Tribe requested that the state have full jurisdiction on their reservation under Public Law 83-280. This law extended state jurisdiction over all Skokomish Indians on lands within the reservation, limited to the following matters: mandatory school attendance, public assistance, domestic relations, mental illness, juvenile delinquency, adoptions, dependent children, and operation of motor vehicles on public roads. Once the tribe enacted this jurisdiction, its members found it difficult to retrocede from the program. In 1993 the tribe began a process for retrocession, which includes the establishment of a tribal public safety office (Skokomish n.d.; Pevar 1992).

The Indian Claims Commission (ICC) found that the Twana had ceded a specific tract of land to the United States when the Treaty of Point No Point was ratified in 1859. The Skokomish

received some compensation for lands based on exclusive use and occupancy. The ICC found that the Twana held Indian title to 355,800 acres of territory, as follows:

Commencing at Hood Head, near the mouth of Hood Canal, thence due west to the northeast corner of Lord Lake; thence due south on the eastern side of the Quilcene range to Walker Pass; thence south-southwest to East Rock; thence directly south-southwest across lake Cushman reservoir to Lake Haven, thence directly south-southeast to Lake Nahwatzel; thence generally east-northeastward along the center of the heights of land between the southern arm of Hood Canal and the southwestern inlets of Puget Sound, in such a way to include Lake Mason in Skokomish territory, to a point half way between the head of Hood Canal and the head of Case Inlet; then continuing northeasterly to the summit of the Black Hills, west of Bremerton, to include the entire drainage of the Union River in Skokomish lands; thence in a general north-northeasterly direction through the interior of the Kitsap peninsula, to define the watershed of those streams flowing southward or westward into Hood Canal, to a point on the eastern shore of Hood Canal near its mouth approximately half way between the entrance to Port Gamble and Foulweather Bluff, and directly east across the mouth of Hood Canal from Hood Head; thence west across the mouth of Hood Canal to Hood Head (ICC 1974d:372).

USUAL AND ACCUSTOMED FISHING PLACES

In signing the Treaty of Point No Point (January 26, 1855), the Twana expressly protected their right to continue resource gathering activities. Article 4 of the Treaty of Point No Point states that:

[t]he right of taking fish at usual and accustomed grounds and stations is further secured to said Indians, in common with all the citizens of the United States; and of erecting temporary houses for the purpose of curing; together with the privilege of hunting and gathering roots and berries on open and unclaimed lands. Provided, however, that they shall not take shell-fish from any beds staked or cultivated by citizens.

In *U.S. v. Washington*, "usual and accustomed" was defined as

[e]very fishing location where members of an Indian tribe customarily fished from time to time at and before treaty times, however distant from the then usual habitat of the tribe, and whether or not other tribes then also fished in the same waters, was a "usual and accustomed" ground or station at which the treaty tribe reserved, and its

members presently have, the right to take fish [*United States v. State of Washington*, 384 F. Supp. 312 (1974):313].

The adjudicated usual and accustomed (U&A) fishing places of the Skokomish Tribe include "all the waterways draining into Hood Canal and the Canal itself" [*United States v. State of Washington*, 384 F. Supp. 312 (1974):377]. The Skokomish Indian Tribe

possesses the right to preclude or otherwise regulate Indian treaty fishing by members of tribes other than the Skokomish Tribe within the area described [below] [*United States v. State of Washington*, 626 F.Supp. 1405 (1985):1491].

The Twana Indians encompassed all of the waters of Hood Canal, the rivers and streams draining into it, and the Hood Canal drainage basin south of a line extending from Termination Point on the west shore of Hood Canal directly to the east shore [*United States v. State of Washington*, 626 F. Supp. 1405 (1985):1489-1490].

RESOURCE USE TODAY

The interior reaches of the Skokomish River and the Olympic Mountains are a part of the ancestral landscape of Skokomish culture. The cultural importance of national park lands is evidenced by the word for the Olympic Mountains (*subá dit*). A literal translation of the word, given by a Skokomish consultant, is drift/trail (*suwá*), father (*bad*), beyond yesterday (*yádit*) or "path of fathers before" (Skokomish Cultural Committee 1991).

The Skokomish visit and utilize the waters and natural resources of the park area at the head of Lake Cushman, known as Staircase, as part of a ceremonial complex. Staircase is important for ritual practices for several reasons. First, this area was used traditionally by the Skokomish as a hunting and gathering location. It was also a traditional camping site, and a stopover for travel into the Olympics. Spirit questing expeditions formerly took place in the mountains above Staircase. The location is accessible by automobile, therefore the elder society members can access the area (Skokomish Cultural Committee 1991).

Cedar tree scars at Staircase, along Lincoln Creek, suggest that this area has been used for cedar bark gathering. Members of the tribe's cultural committee mentioned that this was the area where cedar bark was gathered in the 1950s (Skokomish Cultural Committee 1991).

The Staircase area has religious significance for the Skokomish Tribe, and tribal members appreciate the park's efforts to accommodate their activities here (Skokomish Cultural Committee 1991).

Ethnographic Literature

The first ethnographic descriptions of the Twana were recorded by Reverend Myron Eells, a Congregational missionary who resided and ministered at Skokomish from 1874 to 1907. Eells' interpretation of certain spiritual aspects of Twana culture are based on his personal religious beliefs; however, his writings and drawings have preserved extensive descriptions of the early material aspect of Twana lifeways.

William W. Elmendorf's research, conducted between the 1930s and 1950s, has been published in the form of an extensive ethnography, *The Structure of Twana Culture*, various articles on social structure and spiritual beliefs, and a 1993 publication, entitled *Twana Narratives*. Elmendorf's work is one of the finest ethnographic studies of the region. His two main consultants' knowledge represents a data base dating to the 1850s. Elmendorf's Twana ethnography is very complete, except for the sparsity of information on use of the mountainous regions now within the park. Ronald Olson, in his 1930 work with the Quinault, discusses extensive travel across the Olympics, and interaction with the Skokomish at Lake Quinault and in the mountains, so it is surprising that Elmendorf does not delve more into this aspect of Twana life.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The Skokomish ranged throughout the peninsula and beyond where they interacted with other tribes. The Skokomish traveled over the Satsop Trail to Grays Harbor where they traded with the Lower Chehalis, and to the mouth of the Columbia River to trade at Fort Vancouver (Elmendorf [1960]1992:288). Trade items included mountain goat wool and Indian hemp, which the Skokomish received from the Satsop, Nisqually, Skykomish, and Puyallup; in exchange the Skokomish traded dried clams, among other items (Elmendorf [1960]1992:289).

The most intimate relations were those maintained through marriage alliances. The Twana most frequently intermarried with the Satsop, Squaxin, Puyallup, Nisqually, Upper and Lower Chehalis, Suquamish and Klallam tribes. According to Elmendorf, the Twana considered Klallam marriage partners as a form of prestige, as they respected Klallam wealth and talents. It was from the Klallam that the Skokomish obtained their secret society ritual (Elmendorf [1960]1992:303-305).

The Twana traveled into the mountains for spiritual purposes and to hunt (Elmendorf [1960]1992; Olson [1925-1926]; 1936). There are accounts of Indians from Skokomish traveling to Lake Quinault to fight or retaliate against the Quinault, until one day when a Skokomish married a Quinault, and the two tribes became friends (Willoughby 1886:282; Olson [1925-1926]).

The Chemakum¹⁸, who lived near Port Townsend, were apparently very hostile, and it wasn't until the 1850s, after the Chemakum population had been decimated by warring Suquamish, that the Twana had marriage alliances with this group. Soon after the establishment of the Skokomish Reservation, the Chemakum were absorbed into the Skokomish and Klallam communities (Elmendorf 1990:439).

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

Twana social structure centered around the village, which consisted of one or more large plank houses, partitioned between several families. Many of these villages might be linked through marriage (Suttles and Lane 1990:493). The relocation of villages onto the reservation in 1859 and the subsequent allotment system of 1877 eroded the structure of these joint family households.

The following list, provided by Suttles and Lane (1990:487-488) includes some of the larger, well-documented Twana villages, compiled from early official reports and from the names that appeared on the treaty:

Dabop	<i>čttáʔbux^w</i>
Quilcene	<i>sq^wəlsɪdbəš</i>
Dosewallips	<i>čtduswáylupš</i>
Duckabush	<i>čtdux^wyabús</i>
Hoodsport	<i>čtslalaɬlaɬtəbex^w</i>
Skokomish	<i>sq^wuq^wóʔbəš</i>
Vance Creek	<i>čtq^wəlq^wéli</i>
Tahuya	<i>čtta·xúya</i>
Duhlelap	<i>čx^wlɪlap</i>

Twana society was class oriented, divided into upper and lower classes and slaves. Class membership was inherited and extended to kin groups, but it was the individual who maintained that status for the group (Elmendorf [1960]1992:321). Maintenance of inherited status involved possession of wealth items or surplus commodities, attainment of great spirit power, and a reputation for ambition, good behavior, and generosity. Those who possessed guardian spirits that provided power to obtain wealth affirmed their status by

¹⁸The Chemakum are addressed with the Quileute and Hoh Tribes.

distributing gifts at a community give-away feast. The lower class usually lacked inherited status, wealth items, great spirit power, and social standing. Slaves were a form of property that was acquired through trade or received as a gift, as the Twana did not conduct war expeditions. Most slaves lived at the village of their owners; however, the Hoodspout village maintained a separate slave village just south of their own village (Elmendorf [1960]1992:317-347).

Twana settlements consisted of permanent winter village communities and seasonal use areas. The winter community was politically independent and consisted of two to four plank houses with several smaller structures. All these communities were located at the mouths of rivers except the inland Vance Creek and Skokomish River villages (Elmendorf [1960]1992:258). It is interesting to note that Elmendorf found the Hamma Hamma and Lilliwaup Rivers did not have winter settlements located at their mouths. There may have been interior villages among the other Twana village groups that were no longer used by the time of European-American settlement in 1845 (Elmendorf [1960]1992:259).

The Skokomish (*sq^wuq^wóʔbəš*), "people of the river," lived in six extended communities or house groups along the Skokomish River (Elmendorf [1960]1992:259). These house groups, excluding the Vance Creek people, were considered to be a single community with one headman who was the leader (Elmendorf [1960]1992:316). Four of these house groups were on the north fork and the largest community was located just below the north and south forks of the river (Elmendorf [1960]1992:256,315).

Elmendorf notes that the various Skokomish River house groups moved to a single winter village site on the canal, prior to the final concentration of the Twana onto the Skokomish Reservation (Elmendorf [1960]1992:316). Elmendorf terms the Skokomish settlement pattern as a "Skokomish extended-village community" and the others as "Twana speech community" (Elmendorf [1960]1992:317).

The earliest recorded European contact with the Southern Coast Salish occurred in 1792 by Captain George Vancouver. Vancouver noted that the populations had probably been reduced by smallpox, as he observed smallpox scars and remains of numerous recent burials (Vancouver 1798:257). The population of the Twana prior to 1800 was estimated by Elmendorf to be 2600 and was reduced to 201 by 1885 (Elmendorf 1993; Eells 1878:272; Suttles 1990:499).

The Twana village groups were integrated into a reservation system that broke down their distinctiveness. This assimilation was furthered by the establishment of a reservation grammar school, trade school, and congregational mission in the 1870s (Elmendorf 1970; [1960]1992:274).



Figure 22
Mat Covered Lodge
Courtesy North Olympic Library, Port Angeles

RESOURCE USE

Beginning in the spring, small groups of Twana left their villages to fish, hunt and gather. During these seasonal rounds they lived in transportable mat covered structures.

The most important food resource to the Twana was fish. From September through December, Twana men fished in the rivers for king (chinook), sockeye (red), coho (silver), pink (humpback), and chum (dog) salmon, using dip nets, harpoons, and weirs. Steelhead were taken in January (Elmendorf [1960]1992:59-62). According to Elmendorf, the salmon were treated with respect and honored as distinct tribes of salmon people that had a chief or father of the tribe. Both the men and their wives followed ritual practices to assure that the salmon people would return. Such practices included the prohibition of women from river fishing (Elmendorf [1960]1992:63). Salt water netting and trolling was done in the canal in order to catch salmon, skate, sole, flounder, rock cod, lingcod, and halibut. Herring were caught using a tidal impoundment trap or herring rake. They also fished for sturgeon, smelt, sculpins, rainbow trout, mountain whitefish, and dolly varden (Elmendorf [1960]1992:121-122). From May through August, the Twana gathered mollusks in Hood Canal. Many species, including littleneck, butter clams, cockles, horse clams, oysters, mussels, and go ducks were eaten. They also harvested crabs, sea urchins and octopi (Elmendorf [1960]1992:123-124).

Although the Twana depended on salmon, shellfish and other seafood, they hunted water fowl, sea mammals and land mammals as well. The male occupation of hunting was highly esteemed and necessitated acquisition of powers from the appropriate guardian spirits (Elmendorf [1960]1992:86).

In the fall, groups of men would go to the Olympic mountains to participate in communal elk drives. The first elk of the season was accorded with a ritual feast. The elk was placed in a pit and cooked in its own hide. Everyone in the village ate part of the elk, and all edible portions were consumed. Elmendorf states that the purpose of the ceremony was "placation by ritual treatment of the 'father of the elk'" (Elmendorf [1960]1992:117). In order to ensure abundant elk the following season, the elk had to be treated appropriately.

Deer, bear, marmot, beaver, muskrat, raccoon, otter, and hare were among the land mammals hunted by Twana men. Marmot and mountain beaver pelts were fashioned into robes and traded to the Lower Chehalis. Water fowl such as geese, brants, and ducks were hunted on salt water at night utilizing a light and shadow technique. This method of hunting blinded and frightened the birds into the shadow area where they were

speared or netted. Harbor seal and porpoise were harpooned from canoes. Hunters were specialists with specific guardian spirit powers (Elmendorf [1960]1992:86-108).

Women did most, if not all of the gathering. Beginning in the spring, roots were taken from ferns, cattail, camas, tiger lily, butter cup, wild carrot, horsetail, silverweed, and arrowhead (Elmendorf [1960]1992:16). The roots of the silverweed plant were reported to squirm when they were dug up as this plant contains a spirit which gave certain women power to locate abundant roots (Elmendorf [1960]1992:127). Elmendorf diminishes the importance of this by stating that the gathering techniques of women were hardly comparable to the elaborate devices of the hunter and fisherman, and any able bodied woman could be a gatherer. Women also collected a variety of berries, nuts, and mushrooms (Elmendorf [1960]1992:128-131).

BELIEF SYSTEMS

Spring through fall was a time for intensive food gathering activities, while winter provided time for spirit questing and ritual observances. During the winter months the Twana initiated a select group into a secret society called *sxä'dəb* ("growling of an animal"), similar to the Klallam secret society *xanxa'niti*. During this initiation, the lead initiator confers a spirit into the initiates. This spirit would help in the attainment of other spirits during the spirit quest process (Elmendorf 1948).

To the Twana, success or failure in life's pursuits was caused by forces that were not observable. The world was a place controlled by spirit beings. According to Elmendorf, "Human beings unaided by spirit power were poor, weak, miserably ineffective, their efforts in any direction foredoomed to failure" (Elmendorf [1960]1992:481). In other words, to attain skill, success, and prestige, a person had to have a personal relationship with a guardian spirit. Elmendorf defines power as a "means for affecting and controlling the environment in ways not attainable or immediately practicable through technology" (Elmendorf 1970:152).

Most guardian spirits were associated with a specific power; however, there were some spirits who gave different powers to different people. There are two guardian spirit complexes: the shaman spirit power, which is highly specialized, and the lay spirit power. The majority of lay spirits were embodied in animals, but there were also wealth and war powers bestowed by mythical beings; and plants gave special powers, such as the silverweed already mentioned and the cedar tree. The cedar tree provides a special guardian spirit power for canoe making, named *yəy'ha'dad*. To obtain that spirit, the cedar tree must

talk to an individual in a vision and give that person the power to become a canoe maker (Elmendorf [1960]1992:190).

The acquisition process for spirit power began when a person reached five or six years of age, and this process continued into adolescence, usually under the direction of an older relative. Training requirements included mental concentration and ritual purification. Purification involved cold water bathing and scrubbing, removal of body hair, fasting, sweat bathing, and avoidance of sexual contact and menstrual blood. Once the apprentice reached adolescence, that person began his/her search for a guardian spirit (Elmendorf [1960]1992:492-493). The older relative directed the youth to remote locations at night where he or she had to remain alone, naked, and silent. These quests continued until the spirit appeared to the youth in a vision encounter (Elmendorf [1960]1992:494).

Initially the apprentice might hear or see a manifestation of the spirit or the spirit itself. The youth would then reach out to touch the spirit and go into a trance. While in this trance, the spirit presented itself in a human form and transported the youth to its home, where the spirit displayed the powers it could grant. The spirit sang a song that the seeker would use later to call upon the spirit (Elmendorf [1960]1992:494).

After the initial encounter, the apprentice was instructed to repress the memory until the spirit returned to repossess the person in a few years¹⁹. This repossession was associated with an illness that occurred in early winter. When a shaman diagnoses the illness as that of a spirit that wants to exhibit itself, the individual knows he/she must sponsor a spirit dance. At the dance, the shaman summons the guardian spirit to come out. The spirit song is sung by the spirit through the individual, along with dancing and other ritual acts. This ceremony ensures rapport and control of the spirit power from then on. Every year the spirit might come out in similar exhibition and "tell about its power" in this way (Elmendorf [1960]1992:497).

The Skokomish believed that the world was full of beings besides those sought for spiritual power. These included the sun and earth deities, the chief of the various animal tribes, earth dwarfs, mountain giants, underwater people, and Thunderbirds. Elmendorf believes that these beings were a mythologic or cosmographic form of "oral literature," and were not reflected in act or ritual (Elmendorf [1960]1992:530).

The significance of spirit power continues to exist within the world view of the Skokomish. Although the influx of

¹⁹Elmendorf says it can be up to 20 years after the acquisition.

Christianity in the 1870s, and the subsequent Shaker religion of the 1880s may have brought an end to the shaman in Skokomish culture, spiritual power is believed to still exist. Today Shaker members enact ceremonials for healing and members of the secret society known as the *Syáwən*, or Smokehouse religion, continue spirit seeking rituals. Some of these rituals are carried out within Olympic National Park.



Figure 23
Woman with Baskets
Courtesy Washington State Historical Society

QUINAULT INDIAN NATION

RESERVATION COMMUNITY

The Quinault Indian Reservation consists of 212,000 acres, beginning south of Kalaloch and following the coastline 26 miles south to Moclips, then extending northeast to Lake Quinault's northeastern point. The reservation boundary proceeds northwest along the north shore of Lake Quinault, borders the southwest boundary of the park's Queets corridor, and continues northwest.

The reservation has three communities: Queets, located on Highway 101 and the Queets River; Taholah, located at the mouth of the Quinault River; and Amanda Park, at the southern end of Lake Quinault. In 1980 there were 780 tribal members living at Taholah, 138 at Queets, and 25 at Amanda Park (mostly a non-Indian community of 183). In 1992 there were 2,385 enrolled Quinault tribal members (BIA 1993).

When the Treaty of Olympia was negotiated in 1855, Governor Stevens' intention was to concentrate all of the "fish-eating Indians" along the coast onto one reservation and give each person or family an allotment for farming. These farmlands were intended to allow the Indians to be self-sufficient.

Today an individual who can verify that he/she is at least one quarter Quinault, Queets, Quileute, Hoh, Chehalis, Cowlitz, or Chinook can become a tribal member if he/she is not a member of another tribe (Capoeman 1990:15-16; Ullman, Lane, and Smith 1977:67).

TRIBAL HISTORY

The Quinault language is within a branch of the Salishan language family, termed Tsamosan. Tsamosan is divided into two subgroups: Quinault and Lower Chehalis on the Pacific Coast, and Upper Chehalis and Cowlitz in the inland river valleys (Thompson and Kincade 1990:38). Quinault was spoken by the Queets, the Quinault and the Copalis.

In 1855 Governor Isaac Stevens called together the Chinook, Lower Chehalis, Quinault, Queets, Satsop, Upper Chehalis, and Cowlitz to establish a treaty and set aside one reservation for all parties. The groups were to cede all territory as follows:

Commencing on the pacific coast, at the divide of the Quaitso and Hooch Rivers, thence east between the same,

along the line of the Quillahyute tribe, to the summit of the coast range; thence south, along the line of the Chemakum and Skokomish tribes, to the forks of the Satsop River; thence southeasterly, along the lands ceded by the Nisqually Indians, to the summit of the Black hills, and across the same to the banks of Skookumchuck Creek; thence up said creek to the summit of the Cascade range; south, along the range, to the divide between the waters of the Cowlitz and Cathlapoodl Rivers; thence southwestwardly to the land of the Upper Chenooks, to the Columbia River, and down that river to the sea (Swan [1857]1989:343-44).

The plan was to place the Indians on a reservation between Cape Flattery and Grays Harbor; however, the Lower Chehalis and inland groups objected to moving away from their homeland and Stevens broke off negotiations.

The following year, Stevens approached the Quinault, Queets, Hoh, and Quileute with a new treaty. The "Treaty with the Quinaielt," otherwise known as the Treaty of Olympia, was signed by members of the Quinault, Hoh, Queets and Quileute in 1855. Stevens was not present to sign the treaty, but signed it later, on January 25, 1856, in Olympia; that is why it is referred to as the Treaty of Olympia.

In signing the Treaty of Olympia in 1855, the Quinault, Queets, Quileute, and Hoh ceded the following territory:

Commencing at a point on the Pacific coast, which is the southwest corner of the lands lately ceded by the Makah tribe of Indians to the United States, and running easterly with and along the southern boundary of the said Makah Tribe to the middle of the coast range of mountains; thence southerly with said range of mountains to their intersection with the dividing ridge between the Chehalis and Quinaiatl Rivers; thence westerly with said ridge to the Pacific coast; thence northerly along said coast to the place of beginning [Treaty of Olympia 1855-1856].

The remaining groups from the initial treaty negotiation never signed a treaty: the Chinook, Cowlitz, Lower Chehalis, Satsop, and Upper Chehalis. Congress ceased treaty making in 1871, and declared that Indian tribes were no longer considered sovereign nations with whom the federal government could make treaties [Title 25, U.S.C., Sect. 71].

After the Quinault Reservation was established in 1861, the Quileute, Hoh, and Queets refused to move onto it. R.H. Milroy, Superintendent of Indian Affairs in 1872, recommended enlarging the reservation to incorporate the Queets village (a distinct group from the Quinault) and Lake Quinault. The reservation described in an Executive Order dated November 4,

1873 is accepted as the current reservation boundary, with the addition of the northern boundary (Ullman, Lane, and Smith 1977).

The Indian Claims Commission found that the Quinault and Queets exclusively used and occupied the following land area:

Commencing at the mouth of the Queets River thence northeastward along a straight line to the present townsite of Elk Park on said river; thence southwesterly to the headwaters of the Raft River; thence easterly to the most northeasterly point on Quinaielt Lake; thence south to the crest of the ridge line, between the Quinaielt River and west fork of the Humptulips River; thence southwesterly along the crest of said ridge extended, passing north of the headwaters of the Copalis River, to the headwaters of Joe Creek; thence southwesterly along the course of Joe Creek to its mouth; thence northward along the Pacific Coastline to the place of beginning (ICC 1974c:248).

The General Allotment Act, also known as the Dawes Act of 1887 [24 Stat. L., 388] provided for the allotment of lands in severalty to Indians on the various reservations. The Quinault Reservation began allotments to Quinault Tribal members in 1907.

The other signatory tribes preferred to stay in their homelands and within a few years the Quileute, Hoh, Lower Chehalis and Shoalwater Bay Reservations were established. Allotments on these smaller reservations were not possible because of the limited landbase, so in 1911 Congress authorized allotments on the Quinault Reservation to "all members of the Hoh, Quileute, Ozette, or other tribes and Indians in Washington who [were] affiliated with the Quinault and Quileute tribes in the treaty" [Sect. 5269, March 4, 1911] (Ullman, Lane and Smith 1977:67).

By 1912, 700 allotments were taken out on approximately 55,000 acres of Quinault Reservation land. This was all of the land that was suitable for farming, and the allotment process was stopped (Ullman, Lane and Smith 1977:62). The remaining timber land was to stay in trust status for the Quinault Tribe as a whole. The case was appealed and the Supreme Court found that the claims of the pending applicants must be recognized and over 1500 new allotments were issued on the Quinault Reservation (Ullman, Lane and Smith 1977:64).

Another question was whether Indians who did not live on a reservation were entitled to allotments on the Quinault Reservation. The government argued that only those who live on a reservation qualify under the 1911 act. The act was intended to provide allotments on the Quinault Reservation to those tribal members who could not obtain allotments on their own

smaller reservations, such as the Quileute and Hoh. The case went to the Supreme Court and the 1931 ruling allowed for allotments on the Quinault Reservation by other "fish-eating tribes," specifically the Chehalis, Chinook and Cowlitz (Ullman, Lane, and Smith 1977:68).

In 1917, war efforts induced the BIA to begin logging on the Quinault Reservation, and the timber interests of the allottees were sold. The timber sales provided an income for the impoverished, and it was thought by the Forest Director, J.P. Kinney, that selling the timber would ensure that the fee patents to the land would not be sold. This was not the case, and timber companies purchased approximately one third of the reservation lands (Capoeman 1990:182).

In a 1933 U.S. Forest Service report, entitled "The Indian Forests," the Quinault Reservation was presented as an example of the failure of the allotment system. That same year, allotments were ended on the Quinault Reservation, but according to the tribe, the damage had already been done (Capoeman 1990:178).

The BIA did not practice sustained yield on allotted trust lands; thus, the accumulation of slash and the BIA's prohibition of prescribed burning, led to a lack of rejuvenation, and the informal designation of the reservation as one "big stump farm" (Capoeman 1990:206). A 1938 study showed that of those lands logged between 1920 and 1938, 43% had not restocked, 30% had restocked poorly, and only 27% satisfactorily (Capoeman 1990:184).

After World War II, the BIA combined all allotments on the north side of the Quinault River for one enormous timber sale. Today, slash averages 200 tons per acre there and has caused major regeneration problems. Not only is there no bare soil for seedlings to take hold, but cedar contains the organic compound tropolone, and when this leaches into streams, it can be harmful to fish (Capoeman 1990:203).

In 1978 the Quinault Tribe sued the BIA for mismanagement of their timber resources and now has an agreement with the BIA to rehabilitate the Taholah unit. Between 1974 and 1979 the tribe salvaged 26,000 cords of red cedar from the Taholah unit for shakes and shingles and began a prescribed burn program (Capoeman 1990:228-229). The last timber contract on the Quinault Reservation expired in 1987, but the long-term effects have yet to be fully realized (Capoeman 1990:196).

NORTHERN BOUNDARY

When the reservation boundaries were established, the intention was that the reservation would extend to the most northerly

corner of Lake Quinault, which was to the northwest, not the northeast. The legal description was given with the assumption that the lake ran north/south, rather than northeast/southwest. When the boundary of the reservation was surveyed in 1891, the surveyors noted the inaccuracy. Homestead claims had already been filed along the north shore of the lake, so the northeast point of the lake was substituted, excluding 16,000 acres of reservation land (Capoeman 1990:179; Ullman, Lane, and Smith 1977).

In 1988 a bill was passed that restored 12,000 acres of forest service land to the tribe's northern boundary. All NPS, state and private land was excluded from this judgement. In compensation, the tribe receives 45% of the timber income from a 5,400 acre Special Management Area on forest service land located adjacent to the eastern boundary of the reservation (Capoeman 1990:180).

USUAL AND ACCUSTOMED FISHING PLACES

In signing the treaty, the signatories explicitly reserved certain rights. Article 3 of the Treaty of Olympia describes them as follows:

The right of taking fish at all usual and accustomed grounds and stations is secured to said Indians in common with all citizens of the Territory, and of erecting temporary houses for the purpose of curing the same; together with the privilege of hunting, gathering roots and berries, and pasturing their horses on all open and unclaimed lands. Provided, however, that they shall not take shell-fish from any beds staked or cultivated by citizens; and provided, also, that they shall alter all stallions not intended for breeding, and keep up and confine the stallions themselves [Treaty of Olympia 1855-1856].

The tribe's usual and accustomed fishing places were adjudicated in *U.S. v. Washington* and include

the following rivers and streams: Clearwater, Queets, Salmon, Quinault (including Lake Quinault and the Upper Quinault tributaries), Raft, Moclips, Copalis, and Joe Creek. Ocean fisheries were utilized in the waters adjacent to their territory. The Quinalts also have important fisheries which were shared with other tribes to the south and east of the boundaries of the case area, especially Gray's Harbor [*United States v. State of Washington*, 384 F. Supp. 312 (1974):374].

QUINULT GOVERNMENT

The Quinault government constitution of 1975 is organized and operated independent of the Indian Reorganization Act (Ullman, Lane, and Smith 1977). In 1990 the Quinault Nation was one of seven tribes to negotiate a tribal compact in the first tier of the Self-Governance Demonstration Project [P.L. 100-472; Sept. 15, 1988]. Self-governance allows the tribe to set its own budgets, run its own programs, and negotiate directly with the federal government for services that the tribe selects, rather than negotiating through the BIA. At the end of 1996, the experiment was to be evaluated by Congress and the Department of Interior and considered for policy enactment. This occurred in 1994 in the Indian Self-Determination Act Amendments [Title IV: Public Law 103-413, H.R. 4842; October 25, 1994], which ceased participation in the demonstration project and enacted self-governance. Nothing in this act diminishes the trust responsibility of the federal government. Self-governance allows the tribe to make decisions as a sovereign nation, returning decision-making authority and management responsibilities to the tribe (QIN 1992).

The Quinault Indian Nation operates many resource management programs, including a Division of Environmental Protection, which reviews forest practices and recommends mitigation in order to protect fish and wildlife, as well as cultural resources. The Division of Environmental Protection is involved with the state on the Timber, Fish and Wildlife Agreement which assists with the management of forest practices within the Quinault's usual and accustomed fishing areas and the Quinault Watershed Analysis (QIN 1991).

The Quinault Indian Nation is co-manager of their fishery resources. This allows the tribe's fishery policy to be the responsibility of the Quinault Business Committee and Fish and Wildlife Commission. The tribe has a fishery staff which provides scientific data in order to make management decisions that ensure self-regulation status as recognized under *U.S. v. Washington*. The Quinault have three enhancement facilities, including their largest hatchery at Lake Quinault, which provides stock for the Quinault and Salmon Rivers, and other coastal streams (QIN 1991).

The tribe's forestry program is responsible for the protection and development of timber sales on the 48,000 acre landbase owned by the tribe. The BIA continues to manage timber sales on trust lands; however, the tribe coordinates regeneration efforts with the BIA (QIN 1991).

RESOURCE USE TODAY

In 1991, the Minerals Management Service prepared a detailed document on tribal groups which might be affected by oil and gas exploration along the coast. This document included harvest figures of ocean resources which had been researched by Quinault tribal members. The Quinault's subsistence harvest of fish by tribal members per year is 178,000 pounds. They also harvest 168,000 pounds of shellfish, 60,000 pounds of plants, and 4,500 waterfowl per year (MMS 1991:109).

There are 235 river fishers and 57 ocean fishers on the reservation, although the two may overlap. The tribe has its own seafood processing plant, Quinault Tribal Enterprise, which employs about 100 tribal members.

Other economic opportunities on the reservation include logging, sawmills, tribal business operations, the Quinault school district, and a health clinic. The income derived from timber revenue is utilized for purchasing land within the reservation. In 1987 the tribe owned only 8,000 acres of reservation land. By 1991 the tribe was able to purchase 47,000 acres from timber companies (QIN 1991; Capoeman 1990:178).

The following table is compiled from data published in the Minerals Management Service's 1991 Pacific Outer Continental Shelf Study on potential effects of oil and gas exploration. The table reflects seasonality of resources utilized by the Quinault.

SUMMER	FALL	WINTER	SPRING
Steelhead		Steelhead	Steelhead
Chinook	Chinook	Chinook	Chinook
	Coho/Chum	Coho	
Blueback		Blueback	Blueback
Halibut	Halibut	Halibut	Halibut
Black bass			
Ling cod			
Rockfish and bottomfish			
Flatfish	Flatfish	Flatfish	Flatfish
Smelt			
Perch			Perch
	Sturgeon	Sturgeon	
Clams	Clams	Clams	Clams
		Razor clams	Razor clams
Oysters	Oysters	Oysters	Oysters
Mussels and barnacles	Mussels and barnacles	Mussels and barnacles	Mussels and barnacles
Kelp and seaweed	Kelp and seaweed	Kelp and seaweed	Kelp and seaweed
Crabs	Crabs	Crabs	Crabs
	Eels		
Sea anenome	Sea anenome	Sea anenome	Sea anenome
Sea cucumber	Sea cucumber	Sea cucumber	Sea cucumber
Whelk	Whelk	Whelk	Whelk
Seagull eggs			Seagull eggs
Skate			
	Octopus		
Grasses			Grasses
Ducks	Ducks and geese	Ducks	Ducks
Shrimp			
Sea urchins			
Limpets			

Table 2. Seasonal Resources of the Quinault

ETHNOGRAPHIC LITERATURE

The first ethnographic accounts of the Quinault were recorded by explorers and traders of the 18th century.

George Gibbs described the people of the coastal area in his 1855 and 1877 publications, produced during treaty negotiations.

C. Willoughby, the Indian Agent for the Quinault Agency in 1886, published a report, which included some excellent sketches of Quinault clothing, fishing techniques, and an example of a Quinault burial.

Livingston Farrand recorded Quinault stories while working for the Jesup North Pacific Expedition in 1898.

Anthropologist, Ronald Olson conducted fieldwork among the Quinault from 1925 to 1927. His ethnography, *The Quinault Indians*, is one of the finest among those written about peninsula tribes. The strength of Olson's work lies in his use of direct quotations from tribal consultants. He also includes details about places of importance, such as village sites and sources of spirit power. However, these sites were not field checked, nor were they described with much detail of the local geography.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

Queets River village locations are identified in a 1942 report on usual and accustomed fishing places. One of the settlements identified along the upper Queets River included in this document is *Nook-stay-slin*, meaning plenty of salmon, which was located 1/2 mile above the Salmon River. This was a permanent village prior to white settlement in the area ([Swindell] 1942).

A village on the north side of the Queets River at Matheny Creek is known as *Poat-tso-itse*, meaning "right across from mouth of the creek" or "middle of channel" ([Swindell] 1942). There were three other villages above *Poat-tso-itse* listed in this report. Opposite Sam's Creek is the place known as "sneeze" *Pee-tse*; across from Tshletshy Creek was the place known as *Tsh-lait-shah*, which means "elk cooking rock"; and on the north bank of the river below Harlow Creek was *Tsh-stoe*, meaning "half way between two big mountains" ([Swindell] 1942).

Olson notes village sites above Lake Quinault, such as *pina'alaɬ* ("upper lake"), where the river enters the lake; and a village above Finley Creek called *po'iks* ("crooked nose"),

"where people camped during the salmon run" (Olson 1936:19). Olson also documented two villages near the north fork. About a mile below where the north fork meets the Quinault was the village of *ma'atnił* ("sharp point place"), also called *tcitama'atnił* ("to grind something place"). Just down river from *ma'atnił* was a "favorite place for drying fish and meat, called *pino'otcan tci'ta*, meaning *pino'otcan's* village (Olson 1936:19).

Every village, except *kwi'naił*, was centered around a salmon weir location (Olson 1936:26). Some of the larger villages had three or more weirs. The average village site consisted of four houses, but ranged from one to ten, with two to four families living in the same house. The houses, made of posts and beams, had cedar wall planks and gable-roofs covered with cedar planks. These houses were 30 to 60 feet long and 20 to 40 feet wide (Olson 1936:61).

The majority of Quinault villages were located between the lake and the river mouth. Olson believes that there were 30 or more villages in this stretch of river. By 1890 all the Quinault had moved to the mouth of the river at Taholah (*kwi'naił*) (Olson 1936:13). This move may have occurred after epidemics ravaged the area during 1852-53. The population of the Queets and Quinault in 1780 was 1500 and was reduced to 225 by 1870 (ICC 1974c).

The following account by Bob Pope, a Quinault shaman, expresses the demographic changes that were occurring during his youth, around 1850:

The place where I first came to myself was at the village of *nokedja'kt*. There were three houses there at that time. In one lived the village chief *sa'utonus*; the second was owned by *tci'tamin*; and in the third lived my father. These men were heads of their houses, but there were several families in each....From that village the people of all three houses moved downriver to *t'o'nans*. Soon afterward there came an epidemic (smallpox?) and most of the people of the village died, and only a few of their descendants are alive today....In those days the old people of my village were able to get a young man a wife when he was about fifteen. They bought me a wife and soon I moved downriver to *no'skalan*. There I lived for a long time, hunting and fishing for a living (Olson 1936:182).

RESOURCE USE

Cedar planks were taken from large, straight trees, with few knots or limbs. They were first tested for soundness by chiseling a hole. If the tree was sound, a platform was built several feet above its base in order to cut above the taper

roots. The tree was cut around its diameter with a chisel, maul and wedge. Two cuts were made in this way, about a foot apart and about an inch deep. The wood was split out of this section, and the process was repeated. The lower cut was horizontal and the upper slanted downward (Capoeman 1990:148).

Once the tree was felled, planks were produced by making a cut three inches deep and wedges were then driven in. Cedar splitting was a skilled occupation, and certain people were hired to perform it (Olson 1936:66).

According to Olson, cedar bark was gathered between April and September, when the sap is running. Trees up to 18 inches in diameter were sought for their bark. A bark-peeler is used to break the bark loose at the base and then to peel it upward. Cedar bark was utilized for towels, diapers, bedding, clothing, and baskets (Olson 1936:83).

Olson recorded that the salmon came in the spring and ran until July, then there was a lull until August or September. During the lull, the villagers might travel to the coast to dig razor clams or to the mountains to hunt. Salmon, however, was the staple. In 1915 the Quinault harvested 355,007 sockeye. The main method of procurement was the weir, but salmon were also caught with drift nets, dip nets, harpoons and gaffs (Olson 1936:26).

The Quinault caught trout with wooden traps in small streams; captured smelt and candlefish with a dip net; caught halibut, rock cod, sea bass, and sole with a hook and line; and caught herring with a rake. Razor clams were taken south of Point Grenville and at Copalis Beach, where some families moved every summer. The Quinault also harvested mud clams, rock oysters, mussels, and sea anemones (Olson 1936:38-39).

At the end of the summer, several families from a village moved into the mountains, following well-established trails that led to favorite locations for hunting, collecting berries, grasses, and bark. Olson documented that while in the mountains the Quinault set up semi-permanent structures made of bark over a conical framework of poles, or mat-covered lodges. They hunted marmot, beaver, land otters, raccoons, wildcats, rabbits, mink, and wolves.

All but the mink and wolves were eaten. Land hunting was a prestigious occupation. There were also some skilled Quinault whale hunters, but only two who Olson was able to identify by name (Olson 1936:44).



Figure 24
Cedar Plank Removed From Tree
Courtesy Quinault Indian Nation and Jim Jackson

The village of *kwi'naił* was a focal point of trade from the north and south. The Quinault traded blueback salmon and sea otter skins to the Makah for whale oil and dentalium shells. The Quinault traded canoes, shell money and sea otter skins to the Copalis and Chinook for clams, lacamass (camas) and wapato (Olson 1936:11).

According to Olson, traditional Quinault territory extended from the mouth of the Raft River to the headwaters of the Olympics and down to the mouth of Joe Creek. The Quinault people who lived on the Queets occupied the entire Queets watershed (Olson 1936:13).

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Olson defined the Quinault tribe's social structure in 1927 as "merely a loose aggregation of villages, without formal organization or any form of centralized authority, with nothing beyond territorial, cultural, and linguistic unity to bind its members together" (Olson 1936:93). Each village had its own "rich man" who was held as one who could provide leadership at the village level (Olson 1936:95).

Quinault society was class-oriented, but Olson did not see sharp distinctions between nobles, commoners, and slaves. One could always raise one's status through wealth, although slave blood held a lasting stigma (Olson 1936:89).

Olson states that for the Quinault there was no real warfare, nor raids to acquire slaves. However, they did retaliate to avenge wrongs, and he notes at least two warring expeditions against the Queets and Ozette. Raids from elsewhere must have increased by 1800 when the Quinault fortified several of their villages; the village of *kwi'naił* was fortified with 13 foot high split cedar. Their attire for war included armor of elk skin, or rod and slat of baleen, and they fought with bow and arrows, clubs, spears, and knives (Olson 1936:117).

Slaves were a form of wealth that the Quinault acquired through purchase. Olson was told of slaves who had come from Nootka, Tulalip, Oyhut, Humptulips, Lower Chehalis, Willapa, Chinook, Lummi, Hoh, and Klallam tribes (Olson 1936:97).

Olson believes that the first Quinault potlatch was held around 1800, and gathered momentum with the increase of European goods (Olson 1936:124). The potlatch created social strata, as only the prestigious had the right and obligation to honor themselves and their families. The largest potlatches were held to commemorate a name giving. When a family leader decided to give a potlatch, he would send a messenger to invite the guests. The messenger's canoe waited off-shore while the

speaker went ashore and invited the highest ranking people in order of their status. The remainder of the village was then invited collectively. After the canoe landed, the messengers were summoned into the chief's house. The chief accepted the invitation by presenting a gift to take back to the potlatch host (Olson 1936:125).

The potlatch lasted several days; on the last day the gifts were given to individuals in order of importance. At the end of the give-away, a blanket on which the presents rested was offered. The person who received the blanket was to give a potlatch the following year (Olson 1936:128).

Olson responded to a hypothesis some scholars have postulated that the Kwakiutl potlatch is a typical potlatch ceremony and all others are a diffusion of it. Olson believes that the Kwakiutl potlatch is actually an extreme type and the Quinault potlatch is more likely the prototype (Olson 1936:129). Olson is probably correct that the potlatch did not originate with the Kwakiutl, as it was not extensively practiced there until after Fort Rupert was established at the north end of Vancouver Island in 1849. By this time the potlatch had already fallen out of use in western Washington. In Volume 7 of the Handbook of North American Indians on the Northwest Coast, Cole and Darling wrote that the introduction of trade items and the prohibition of warfare led to an increase in potlatching. They also believe that the potlatch probably originated with the Tlingit (Cole and Darling 1990:132-133).

BELIEF SYSTEMS

Olson provided details about the array of burial methods used among the Quinault. Slaves were not buried in the cemetery, but were placed in the hollow of a tree root. The most common method of burial for the rest of the community was burial in a cemetery; the cemetery was often located across the river from the village. The methods of burial include a canoe on a raised platform, sometimes containing a box for the body, and a second canoe inverted over the box. In other instances the canoe was cut in half, placing one half over the other. Holes were cut in the canoe either to prevent water from collecting in the bottom or to thwart reuse of the canoe. Dr. Jay Powell, linguist for the Quileute Tribe, states that the reason the canoes were destroyed is because everything is opposite in the underworld, and a damaged canoe, therefore, is a good canoe (Powell: Personal Communication 1997).

There were some instances where the deceased was placed in a box on four posts, or in a small gabled grave-house; and other examples where the canoe or grave box was placed in a tree, or a person was buried in a shallow grave (Olson 1936:111). People were buried above ground so that they could return from

the land of the dead. One to two years after the person died, there was a reburial ceremonial potlatch. The bones were collected and wrapped in new robes or blankets, placed in a new box and buried. At this point the person was no longer able to come back to this world (Olson 1936:113).

When someone died, the body was taken out of the house, either through the roof or a hole in the wall. At the time of Olson's work, the body was removed through the window. If the body was be carried out the door, other members of the household would die, too, if they came through the same doorway. The ghost of the person remained in the house waiting to seize a relative's soul, which was susceptible at the time of sorrow. After a death, a shaman is called in to drive out the ghost. At the time of Olson's visit, the Shakers had taken over the roll of removing ghosts, using bells, song, and dance (Olson 1936:112).

When Olson conducted his fieldwork, he noted that there was no one living who had been a member of a secret society, but one consultant had seen performances. The Quinault had two secret societies: the *tša'djak* and the *ʔok^wa'·li*, both societies were apparently acquired through intermarriage with the Quileute and Makah. The secret society performances were held at a potlatch after the winter solstice (Olson 1936:120-121).

The *ʔok^wa'·li* is described in the Quileute chapter. The *Tša'djak* society was a curing society, whose members were mostly women. The spirit for this power lives in drift-logs on the beach and provides societal members with the power to sing over the sick (Olson 1936:122-123).

There was nothing more important to the Quinault than the relationship between a person and spiritual helpers. Without a guardian spirit even a prestigious person could lose status. The basis for the spirit quest revolved around the belief that there is another realm to this world, and the objective was to retain rapport with the beings there (Olson 1936:141).

Training for this spirit power began at the age of seven or eight and continued throughout a person's life. Although there were Quinault women with powerful spirits, Olson stated that not many girls acquired power. Numerous spirits could be attained by one individual; in fact, Olson's consultant, Bob Pope, had at least 25 spirits (Olson 1936:148-150).

When the individuals were preparing to seek spirit power, they might travel to the mountains. There they would bathe and pray until they fell asleep. Then the vision would come to them, sometimes preceded by torrential winds, hurling objects, and shaking ground. The spirit carried the person to its home where the novice was taught a spirit song and dance, and instructed on how to make a figurine that represented the spirit received. Bob Pope had many carved figures. Each was

one-to-three feet tall, and represented Pope's spirit powers. Sometime after the spirit experience the person would become ill, then the village members would be called to hear the person sing their spirit songs and then the person got well (Olson 1936:145).

Olson provided a list of spirits in his book, *The Quinault Indians*, including descriptions of where they dwelt, and what power they rendered. Olson described a curing spirit that lives in the air in the west; a snake curing power found at the head of creeks; spirits from the land of the dead that help find lost souls; and Thunderbird, which provides hunting power. Rocks, forked trees, and places where lightning strikes were also considered to be power sources (Olson 1936:145).

Other than the spirit power beings, there were also beings that lived in the forest. These mountain beings are discussed in Chapter 6. A passage from Olson's research provides information on a personage of peculiar interest:

Another skukum²⁰ spirit called tsa'alo was formerly a man but turned into a monster. His great toes had nails five feet long, which looked like icicles and stuck up like spikes when he was lying down. A favorite trick of his was to sneak up behind a hunter and kick him in the rear with one of his spiked toenails. He also carried a spear and sometimes killed humans with it. But finally humans succeeded in killing all such monsters. Their ghosts, however, are still seen in the form of fog rising from the waters of creeks (Olson 1936:147).

The shaman was no different than any other spirit possessor, except that his or her guardian spirit was "exceptionally potent" (Olson 1936:142). The shamans had the ability to travel to the land of the dead and retrieve souls; they also had the power to cause illness, by throwing or shooting power, and the ability to cure pain by retrieving power objects from a person's body in one of two ways (1) The shaman sucked the object out with a tube or directly with the mouth (2) With hand manipulations, the object was moved to an accessible area, pulled out and then exhibited (Olson 1936:159).

The Shaker religion was brought to Quinault between 1885 and 1890. In many ways it took the place of the spirit quest and the shaman. The Shakers had their own healing ceremonies and the shamans who did not believe in them were not allowed to attend. When a person died, the Shakers danced around the family to prevent their own deaths. Most of the Shaker activity and initiation of new members occurred around Christmas, during the time when the older secret societies were

²⁰Skookum, chinook jargon for "strong."

held (Olson 1936:171). After the potlatch was suppressed by missionaries and Indian agents, it was supplanted by the accepted ritual of Christmas gift giving.

Those who were initiated as Shakers had to have the evil removed from them. This was done by passing lighted candles around their bodies and pulling out the evil with the hands or by making facial motions of sucking. When the power came to the initiate, their hands trembled, there was a rush of hot air, and they saw visions and received songs (Olson 1936:172).

One of Olson's consultants said that even after he became a Shaker, he continued to encounter the same spirit power that he saw during a spirit quest: "Sometimes when I prayed I would see a little man come down and go into me. He was an angel. Perhaps the old guardian spirits were angels too" (Olson 1936:156).

According to a Quinault consultant, the Shaker religion was given to the people because the shamans had begun to use their power to hurt each other. After the death of Bob Pope, one of the last shamans, his son tore the smokehouse down and said there would be no more practice of shamanism. The same consultant's grandmother told him it was a sacrifice for Indian people to have such things. It was a burden to the people and he should never mention it because, according to her, it still exists (Quinault Interview 1992).

The Shaker religion provided a mechanism by which change from outside influences could be endured, as it provided an avenue to express aspects of both the traditional religious practices and the newly imposed Christian practices. The Shaker religion persists today, and provides an avenue for healing and displaying power.

COPALIS

The Copalis Indians occupied the Copalis drainage, from its headwaters to the Pacific Coast. Edward Curtis reported their population to be 200 in 1806 (Ruby and Brown 1986). In 1886 their main village had a population of 36 (ICC 1960:448). This principal village was called *no'shał*, later termed *Oyhut*, a Chinook jargon word (Olson 1936:16).

The razor clams of Copalis Beach attracted neighboring tribes and the Copalis were hospitable. Olson stated that the Copalis "never let their fires die out, for they were always expecting visitors" (Olson 1936:115).

There had been testimony at the Indian Claims Commission for the Quinault that the Copalis were part of the Quinault Tribe; however, the commission excluded the Copalis River watershed from the aboriginal territory of the Quinault. In the claim for the Chehalis, the Copalis watershed was also excluded, and the Copalis Indians were determined to be a separate tribal entity by the Indian Claims Commission (ICC 1960:470; ICC 1974c:262). The ICC stated that

[u]ndoubtedly, there was great similarity both in culture and language of the Copalis and the Chehalis and many other fish-eating Salishan speaking tribes and bands of Indians west of the Cascades, such as the Humptulips, Satsops, and those of the Wynooche and Hoquim Rivers, yet such evidence does not establish sufficient ties of blood, subsistence, and social unity to identify all of these as one tribe of Quinault Indians (ICC 1960:470).

There is no federally recognized tribal group referred to as Copalis today; however, descendants of the Copalis are members of the Quinault Indian Nation.

CHEHALIS

Aboriginally, the Chehalis had no collective name. The word Chehalis comes from the name for Hanson Point, *tsheles*, on the south side of Grays Harbor. The largest social and economic unit among the groups we call tribes today, was the village. There were five principal villages along the Lower Chehalis River, and at least 15 around the bay. For purposes of land claim settlement, the Indian Claims Commission determined that the Lower Chehalis and the Upper Chehalis were two identifiable Indian groups or tribes (ICC 1960:461).

According to the Indian Claims Commission, the Satsop, Wynoochee, Wiskah, Hoquiam, Humptulip, and the Lower Chehalis proper are regarded as Lower Chehalis. The Lower Chehalis depended largely on the resources of the sea (Curtis 1913:9).

The Upper Chehalis occupied the territory above the Satsop River to the present town of Chehalis (Curtis 1913:6). There is little ethnographic data concerning the various Upper Chehalis villages, except that the Upper Chehalis were becoming amalgamated with the Cowlitz by 1853 (Curtis 1913:6). The Upper Chehalis were dependent on hunting, gathering and river resources (ICC 1960:472).

In 1855 the population of the Upper Chehalis was 216, and the Lower Chehalis was 217. Both groups probably numbered around 1,500 to 2,000 prior to the "great smallpox epidemics around

1810 and the so-called intermittent fever epidemics of 1829 and 1830" (ICC 1960:457). By 1904 there were only 147 Chehalis, and 21 Humptulips (ICC 1960:450).

The Chehalis were not signatories to any treaty. They were part of the first failed treaty proceedings with the Quinault, but the Chehalis refused to sign because they did not want to leave their homeland.

In 1858 the Indian Agent for Washington Territory recommended that a reservation be set aside for the Chehalis because their lands were being taken without their consent and without extinguishing aboriginal title. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs recommended to the Secretary of Interior that the Chehalis Reservation be created, and on July 8, 1864, 4,224 acres were set aside by Executive Order at the confluence of the Black and Chehalis Rivers. The reservation was intended for members of the "Chehalis, Chinook, Shoal Water Bay, Clatsop, Humptulops, Cakoklan, and Cowlitz tribes" (ICC 1960:446). The Cowlitz, Chinook, Shoalwater Bay, Humptulips, and most of the Lower Chehalis refused to recognize this reservation as their home (ICC 1960:447; Ruby and Brown 1986:41).

In 1886 the Chehalis Reservation reverted to the public domain and the land was opened for homestead entry. All of the land, except for 471 acres that was withheld for school purposes, was homesteaded by 36 Indian families (ICC 1960:449). Today, of the initial 4,224 acres, 2,484 is now alienated land. The remaining land is owned by tribal members and held in trust or restricted status (Confederated Tribes of the Chehalis Reservation 1989).

The Confederated Tribes of the Chehalis Reservation are a federally recognized tribe. They rejected the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA), but they are a self-governing, independent political unit within the United States, with a constitution and bi-laws adopted July 15, 1939 and certified on April 16, 1973. In 1989 there were approximately 485 enrolled members (Confederated Tribes of the Chehalis Reservation 1989).

Some Lower Chehalis have allotted on the Quinault Reservation and are members of the Quinault Allottees Association, along with others of Chinook, Satsop, Humptulip, and Hoquiam descent (Ruby and Brown 1986:177).

In 1960 the Indian Claims Commission found that the Lower and Upper Chehalis had aboriginal title to the following described areas.

The Lower Chehalis held title to those lands

commencing at a point on the shore of North Bay of Gray's Harbor directly south of Saddle Hill; thence in a generally northeasterly direction along the divide separating the watersheds of the Humptulips and Copalis Rivers to a point directly west of the town of Humptulips; thence in a direct line southeasterly from the town of Humptulips to the southern extremity of Simpson Lake (in Sec. 17 of Township 19 North, Range 5 West); thence in a direct line southwesterly to the town of Brooklyn, Washington, thence in a direct westerly line to the Pacific coast just west of Graylands, Washington; thence in a northerly direction along the coastline and then following the shoreline of Gray's Harbor to the place of beginning (ICC 1960:461).

The Upper Chehalis held title to lands

commencing at the northeastern corner of the eastern boundary of the Lower Chehalis Tribe's lands at the southern extremity of Simpson Lake (in Sec. 17 of Township 19 North, Range 5 West); thence in a direct line southeasterly to the town of McCleary, Washington; thence in a direct line to Capital Peak; thence in a direct line in a direct line to the town of Boudaux, Washington; thence in a direct southeasterly direction to the town of Tono, Washington; thence in a direct line to the town of Mendota, Washington; thence in a direct line to the city of Chehalis; thence in a northwesterly direction to the town of Brooklyn, Washington; thence northeasterly along place of beginning at Simpson Lake (ICC 1960:462).

SHOALWATER BAY

The people from north of Willapa Harbor or Shoalwater Bay are often included in the designation of Lower Chehalis. According to Curtis, although they spoke the same dialect as the Lower Chehalis, they were a distinct group. In their own language they are called *Cht'a'tsmihlch*, "People of the Enclosed Bay" (Curtis 1913:6).

On September, 22, 1866, the 335 acre Shoalwater Bay Reserve was established by Executive Order on the northwest side of Shoalwater Bay at Tokeland. The one mile square reservation is composed of people of Lower Chehalis and Chinook ancestry. The Shoalwater Bay Tribe is a federally recognized tribe. They rejected the IRA but adopted a constitution and became formally organized in 1977. In 1989 they had an enrollment of 140 members (MMS 1991:126).

The people of Shoalwater Bay depend largely on the resources of the bay for their sustenance, as they have over the past centuries. However this resource acquisition has been affected by the fact that the Shoalwater Bay Tribe, like the Chehalis, are not recognized as a treaty tribe, and their fishing rights are restricted to their reservation. This dependence on ocean resources within a small bay where many contaminants are concentrated may be a threat to their health.

The Shoalwater Bay Tribe and the Confederated Tribes of the Chehalis Indian Reservation are co-plaintiffs against the State of Washington in litigation to establish their rights to fish and gather off the reservation. The Shoalwater Bay Tribe and the Confederated Tribes of the Chehalis assert that they are the only federally recognized tribes in western Washington that have not yet established in court that they have off-reservation fishing rights (MMS 1991:128).

CHEMAKUM, HOH and QUILEUTE

The Hoh and Quileute speak the same traditional language and are presented together in this section. The language the Chemakum spoke is in the same family as that of the Quileute and Hoh, and therefore will be included in this section as well. The Chemakum no longer exist as an Indian tribe because their members were depleted in wars and the remaining Chemakum intermarried into the Klallam, Skokomish and other tribes.

RESERVATION COMMUNITIES

QUILEUTE RESERVATION

The Quileute Reservation, established by Executive Order in 1889, is located at the mouth of the Quileute River and encompasses 814 acres (BIA 1993). The townsite of LaPush is the reservation community. Quileute tribal membership is 723; of these, 450 tribal members live on the reservation (MMS 1991:65).

The Quileute Tribe has several enterprises, including a marina and resort. The main economy of the Quileute Tribe is fishing. There are ten ocean troll fishing vessels owned by tribal members, in addition to river fishing boats. The Quileute Seafood Company processes and markets salmon, halibut, lingcod, red snapper, rock cod, bass, and crab (MMS 1991:68).

The tribe is a co-manager of the Quillayute River fishery with the State of Washington. The river is managed for hatchery summer coho, natural fall chinook, natural summer chinook, hatchery spring chinook, and natural steelhead (MMS 1991:68).

HOH RESERVATION

The Hoh Reservation was established by Executive Order in 1893 and comprises 443 acres. Hoh Tribal membership is 120, and 94 of these people live on the reservation (MMS 1991:84).

The only substantive economic activity on the Hoh Reservation is fishing. The tribe operates a hatchery at Chalaat Creek and conducts habitat protection activities throughout the Hoh River watershed. Given the tribe's limited landbase and economic opportunities, subsistence fishing and gathering remain the most important components of their lifeways (MMS 1991:85).

Both the Hoh and Quileute tribal governments are organized pursuant to Section 16 of the Indian Reorganization Act which provided "Indians the right to form business and other organizations; to establish a credit system for Indians; [and] to grant certain rights of home rule to Indians" (Berkhofer 1978:184-85). This was an opportunity to receive recognition by the federal government as organized governments, and exercise tribal sovereign power (Philp 1986:83-84).

TRIBAL HISTORY

The Quileute (*kʷəʔli:yot'*) language is of the Chimakuan linguistic family. Today, the remaining Chimakuan speakers are members of the Quileute and Hoh Tribes. The population of the Chemakum Tribe was decimated around 1850 after a raid by a Puget Sound tribe. By 1855, when the Treaty of Point No Point was negotiated, George Gibbs, Secretary of the Treaty Commission, recorded 90 surviving Chemakum (Eells 1889; Elmendorf 1990:439). Although the Chemakum continued to live in the area, the federal government ceased to identify them as a distinct tribal group soon after 1855. The Chemakum were eventually absorbed into the Klallam and Skokomish Tribes (Elmendorf 1990:439).

Quileute tradition recounts that at one time the Quileute-Chemakum had control of most of the peninsula. The Cape Flattery area was likely controlled by Chimakuan speakers before the arrival of the Makah and the Klallam from Vancouver Island (Elmendorf 1990:440; Powell and Jensen 1976:39). If this theory is true, the entire northern Olympic Peninsula would have been populated by Chimakuan speakers.

Powell believes that the Hoh River people, *čalá·t'*, originally spoke Quinault, as the Quinault language is called *čalá·l*. This is supported by a 1916 historical account related by Arthur Howeattle, a Quileute man, who stated that the Hohs were originally of the Quinault Tribe (ICC 1974b:212). Edward Curtis wrote in his series on the North American Indian, that an aged Quileute told him the people of *Chalá'k* spoke the Quinault language until several generations ago, when they started speaking Quileute exclusively (Curtis 1913:176).

On July 1, 1855, the last of the western Washington treaties, the "Treaty with the Quinaielt" was negotiated by Colonel Simmons for Governor Isaac Stevens, with the Quileute, Hoh, Queets and Quinault Indians at the mouth of the Quinault River. The treaty was later signed by Stevens in Olympia, on January 25, 1856²¹. The treaty ceded Quileute and Hoh territory, extending to the peaks of the Olympics, as far north as the northern reaches of Lake Ozette and south to Destruction Island. This territory comprised 710,400 acres of land (ICC 1974e:399).

The treaty was ratified in 1859. The intention of the Treaty of Olympia was to move the Quileute and Hoh to the Quinault Reservation, which was established in 1861 by the treaty. In 1873 the Quinault Reservation was enlarged to 224,000 acres to accommodate the Indians south of the Makah Reservation and north of the Columbia River. The expanded reservation would provide two more rivers and many streams around Lake Quinault as fishing locations (ICC 1974e:365). The Quileute and Hoh did not want to leave their homeland to live on the Quinault Reservation. The Indian Agent felt that there was no need to pursue it, as the tribe was self-sufficient and there was no pressure from non-Indian settlers at that time (Pettitt 1950:33).

Homesteaders began settling Quileute territory in the late 1870s and tensions began to mount over land. In 1884 a settler by the name of Dan Pullen tried to move the Quileute from their village so he could claim the land (Pettitt 1950:26-27; ICC 1974e). This encroachment into the Quileute village area led the Indian Agent stationed at Neah Bay to pursue the establishment of a Quileute reserve. The agent recommended a reservation that would allow the Quileutes to fish in the river, provide enough land for agriculture, and a share of the beach access for sealing canoes; leaving "a reasonable share of the beach for whites, who could come and go without crossing the reservation" (Quileute Tribal Council 1980:11).

Subsequently, a 595 acre reservation was set aside by Executive Order on February 19, 1889. Pullen's claim was contested by

²¹This treaty is also known as the Treaty of Olympia for this reason.

the Indian Agent in charge, based on the fact that the Quileute already occupied LaPush. During the fall of 1889, Pullen burned 26 Quileute homes, while most of the community was away hop picking near Puyallup, in order to destroy evidence of the existence of the Quileute village (Pettitt 1950:27; Lennon 1944). The Indian Agent at Neah Bay pursued the cancellation of the Pullen claim and on March 10, 1893, the General Land Office canceled the claim, based on fraud (Quileute Tribal Council 1980:18).

The Hoh Indians requested a reservation on each side of the Hoh River in 1893. The Indian agent from Neah Bay visited the village and found that there were twelve houses on the south side of the river. The agent recommended a reservation on the south side only, so it would not affect the white settlers upriver (ICC 1974e). This action excluded one of their burial grounds from the reserve. On September 11, 1893, a 443 acre reservation was set aside by Executive Order on the south side of the Hoh River.

The treaty provided for individual allotments on the Quinault Reservation. By the time allotting began, the General Allotment Act of 1887 had also been enacted. The General Allotment Act, or Dawes Act, provided 160 acres of land for agriculture or grazing purposes to Indian families. The allotted land was to be held in trust for the allottee for 25 years, at which time a fee patent was issued. Once the allottees received fee patents, they became citizens of the United States [924 Stat. L. 388] (Quileute Tribal Council 1980:20).

In 1906 a determination was made by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs that the Quileute would not be allowed allotments on the Quinault Reservation as they already had a reservation set aside for them. A survey was then made to see if it was feasible to allot the Quileute and Hoh Reservations. The result was that allotment was not possible on these small reservations because there was not enough land for agricultural or grazing purposes. It was determined that a townsite at LaPush was to be surveyed in order to give tribal members trust patents on town lots (Pettitt 1950:57).

In 1911 Congress directed the Secretary of Interior to make allotments on the Quinault Reservation to those Indians associated with the Treaty of Olympia who did not already have allotments (ICC 1974e:378). This allotment period was discontinued in 1913 when all agricultural land had been allotted. The remaining timber land was to remain in trust status for the Quinault Tribe as a whole. The local Indian agent pursued the remaining claims of 165 tribal members and in 1928 those who did not already have allotments were allotted 80 acre parcels on the Quinault Reservation (Pettitt 1950:58).



Figure 25
Hop Pickers Near Mount Si, Darius Kinsey Photo
Courtesy North Olympic Library, Port Angeles



Figure 26
Hoh River Village
Courtesy North Olympic Library, Port Angeles

Before the turn of the century, some Quileute and Hoh Indians acquired land under the Indian Homestead Act of 1884. Although these were intended to be trust patents, many of the claims had no restrictions on alienation and within the first year these lands were sold to the Continental Timber Company; others were held in trust until the 1940s when they were acquired as public lands (Quileute Tribal Council 1980:21).

In 1929 a circuit court ruling [*Taylor v. United States*] found that the State of Washington had exclusive jurisdiction to the bed of the Quillayute River and tide lands adjacent to the Quileute Reservation. In 1945, the U.S. District Court ruled in another case [*United States v. Moore*] that the state did not have jurisdiction of the river, based on the fact that the reservation was established before Washington became a state. Therefore, the Quillayute River to the high water mark on the north bank, and the tide lands adjacent to the reservation, were all within the external boundaries of the Quileute Reservation [62 F. Supp. 660] (Quileute Tribal Council 1980:29).

Congress created the Indian Claims Commission (ICC) in 1946 to consider and settle claims made by Indian tribes before that date. The Quileute and Hoh filed a claim for compensation of their appropriated lands and the case was decided in 1958. Although the territory ceded by the Quileute and Hoh was extensive and included the lands from Cape Alava on the North to the peaks of the Olympic Mountains on the east, the ICC findings were based on the criteria that "exclusive use and occupancy is the standard required to establish Indian title to an area of land" (ICC 1974b:231) and at treaty time the Quileute and Hoh shared the Ozette area and the mountains with other tribes.

The ICC found that the Quileute and Hoh held Indian title to the following area of land, based on exclusive use and occupancy:

Commencing at a point on the Pacific coast immediately west of the ridge line, which ridge is nearest the mouth of and immediately north of the Quillayute River, thence northeastward along said ridge line to a point west of the mouth of Larger Creek on the Dickey River; thence east across Franklin and Coleman Creeks to the ridge line on the north side of the Soleduck River and following said ridge line northeastward to the peak of Gunderson Hill; thence to the confluence of Maxfield Creek and Shuwah Creek; thence southward along the base of the Calalwah Ridge to a point on the Calawah River opposite the mouth of Elk Creek; thence generally southward along Elk Creek to the southeast corner of Forks Prairie on said creek-line; thence following upstream along the course of said river to a point opposite the mouth of Dowans Creek;

thence southward up Dowans Creek to its headwaters at the point of Huling Brothers Shingle Mill; thence southeastward to the nearest point in the reverse bend on the north bank of the Hoh River; thence across the Hoh River southwestward to the mouth of Steamboat Creek on the Pacific Coast; thence north westward along the shoreline of the Pacific coast and including James Island, to the place of beginning (ICC 1974b:218).

In 1976, 220 acres of park land that had been taken into the boundaries of Olympic National Park in error were administratively returned to the Quileute Tribe. These lands were homesteaded prior to the establishment of the reservation, but were not patented until the late 1880s and early 1890s. Although the parcels were within the external boundaries of the Quileute Reservation, they were purchased for a proposed coastal highway pursuant to the Industrial Recovery Act of 1933 and included within the boundaries of Olympic National Park in 1953 (Quileute Tribal Council 1980).

There are two issues concerning reservation boundaries that are unresolved: the issue of the northern boundary of the reservation relative to the fluctuation of the Quillayute River, and the ownership of the area known as Thunderfield. Olympic National Park and the Quileute Tribe have worked out a management agreement, together with draft legislation, that would change the boundary related to these parcels. Finalization of this boundary change requires congressional action which has yet to occur.

USUAL AND ACCUSTOMED FISHING PLACES

The Quileute's use of the river fishery was affected in the early 1900s after a settler by the name of Samuel G. Morse established a cannery at the mouth of the Dickey River. For a few years the Quileute were able to earn a living by selling fish to the cannery. However, around 1912 the state closed most Washington rivers to commercial fishing and Morse began to hire non-native ocean trollers; he also staked off portions of the river for his exclusive use. At the same time the state began to require fishing licenses. The Quileute and members of other tribes were not recognized as U.S. citizens at that time and therefore were not permitted to have a state fishing license (Pettitt 1950:28). Quileute fishers were arrested and their gear was confiscated if they fished without a license or in areas allocated for non-Indians. In a 1945 case decision, *U.S. v. Moore*, the court barred state enforcement on waters and tidelands within the external boundaries of the reservation, but it did not protect Indian fishing rights outside the reservation [*United States v. Moore*, 62 F. Supp. 660 (1945), Aff'd 157 F. 2D 760 (9th Cir. 1946)].



Figure 27
Charles Howeattle Fixing Net
Photo by Ruth Kirk

In 1967, Washington State began a stringent enforcement program to prevent Indians from fishing with nets on state controlled waters, as a result of a State Supreme Court ruling involving the Puyallup²², Nisqually²³, and Muckleshoot²⁴ Indians in 1967 (NPS 1967). It was the outcome of this ruling that led to the case known as *U.S. v. Washington* or the Boldt decision and a resolution of the treaty fishing rights issue.

The Boldt decision was of paramount importance to Indian people and is discussed in detail in Chapter 3. Two important results of the case are that tribal members are guaranteed half of the fish harvest and the decision tribes' "usual and accustomed fishing grounds and stations" were adjudicated.

The Quileute and Hoh usual and accustomed fishing grounds and stations include all waters of the Hoh, Quileute, Bogachiel, Soleduck, Clearwater, Calawah, Dickey, Queets, and Quinault Rivers and the Pacific Coast north and south of the Quileute [*United States v. State of Washington*, 384 F. Supp. 312 (1974):359].

RESOURCE USE TODAY

In 1990 the Northwest Indian Fisheries Commission (NWIFC) documented the principal ocean resources harvested by the Quileute and Hoh Tribes for the Minerals Management Service (MMS). The proceeding summary table is based on statistics provided by NWIFC, and published in the Outer Continental Shelf Study by MMS (1991:67-69,87-90).

²²Dept. of Game v. Puyallup Tribe, 70 Wn.2d 245 (1967).

²³Pierce County No. 158824. On appeal entitled Dept. of Game v. Nugent Kautz, 70 Wn.2d 275, 422 P.2d 771 (1967).

²⁴State v. Moses, 70 Wash. 2d 282 (1967).

SUMMER	FALL	WINTER	SPRING
		Steelhead	Steelhead
Chinook	Chinook	Chinook	Chinook
Coho	Coho	Coho	
Sockeye			Sockeye
Halibut	Halibut	Halibut	Halibut
Black cod	Black cod	Black cod	Black cod
Ling cod			
Bottomfish			
Rockfish			
Sablefish	Sablefish	Sablefish	Sablefish
Smelt	Smelt		Smelt
Ocean perch			
Sturgeon	Sturgeon	Sturgeon	Sturgeon
Softshell clams	Softshell clams	Softshell clams	Softshell clams
Hardshell clams	Hardshell clams	Hardshell clams	Hardshell clams
Razor clams	Razor clams	Razor clams	Razor clams
Goose neck barnacles	Goose neck barnacles	Goose neck barnacles	Goose neck barnacles
Mussels	Mussels	Mussels	Mussels
Sea Urchins	Sea Urchins	Sea Urchins	Sea Urchins
Limpets	Limpets	Limpets	Limpets
Chitons	Chitons	Chitons	Chitons
Shrimp			
Scallops			
Anemones	Anemones	Anemones	Anemones
Sea Weeds			
Ducks	Ducks		
	Geese		
	Sea birds		
			Seagull eggs

Table 3
Seasonal Resources of Quileute and Hoh

The same document (MMS 1991:87) lists plants which are harvested for food, medicine, and for basketry materials. The list includes:

Wild rhubarb	Blackberries
Huckleberries	Waterleaf
Raspberries	Horsetail
Sweet grass	Ba-uk (a black nut)
Bear grass	Camas
Skunk cabbage	Salal
Indian tea	Cattails
Wild crabapple	Elk's grass
Devil's club	Elderberries
Tseahocks (phonetic)	Salmon berries
Wild mushrooms	Thimbleberries
Nettles	Bark

In addition, cedar is important for canoe manufacture and carving. The cedar bark is used for numerous articles of clothing and utility items. Pure water is also a resource of importance to tribal members. Within Olympic National Park there are at least two water sources that are considered to be sacred or to contain medicine water.

The Quileute and Hoh tribes continue to rely heavily on the natural resources of the Olympic Peninsula for sustenance, such as shellfish, mushrooms, berries, salmon, grasses, roots, medicinal plants, birds, sea and land mammals, and water.

Ethnographic Literature

The first anthropologist to contact the Quileute Indians was Livingston Farrand during the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, funded by the American Museum of Natural History. Farrand visited the Washington coast in 1898 and gathered information for "Quileute Tales," which was edited by Theresa Mayer and published in 1919.

Leo J. Frachtenberg, an anthropologist who worked for the Bureau of American Ethnology, conducted fieldwork among the Quileute during 1915-1916. Frachtenberg wrote a detailed, unpublished manuscript on Quileute ethnology, as well as two published papers on Quileute belief systems.

Albert B. Reagan, the schoolmaster for the LaPush school from 1905 to 1909, wrote extensively on the Quileute and published numerous articles on Quileute lifeways and oral history.

George A. Pettitt, a student of anthropology at the University of California, conducted research for a study of Quileute culture change in 1946. Pettitt published *The Quileute of LaPush: 1775-1945* in 1950 which documents the great social changes which occurred on the Quileute Reservation after World War II.

Dr. Richard Daugherty conducted ethnographic fieldwork in 1948-1949 at the Hoh River, and his fieldnotes provide information about some former upriver villages.

Jay Powell, linguist for the Quileute Tribe, who has published several overviews on Quileute culture, has provided a thorough component on Quileute culture and place names for the Sol Duc, Dickey and Calawah Watershed Analyses, and has developed curriculum covering ritual, popular culture and Quileute place names.

Although there is a wealth of ethnographic and historical material written about the Quileute and Hoh, the written record lacks information on settlement patterns prior to European-American settlement. There is also very little data--even in the early works of Farrand and Frachtenberg--on older village sites.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Quileute and Hoh society was stratified into high class, commoners, and slaves. The high class hereditary chiefs or family heads had influence over individual villages. There were certain headmen who were looked upon by other villages as significant men, but there was no political chief of the Quileute until the treaty negotiators designated one in 1855. The power of these appointed chiefs increased after the Indian agents supported their role as liaisons (Pettitt 1950:110).

High class families maintained their status and property rights by giving a potlatch. Potlatches were also given to gain formal recognition at naming ceremonies, for births, marriage, children's coming of age ceremonies, and to sanctify property claims and inherited honors. Those with high status had certain rights to names, dances, songs, and membership in secret societies (Pettitt 1950:15).

War expeditions against other tribes were common, either for retaliation or to capture slaves. During periods of warfare with the Makah, the Quileute lived on James Island. Captain John Meares saw nine wooden structures on top of James Island in 1788 (Alcorn 1976), which could have been the stockade that the Quileute maintained there until the 1860s (Pettitt 1950:14).

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

The Quileute and Hoh had various permanent and seasonal settlements along the coast at places such as Norwegian Memorial, Cape Johnson, Cedar, Ellen, Jackson, Goodman, and Mosquito Creeks, as well as the mouths of the Quillayute and Hoh Rivers. There were also settlements up several rivers as far as 20 miles inland (ICC 1954). Most of these villages were year-round residences; in fact, some families rarely traveled

to LaPush unless there was a potlatch. Stanley Gray testified in 1941 that there were two classes of Indians: "One class or group which lived along the ocean and the other along the streams away from the ocean" (Lane 1973:22). Reagan collected the names of twenty inland villages, 15 for which he had documented the names of the associated headmen (Pettitt 1950:3).

Dr. Verne Ray documented Quileute and Hoh villages in the upper river drainages for the Indian Claims Commission, which include a hunting village on the upper Hoh River at the mouth of Jackson Creek, *so'wa'*; a hunting base called *Su'q^we'la*, located at the mouth of Slate Creek on the south fork of the Hoh; a permanent hunting village east of 15 mile shelter on the Bogachiel, *tzta a sz ta*; and a small settlement near the park boundary on the south fork of the Calawah, *ha'tca'an* (ICC 1954). These upriver villages support the view of Frachtenberg (1921:352) who believed that at one time the Quileutes lived farther inland, as there are traces of old villages 20 miles east. Albert Reagan (1917:16) noted an ancient midden 16 miles up the Hoh where the last glacial advance created a moraine.

Exploration of the Northwest Coast adversely affected the lives of the Quileute. In 1808 the Russian brig Saint Nicholas ran aground near LaPush and the crew shot and killed two Quileute, then fled south on foot. The crew traveled far up the Hoh River for the winter, bartering salmon for trade items or more often using force to acquire the salmon. Along the upper reaches of the river they encountered 30 boats containing 70 Indians going down river (Hilson 1981). However, it wasn't until after the treaty was negotiated that the Quileute and Hoh had extensive contact with European-American culture.

The upriver Quileute villagers occasionally visited the mouths of the Quillayute and Hoh Rivers, and Jackson and Goodman Creeks. The inhabitants of the saltwater villages went upriver seasonally to procure specific resources. During the spring and summer, these families traveled to seasonal localities where they maintained hereditary hunting, gathering and fishing rights. The inland village or house sites were eventually abandoned in conjunction with epidemics, Indian land cession and the ensuing homestead era. The population of the Hoh and Quileute was estimated to have been 500 in 1780, prior to the series of epidemics that began in 1782 (ICC 1974e:238, 241). By 1855 the Hoh and Quileute numbered approximately 300 (ICC 1974b:224).

In 1883 a school was opened at LaPush and many families from upriver areas and those at the Hoh moved to LaPush permanently. The first school teacher, Wesley Smith, is responsible for giving common names to the Indian children. The teacher

selected names from history books and the Bible. These names are carried on today: Hudson, Penn, Jackson, Lee and others (Pettitt 1950:25).

RESOURCE USE

Families owned the rights to certain areas and resources, such as beaches and upriver fishing or hunting locations. People from other settlements could utilize these areas with the families' permission. Ownership was affirmed by giving a potlatch on a continuing basis. This form of property ownership began to change around the turn of the century. Pettitt noted that in 1890 the rights of a Quileute family to a certain beach was questioned and discounted by another tribal member because the person had not kept up the necessary potlatching (Pettitt 1950:3).

The Quileute traveled very far to garner various resources. Certain families went north to Tatoosh Island for halibut; others hiked into the Olympic Mountains to hunt and gather berries. Seal hunting and whaling were practiced by the Quileute; however, whaling was curtailed by 1874 after the introduction of the canon harpoon by the commercial whaling industry. The Quileute killed their last whale using canoes and hand-held harpoons in 1904 (Pettitt 1950:43).

The Quileute excelled as seal hunters. Prior to the fur trade, they hunted seal for food; with the advent of the fur industry, seal hunting became a lucrative occupation: "By 1881 the Indians of this area were trading as many as 8,000 sealskins in a season" (Pettitt 1950:44). Between 1890 and 1909, a substantial increase in independent pelagic sealing vessels led to the killing of 621,989 seals. This decimation prompted the United States to adopt the 1911 International Fur-Sealing Convention between the U.S., Great Britain, Russia, and Japan. The right of the coastal Indians to hunt seals was acknowledged in the agreement, with the stipulation that Indians not use motorized boats or firearms. In 1920 the Quileute made \$31,000 on sealskins (Pettitt 1950:45).

The dwindling seal herds and the collapsing market for furs during the depression led to the abandonment of the fur seal industry in the 1930s. Pettitt wrote that the last seal was harpooned around 1940. During World War II the Quileute were discouraged from going out in the ocean by Coast Guard regulation and in 1945 had yet to pursue seal hunting again (Pettitt 1950:45).



Figure 28
Indian Skinning Seal, LaPush
Courtesy North Olympic Library, Port Angeles

A crucial part of sealing was the sealing canoe. The cedar tree was a necessity for canoe manufacture. Each tree was felled and hallowed out by charring and use of an adze before steel tools were adopted. Canoe manufacture was a professional occupation requiring the appropriate spirit power. Those who attempted to cut down a cedar tree without the proper power would have harm come to them (Pettitt 1950:52). Different canoes were manufactured for whaling, sealing, river use, and travel. By the 1940s the remaining carved canoes were mostly river canoes with a modified stern to accommodate an outboard motor (Pettitt 1950:52).

The Quileute gathered shellfish, berries, camas, and sprouts. The prairies were important areas for acquiring roots and bulbs, and the Quileute maintained them with fire. The Quileute netted ducks at the river mouths, and collected gull eggs on the off-shore islands. They fished for smelt, cod, bass, and halibut, but anadromous fish were the mainstay for the Quileute (Pettitt 1950:5-8). According to Pettitt:

[the] spawning habits of certain fish have been the most important single factor in determining the course of Quileute history....The survival of the Quileute as a tribal unit and their gradual acculturation as a semi-independent community have depended in the past and will continue to depend in the future upon the survival of the salmon as a commercially important food fish (Pettitt 1950:107).

The importance of anadromous fish is evidenced in some of the Quileute terms for months of the year. January is the "beginning of the spawning of the steelhead salmon"; February is the "regular or strong spawning time of salmon"; September is the "time for black (chinook) salmon"; and October is the "time for silver salmon" (Frachtenberg 1916:Q1.3:34).

BELIEF SYSTEMS

The Quileute world was understood to be controlled by supernatural beings and people needed to maintain relationships with that realm through guardian spirits (Pettitt 1950:18). While the concept of supernatural may be a product of western thought, it is helpful to understand that the Quileute perceived a world consisting of all beings, including those who have been categorized as spiritual, sacred, or supernatural.

Every man sought to have at least one guardian spirit in order to gain excellence in an occupation. Spirit power could enable a person to be a great whaler, sealer, game hunter, canoe maker, Indian doctor, runner, or a wealthy person. Boys and girls began preparation for their guardian spirit quest early

in life, bathing every day in cold water. When they were about eighteen years of age, they traveled to isolated areas in the mountains until they saw a guardian spirit. According to Pettitt, the youth threw both arms around the spirit, which usually knocked the person unconscious, but the spirit looked after them from that day forward (Pettitt 1950:18).

Different guardian spirits brought different powers. Those who acquired these powers maintained them through specialized ceremonial societies. The Quileute had five ceremonial societies: the wolf or black face, fisherman, hunter, whale hunter, and weatherman (Frachtenberg 1921).

Frachtenberg's article on the secret societies of the Quileute discusses a break-down in tradition that put an end to the professional nature of the societies. In later years, other occupations were incorporated into the specialized societies; for example, basket weavers could join the fishing society. The hunter and whaler societies kept their professional features, probably until the decline and subsequent restrictions on hunting marine mammals. Pettitt surmises that the fishing society and first salmon ceremony were discontinued with the advent of commercialized fishing (Pettitt 1950:108).

The Quileute and Hoh believed that every person had two souls--the outer soul (probably the guardian spirit), an inner soul--and a ghost. When a person lost their outer soul, a shaman could usually retrieve it. The inner soul was harder to retrieve because it usually headed straight for the land of the dead. Once it reached this land, the ghost also left the body and the person died (Frachtenberg 1920:334-336). When people died their ghost and souls went to the underworld.²⁵ Through the center of this place runs a river. Souls that have been in the land of the dead for a certain amount of time cross the river by canoe to their final resting place, where life after death was believed to be better. This is the reason the Quileute were buried in canoes (Frachtenberg 1920:338).

The Indian doctor or shaman who was successful had many guardian spirits. For each spirit, the shaman had a long pole carved with a symbol of the spirit on the end (Pettitt

²⁵The term underworld may not be appropriate, as Haeberlin discusses in his paper "SBεTεTDA'Q, A Shamanistic Performance of the Coast Salish." Although he is not referring to the Quileute, his Salish consultants informed him of the following:

While the trail that led to it descended, I was told expressly that it was not below this world in the sense of being an "underworld," but that it was on the same level with this world (Haeberlin 1918:254).

1950:19). Certain shamans also had wooden carved manikins, called soul-loss figures, that guided them to the land of the dead (Daugherty 1991).

The shaman was a highly respected individual in Quileute culture, until the late 1800s when such practices were discredited with ridicule and contempt by Indian agents, school teachers and missionaries. The restrictions placed on potlatching, gambling, healing rituals and ceremonies by the Indian agent led to the near abandonment of these traditional practices (Pettitt 1950:112).

The Shaker religion may have taken the place of many spiritual practices. This religion arrived at LaPush about 1900. Pettitt notes that "as the spiritual security the Quileute maintained with guardian spirits was weakened, Shakerism afforded an avenue to gain 'power'" (Pettitt 1950:112).

The Shaker religion incorporated aspects of Catholicism and Protestantism. The religion came to Native Americans through an Indian who received its power, and was easier to accept than the religion imposed on the Indians by the missionaries. At first the Shaker religion was condoned by the agency superintendent because of its similarities to Christianity. Soon the agent saw the rituals as excessive and began to oppose their practice. The Quileute struggled to make it acceptable in the eyes of the agent. For example, the Shakers condemned shamanism because the agent thought Shakerism was a forum for medicine men. The Shakers also adopted the Bible, "at least as an altar decoration" (Pettitt 1950:112).

Prior to the introduction of monetary economy and European-American culture, the Quileute and Hoh gained prestige and wealth by two means: hereditary status and spiritual power. As their methods of achieving power and maintaining status were restricted, they melded their need for spiritual power with a means that was tolerable to those whose views were imposed on them. The Shaker religion became an important aspect of ceremonies held at LaPush (Pettitt 1950:112).

Land ownership was essential in maintaining status. Individual village sites were controlled by a leader from that particular group. After the village territories were overrun by white settlers, many headmen lost their status, except for those chiefs and sub-chiefs recognized by the treaty commission and Indian agents. Today traditional leadership roles continue to be inherited. However, they are solely traditional and do not receive political status. In 1957, a dedication ceremony was held to recognize David Hudson as Chief of the Quileute and Hoh tribes, based on his maternal great-grandfather's lineage; that of Charles Howeattle, Chief of the Quileute; and David's paternal great-grandfather, Chief of the Hoh, William Hudson (Widrig 1957; Kirk 1962).

In 1992, the Quileute Tribe began planning for a living museum, which will be called ʔá·čít·tí, meaning "chief's house." This museum will provide the Quileute with a forum for acknowledging the cultural traditions that have been repressed over the years. It will also allow the visiting public to better understand Quileute lifeways.

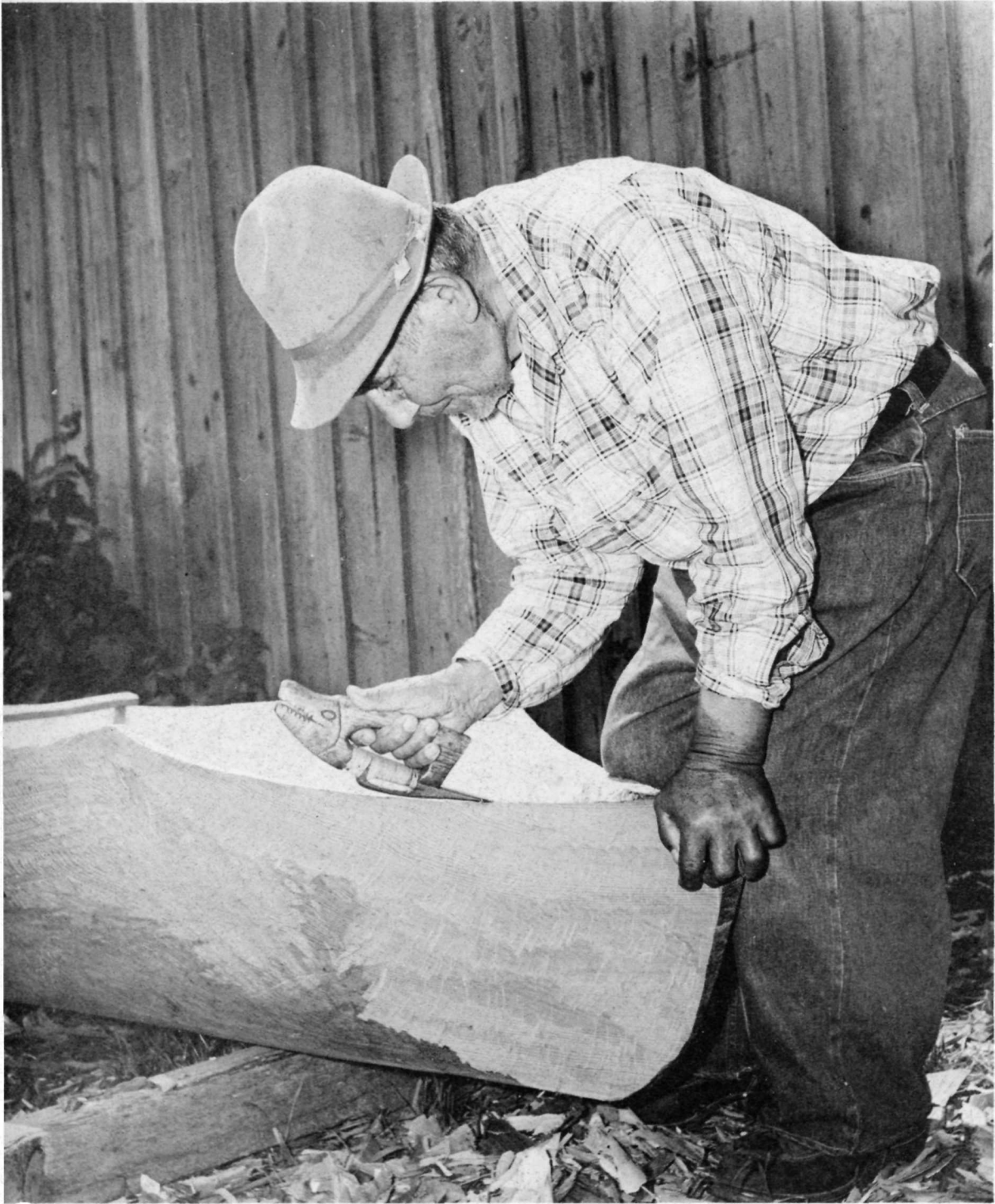


Figure 29
Charles Howeattle Carving Canoe with Adze
Photo by Ruth Kirk

CHAPTER 3

RESOURCE UTILIZATION

STEVENS TREATIES

Washington Territory was separated from Oregon Territory in 1853. The United States had opened land to settlement under the Donation Lands Act of 1850; however, before this settlement could occur legally, Indian land title had to be extinguished.

Isaac Stevens, the first governor and Superintendent of Indian Affairs, negotiated treaties with the tribes that would extinguish their land holdings and provide them with reservations. The tribes were placed on reservations so that Washington Territory could be settled and developed by U.S. citizens (Trafzer 1986:ix). These treaties and the establishment of reservations greatly altered tribal lifeways.

Stevens promised the tribes that if they ceded their lands to the United States government they would be guaranteed the right to continue to fish at "usual and accustomed grounds and stations...together with the privilege of hunting and gathering roots and berries on all open and unclaimed lands" [Treaty of Point No Point 1855]. Stevens reasoned that this subsistence guarantee would be cost-effective for the United States, in that the tribes could continue to be self-sufficient (Trafzer 1986:3).

In the accounts of treaty negotiations reported by interpreter George Gibbs, it is evident that the Indians wanted guaranteed access to their food resources. For example, during the Point No Point treaty assembly, a Skokomish Indian named *Che-lan-the-tat*, stated that he was afraid of becoming "destitute and [would] perish for want of food" if they sold their land and had to move away from their traditional land use areas (Lane 1977:52). Governor Stevens reassured those at the treaty negotiations that they would have access to their resources. The Duke of York, a Klallam living at Port Townsend, said he understood Governor Stevens to say that tribal people "could look for food where [they] pleased, and not in one place only" (Lane 1977:54).

Stevens signed the Point No Point Treaty with the Klallam, Chimacum, and Skokomish on January 26, 1855; the Treaty of Neah Bay was signed by the Makah and Ozette on January 31, 1855; and

the Treaty of Olympia, was signed by the Quileute, Hoh, Queets and Quinault on July 1, 1855 and by Governor Stevens on January 25, 1856 (Appendix A).

Although these promises for resource guarantees were made, over the past one hundred years the tribes have struggled to retain their treaty rights for continued access and use. The courts have made numerous determinations regarding treaty rights. In 1899 the Supreme Court ruled that

in construing any treaty between the United States and an Indian tribe, it must always be borne in mind that the negotiations for the treaty are conducted, on the part of the United States, an enlightened and powerful nation, by representatives skilled in diplomacy, masters of a written language, understanding the modes and forms of creating the various technical estates known to their law, and assisted by an interpreter employed by themselves; that the treaty is drawn up by them and in their own language; that the Indians, on the other hand, are a weak and dependent people, who have no written language and are wholly unfamiliar with all the forms of legal expression, and whose only knowledge of the terms in which the treaty is framed is that imparted to them by the interpreters employed by the United States; and that the treaty must therefore be construed, not according to the technical meaning of its words to learned lawyers, but in the sense in which they would naturally be understood by the Indians (Blumm 1981:5).

This 1889 ruling led to specific canons of treaty construction which state the following:

- 1) Ambiguities in treaties must be resolved in favor of the Indians.
- 2) Indian treaties must be interpreted as the Indians would have understood them.
- 3) Treaties must be construed liberally in favor of the Indians (Pevar 1992).

These canons were crucial in the interpretation of the northwestern treaties in the case of *U.S. v. Washington*, which is outlined in the section on fishing.

Prior to the establishment of Olympic National Park in 1938, the Office of Indian Affairs (now the BIA) sent a memo to the Director of the National Park Service concerning the protection of Indian treaty rights within the proposed park area. In this memo the Assistant Commissioner of the Office of Indian Affairs states that the "office would object to any legislation which would take these [treaty] rights from the Indians." The memo

further suggests that this bill was "not believed to adequately protect the Indians" (NPS 1938).

The memo addresses Section 4 of the bill [H.R. 4724] to create the park, which deals with valid existing rights, stating that this section could be made to cover the rights of the Indians if the following words were added: "nor the rights reserved by treaty to the Indians of any tribe" (NPS 1938). The Assistant Commissioner of the Office of Indian Affairs recommended that the departmental report on H.R. 4724, which was being prepared by the National Park Service, include a recommendation that the clause quoted above be added to the bill (NPS 1938).

The result was that Olympic National Park's enabling legislation [Act of June 29, 1938, 52 Stat. 1241] states the following:

Nothing herein contained shall affect any valid existing claim, location, or entry made under the land laws of the United States, whether for homestead, mineral, right-of-way, or any other purpose whatsoever, or shall affect the right of any such claimant, locator, or entry man to the full use and enjoyment of his land, **nor the rights reserved by treaty to the Indians of any tribes** [emphasis added].

Treaties reserve not only those rights expressed in treaty language, but any right that has not been expressly extinguished. This principle of Indian law, known as the "reserved rights" doctrine, refers to the fact that "the treaty was not a grant of rights to the Indians, but a grant of rights from them--a reservation of those not granted" [*United States v. Winans*, 198 U.S. 371, 25 S. Ct. 662, 664, 49 L. Ed. 1089] (Cohen 1986:286). Any right held by a tribe that is "not expressly extinguished by a treaty or federal statute is reserved to the tribe," since the purpose of treaties was not to grant rights to the Indians, but to remove rights from them (Pevar 1992:37). Only Congress can abrogate treaties, and "must plainly state this intention; treaty abrogation cannot be inferred" (Pevar 1992:42).

FISHING

The Stevens treaties state that the tribes have the "right of taking fish at all usual and accustomed grounds and stations...in common with all citizens of the United States" [Treaty of Point No Point 1855].

The development of commercialized fishing and environmental disruption has led to a reduction in anadromous fish harvest in

the Pacific Northwest. As the resource dwindled, attempts were made to restrict Indian fishing, not only in the courts; confrontations were occurring between the Indians and non-Indians on the rivers as well (McMilan 1974). The United States, on its own behalf and as a trustee to the interested tribes, brought suit against the State of Washington, claiming the Indians were prohibited from their treaty-secured off-reservation fishing rights. Federal District Court Judge George Boldt conducted a comprehensive pretrial hearing and made four important findings of fact:

- 1) The western Washington treaty tribes had given up extensive areas of land only if they could continue to fish at their "usual and accustomed grounds and stations in common with all citizens."
- 2) At treaty time, neither party could have anticipated competition over the fishery.
- 3) Enforcement of Washington State fishing laws and regulations against Indian fishing had prevented the full exercise of treaty fishing rights, loss of income and cultural practices, as well as confiscation of fishing gear, arrest and criminal prosecution.
- 4) Washington State fisheries regulations permitted the harvestable fish to be taken before they could reach the tribal usual and accustomed areas (Balagna 1979).

In 1974, Judge Boldt gave the most thorough interpretation of the treaties in regard to fishing, referred to as the Boldt decision [*U.S. v. Washington*]. Boldt interpreted the terms "in common with" to mean that the Indians are guaranteed half of the harvest. The United States Supreme Court affirmed this decision in 1979.

The tribes not only were guaranteed the right to a sufficient quantity of the harvestable anadromous fish, the court also stated that the tribes "have an implicitly incorporated right ...not to have the fishery habitat degraded" [*United States v. State of Washington*, No. 9213--II, January 16, 1981]. It would not have occurred to the parties of the treaties that the resource would be depleted to the point it is today (Blumm 1981:1). In Phase II of *U.S. v. Washington*, the court concluded that activities which reduce the number of fish, such as logging and dam building "must give way to the superior treaty-secured rights of the tribes" (Blumm 1981:17).

The Boldt decision recognized the tribes as co-managers of the resource. As a result of the resource protection component of Phase II of the Boldt decision, the Timber, Fish and Wildlife

Agreement was formulated. This agreement is a "fluid, changeable, 'living' document designed to reshape the way" (TFW n.d.) Washington State resources are managed. As a result of this agreement a committee of industry, environmental organizations, agencies, and tribes work together to protect the state's resources (TFW n.d.).

In *U.S. v. Washington*, the Supreme Court recognized that the Stevens treaties "confer distinct, enforceable rights upon the signatory tribes" (Blumm 1981:26). Within Olympic National Park, the three peninsula treaty tribes retain the right to "fish at all usual and accustomed grounds and stations." The tribes' adjudicated fishing areas have been described in the sections on individual tribal groups.

As a result of *U.S. v. Washington*, the court ruled that the right of treaty Indians to take fish at their usual and accustomed sites cannot be qualified, limited or modified, but may be regulated; however, regulations could only be applied to Indian treaty fishing for conservation purposes [*United States v. State of Washington*, 384 F. Supp. 312 (1974)]. The court also held that the general fishing regulations of the state cannot be applied to Indian treaty fishing and the state had to develop specific regulations. The NPS general fishing regulations were re-written to conform to the orders of the District Court and now specifically address treaty fishing. These regulations are found in 36 CFR, Section 7.28(a), Subsection (8). All other park regulations must be followed while fishing in park waters.

The regulation of Indian treaty fishing within Olympic National Park must be narrowly limited to those measures reasonable and necessary for conservation. With respect to fishing gear, a treaty fisherman can use any gear that he/she chooses unless 1) the waters have been closed by the Park Superintendent for conservation purposes, 2) the tribe has achieved its allocation, 3) the tribal member is in violation of their own tribe's fishing ordinance (NPS 1981).

The regulations currently enforced by the NPS which concern tribal fishing in the park are those in section 7.28(a), subsection (8) of 36 CFR which reads as follows:

(8)(i) *Indian treaty fishing.* Subject to the limitations set forth below, all waters within the Olympic National Park which have been adjudicated to be usual and accustomed fishing places of an Indian tribe, having treaty-secured fishing rights, are open to fishing by members of that tribe in conformance with applicable tribal or State regulations conforming to the orders of the United States District Court.

(ii) *Identification cards and tags.* Members of the tribes having treaty-secured fishing rights shall carry identification cards conforming to the requirements prescribed by the United States District Court and issued either by the Bureau of Indian Affairs or the applicable tribe when fishing in accordance with the tribe's reserved treaty fishing right. Such persons shall produce said card for inspection upon request of a National Park Service enforcement officer. A tribal identification tag shall be attached to any unattended fishing gear in park waters.

(iii) *Conservation closures and catch limits.* The superintendent may close a stream or any portion thereof to Indian treaty fishing or limit the number of fish that may be taken when it is found either that it is:

(A) Reasonable and necessary for the conservation of a run as those terms are used by the United States District Court to determine the permissible limitations on the exercise of Indian treaty rights; or

(B) Necessary to secure the proper allocation of harvest between Indian treaty fisheries and other fisheries as prescribed by the court.

(iv) *Catch reports.* Indian fishermen shall furnish catch reports in such form as the superintendent, after consultation with the applicable tribe, shall have prescribed.

(v) *Prohibition of fish cultural activities.* No fish cultural, planting, or propagation activity shall be undertaken in park waters without prior written permission of the superintendent.

(vi) *Applicability of other park regulations.* Indian treaty fishing shall be in conformity with National Park general regulations in Parts 1-6 of this chapter [36 CFR 7.28(a)(8)(1992)].



Figure 30
Clamming Near Port Townsend - Prince of Wales Family
Courtesy North Olympic Library, Port Angeles

SHELLFISHERIES

The Boldt decision allocated rights to all anadromous fish. However, shellfish were not addressed in Phase I or II of *U.S. v. Washington*. Negotiations between the state and treaty tribes attempted to resolve the issue of treaty shellfishing rights. In May of 1989 the Skokomish and the three Klallam tribes, among other Puget Sound tribes, issued a "Tribal Request for Determination and Declaratory and Injunctive Relief re: Shellfish" to the State of Washington. The tribes asked that the U.S. District Court declare the following:

(1) that all species of shellfish found within the tribes' usual and accustomed fishing grounds and stations are within the "right of taking fish" reserved by the Stevens treaties; and

(2) that the shellfish treaty right is limited only by (a) need to perpetuate a species (with an appropriate margin of safety), (b) the provision for sharing the resource with all non-Indian citizens pursuant to the "in common with" language of the treaties, and (c) the exclusion of "beds staked or cultivated by citizens," as that phrase would have been understood by the Indians at treaty time; and

(3) that the "staked or cultivated beds" proviso of the treaties does not apply to any beds of naturally growing shellfish; and

(4) that the "staked or cultivated beds" proviso of the treaties excludes only (a) cultivated shellfish that have been placed on tidelands that are both (i) otherwise barren of naturally growing shellfish and (ii) staked out in a manner that indicates the boundaries of the cultivated bed, and (b) shellfish harvested elsewhere that are both (i) otherwise barren of naturally growing shellfish and (ii) staked out in a manner that indicates the boundaries of the bed of previously harvested shellfish; and

(5) that neither ownership nor possession of tidelands or bedlands by the state or private parties, through sale, lease or otherwise, may defeat, interfere with or diminish tribal treaty shellfish harvesting rights, nor bar access to tidelands or bedlands for harvesting purposes [*United States v. State of Washington*, Civ. No. 9213, Sub-proceeding 89-3 (1989)].

The tribes requested that an injunction be issued that prohibited enforcement of state or other laws or regulations regarding "access to, taking, possession or disposition of shellfish by treaty Indians, except as those laws or regulations comply with the limitations on state action found in *U.S. v. Washington Fishing Vessel*, and the declarations requested above" [*United States v. State of Washington*, Civ. No. 9213, Sub-proceeding 89-3 (1989)].

The state and the tribes attempted to negotiate agreements for management and allocation and to have usual and accustomed shellfish areas delineated. However, they could not work out an agreeable mitigation plan and the case proceeded to district court at the end of February 1993.

On December 20, 1994, U.S. District Court Judge Edward Rafeedie ruled that the treaties give western Washington tribes the right to harvest up to one half of harvestable shellfish in their usual and accustomed harvest areas for salmon. This ruling includes "all species of shellfish, whether actually harvested at treaty time or not" [*United States v. State of Washington*, Civ. No. 9213, Sub-proceeding 89-3 (1994)].

Rafeedie ordered the tribes and the state to develop a joint management plan by January 31, 1995. The parties were unable to agree on a plan by that date, and the tribes, the state, the shellfish growers, and private property owners each submitted their own implementation plans. The plans could not be melded together and Rafeedie ordered the parties back into court on May 8, 1995, for an evidentiary hearing. As a result of this hearing, Rafeedie developed an implementation plan for shellfish harvest on August 25, 1995. According to a Point No Point shellfish biologist, "In some areas the implementation plan poses more questions than answers and is more limiting to the tribes due to a number of restrictions it places on their affirmed rights" (Hood Canal Coordinating Council Newsletter 1995).

The shellfish case involves the Port Gamble S'Klallam, Lower Elwha Klallam, Jamestown S'Klallam, Lummi, Makah, Muckleshoot, Nisqually, Nooksack, Puyallup, Sauk-Suiattle, Skokomish, Upper Skagit, Tulalip, Quileute, Quinault and Hoh. The case is currently being heard in the court of appeals based on several issues; one is access to private property (NWIFC 1997).



Figure 31
Whale Catch
Courtesy North Olympic Library, Port Angeles

SEA MAMMALS

The Treaty of Neah Bay is the only Stevens treaty with language that specifies the right of whaling and sealing. However, the privilege to hunt included in the other western Washington treaties have also been construed as including whaling and sealing (Mitchell 1992). Currently, the Makah, Quileute, Quinault, Skokomish, Port Gamble S'Klallam, Jamestown S'Klallam, Lower Elwha Klallam, as well as the Muckleshoot, Tulalip, Lummi, and Nooksack have tribal regulations regarding the harvest of the harbor seal and the sea lion (NWIFC: Personal Conversation 1996).

The Marine Mammal Protection Act (MMPA) of 1972 restricts the taking of marine mammals (except for Alaskan Natives). However, the 1995 amendments to the Marine Mammal Protection Act clarify that this legislation "does not in any way diminish or abrogate existing protected Indian treaty fishing or hunting rights" (MMC 1995:17). In July of 1996, the National Marine Fisheries Service began a five-year monitoring plan on gray whale distribution, abundance, mortality, residence time, tissue pollutant levels and habitat usage (Gearin and DeMaster 1996).

The Makah Tribal Whaling Commission has developed a management plan to harvest the gray whale. This plan includes methodology, hunting techniques, and distribution of whale meat. The United States will seek an exception for the Makah from the International Whaling Commission at the October 1997 meeting to harvest five gray whales annually.

The Endangered Species Act (ESA) of 1973 restricts the taking of certain marine mammals. There are currently two marine mammals on the threatened and endangered species list, the sea otter and sea lion. The question of whether the ESA abrogates treaty rights has not been litigated. Abrogation, under current law, would require clear evidence that "Congress actually considered the conflict between its intended action on the one hand and Indian treaty rights on the other, and chose to resolve that conflict by abrogating the treaty" (Reich 1992:4).

HUNTING

In 1983, two Quinault tribal members were charged with killing elk within Olympic National Park. This resulted in a court case which addressed the right of tribal members to hunt within the park. The elk were taken from within the traditional hunting territory of the Quinault Tribe, ceded to the United

States in the Treaty of Olympia of 1855-1856. Article 3 of this treaty guaranteed the Indians' "right of taking fish at all usual and accustomed grounds and stations...together with the privilege of hunting, gathering roots and berries, and pasturing their horses on all open and unclaimed lands" [Treaty of Olympia 1855-1856].

United States Magistrate John L. Weinberg dismissed the charges against the defendants because the treaty guaranteed these rights and the park's enabling legislation preserves treaty rights (NPS 1984a).

In response to Judge Wienberg's decision, representatives of the Quinault, Hoh, Quileute, and Makah Tribes met with park staff and voiced the following concerns on this issue during a February 1984 meeting:

- (a) Self-regulatory and/or joint management efforts are preferable to legislation or court action.
- (b) The right to hunt in the park has been exercised before and after 1938. It has been exercised quietly, discreetly and responsibly. Indians have always known the right existed.
- (c) The Quinault Tribe has not been party to the legal proceedings but will feel compelled to enter the litigation should it go to the Ninth Circuit.
- (d) Legislation (abrogation) must be stopped. Treaty rights in general may be jeopardized if the hunting right is abrogated.
- (e) The press has been unjustifiably critical of Indians. In fact, the Service brought the case to court and a judge made the ruling. The tribes were not involved in the litigation. A strong effort is needed to correct the false image. The Park Service should work with the tribes in issuing a joint press release.
- (f) Hunting must be done responsibly and only under strict regulation.
- (g) The tribes must act together. A management/research consortium was suggested with or without NPS membership. Both the tribes and the NPS have biological research capabilities.

(h) Regulations must be developed in conjunction with the NPS. The Service should not act unilaterally. Allowing the Government to exercise any measure of exclusive control will weaken arguments in favor of preserving Indian rights in general.

(i) A hunting moratorium must be put in place until regulations can be developed. However, each tribal council must act individually.

(j) Tribes that are not party to the Treaty of Olympia may try to hunt in the ceded areas. They should not be allowed to do so. The right to hunt is to be exercised only by enrolled members of the tribes that ceded lands which are now within park boundaries.

(k) The tribes and the Park Service should continue to meet on a regular basis (NPS 1984b).

The National Park Service offered this response:

(a) The stated willingness of the tribes to work cooperatively and responsibly among themselves and with the Service is a very positive sign. We must continue and promote this relationship.

(b) It is important that the Service know to what degree treaty rights will be exercised. Managing for ceremonial hunting is much different than managing for maximum sustained yield.

(c) The Service is willing to accept moratoriums [sic] imposed by the tribes if they are effective in banning hunting until such time as regulations can be promulgated. Regulations must be based on valid research.

(d) The Park Service is not promoting or supporting legislation to abrogate Indian hunting rights. The case will be appealed to the Ninth Circuit unless the court grants the motion for rehearing and trial (NPS 1984b).

Within a month, Congressman Al Swift introduced legislation to overturn the District Court decision and extinguish existing Indian hunting rights within the park, and the federal government filed a motion for a rehearing. The second district court decision by Chief United States District Judge, Walter T. McGovern, ruled that Olympic National Park lands are not "open and unclaimed" and that the treaty "privilege of hunting" is precluded within the park's boundaries [*United States v. Gregory D. Hicks and Steven J. Shale*, 1984].

Upon reconsideration the court concluded the following:

1. The Treaty of Olympia, signed long before creation of Olympic National Park, secured the "privilege of hunting" to the Quinault Indians only as long as the lands were "open and unclaimed."
2. Upon the enactment by Congress of legislation creating the Olympic National Park [16 U.S.C., Sec. 251²⁶, et seq.] in 1938, if not before, the land included therein ceased to be "open and unclaimed land," thus terminating the privilege of hunting on Olympic National Park lands.
3. The 1942 legislation, 16 U.S.C., Sec. 256, prohibiting all hunting in the park, terminates the Indian hunting privilege on Olympic National Park lands.
4. Termination of the Indian hunting privilege on Olympic National Park lands does not constitute abrogation [*United States v. Gregory D. Hicks and Stevens J. Shale*, CR82-332M, April 9, 1984:2-3].

In 1942, the legislation prohibiting hunting in the park [16 U.S.C., Sec. 256(b)] also included language to protect the fish, timber, minerals and natural objects. This terminated the Indian hunting privilege, but not the Indian fishing right because the fishing right focused on specific places, ie. "usual and accustomed grounds and stations." Hunting, however, could occur on "open and unclaimed lands." As settlement occurred, the amount of open and unclaimed lands diminished [*United States v. Gregory D. Hicks and Stevens J. Shale*, CR82-332M, April 9, 1984:4-5].

To put this in a historical perspective, in 1855 the General Land Office (GLO) was disposing of unclaimed public domain lands under the Donation Lands Act of 1850; later, the Homestead Act of 1862 and the 1872 legislation regarding the development of mining resources further changed the status of public domain lands. Areas of special interest and resources were set aside for federal protection, such as National Monuments and National Parks. What remained were public domain lands that nobody wanted. In 1946 Congress created the Bureau of Land Management (BLM) from the GLO, with the mission of managing these remaining lands; however, the BLM was not given a statutory charter to retain the lands for multiple use management. The Public Land Law Review Commission Act, the

²⁶The exact wording of section 251 was that these lands "are hereby reserved and withdrawn from settlement, occupancy, or disposal under the laws of the United States and dedicated and set apart as a public park for the benefit and enjoyment of the people and shall be known as Olympic National Park" [16 U.S.C., Sec. 251].

Classification and Multiple Use Act, and the Public Land Sale Act, all of 1964, reversed the tradition of public domain disposal (Frandsen 1984).

The government recognized that very little land would be available ("open") for Indian treaty hunting if it were confined only to land now available for settlement, in fact, there are no longer any lands in this status as stated above. Therefore, an interpretation of the treaty has included publicly-owned lands that are open to hunting, even though they are not "open" under the public land laws [*United States v. Hicks and Shale*, 1984]. Such lands might include lands where hunting is permitted, such as, National Forest, BLM, and state lands. After the second court ruling, the defendants requested a rehearing on the case and were denied. They entered guilty pleas in September of 1984 and were fined \$500.00.

The regional solicitor has stated that the "court held that the privilege of hunting on those ceded lands which have been included in Olympic National Park has terminated because such activity is not compatible with the intent of the legislation establishing the Park to preserve and protect Park wildlife"; therefore, "under current law the treaty reserved privilege of hunting no longer applies to lands within Olympic National Park" (NPS 1988a).

In *Menominee Tribe v. United States* [1968], the court reaffirmed that "every tribe retains its original hunting and fishing rights unless these rights have been extinguished in clear terms by Congress" (Pevar 1992:191). After the second ruling on April 9, 1984, the park law enforcement specialist issued a memo dated October 16, 1984, that stated; although the case is over, he recommends further elk population studies (NPS 1984c).

The park science staff conducted a study of elk distribution, density, life habits and vegetation to assess elk populations. They found an elk population of 5000 in the park. Some of the sub-populations along the east side of the Olympics were vulnerable because of low numbers and limited range. Sub-populations on the west side were thought to be relatively constant. However, "harvest regimes that remove maximum sustained yields would change elk behavior, reduce densities and observability, and alter the established vegetation relationships" (Houston, Schreiner, and Moorhead 1990:10). Conservation of the Roosevelt elk has always been of paramount importance at Olympic National Park and protection of the species and its undisturbed natural habitat continues to be a focus in park management.

The state has prepared a state/tribal hunting agreement. As of 1997, the only peninsula tribe that has signed it is the Quileute Tribe. The plan was prepared to resolve conflicts

that could lead to litigation over hunting treaty rights and to improve management of the resources. The philosophy behind the document is that there be coordination between the state and tribes of harvest reporting, as well as an enforcement agreement (Washington State Department of Fish and Wildlife: Personal Communication 1997).

Even though the state agreement sets some parameters for hunting, such as a clause that restricts hunting to designated lands whose uses are consistent with hunting, it is the individual tribe that delineates where tribal members may hunt. Currently several of the peninsula tribal regulations include moratoria on hunting in the park. It is important for the park to work with the tribes to ensure the continuance of this position.

CHAPTER 4

NPS RESPONSIBILITY

TRUST RELATIONSHIP

As early as 1831 the Supreme Court recognized a trust relationship between the United States and Native Americans, especially in regard to interpreting Indian treaties. By signing the treaties, the tribes gave up land for promises. The Supreme Court held that these promises create a trust relationship and a "duty of protection" (Pevar 1992:26). The federal government's obligation to honor this relationship and to fulfill its treaty commitments is known as a trust responsibility (Pevar 1992:26).

This trust responsibility extends beyond treaty commitments. Trust obligations are recognized in federal statutes, agreements, and executive orders. They also may include implied, not necessarily stated commitments: "Where a statute places Indian property under the control of a federal agency, the courts generally impose a fiduciary duty on that agency to act with a high degree of care and responsibility" (Pevar 1992:29).

Tribal governments have a special legal relationship with the United States government as stated above. In order to ensure that federal agencies uphold their trust responsibility obligation, President Clinton issued a memorandum on April 29, 1994 on the subject of "Government-to-Government Relations with Native American Tribal Governments" (U.S. Government 1994). President Clinton stated that "the United States Government has a unique legal relationship with Native American tribal governments as set forth in the Constitution of the United States, treaties, statutes, and court decisions. As executive departments and agencies undertake activities affecting Native American tribal rights or trust resources, such activities should be implemented in a knowledgeable, sensitive manner respectful of tribal sovereignty" (U.S. Government 1994).

The President outlined the principles agencies should follow and clarified agency responsibility regarding tribal governments. Agencies will operate within a government-to-government relationship with recognized tribes; consult with the tribe prior to taking actions that affect them; assess the impact of an activity on tribal trust resources; and assure that tribal rights and concerns, as well as cooperative efforts are considered in developing plans (U.S. Government 1994).

NPS MANAGEMENT POLICIES

In addition to treaty rights, park enabling legislation, and the trust responsibility, NPS policy and federal law also recognize the traditional relationship of indigenous populations to park lands and resources. The National Park Service's 1988 Management Policies state that

certain contemporary native American and other communities are permitted by law, regulation, or policy to pursue customary religious, subsistence, and other cultural uses of park resources with which they are traditionally associated. Such continuing use is often essential to the survival of family, community, or regional cultural systems, including patterns of belief and economic and religious life. Recognizing that its resource protection mandate affects this human use and cultural context of park resources, the National Park Service will plan and execute programs in ways that safeguard cultural and natural resources while reflecting informed concern for the contemporary peoples and cultures traditionally associated with them (NPS 1988b:5:11).

FEDERAL LAW

There are several federal laws that affect the management of federal lands in regard to Native American resource concerns. An act of importance regarding ceremonial or religious areas is the American Indian Religious Freedom Act (AIRFA) of 1978 (Appendix B). The purpose of AIRFA is to protect and preserve the right to believe, express, and exercise traditional Native American religions, including access to sites, use and possession of sacred objects, and worship through ceremonial and traditional rites. AIRFA directs federal agencies to evaluate their policies and procedures regarding these objectives. Since the act was established in 1978, when actions regarding access to religious sites were taken to court, AIRFA did not protect or preserve the right of Native American religious practice (NARF 1991). This has led to a 1996 Executive Order outlined below.

Preservation and protection laws and mandates for federal lands sometimes conflict with Native American access to sacred sites and the gathering of resources for ceremonial or traditional purposes. When there have been conflicts, AIRFA has not provided a legal cause of action to aggrieved practitioners in litigation. Tribes and American Indian organizations sought legislation to strengthen AIRFA in the early 1990s; however, this legislation did not pass. Therefore, President Clinton issued Executive Order 13007 on May 24, 1996 (Appendix C).

This Executive Order calls for the development of policies and procedures to protect Indian sacred sites on federal lands and to assure American Indian access.

Other important acts regarding cultural resource protection include the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) of 1969 which requires federal agencies to consult with Indian tribes in the environmental compliance process. The Archeological Resources Protection Act (ARPA) of 1979 mandates notification to tribal groups when archeological projects may affect a site of religious or cultural importance. The National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) regulations require consultation with Native Americans when identifying historic properties [36 CFR 800.4(a)], resolving adverse effects (mitigation) [36 CFR 800.5(e)], as well as providing the opportunity to comment on the action as interested persons [36 CFR 800.1(c)]. The NHPA also requires that federal agencies survey, document and evaluate all cultural resources for eligibility to the National Register [Section 110(a)(2)].

The 1992 amendments to the NHPA recognize the importance of traditional religious and cultural areas. Section 101(d) states that the Secretary shall encourage coordination among tribes and federal agencies in historic preservation planning, and in the identification, evaluation, protection, and interpretation of historic properties, and shall "ensure that tribal values are taken into account to the extent feasible" [16 U.S.C. 470a]. The amendments also state that "properties of traditional religious and cultural importance to an Indian tribe...may be determined eligible for inclusion on the National Register" and "[i]n carrying out its responsibilities under section 106, a Federal agency shall consult with any Indian tribe or Native Hawaiian organization that attaches religious and cultural significance to [these] properties" [16 U.S.C. 470a].

Section 304 of the 1992 amendment to the NHPA provides authority to withhold from disclosure to the public information about the location or character of a historic resource, if such disclosure may "impede the use of a traditional religious site by practitioners" [16 U.S.C. 4702-3].

The Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) of 1990 requires federal agencies to inventory ethnographic collections and establish cultural affiliation and patrimony, then notify the affiliated tribe and offer them the opportunity to claim "cultural items" that include human remains and "associated funerary objects," "unassociated funerary objects," "sacred objects," and objects of "cultural patrimony." The law also stipulates that Native American graves and other cultural items be protected by avoidance [Public Law 101-601: November 16, 1990; 25 U.S.C. 3001-3013].

CHAPTER 5

ETHNOGRAPHIC RESOURCES AT OLYMPIC NATIONAL PARK

Park managers need to know where ethnographic resources are located within Olympic National Park in order to protect them from adverse effects. However, it is often difficult to delineate these places. Tribal members may be reluctant to share information about significant places because of the perception that use could be restricted, and because certain activities carried out at these areas are sacred and should not be revealed. As the applied cultural anthropology program at Olympic National Park continues to develop, and the park's relationship with tribal groups generates greater trust, we will gain clearer understanding of these resources. At present, we have an understanding of the types of resources that tribal members hold as significant and the general landscapes that are important in oral history.

THE OLYMPIC MOUNTAINS

There is a perception held by some people today that Native Americans on the Olympic Peninsula never ventured far inland from the river mouths. Perhaps this view can be traced to a story by Eugene Semple. Semple, who was the Governor of Washington Territory, wrote in 1888 that there exists an open valley on the Upper "Wynooski" in the heart of the Olympics. This valley, or prairie, is "held sacred as neutral ground by the tribes that hunted each other" (Semple 1888). According to Semple, the various groups traveled the mountain trails to this valley where they convened once a year to trade. During one of these gatherings, the "great Seatco, chief of all evil spirits, a giant who could trample whole war parties under his feet," caused the earth and the waters to kill all but a few of the Indians (Semple 1888). Semple goes on to say that the Indians feared to travel to this area again, and that the interior of the Olympics is *terra incognita* or unexplored territory (Semple 1888).

In 1889 the Seattle Press published an article prior to the Press Expedition. In this article the author states that the Indians never penetrated the mountains because a fierce tribe inhabited the interior (Wood 1967:14). Perhaps some individuals were fearful of traveling in the mountains because of retaliating war parties, but it is incorrect to assume that Native Americans did not travel into the mountains.

There are many ethnographic accounts of travel across the Olympics to trade, hunt, stage war, attend potlatches, and vacation. One Klallam consultant recalled how her grandmother traveled across the mountains with her children to visit relatives at Taholah (Klallam Interviews 1990-1992). The Quinault frequently traveled over the mountains to the Elwha and Skokomish drainages, as there are accounts of warfare between the three groups, both in the mountains and in the lowlands (Gunther 1927:272; Suttles 1991; Klallam Interviews 1990-1992; Olson [1925-1926]). The Quinault had well-defined trails into favorite hunting locations and they traveled the mountains so frequently that they were known as the "forest people" by the Skokomish and Klallam (Olson [1925-1926]; Olson 1936:88; Klallam Interviews 1990-1992).

The mountains would be a logical thoroughfare, considering the dense vegetation on the peninsula. The route taken by the Klallam grandmother began along the Elwha River, near the base of Hurricane Hill and probably followed the same trail the Indians pointed out to the Press Expedition from (Griff Creek) (Wood 1967:65). The path would presumably continue along the route of the existing park trail network to Low Divide and on to Lake Quinault.

The Press Expedition occasionally followed what they thought was "an ancient Indian trail" that the elk continued to follow after it had been deserted by the Indians (Wood 1967:103). This trail may not have been deserted by the Indians, just not used during the winter when the Press Expedition was there. Charles Barnes, from the expedition, states that the reason they may not have seen evidence of a continuous trail on both sides of the divide was that there was from six to fifty feet of snow (Wood 1967:180).

Ethnographic accounts provide information about the use of the mountains by the Quileute. There were trails across the Olympics that were used to reach hunting camps and for travel to other communities. A Quileute Indian by the name of Harry Hobucket stated the following:

[The Quileute] made long journeys for purposes of war or trade and had many well-defined trails. One great trail led from the site of LaPush by way of Quillayute Prairie to what is now called Forks. From there on to the site of Port Angeles, up the Olympic mountains and along the ridge through the Sol Duc Hot Springs by the Sol Duc river [sic]. The trail went on to Lake Quinault, and then to the ocean beach known as Moclips. There were hundreds of such trails scattered throughout the country. The Indians always traveled in single file because the trails were narrow paths. There was not a single tree cut down in making these trails as they went around trees, rocks, and such obstacles (Hobucket 1934:51-52).

Leo Frachtenberg interviewed Quileute tribal members in 1915-1916 who told him that the Quileute traveled by canoe to the mountains to hunt. The Bogachiel was navigable for 25 miles above its confluence with the Quillayute River and according to his research, canoes went up the Sol Duc River as far as the hot springs, and sometimes hunters walked over the Olympic mountains as far as the Elwha River (Frachtenberg 1916:Q1.3:37). Quileute linguist, Jay Powell, has information that the Quileute landed their canoes at the Sol Duc Falls, where they followed a trail across Bridge Creek and entered the Seven Lakes Basin from this route, as well as from the Hoh River (Sol Duc Pilot Watershed Analysis 1995).

The following account recorded by Dr. Wayne Suttles contains information on the Quinault Tribe's use of the mountainous interior:

Two boys from two families from *c'əq'w*, Dungeness people, were captured by the Tahola while their parents were fishing. The Tahola took them to Elwha then followed the river up, walked across it on a tree, and came down to the beach at Tahola. The boys grew up there. One of them was named *səx^wsúmtən*....He had a wife and children that grew up. The other boy was sold away....When *səx^wsúmtən's* boy's died he went with another man in a canoe up the Tahola River. They left the canoe at a fall or some place and walked over and right down to the salt water near Skokomish. All the Klallam were there drying salmon (Suttles 1991).

It is evident from descriptive accounts that travel in the mountains was customary. The Indian Claims Commission concluded from its findings on Indian land title that the interior portion of the Olympics was used in common by the peninsula tribes. However, anthropologist Ronald Olson noted in his Quinault interviews that hunters must not cross a line at the headwaters into Klallam or Skokomish territory, and if the Quinault hunted on the other side, there would be a fight (Olson [1925-1926]). Jay Powell also recorded information about the northeastern territorial boundary between the Quileute and their Elwha neighbors, which was Boulder and Everett Peaks. Olson's manuscript on the Quinault describes the mountains "above the sources of the river [as] more or less common hunting territory for Quinault, Skokomish, Klallam and Queets" (Olson 1936:13).

The mountains were divided to protect resources important to tribal groups, and although some areas were shared, there was an aspect of territorial recognition. The mountains were not *terra incognita*, but a part of the landscape that is important to tribal people's lifeways.

THE GREAT FLOOD

The mountains were more than a travel route; they are the "Mount Ararat" of native traditions. Leo Frachtenberg examined ceremonial societies for the original home of the Quileute and the Chemakum Indians. He found the separation of the two groups recounted in the story of the Great Flood:

In early times the Quileute and Chimakum lived together. During the great flood the people took to their canoes, floating in them until they reached the crests of the Olympic Mountains. Here they tied them to trees and rocks. One night a great storm arose, and many of the canoes tore loose from their moorings. These canoes drifted in a northeastern direction until they reached the present site of the towns of Chimakum and Port Ludlow. Here the people abandoned their canoes and settled down, becoming in the course of time the Chimakum tribe. The people whose canoes were not loosened remained on the Olympic mountains until the flood subsided. The receding waters carried them and their canoes toward the shores of the Pacific Ocean (Frachtenberg 1921:351).

Frachtenberg questions the historical probability of this story, and therefore suggests that "the original location of the Quileute tribe must be looked for at a point eastward of their present possessions" (Frachtenberg 1921:351). Frachtenberg sees the importance of the Quileute hunting society as a reflection of the fact that they once lived farther inland. He contends that such an ancient society could have been developed only by people whose main occupation was hunting.

Frachtenberg may be correct in his theory that the Quileute homeland was inland. Albert Reagan describes "an ancient midden heap...found on the Hoh River some 16 miles inland at a place called the 'bench,' on a benched area where the Olympic glacier made a stand on its retreat up the mountains from the coast" (Reagan 1917:16). This site has not been documented by archeologists to date; however, it seems reasonable to believe that as the alpine glaciers retreated, areas of glacial refugium may have been used as habitation sites.

Accounts of the Great Flood may relate to the retreat of the glaciers and the corresponding rise of the ocean. The following narrative by Chris Morganroth seems to support this:

Then Quaty caused the Chinook winds and warm rains to come. They continued for many days and nights, never ceasing, melting the snow and ice in the mountains and causing a big flood. All this rain and melting snow

caused the ocean to rise higher and higher every day until all canoes were lost and all the Indians along the ocean were drowned....The Indians far up the rivers had gathered many cedar boughs which they had twisted into a long stout rope. They loaded their canoes with their belongings and the rope, and as the water rose higher, they paddled farther inland. The water kept rising until only the top of Mt. Olympus was above water. The Indians paddled to it and fastened their rope to the highest peak. Then all the canoes were made fast to this rope....

The Indians still claim to this day that at times when there is not too much snow and ice on Mt. Olympus, part of the great rope can be seen sticking out from under the glacial ice (Morganroth 1991:91-92).

Swan relates a Great Flood story for the Makah:

"A long time ago," said my informant, "but not at a very remote period, the water of the Pacific flowed through what is now the swamp and prairie between Waatch village and Neeah Bay, making an Island of Cape Flattery. The water suddenly receded, leaving Neah Bay perfectly dry. It was four days reaching its lowest ebb, and then rose again without any waves or breakers, till it had submerged the Cape, and in fact the whole country, excepting the tops of the mountains at Clioquot. The water on its rise became very warm, and as it came up to the houses, those who had canoes put their effects into them, and floated off with the current, which set very strongly to the north. Some drifted one way, some another; and when the waters assumed their accustomed level, a portion of the tribe found themselves beyond Nootka, where their descendants now reside, and are known by the same name as the Makahs in Classet, or Kwenaitchechat. Many canoes came down in the trees and were destroyed, and numerous lives were lost. The water was four days regaining its accustomed level" (Swan [1868]1972:57).

The Klallam and Twana also have traditions regarding a deluge. The Twana call the mountain to which they fastened themselves "fastener," or "where you tie yourself," *dux^wx^wék^w, adəbətəbad*, located behind Mount Ellinor (Eells 1878:70, 1985:265; Elmendorf 1961:134).

Eells writes that in the 1880s, a Klallam man told him that the flood occurred three or four generations ago (Eells 1985:266). Sam Ulmer of the Lower Elwha Klallam, related that the canoes were tied to a mountaintop that broke off, "leaving the two points now visible at the ends of a saddle-like ridge in the Olympics" (Clark 1953:45). This may be Mount Carrie and Cat

Peak with the ridge called the Cat Walk in between, or it may have been Mount Olympus, as seen from the Elwha. Ed Sampson also related a flood story very similar to this:

There was one smart old man. When that flood was coming, their drinking water started getting salty. He told his tribe to prepare for a flood, it's coming, he said. Some of them just laughed at him. And some of them took his word. He said, get your water bags and fill them up with fresh water, as much as you can carry in your canoe. Get prepared because there's going to be a flood. It's coming! Some of them obeyed him and took his word. They all prepared. Some of them made fun of him, told him he was crazy. Their drinking water started getting saltier every day. Pretty soon the flood water started coming up. They got in their canoes. Those people that were making fun of him, they had to get in their canoes and they weren't prepared for it. They didn't have water, they didn't have food.

When the flood started to come up over these lands, the people started floating up with that water. And when they got up to those two peaks up there, one of them broke. I don't know how many years ago. The top of it broke and fell off. When they got up there they made a great big rope and they put it around that peak, then they tied their smaller ropes to their canoes. When that water reached up to the top of those peaks, one of the peaks started growing with the water. It didn't go under, it just kept up with that water, getting higher. That one peak just kept going with it.

I forgot how many days or weeks they were tied up there onto that big rope. Those people that made fun of that old man ran out of food. They started begging for food. Those people that did what that old man told them to do, they had all the food they wanted and the water. They used to make water jugs or whatever you'd call it out of seal stomach. They'd dry it, then they clean it up and fill that with water before the flood. Those people that were stubborn and wouldn't listen to that old man, they ran out of food and water and they started begging those people that were prepared for the flood.

When that flood started going down they untied themselves and they went right down with that water. Some of the canoes--the tree top hit their canoe and tipped it over and they drowned. Some of them made it. By the time the water was back where it was before the flood, some of the Klallams drifted down with their canoes and landed way to the north in Canada. They drifted that far away. Then some of them ended up around Chehalis (Klallam Interviews 1990-1992).

Great Flood oral traditions are widespread among the tribes of this region. Future scientific inquiry on tectonic movement and tsunamis may provide data that correlates indigenous peoples' spoken history with geological information.

CHAPTER 6

SACRED PLACES AND SPIRITUAL BELIEF

Historically, human beings have adapted and changed according to changes in the natural environment. Many people know that they must live in balance with nature to survive. For Native Americans on the Olympic Peninsula, that balance was maintained through spiritual practice. This required a specific knowledge of power and the ability to retrieve and sustain such power. Certain places, landscape features or spiritual beings are valued because of the power they contain. This chapter addresses distinctive belief systems which are based on places and beings of importance.

The things humans do not fully understand--the meaning of life and what happens to a person's soul after death--are reflected in individual belief systems. Today, many have abandoned traditional belief systems that gave meaning to some of these questions, and exchanged them for a purely scientific view of the world. Understanding spiritual belief systems is an essential element to understanding the world in which tribal people on the Olympic Peninsula live.

SPIRIT ACQUISITION

Prior to the advent of European-American settlement, Native Americans obtained the special skills needed to survive and to achieve prestige from nature. This assistance came in the form of supernatural power. The most important source of power was sought during the spirit quest or vision quest (Suttles 1974:327-328). This quest is a ritualistic journey in search of a supernatural force that will accept the individual and give them power. Spirit power often came in the form of an animal or animal-like being.

Spirit power was referred to by the Chinook jargon term *tamanawis*, meaning medicine power (Eells 1985). In his ethnography of the Quinault, Ronald Olson uses the Chinook jargon term, *skookum*, which means strong, to describe many types of beings that could be obtained as guardian spirits (Olson 1936:145-150).

Part of the spirit quest process involved years of purifying the body and soul with ritual cleansing. When a youth was ready, he/she sought a place to find the spirit, and fasted and slept very little during this search. The mountains were often the destination, especially dangerous places, such as caves,

the bottom of icy lakes, or under waterfalls. Sometimes the individual would dream of the location he/she should go to (Olson 1936:144). If a spirit was not found in a few days, the individual would return home and prepare more thoroughly. Olson recorded a Quinault spirit acquisition as follows:

I stayed two nights and a day at the place. In the middle of the second night there came a roaring wind, things came through the air and the ground swayed and rocked. Then I heard the scream of an eagle. He came near and I saw him in the guise of a man. He went round and round the fire and then went away. I was very much afraid and wanted to run away. Then I heard the sea monster (sta'nok') near by, and he, too, walked around me. I was afraid he was going to carry me off. Then there came a monster snake (o'lkah) who made a noise like the land otter. Finally Turtle came and walked around me and went away. Each of them gave me power. They gave me (the power of) good eyesight which enables me to see the sickness inside people. Snake sucks the blood and poison out of people (Olson 1936:144).

The skill or power the individual acquired would sometimes manifest itself in a spirit song which the individual might start to sing months after finding the spirit. The song contained enough power to make the individual sick, and the individual needed to understand or control the power before using it. This was often done at a dance under the guidance of a shaman or Indian doctor (Suttles 1974:329).

Among the Coast Salish tribes today, there are variations of the guardian-spirit complex in spirit dancing, where spirit power is manifested in song, dance, and ceremonial items, celebrated during the winter months. The Halkomelem and Northern Straits word *syéwən* is often used for this rite, as is the term "Smokehouse Religion" (Kew 1990:476; Capoeman 1990:57).

The novice of the Smokehouse religion must go through an initiation process, including seclusion and ritual cleansing. As with the spirit quest, mountainous areas are an integral part of spirit dancing, and ritual bathing takes place in natural pools where spirit powers are renewed and strengthened (Kew 1990:477-478). The park is an ideal area for these activities and currently used for this purpose.



Figure 32
Mount Olympus, Home of Thunderbird
Courtesy North Olympic Library, Port Angeles

THUNDERBIRD

Thunderbird is a prominent being of strength and power for Olympic Peninsula tribes. The Thunderbird spirit was often sought by the whale hunter. Olson notes: "that is why there is thunder and lightning when a man harpoons a whale. The whaler calls for his helper, who gives him superhuman strength. Without such help no one could kill a whale" (Olson 1936:154). Thunderbird himself hunted whales and carried them back to his mountain lair. There are many descriptions in ethnographic accounts that relate to Thunderbird's home. It is probable that each peninsula tribe identified Thunderbird's home in its own territory.

The following two accounts are from Reagan's tales of the Hoh and Quileute:

When it is stormy weather the Thunderbird flies through the skies. He is of monstrous size. When he opens and shuts his eyes, he makes the lightning. The flapping of his wings makes the thunder and the great winds. Thunderbird keeps his meat in a dark hole under the glacier at the foot of the Olympic glacial field. That is his home. When he moves about in there, he makes noise of thunder there under the ice (Reagan 1933:320).

The second story that Reagan recounts is a Hoh myth:

Some men were hunting in the Hoh mountains. They found a hole in the side of the mountain. They said, "This is Thunderbird's home. This is a supernatural place." Whenever they walked close to the hole they were very afraid. Thunderbird smelled the hunters whenever they approached his place. He did not want any person to come near his house. He caused ice to come out of the door of his house. Whenever people came near there he rolled ice down the mountain side while he made the thunder noise. The ice would roll until it came to the level place where the rocks are. There it broke into a million pieces, and rattled as it rolled farther down valley. Everyone was afraid of Thunderbird and of the thunder noise. No one would sleep near that place over night (Reagan 1933:320).

Olson recounts an interesting story from the Quinault:

Several families were in the mountains hunting elk. They camped near támol (noise place). They heard roaring sounds intermittently from a near-by mountain but were afraid to investigate. However, there were two lads who determined to locate the cause of the sounds. They climbed up to where there was snow. Issuing from a cavern in the ice was a roaring stream which every so often

stopped flowing. One said, "I want to see what it looks like inside." He climbed to the opening and when the water stopped looked in five times. Then he threw back his head and laughed. "There is a whale in there," he said. Then he told how he had seen a live whale which stopped the flow by plugging the opening with its tail. The other said, "It must be skukum. Let's go back. We may die from it. How could there be a real whale up here?" When they returned to camp the one who had looked into the cavern laughed and told the people what he had seen. He had hardly finished speaking when he fell over. Blood ran from his nose and mouth, and his eyes burst from their sockets. In a few minutes he was dead. The other fell ill but recovered. They covered the dead boy's body with stones, dirt, and rotten logs and then returned home lest they all die (Olson 1936:147).

In Olson's list of Quinault place names, he notes *pala'l* *pala'l*, "spouting water," as

a spot near a glacier high in the mountains at the head of the main source of the south fork. The water gushes out of a hole in spurts. There is a whale under the mountain who opens and closes the hole with his tail so that it does not boil out in a steady stream (Olson 1936:22).

In Olson's fieldnotes he uses the term *'tī'stīlāl tē'k!al* (Thunder's house) for the hollow rock where Thunderbird lives "at the head of the S. Fork," which may be the Hoh River (Olson [1925-1926]). According to Klallam consultants and accounts by Erna Gunther, many Klallam possessed a Thunderbird spirit. This spirit gave them power in war, but also gave them wealth power.

Dr. Suttles has documented an account of a man seeking a spirit at Thunderbird's home. Ed Sampson, a Klallam gentleman from the Elwha, referred to a similar story quoted here:

There is a bathing spot about where the lower dam is. The Thunderbird lives on the hill above the rock cliffs. You can see them sitting up there like eagles. The Indians would bathe there and not eat anything. They just starve themselves while they're bathing. Then when they think they are clean enough they try to reach the Thunderbird. When they get part way up, if that Thunderbird doesn't think the person is clean enough it starts shooting its lightning at him, and he must retreat. There was only one man that made it. He stayed there a week preparing himself. When he got up there, there was a big white rock. He went around it and saw a hole on the other side. That was the Thunderbird's door. He got a stick and put it across the hole. He knew that

if he didn't, once he got in, that hole would seal up and he would be locked inside. When he got in he saw an old man with white hair and white whiskers sitting way up like a king. That was the Thunderbird himself. Everything inside was nothing but gold and diamonds. Thunderbird had his hunting and fishing gear up on the side of the room. The Thunderbird asked him what he wanted and the Indian told him he wanted a spirit so he could catch what he wanted easily. The man picked out a fish hook, *Cəmún'ə*, for catching halibut, that was made out of gold. The Thunderbird reached out and picked that thing and threw it at the Indian. He crawled back through the hole, and took the stick and threw it away. When the Thunderbird goes out fishing it is so powerful that they could see it flying back hanging onto a big whale. Just like an eagle with a fish in its mouth (Klallam Interviews 1990-1992).

Another Klallam consultant related that the *cínək^{wə}* is lightning:

Our grandparents were fishing. They came ashore and were sitting next to their fire watching the lightning out in the straits. One lightning landed on the water, way out there, and pretty soon it started swimming toward shore. It showed itself, just like a big beast or monster. Like an alligator or crocodile. It came right ashore, not far from where they landed and started walking straight up the bank, over a hundred feet up. When it got on top it went after a big cedar tree and started climbing that. When it got up there that lightning took off again and the tree started burning (Klallam Interviews 1990-1992).

According to Klallam consultants, Klallam warriors had Thunderbird spirit power:

When another tribe kills someone from here, just as soon as the word comes that someone was murdered, they get their weapons ready and shove out in there canoes. As soon as they do the skies get dark with clouds and it begins to thunder and lightning (Klallam Interviews 1990-1992).

Gunther recalls that one of her informants "insisted that warriors never started unless the thunder answered their supplication. If this is true, war expeditions must have been very rare" (Gunther 1927:268).

According to one of Suttles' consultants, the "last place where thunder was near the water" was the first hill from the Elwha,

but "now [1952] thunder is way up in the mountains near the warm springs; if you get close you will see sparks" (Suttles 1991).

Chris Morganroth recorded a story about the warm springs and two dragons, that were undoubtedly Thunderbird's lightning. The story recounts that there were two large and powerful dragons that lived in great caverns. One ruled east of the Elwha and the other the west. One night they met at Boulder Peak and tried to kill each other. They were both badly wounded, and retreated to their caverns, sealed the entrances with boulders and cried hot tears. According to the legend, this is how the Sol Duc and Olympic Hot Springs were created (Morganroth 1991:108-109; Sol Duc Pilot Watershed Analysis 1995).

MOUNTAIN BEINGS

There is another type of spirit among the Quinault called *Skuku'm ma'likulc* (devil of the forest), who lives in the mountains. Most of the elders had one spirit of this type, known as the elk spirit. Some *skukums* were "long, black and tall, with a human face" and disappeared when humans approached. They made a noise of *a.ta.ta.tat*, each in a higher pitch than the preceding one (Olson 1936:146). The devil of the forest might have been what is often referred to as "stick" Indians. Stick is a Chinook jargon term for forest. Stick Indians may be likened to a sasquatch being.

Sasquatch is an anglicization of the word *sesqec*. The word from the Halkomelem language spoken in southwestern British Columbia and southeastern Vancouver Island. Sasquatch is one of many "supernatural beings" the Lower Fraser people believe live in the wilderness near them (Suttles 1994:75).

There are many different names for mountain beings on the Olympic Peninsula. The Twana referred to stick Indians as *ciatqo*. These creatures were like humans, but taller. They lived in the mountains, were odorless, could climb vertical cliffs, wore a breech clout, and were usually invisible. People feared them, but were never harmed by them. However, they often stole game (Elmendorf [1960]1992:532-34).

The Quinault called the giants that lived in the mountains *tsadja'tko* or *tsa'aloh*. They looked similar to humans, except they had quartz spikes on their toes. They were great thieves, but usually returned the food or implement they had borrowed (Olson 1936:147,170).

Among the Klallam elders consulted for this project, one woman said that the Klallam do not use the Canadian word sasquatch;

instead she uses the Klallam word *čičayík^wtən*, which means "comes from the mountain." She would classify *čičayík^wtən* as a human being, but a different breed that could not intermarry with the Indians. If a person really needed help, *čičayík^wtən* would come to help them (Klallam Interviews 1990-1992).

Some Klallam consultants believe that the reason the sasquatch type being seems to disappear is that it can hypnotise a person until it is gone. There is a theory among some tribal members that sasquatch uses telepathy as well as hypnotism. That is why when you first see them, then look again, they are gone (Klallam Interviews 1990-1992).

Ed Sampson identified two names for mountain beings: *c'izátk^w* and *təyyáps̓*. *c'izátk^w* are giants 9-12 feet tall. These giants have no knee caps, so if someone wanted to escape from them, he/she just had to run up a steep hill. The *təyyáps̓* are smaller and live near Puyallup territory (Klallam Interviews 1990-1992).

An account by a Nisqually Indian relates more details about "Siatcos":

There appeared at different places, during the fall seasons, and particularly when the different species of salmon would run up the fresh water streams, a set of people known as Siatcos. Whence they came nobody knew, but they came from the north. They were ventriloquists, and that gift made them more feared, as they were wont to roam about at night. When these strange people would arrive, their calls in high, clear pitch, and their odd whistles, were blood-curdling; hence their name, Siatco....The Siatcos were tall, slender, and athletic in build; great runners. They slept in out-of-the-way places during the day. By the use of some unknown substance the Siatco would at will cause the natives to become senseless and helpless, going into a deep slumber, sometimes for a short time, but, more often, for a long time (Sicade 1940:500-501).

The Indians on the Olympic Peninsula believed that most of the natural world had the potential to provide sacred power. Olson stated that forked trees were potent and considered dangerous. Lightning seen striking cliffs was a sign that a spirit or power is at that location. Fog rising from a creek, headwaters, whirlpools and eddies, cliff faces, caves, and prairies were sacred places. According to Anthropologist Lowell Bean, "Power is available to all things....Nothing is judged to be without power until it is tested by empirical indicators of power" (Bean 1992:119).

Wayne Suttles has written an excellent article concerning the belief in sasquatch beings on the northwest coast. In this

article he states that there is no dichotomy in Coast Salish thought of "real" versus "mythical" or "natural" versus "supernatural" entities (Suttles 1987:74).

According to the early works of Leo Frachtenberg, the animal kingdom for the Quileute was divided into two divisions: land and water beings. Spirits and supernatural powers are part of the real world and fall within one of the divisions of this belief system (Frachtenberg 1916:Q1.5:27). Scientific views toward sasquatch and other beings are based on another belief system. When terminology like "mythological" and "legendary" is used to describe these beliefs, such classifications may imply that they really do not exist. It is important to remember that the spiritual practitioner places value on places and beings on the Olympic Peninsula; whether or not science verifies their existence is not relevant to this belief system.

View of Resources: Native Spirituality

On the Olympic Peninsula, each tribe's relationship to the natural environment is based on a regard for the conscious spirit of plants and animals. Among the two divisions mentioned by Frachtenberg above--land and water beings--each species formed a tribe that had its own chief (Frachtenberg 1916:Q1.5:27; Olson 1936:166). This spirit or chief had to be propitiated by ritual or ceremony before it was utilized (Gunther 1928:150). The ceremonies surrounding the first salmon of the season, as well as the first elk, and perhaps other species, were carried out to honor the animal chief.

Ritual practices were followed for the first blueback and chinook salmon in the Quinault River. When the first salmon was caught, it was laid on the river bank with its head pointing upstream, then taken home and prepared for the entire village. The fish was never cut crosswise or cut with anything except a mussel shell knife. It was cut down either side of the backbone, leaving the head attached. The entrails were removed and the heart was burned in the fire. If an animal or human were to eat the heart, the salmon run would stop. After this initial ritual, no others occurred for the chinook salmon (Olson [1925-1926], 1936:34-35).

The blueback salmon was treated with more reverence. Ritual precautions continued throughout its run, up until the first butterball ducks came into the river, around May 15. The hearts of the blueback were always burned (Olson [1925-1926], 1936:34-35).

Other ritual handling by the Quinault involved throwing salmon bones on the bank of the river, not in the water. According to the Quinault, the salmon take these bones back to their home in

the ocean where the bones become salmon again, and the old salmon who return to the ocean serve as guides during the following year's run (Olson 1936:35-36).

Gunther recorded an interesting story about the returning salmon among the Klallam. Children were told not to fool with the salmon prior to its preparation for meals. If they played with it or made fun of it they would get sick and act like the salmon when it is dying (Gunther 1925:2:15). The children were told that after the old salmon died, they came back again to lead the young ones up the river. Some boys doubted this so they found a very old salmon close to death and took some of their headdress and tied it onto the fish's tail and fins. They pushed the salmon into the water and said, "If you are the one to lead the young salmon, next year we'll see you again" (Gunther [1925]:2:15). The next salmon season, the boys went to the place where they had tied the headdress to the salmon. When they got there, they found the old salmon wearing the headdress. After they saw this they became ill. The doctor could not help them, and they died just like a dying salmon (Gunther [1925]:2:15).

It was important not to contaminate the salmon run. For example, among the Quinault, the shamans who handled the deceased did not eat fresh fish for a month (Olson [1936]:112). Young Quinault girls possessed strong powers. For the first five months of their menses, they would retreat to a river village where there was no sockeye run. They could not eat fresh fish during the five months or else the salmon runs would stop; nor could they eat fresh berries, as Thunderbird would send a storm (Olson [1936]:105). These girls bathed themselves during the intervals between their menses according to a definite ritual. Married women also had restrictions about going near the river and eating fresh meat or fish during their menses.

The Skokomish held a public ceremony for the first elk killed each year. The elk was placed in a pit and cooked in its own hide. Everyone in the village ate part of the elk and all edible portions were consumed. Elmendorf states that the purpose of the ceremony was "placation by ritual treatment of the 'father of the elk'" (Elmendorf [1960]1992:117). This would ensure abundant elk the following season.

Canoe making is an art form which was taught to adolescent boys by a male relative. Elmendorf interviewed a Twana consultant who told him that there is a special guardian-spirit power for canoe making, named *yɛyɪha'dad*. According to this consultant, to obtain that spirit, the cedar tree must talk to you in a vision and give you the power to become a canoe maker (Elmendorf [1960]1992:190).

The cedar tree is considered "a gift from the gods" by the Quileute (Kirk 1967:40). Cedar bark was used for mats, clothes, diapers, towels, torches, fish traps, headbands, baskets, rope, canoe sails, and shelters. Only one or two strips (about five inches wide and twenty inches long) were taken from each tree in order to protect the tree from damage. According to a Quileute cultural teacher, "we offered our apologies and expressed our sorrow to the trees before we stripped them" (Halliday 1989).

As has been illustrated, rituals were carried out to maintain harmony with the ecosystem, because people believed--and many still retain these belief systems--that they were interdependent with their environment and needed to appease that which they relied upon.

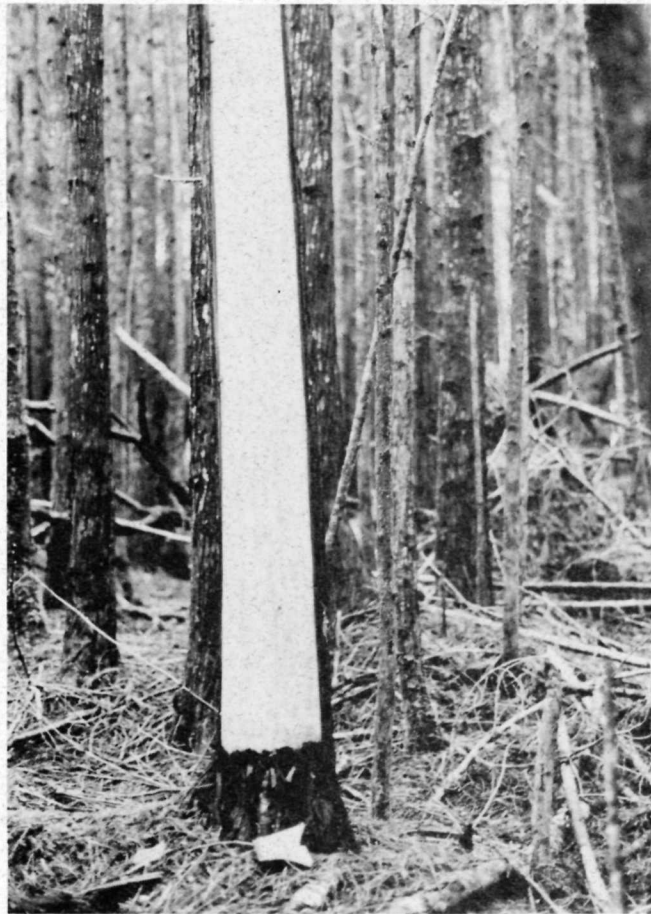


Figure 33
Cedar Bark-peel Scar - Ozette
NPS Photo

CONCLUSION

This overview and assessment addresses a need for background information concerning the indigenous populations of the Olympic Peninsula and their relationships to park lands, as well as cultural preservation law and policy that affects these relationships. However, the document is not static and will evolve to reflect changes in law and policy. It will also be expanded as a result of a growing park cultural resource database and changes in park management practices.

Once the document is utilized by park staff, there will undoubtedly be updates on current issues that should be included. The National Park Service is in the midst of changing times, especially regarding the role of tribal stewardship for certain resources. This document should be updated to reflect future needs.

The National Park Service Organic Act of 1916 calls for the preservation of both natural and cultural resources. In managing the resources of national parks, the two categories are separated. Culture is distinguished as something constructed by humans, and nature is that which is distinct from humans. From the perspective of the peninsula tribes, if nature and culture had to be defined, they would be one and the same, as people, plants, and animals are all beings of creation.

The National Park Service makes administrative decisions based on both cultural and natural preservation mandates. This document can provide the background to understand aspects of the interrelationship between the two as it applies to Native Americans on the Olympic Peninsula, and specifically within Olympic National Park. Further research will be conducted to more fully address specific types of traditional uses and places of importance to the tribes of the peninsula.

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APPENDIX A. TREATIES

TREATY OF POINT NO POINT

TREATY WITH THE S'KLALLAMS. JANUARY 26, 1855.

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*Treaty between the United States of America and the S'Klallams Indians.
Concluded at Point no Point, Washington Territory, January 26, 1855;
Ratified by the Senate, March 8, 1859; Proclaimed by the President of
the United States, April 29, 1859.*

JAMES BUCHANAN,

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

TO ALL AND SINGULAR TO WHOM THESE PRESENTS SHALL COME, GREETING: January 26, 1855.

WHEREAS a Treaty was made and concluded at Hahd Skus, or Point no Point, in Washington Territory, on the twenty-sixth day of January, eighteen hundred and fifty-five, between Isaac I. Stevens, Governor and Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the said Territory, on the part of the United States, and the hereinafter named Chiefs, Headmen, and Delegates of the different villages of the S'Klallams Indians, viz.: the Kah-tai, Squah-quaihl, Tch-queen, Ste-tehtlum, Tsohkw, Yennis, El-hwa, Pishtst, Hunnint, Klat-la-wash, and Oke-no, and also of the Sko-ko-mish, Too-an-hooch, and Chem-a-kum tribes occupying certain lands on the straits of Fuca and Hood's Canal, in the Territory of Washington, on behalf of said tribes, and duly authorized by them; which treaty is in the words and figures following, to wit:

Preamble.

Articles of agreement and convention, made and concluded at Hahd-skus, or Point no Point, Suquamish Head, in the Territory of Washington, this twenty-sixth day of January, eighteen hundred and fifty-five, by Isaac I. Stevens, governor and superintendent of Indian affairs for the said Territory, on the part of the United States, and the undersigned chiefs, headmen, and delegates of the different villages of the S'Klallams, viz.: Kah-tai, Squah-quaihl, Tch-queen, Ste-tehtlum, Tsohkw, Yennis, El-hwa, Pishtst, Hun-nint, Klat-la-wash, and Oke-ho, and also of the Sko-ko-mish, To-an-hooch and Chem-a-kum tribes, occupying certain lands on the straits of Fuca and Hood's Canal in the Territory of Washington, on behalf of said tribes, and duly authorized by them.

Contracting parties.

ARTICLE I. The said tribes and bands of Indians hereby cede, relinquish, and convey to the United States all their right, title, and interest in and to the lands and country occupied by them, bounded and described as follows, viz.: commencing at the mouth of the Okelso River, on the Straits of Fuca, thence southeastwardly along the westerly line of Territory claimed by the Makah tribe of Indians to the summit of the Cascade range; thence still southeastwardly and southerly along said summit to the head of the west branch of the Satsop River, down that branch to the main fork; thence eastwardly and following the line of lands heretofore ceded to the the United States by the Nisqually and other tribes and bands of Indians, to the summit of the Black Hills, and northeastwardly to the portage known as Wilkes' portage; thence northeastwardly, and following the line of lands heretofore ceded to the United States by the Dwamish, Suquamish, and other tribes and bands of Indians to Suquamish Head; thence northerly through Admiralty Inlet to the Straits of Fuca; thence westwardly through said straits to the place of beginning; including all the right, title, and interest of the said tribes and bands to any land in the Territory of Washington.

Cession of lands to the United States.

Boundaries.

Vol. x. p. 1182.

ante Treaties, p. 1.

ARTICLE II. There is, however, reserved for the present use and occupation of the said tribes and bands the following tract of land, viz.: the

Reservation.

Whites not to reside thereon.	amount of six sections, or three thousand eight hundred and forty acres, situated at the head of Hood's Canal, to be hereafter set apart, and so far as necessary surveyed and marked out for their exclusive use; nor shall any white man be permitted to reside upon the same without permission of the said tribes and bands, and of the superintendent or agent; but, if necessary for the public convenience, roads may be run through the said reservation, the Indians being compensated for any damage thereby done them. It is, however, understood that should the President of the United States hereafter see fit to place upon the said reservation any other friendly tribe or band, to occupy the same in common with those above mentioned, he shall be at liberty to do so.
Tribes to settle on reservation.	ARTICLE III. The said tribes and bands agree to remove to and settle upon the said reservation within one year after the ratification of this treaty, or sooner if the means are furnished them. In the mean time, it shall be lawful for them to reside upon any lands not in the actual claim or occupation of citizens of the United States, and upon any land claimed or occupied, if with the permission of the owner.
Privileges to the Indians.	ARTICLE IV. The right of taking fish at usual and accustomed grounds and stations is further secured to said Indians, in common with all citizens of the United States; and of erecting temporary houses for the purpose of curing; together with the privilege of hunting and gathering roots and berries on open and unclaimed lands. <i>Provided, however,</i> That they shall not take shell-fish from any beds staked or cultivated by citizens.
Payments by the United States.	ARTICLE V. In consideration of the above cession, the United States agree to pay to the said tribes and bands the sum of sixty thousand dollars, in the following manner, that is to say: during the first year after the ratification hereof, six thousand dollars; for the next two years, five thousand dollars each year; for the next three years, four thousand dollars each year; for the next four years, three thousand dollars each year; for the next five years, two thousand four hundred dollars each year; and for the next five years, one thousand six hundred dollars each year.
How to be applied.	All which said sums of money shall be applied to the use, and benefit of the said Indians under the direction of the President of the United States, who may from time to time determine at his discretion upon what beneficial objects to expend the same. And the superintendent of Indian affairs, or other proper officer, shall each year inform the President of the wishes of said Indians in respect thereto.
Appropriation for removal, &c.	ARTICLE VI. To enable the said Indians to remove to and settle upon their aforesaid reservations, and to clear, fence, and break up a sufficient quantity of land for cultivation, the United States further agree to pay the sum of six thousand dollars, to be laid out and expended under the direction of the President, and in such manner as he shall approve.
Indians may be removed to other reservation.	ARTICLE VII. The President may hereafter, when in his opinion the interests of the Territory shall require, and the welfare of said Indians be promoted, remove them from said reservation to such other suitable place or places within said Territory as he may deem fit, on remunerating them for their improvements and the expenses of their removal; or may consolidate them with other friendly tribes or bands. And he may further, at his discretion, cause the whole or any portion of the lands hereby reserved, or of such other land as may be selected in lieu thereof, to be surveyed into lots, and assign the same to such individuals or families as are willing to avail themselves of the privilege, and will locate thereon as a permanent home, on the same terms and subject to the same regulations as are provided in the sixth article of the treaty with the Omahas, so far as the same may be applicable. Any substantial improvements heretofore made by any Indian, and which he shall be compelled to abandon in consequence of this treaty, shall be valued under the direction of the President, and payment made therefor accordingly.
Lands may be surveyed and assigned, &c.	ARTICLE VIII. The annuities of the aforesaid tribes and bands shall not be taken to pay the debts of individuals.
Vol. x. p. 1044.	
Annuities not to be taken for debts of individuals.	

ARTICLE IX. The said tribes and bands acknowledge their dependence on the government of the United States, and promise to be friendly with all citizens thereof; and they pledge themselves to commit no depredations on the property of such citizens. And should any one or more of them violate this pledge, and the fact be satisfactorily proven before the agent, the property taken shall be returned, or in default thereof, or if injured or destroyed, compensation may be made by the government out of their annuities. Nor will they make war on any other tribe, except in self defence, but will submit all matters of difference between them and other Indians to the government of the United States, or its agent, for decision, and abide thereby. And if any of the said Indians commit any depredations on any other Indians within the Territory, the same rule shall prevail as that prescribed in this article in cases of depredations against citizens. And the said tribes agree not to shelter or conceal offenders against the United States, but to deliver them up for trial by the authorities.

Tribes to preserve friendly relations,

to pay for depredations.

not to make war but in self defence.

To surrender offenders.

ARTICLE X. The above tribes and bands are desirous to exclude from their reservation the use of ardent spirits, and to prevent their people from drinking the same, and therefore it is provided that any Indian belonging thereto who shall be guilty of bringing liquor into said reservation, or who drinks liquor, may have his or her proportion of the annuities withheld from him or her for such time as the President may determine.

Annuities may be withheld from those drinking ardent spirits.

ARTICLE XI. The United States further agree to establish at the general agency for the district of Puget's Sound, within one year from the ratification hereof, and to support for the period of twenty years, an agricultural and industrial school, to be free to children of the said tribes and bands in common with those of the other tribes of said district, and to provide a smithy and carpenter's shop, and furnish them with the necessary tools, and employ a blacksmith, carpenter, and farmer for the term of twenty years, to instruct the Indians in their respective occupations. And the United States further agree to employ a physician to reside at the said central agency, who shall furnish medicine and advice to the sick, and shall vaccinate them; the expenses of the said school, shops, persons employed, and medical attendance to be defrayed by the United States, and not deducted from the annuities.

United States to establish school.

Mechanics' shop.

To employ a physician.

ARTICLE XII. The said tribes and bands agree to free all slaves now held by them, and not to purchase or acquire others hereafter.

Tribes to free slaves and not to acquire others.

ARTICLE XIII. The said tribes and bands finally agree not to trade at Vancouver's Island, or elsewhere out of the dominions of the United States, nor shall foreign Indians be permitted to reside in their reservations without consent of the superintendent or agent.

Not to trade out of the United States.

ARTICLE XIV. This treaty shall be obligatory on the contracting parties as soon as the same shall be ratified by the President of the United States.

When treaty to take effect.

In testimony whereof, the said Isaac I. Stevens, governor and superintendent of Indian affairs, and the undersigned chiefs, headmen, and delegates of the aforesaid tribes and bands of Indians have hereunto set their hands and seals at the place and on the day and year hereinbefore written.

Signatures, January 26, 1855.

ISAAC I. STEVENS, *Governor and Superintendent.* [L. S.]

CHITS-A-MAH-HAN, the Duke of York, his x mark. [L. S.]
Chief of the S'klallams.

DAH-WHIL-LUK, *Chief of the Sko-ko-mush.* his x mark. [L. S.]

KUL-KAH-HAN, or General Pierce, his x mark. [L. S.]
Chief of the Chem-a-kum.

HOOL-HOLE-TAN, or Jim, *Sko-ko-mish sub-chief.* his x mark. [L. S.]

SAI-A-KADE, or Frank, *Sko-ko-mish sub-chief.* his x mark. [L. S.]

LOO-GWEH-OOS, or George, his x mark. [L. S.]
Sko-ko-mish sub-chief.

E-DAGH-TAN, or Tom, <i>Sko-ko-mish sub-chief.</i>	his x mark.	[L. S.]
KAI-A-HAN, or Daniel Webster, <i>Chem-a-kum sub-chief.</i>	his x mark.	[L. S.]
ETS-SAH-QUAT, <i>Chem-a-kum sub-chief.</i>	his x mark.	[L. S.]
KLEH-A-KUNST, <i>Chem-a-kum sub-chief.</i>	his x mark.	[L. S.]
HE-ATL, Duke of Clarence, <i>S'klallam sub-chief.</i>	his x mark.	[L. S.]
LACH-KA-NAM, or Lord Nelson, <i>S'klallam sub-chief.</i>	his x mark.	[L. S.]
TCHOTEST, <i>S'klallam sub-chief.</i>	his x mark.	[L. S.]
HOOT-OTE ST, or General Lane, <i>S'klallam sub-chief.</i>	his x mark.	[L. S.]
TO-TOTESH, <i>S'klallam sub-chief.</i>	his x mark.	[L. S.]
HAH-KWIA-MIHL, <i>S'klallam sub-chief.</i>	his x mark.	[L. S.]
SKAI-SE-EE, or Mr. Newman, <i>S'klallam sub-chief.</i>	his x mark.	[L. S.]
KAHS-SAHS-A-MATL, <i>S'klallam sub-chief.</i>	his x mark.	[L. S.]
S'HOTE-CH-STAN, <i>S'klallam sub-chief.</i>	his x mark.	[L. S.]
LAH-ST, or Tom, <i>S'klallam sub-chief.</i>	his x mark.	[L. S.]
TULS-MET-TUM, Lord Jim, <i>S'klallam sub-chief.</i>	his x mark.	[L. S.]
YAHT-LE-MIN, or General Taylor, <i>S'klallam sub-chief.</i>	his x mark.	[L. S.]
KLA-KOISHT, or Captain, <i>S'klallam sub-chief.</i>	his x mark.	[L. S.]
SNA-TALC, or General Scott, <i>S'klallam sub-chief.</i>	his x mark.	[L. S.]
TSEH-A-TAKE, or Tom Benton, <i>S'klallam sub-chief.</i>	his x mark.	[L. S.]
YAH-KWI-E-NOOK, or General Gaines, <i>S'klallam sub-chief.</i>	his x mark.	[L. S.]
KAI-AT-LAH, or General Lane, Jr., <i>S'klallam sub-chief.</i>	his x mark.	[L. S.]
CAPTAIN JACK, <i>S'klallam sub-chief.</i>	his x mark.	[L. S.]
HE-ACH-KATE, <i>S'klallam sub-chief.</i>	his x mark.	[L. S.]
T'SOH-AS-HAU, or General Harrison, <i>S'klallam sub-chief.</i>	his x mark.	[L. S.]
KWAH-NALT-SOTE, <i>S'klallam sub-chief.</i>	his x mark.	[L. S.]
S'HOKÉ-TAN, <i>S'klallam sub-chief.</i>	his x mark.	[L. S.]
PAITL, <i>S'klallam sub-chief.</i>	his x mark.	[L. S.]
WEN-A-IIAP, <i>S'klallam sub-chief.</i>	his x mark.	[L. S.]
KLEW-SUM-AH, <i>S'klallam sub-chief.</i>	his x mark.	[L. S.]
SE-ATT-HOME-TAU, <i>S'klallam sub-chief.</i>	his x mark.	[L. S.]
TSAT-SAT-HOOT, <i>S'klallam tribe.</i>	his x mark.	[L. S.]
PE-AN-HO, <i>S'klallam tribe.</i>	his x mark.	[L. S.]
YI-AH-HUM, or John Adams, <i>S'klallam tribe.</i>	his x mark.	[L. S.]
TI-ITCH-STAN, <i>S'klallam tribe.</i>	his x mark.	[L. S.]
SOO-YAHNTCH, <i>S'klallam tribe.</i>	his x mark.	[L. S.]
TTSEH-A-TAKE, <i>S'klallam tribe.</i>	his x mark.	[L. S.]
HE-ATS-AT-SOOT, <i>S'klallam tribe.</i>	his x mark.	[L. S.]
TOW-OOTS-HOOT, <i>S'klallam tribe.</i>	his x mark.	[L. S.]
TSHEH-HAM, or General Pierce, <i>S'klallam tribe.</i>	his x mark.	[L. S.]
KWIN-NAS-SUM, or George, <i>S'klallam tribe.</i>	his x mark.	[L. S.]
HAI-AHTS, John, <i>S'klallam tribe.</i>	his x mark.	[L. S.]
HAI-OTEST, John, <i>S'klallam tribe.</i>	his x mark.	[L. S.]
SEH-WIN-NUM, <i>S'klallam tribe.</i>	his x mark.	[L. S.]
YAI-TST, or George, <i>S'klallam tribe.</i>	his x mark.	[L. S.]
HE-PAIT, or John, <i>S'klallam tribe.</i>	his x mark.	[L. S.]
SLIMM, or John, <i>S'klallam tribe.</i>	his x mark.	[L. S.]
T'KLALT-SOOT, or Jack, <i>S'klallam tribe.</i>	his x mark.	[L. S.]
S'TAI-TAN, or Sam, <i>S'klallam tribe.</i>	his x mark.	[L. S.]
HUT-TETS-OOT, <i>S'klallam tribe.</i>	his x mark.	[L. S.]
HOW-A-OWL, <i>S'klallam tribe.</i>	his x mark.	[L. S.]

Executed in the presence of us—

M. T. SIMMONS,
C. H. MASON, *Secretary Washington Territory*,
BENJ. F. SHAW, *Interpreter*,
JOHN H. SCRANTON,
JOSIAH P. KELLER,
C. M. HITCHCOCK, M. D.,
A. B. GOVE,
H. A. GOLDSBOROUGH,
B. J. MADISON,
F. A. ROWE,
JAS. M. HUNT,
GEORGE GIBBS, *Secretary*,
JOHN J. REILLY,
ROBT. DAVIS,
S. S. FORD, Jr.,
H. D. COCK,
ORRINGTON CUSHMAN,
J. CONKLIN.

And whereas, the said treaty having been submitted to the Senate of the United States for its constitutional action thereon, the Senate did, on the eighth day of March, one thousand eight hundred and fifty-nine, advise and consent to the ratification of the same, by a resolution in the words and figures following, to wit:

Ratification,
March 8, 1859.

"IN EXECUTIVE SESSION,
"SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES, March 8, 1859.

"*Resolved*, (two thirds of the senators present concurring,) That the Senate advise and consent to the ratification of treaty between the United States and the S'Klallams Indians occupying lands in the Straits of Fuca and Hood's Island, in Washington Territory, signed 26th January, 1855.

"Attest:

"ASBURY DICKINS, *Secretary*."

Now, therefore, be it known that I, JAMES BUCHANAN, President of the United States of America, do, in pursuance of the advice and consent of the Senate, as expressed in their resolution of the eighth of March, eighteen hundred and fifty-nine, accept, ratify, and confirm the said treaty.

Proclamation
April 29, 1859.

In testimony whereof, I have caused the seal of the United States to be hereto affixed, and have signed the same with my hand.

Done at the city of Washington, this twenty-ninth day of April,
in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fifty-
[SEAL.] nine, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-
third.

JAMES BUCHANAN.

By the President:

LEWIS CASS, *Secretary of State*.

TREATY OF NEAH BAY

TREATY WITH THE MAKAH TRIBE. JAN. 31, 1855.

939

Treaty between the United States of America and the Makah Tribe of Indians. Concluded at Neah Bay, Washington Territory, January 31, 1855. Ratified by the Senate, March 8, 1859. Proclaimed by the President of the United States, April 18, 1859.

JAMES BUCHANAN,

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

TO ALL AND SINGULAR TO WHOM THESE PRESENTS SHALL COME, GREETING: January 31, 1855

WHEREAS a treaty was made and concluded at Neah Bay, in the Territory of Washington, on the thirty-first day of January, eighteen hundred and fifty-five, between Isaac I. Stevens, governor and superintendent of Indian affairs for said Territory, on the part of the United States, and the hereinafter-named chiefs, headmen, and delegates of the several villages of the Makah tribe of Indians, viz.: Neah Waatch, Tsoo-Yess, and Osett, occupying the country around Cape Classett or Flattery, on behalf of the said tribe and duly authorized by the same; which treaty is in the words and figures following, to wit:

Articles of agreement and convention, made and concluded at Neah Bay, in the Territory of Washington, this thirty-first day of January, in the year eighteen hundred and fifty-five, by Isaac I. Stevens, governor and superintendent of Indian affairs for the said Territory, on the part of the United States, and the undersigned chiefs, headmen, and delegates of the several villages of the Makah tribe of Indians, viz.: Neah Waatch, Tsoo-Yess, and Osett, occupying the country around Cape Classett or Flattery, on behalf of the said tribe and duly authorized by the same.

Contracting Parties.

ARTICLE I. The said tribe hereby cedes, relinquishes, and conveys to the United States all their right, title, and interest in and to the lands and country occupied by it, bounded and described as follows, viz: Commencing at the mouth of the Oke-ho River, on the Straits of Fuca; thence running westwardly with said straits to Cape Classett or Flattery; thence southwardly along the coast to Osett, or the lower Cape Flattery; thence eastwardly along the line of lands occupied by the Kwe-déh-tut or Kwill-eh-yute tribe of Indians, to the summit of the coast range of mountains, and thence northwardly along the line of lands lately ceded to the United States by the S'Klallam tribe to the place of beginning, including all the islands lying off the same on the straits and coast.

Surrender of lands to the United States. Boundaries.

Treaties, *ante*, p. 7.

ARTICLE II. There is, however, reserved for the present use and occupation of the said tribe the following tract of land, viz.: Commencing on the beach at the mouth of a small brook running into Neah Bay next to the site of the old Spanish fort; thence along the shore round Cape Classett or Flattery, to the mouth of another small stream running into the bay on the south side of said cape, a little above the Waatch village; thence following said brook to its source; thence in a straight line to the source of the first-mentioned brook, and thence following the same down to the place of beginning; which said tract 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 tribe and of the superintendent or agent; but if necessary for the public convenience, roads may be run through the said reservation, the Indians being compensated for any damage thereby done them. It is, however, understood that should the President of the United States here-

Reservation. Boundaries.

Whites not to reside thereon, unless, &c. Roads may be made.

Other friendly bands may be placed thereon. after see fit to place upon the said reservation any other friendly tribe or band to occupy the same in common with those above mentioned, he shall be at liberty to do so.

Indians to settle on reservation within a year. ARTICLE III. The said tribe agrees to remove to and settle upon the said reservation, if required so to do, within one year after the ratification of this treaty, or sooner, if the means are furnished them. In the mean time it shall be lawful for them to reside upon any land not in the actual claim and occupation of citizens of the United States, and upon any land claimed or occupied, if with the permission of the owner.

Rights and privileges secured to Indians. ARTICLE IV. The right of taking fish and of whaling or sealing at usual and accustomed grounds and stations is further secured to said Indians in common with all citizens of the United States, and of erecting temporary houses for the purpose of curing, together with the privilege of hunting and gathering roots and berries on open and unclaimed lands: *Provided, however,* That they shall not take shell-fish from any beds staked or cultivated by citizens.

Proviso. ARTICLE V. In consideration of the above cession the United States agree to pay to the said tribe the sum of thirty thousand dollars, in the following manner, that is to say: During the first year after the ratification hereof, three thousand dollars; for the next two years, twenty-five hundred dollars each year; for the next three years, two thousand dollars each year; for the next four years, one thousand five hundred dollars each year; and for the next ten years, one thousand dollars each year; all which said sums of money shall be applied to the use and benefit of the said Indians, under the direction of the President of the United States, who may from time to time determine at his discretion upon what beneficial objects to expend the same. And the superintendent of Indian affairs, or other proper officer, shall each year inform the President of the wishes of said Indians in respect thereto.

Payments by the United States. How to be applied. ARTICLE VI. To enable the said Indians to remove to and settle upon their aforesaid reservation, and to clear, fence, and break up a sufficient quantity of land for cultivation, the United States further agree to pay the sum of three thousand dollars, to be laid out and expended under the direction of the President, and in such manner as he shall approve. And any substantial improvements heretofore made by any individual Indian, and which he may be compelled to abandon in consequence of this treaty, shall be valued under the direction of the President and payment made therefor accordingly.

Appropriation for removal and for clearing and fencing land, &c. ARTICLE VII. The President may hereafter, when in his opinion the interests of the Territory shall require, and the welfare of said Indians be promoted thereby, remove them from said reservation to such suitable place or places within said Territory as he may deem fit, on remunerating them for their improvements and the expenses of their removal, or may consolidate them with other friendly tribes or bands; and he may further, at his discretion, cause the whole, or any portion of the lands hereby reserved, or of such other land as may be selected in lieu thereof, to be surveyed into lots, and assign the same to such individuals or families as are willing to avail themselves of the privilege, and will locate thereon as a permanent home, on the same terms and subject to the same regulations as are provided in the sixth article of the treaty with the Omahas, so far as the same may be practicable.

Indians may be removed from the reservation. Tribes may be consolidated. Vol. x. p. 1044. Annuities of tribes not to pay debts of individuals. ARTICLE VIII. The annuities of the aforesaid tribe shall not be taken to pay the debts of individuals.

The Indians to preserve friendly relations, &c. To pay for depredations. ARTICLE IX. The said Indians acknowledge their dependence on the government of the United States, and promise to be friendly with all citizens thereof, and they pledge themselves to commit no depredations on the property of such citizens. And should any one or more of them violate this pledge, and the fact be satisfactorily proven before the agent, the property taken shall be returned, or in default thereof, or if injured or

destroyed, compensation may be made by the government out of their annuities. Nor will they make war on any other tribe except in self-defence, but will submit all matters of difference between them and other Indians to the government of the United States or its agent for decision and abide thereby. And if any of the said Indians commit any depredations on any other Indians within the Territory, the same rule shall prevail as that prescribed in this article in case of depredations against citizens. And the said tribe agrees not to shelter or conceal offenders against the United States, but to deliver up the same for trial by the authorities.

Not to make war except, &c.

To surrender offenders.

ARTICLE X. The above tribe is desirous to exclude from its reservation the use of ardent spirits, and to prevent its people from drinking the same, and therefore it is provided that any Indian belonging thereto who shall be guilty of bringing liquor into said reservation, or who drinks liquor, may have his or her proportion of the annuities withheld from him or her for such time as the President may determine.

Annuities to be withheld from those drinking ardent spirits.

ARTICLE XI. The United States further agree to establish at the general agency for the district of Puget's Sound, within one year from the ratification hereof, and to support for the period of twenty years, an agricultural and industrial school, to be free to children of the said tribe in common with those of the other tribes of said district and to provide a smithy and carpenter's shop, and furnish them with the necessary tools and employ a blacksmith, carpenter and farmer for the like term to instruct the Indians in their respective occupations. *Provided however,* That should it be deemed expedient a separate school may be established for the benefit of said tribe and such others as may be associated with it, and the like persons employed for the same purposes at some other suitable place. And the United States further agree to employ a physician to reside at the said central agency, or at such other school should one be established, who shall furnish medicine and advice to the sick, and shall vaccinate them; the expenses of the said school, shops, persons employed and medical attendance to be defrayed by the United States and not deducted from the annuities.

The United States to establish an agricultural &c. school for the Indians.

to provide tools and employ mechanics, &c.

a physician, &c.

ARTICLE XII. The said tribe agrees to free all slaves now held by its people and not to purchase or acquire others hereafter.

The tribe is to free all slaves and not to acquire others.

ARTICLE XIII. The said tribe finally agrees not to trade at Vancouver's Island or elsewhere out of the dominions of the United States, nor shall foreign Indians be permitted to reside in its reservation without consent of the superintendent or agent.

not to trade out of the United States.

Foreign Indians not to reside on reservations.

ARTICLE XIV. This treaty shall be obligatory on the contracting parties as soon as the same shall be ratified by the President of the United States.

When treaty to take effect.

In testimony whereof, the said Isaac I. Stevens, governor and superintendent of Indian affairs, and the undersigned, chiefs, headmen and delegates of the tribe aforesaid have hereunto set their hands and seals at the place and on the day and year hereinbefore written.

Signatures, January 31, 1856.

ISAAC I. STEVENS, *Governor and Superintendent.* [L. s.]

TSE-KAUWTL, <i>Head Chief of the Makah Tribe.</i>	his x mark.	[L. s.]
KAL-CHOTE, <i>Sub-chief of the Makahs.</i>	his x mark.	[L. s.]
TAH-A-HOWTL, <i>Sub-chief of the Makahs.</i>	his x mark.	[L. s.]
KAH-BACH-SAT, <i>Sub-chief of the Makahs.</i>	his x mark.	[L. s.]
KETS-KUS-SUM, <i>Sub-chief of the Makahs.</i>	his x mark.	[L. s.]
HAATSE, <i>Sub-chief of the Makahs.</i>	his x mark.	[L. s.]
KEH-CHOOK, <i>Sub-chief of the Makahs.</i>	his x mark.	[L. s.]
IT-AN-DA-HA, <i>Sub-chief of the Makahs.</i>	his x mark.	[L. s.]
KLAH-PE-AN-HIE, or Andrew Jackson, <i>Sub-chief of the Makahs.</i>	his x mark.	[L. s.]
TSAL-AB-OOS, or Peter, <i>Neah Village.</i>	his x mark.	[L. s.]

TAHOLA, <i>Neah Village.</i>	his x mark.	[L. S.]
KLEHT-LI-QUAT-STL, <i>Waatch Village.</i>	his x mark.	[L. S.]
TOO-WHAIL-TAN, <i>Waatch Village.</i>	his x mark.	[L. S.]
TAHTS-KIN, <i>Neah Village.</i>	his x mark.	[L. S.]
NENCHOOP, <i>Neah Village.</i>	his x mark.	[L. S.]
AH-DE-AK-TOO-AH, <i>Osett Village.</i>	his x mark.	[L. S.]
WILLIAM, <i>Neah Village.</i>	his x mark.	[L. S.]
WAK-KEP-TUP, <i>Waatch Village.</i>	his x mark.	[L. S.]
KLAHT-TE-DI-YUKE, <i>Waatch Village.</i>	his x mark.	[L. S.]
OOBICK, <i>Waatch Village.</i>	his x mark.	[L. S.]
BICH-TOOK, <i>Waatch Village.</i>	his x mark.	[L. S.]
BAHT-SE-DITL, <i>Neah Village.</i>	his x mark.	[L. S.]
WACK-SHIE, <i>Neah Village.</i>	his x mark.	[L. S.]
HAH-YO-HWA, <i>Waatch Village.</i>	his x mark.	[L. S.]
DAHT-LEEK, or Mines, <i>Osett Village.</i>	his x mark.	[L. S.]
PAH-HAT, <i>Neah Village.</i>	his x mark.	[L. S.]
PAI-YEH, <i>Osett Village.</i>	his x mark.	[L. S.]
TSAH-WEH-SUP, <i>Neah Village.</i>	his x mark.	[L. S.]
AL-IS-KAH, <i>Osett Village.</i>	his x mark.	[L. S.]
KWE-TOW"TL, <i>Neah Village.</i>	his x mark.	[L. S.]
KAHT-SAHT-WHA, <i>Neah Village.</i>	his x mark.	[L. S.]
TCHOO-QUUT-LAH, or Yes Sir, <i>Neah Village.</i>	his x mark.	[L. S.]
KLATTS-OW-SEHP, <i>Neah Village.</i>	his x mark.	[L. S.]
KAI-KL-CHIS-SUM, <i>Neah Village.</i>	his x mark.	[L. S.]
KAH-KWT-LIT-HA, <i>Waatch Village.</i>	his x mark.	[L. S.]
HE-DAH-TITL, <i>Neah Village.</i>	his x mark.	[L. S.]
SAH-DIT-LE-UAD, <i>Waatch Village.</i>	his x mark.	[L. S.]
KLAH-KU-PIHL, <i>Tsoo-yess Village.</i>	his x mark.	[L. S.]
BILLUK-WHTL, <i>Tsoo-yess Village.</i>	his x mark.	[L. S.]
KWAH-TOO-QUALH, <i>Tsoo-yess Village.</i>	his x mark.	[L. S.]
YOOCH-BOOTT, <i>Tsoo-yess Village.</i>	his x mark.	[L. S.]
SWELL, or Jeff. Davis, <i>Neah Village.</i>	his x mark.	[L. S.]

Executed in the presence of us. The words "five hundred" being first interlined in the 5th article, and erasures made in the 8th and 9th articles.

M. T. SIMMONS, *Indian Agent.*

GEORGE GIBBS, *Secretary.*

B. F. SHAW, *Interpreter.*

C. M. HITCHCOCK, M. D.

E. S. FOWLER.

ORRINGTON CUSHMAN.

ROBT. DAVIS.

Consent of
Senate, March 8,
1859.

And whereas, the said treaty having been submitted to the Senate of the United States for its constitutional action thereon, the Senate did, on the eighth day of March, one thousand eight hundred and fifty-nine, advise and consent to the ratification of the same by a resolution in the words and figures following, to wit:—

"IN EXECUTIVE SESSION,
"SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES, March 8, 1859.

"*Resolved*, (two thirds of the senators present concurring,) That the Senate advise and consent to the ratification of treaty between the United States and the chiefs, headmen, and delegates of the Makah tribes of Indians occupying the country around Cape Classett or Flattery, in Washington Territory, signed 31st January, 1855.

"Attest:

"ASBURY DICKINS, *Secretary.*"

Now, therefore, be it known that I, JAMES BUCHANAN, President of the United States of America, do, in pursuance of the advice and consent of the Senate as expressed in their resolution of March eighth, eighteen hundred and fifty-nine, hereby accept, ratify, and confirm the said treaty. Proclamation,
April 18, 1860.

In testimony whereof, I have caused the seal of the United States to be hereto affixed, having signed the same with my hand.

Done at the city of Washington, this eighteenth day of April,
in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fifty-
[SEAL.] nine, and of the independence of the United States the
eighty-third.

JAMES BUCHANAN.

By the President :

LEWIS CASS, *Secretary of State.*

TREATY OF OLYMPIA

TREATY WITH THE QUI-NAI-ELTS, &c. JULY 1, 1855. JAN. 25, 1856. 971

Treaty between the United States and the Qui-nai-elt and Quil-leh-ute Indians. Concluded on the Qui-nai-elt River, in the Territory of Washington, July 1, 1855, and at the city of Olympia, January 25, 1856. Ratified by the Senate, March 8, 1859. Proclaimed by the President of the United States, April 11, 1859.

JAMES BUCHANAN,

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

TO ALL AND SINGULAR TO WHOM THESE PRESENTS SHALL COME, GREETING: July 1, 1855.
January 25, 1856.

WHEREAS a treaty was made and concluded on the Qui-nai-elt River, in the Territory of Washington, on the first day of July, one thousand eight hundred and fifty-five, and at the city of Olympia also in said Territory, on the twenty-fifth day of January, one thousand eight hundred and fifty-six, between Isaac I. Stevens, governor and superintendent of Indian affairs in the Territory aforesaid, on the part of the United States, and the hereinafter-named chiefs, headmen, and delegates of the different tribes and bands of the Qui-nai-elt and Quil-leh-ute Indians, on the part of said tribes and bands, and duly authorized thereto by them; which treaty is in the words and figures following, to wit:—

Preamble.

Articles of agreement and convention made and concluded by and between Isaac I. Stevens, governor and superintendent of Indian affairs, of the Territory of Washington, on the part of the United States, and the undersigned chiefs, headmen, and delegates of the different tribes and bands of the Qui-nai-elt and Quil-leh-ute Indians, on the part of said tribes and bands, and duly authorized thereto by them. Contracting parties.

ARTICLE I. The said tribes and bands hereby cede, relinquish, and convey to the United States all their right, title, and interest in and to the lands and country occupied by them, bounded and described as follows: Commencing at a point on the Pacific coast, which is the southwest corner of the lands lately ceded by the Makah tribe of Indians to the United States, and running easterly with and along the southern boundary of the said Makah tribe to the middle of the coast range of mountains; thence southerly with said range of mountains to their intersection with the dividing ridge between the Chehalis and Quinialt Rivers; thence westerly with said ridge to the Pacific coast; thence northerly along said coast to the place of beginning. Surrender of lands to the United States.
Boundaries.

ARTICLE II. There shall, however, be reserved, for the use and occupation of the tribes and bands aforesaid, a tract or tracts of land sufficient for their wants within the Territory of Washington, to be selected by the President of the United States, and hereafter surveyed or located and set apart for their exclusive use, and no white man shall be permitted to reside thereon without permission of the tribe and of the superintendent of Indian affairs or Indian agent. And the said tribes and bands agree to remove to and settle upon the same within one year after the ratification of this treaty, or sooner if the means are furnished them. In the mean time it shall be lawful for them to reside upon any lands not in the actual claim and occupation of citizens of the United States, and upon any lands claimed or occupied, if with the permission of the owner or claimant. If necessary for the public convenience, roads may be run through said reservation, on compensation being made for any damage sustained thereby. Reservation within the Territory of Washington.
Whites not to reside thereon, unless, &c.
Indians to remove and settle there.
Roads may be made.

VOL. XII. TREAT.—125

Rights and privileges secured to the Indians.	ARTICLE III. The right of taking fish at all usual and accustomed grounds and stations is secured to said Indians in common with all citizens of the Territory, and of erecting temporary houses for the purpose of curing the same; together with the privilege of hunting, gathering roots and berries, and pasturing their horses on all open and unclaimed lands. <i>Provided, however,</i> That they shall not take shell-fish from any beds staked or cultivated by citizens; and provided, also, that they shall alter all stallions not intended for breeding, and shall keep up and confine the stallions themselves.
Payments by the United States.	ARTICLE IV. In consideration of the above cession, the United States agree to pay to the said tribes and bands the sum of twenty-five thousand dollars, in the following manner, that is to say: For the first year after the ratification hereof, two thousand five hundred dollars; for the next two years, two thousand dollars each year; for the next three years, one thousand six hundred dollars each year; for the next four years, one thousand three hundred dollars each year; for the next five years, one thousand dollars each year; and for the next five years, seven hundred dollars each year. All of which sums of money shall be applied to the use and benefit of the said Indians under the directions of the President of the United States, who may from time to time determine at his discretion upon what beneficial objects to expend the same; and the superintendent of Indian affairs, or other proper officer, shall each year inform the President of the wishes of said Indians in respect thereto.
How to be applied.	
Appropriation for removal, for clearing and fencing land, &c.	ARTICLE V. To enable the said Indians to remove to and settle upon such reservation as may be selected for them by the President, and to clear, fence, and break up a sufficient quantity of land for cultivation, the United States further agree to pay the sum of two thousand five hundred dollars, to be laid out and expended under the direction of the President, and in such manner as he shall approve.
Indians may be removed from the reservation, &c.	ARTICLE VI. The President may hereafter, when in his opinion the interests of the Territory shall require, and the welfare of the said Indians be promoted by it, remove them from said reservation or reservations to such other suitable place or places within said Territory as he may deem fit, on remunerating them for their improvements and the expenses of their removal, or may consolidate them with other friendly tribes or bands, in which latter case the annuities, payable to the consolidated tribes respectively, shall also be consolidated; and he may further, at his discretion, cause the whole or any portion of the lands to be reserved, or of such other land as may be selected in lieu thereof, to be surveyed into lots, and assign the same to such individuals or families as are willing to avail themselves of the privilege, and will locate on the same as a permanent home, on the same terms and subject to the same regulations as are provided in the sixth article of the treaty with the Omahas, so far as the same may be applicable. Any substantial improvements heretofore made by any Indians, and which they shall be compelled to abandon in consequence of this treaty, shall be valued under the direction of the President, and payment made accordingly therefor.
Tribes and annuities may be consolidated.	
Vol. x. p. 1044.	
Annuities of tribes not to pay debts of individuals.	ARTICLE VII. The annuities of the aforesaid tribes and bands shall not be taken to pay the debts of individuals.
The tribes to preserve friendly relations, &c.	ARTICLE VIII. The said tribes and bands acknowledge their dependence on the government of the United States, and promise to be friendly with all citizens thereof, and pledge themselves to commit no depredations on the property of such citizens; and should any one or more of them violate this pledge, and the fact be satisfactorily proven before the agent, the property taken shall be returned, or in default thereof, or if injured or destroyed, compensation may be made by the government out of their annuities. Nor will they make war on any other tribe except in self-defence, but will submit all matters of difference between them and other Indians to the government of the United States, or its agent, for decision,
to pay for depredations.	
not to make war, except, &c.	

and abide thereby; and if any of the said Indians commit any depredations on any other Indians within the Territory, the same rule shall prevail as is prescribed in this article in cases of depredations against citizens. And the said tribes and bands agree not to shelter or conceal offenders against the laws of the United States, but to deliver them to the authorities for trial.

To surrender
offenders.

ARTICLE IX. The above tribes and bands are desirous to exclude from their reservations the use of ardent spirits, and to prevent their people from drinking the same, and therefore it is provided, that any Indian belonging to said tribes, who is guilty of bringing liquor into said reservations, or who drinks liquor, may have his or her proportion of the annuities withheld from him or her, for such time as the President may determine.

Annuities to be
withheld from
those drinking
&c. ardent
spirits.

ARTICLE X. The United States further agree to establish at the general agency for the district of Puget Sound, within one year from the ratification hereof, and to support for a period of twenty years, an agricultural and industrial school, to be free to the children of the said tribes and bands in common with those of the other tribes of said district, and to provide the said school with a suitable instructor or instructors, and also to provide a smithy and carpenter's shop, and furnish them with the necessary tools, and to employ a blacksmith, carpenter, and farmer for the term of twenty years, to instruct the Indians in their respective occupations. And the United States further agree to employ a physician to reside at the said central agency, who shall furnish medicine and advice to their sick, and shall vaccinate them; the expenses of the said school, shops, employees, and medical attendance to be defrayed by the United States, and not deducted from their annuities.

The United
States to estab-
lish an agricul-
tural &c. school
for the Indians.

to employ
mechanics, &c.
a physician,
&c.

ARTICLE XI. The said tribes and bands agree to free all slaves now held by them, and not to purchase or acquire others hereafter.

The tribes are
to free all slaves
and not acquire
others.

ARTICLE XII. The said tribes and bands finally agree not to trade at Vancouver's Island or elsewhere out of the dominions of the United States, nor shall foreign Indians be permitted to reside on their reservations without consent of the superintendent or agent.

not to trade
out of the United
States.
Foreign Indians
not to reside on
reservations.
When treaty to
take effect.

ARTICLE XIII. This treaty shall be obligatory on the contracting parties as soon as the same shall be ratified by the President and Senate of the United States.

In testimony whereof, the said Isaac I. Stevens, governor and superintendent of Indian affairs, and the undersigned chiefs, headmen, and delegates of the aforesaid tribes and bands of Indians, have hereunto set their hands and seals, at Olympia, January 25, 1856, and on the Qui-nai-elt River, July 1, 1855.

Signatures.
July 1, 1856.
January 25, 1856.

ISAAC I. STEVENS, Governor and Sup't of Indian Affairs.

TAH-HO-LAH, Head Chief Qui-nite-l tribe,	his x mark.	[L. S.]
HOW-YAT'L, Head Chief Quil-ley-yute tribe,	his x mark.	[L. S.]
KAL-LAPE, Sub-chief Quil-ley-hutes,	his x mark.	[L. S.]
TAH-AH-HA-WHT'L, Sub-chief Quil-ley-hutes,	his x mark.	[L. S.]
LAY-LE-WHASH-ER,	his x mark.	[L. S.]
E-MAH-LAH-CUP,	his x mark.	[L. S.]
ASH-CHAK-A-WICK,	his x mark.	[L. S.]
AY-A-QUAN,	his x mark.	[L. S.]
YATS-SEE-O-KOP,	his x mark.	[L. S.]
KARTS-SO-PE-AH,	his x mark.	[L. S.]
QUAT-A-DE-TOT'L,	his x mark.	[L. S.]
NOW-AH-ISM,	his x mark.	[L. S.]
CLA-KISH-KA,	his x mark.	[L. S.]
KLER-WAY-SR-HUN,	his x mark.	[L. S.]
QUAR-TER-HEIT'L,	his x mark.	[L. S.]
HAY-NEE-SI-OOS,	his x mark.	[L. S.]

HOO-E-YAS'LSEE,	his x mark.	[L. s.]
QUILT-LE-SE-MAH,	his x mark.	[L. s.]
QUA-LATS-KAIM,	his x mark.	[L. s.]
YAH-LE-HUM,	his x mark.	[L. s.]
JE-TAH-LET-SHIN,	his x mark.	[L. s.]
MA-TA-A-HA,	his x mark.	[L. s.]
WAH-KEE-NAH, <i>Sub-chief Qui-nite'l tribe,</i>	his x mark.	[L. s.]
YER-AY-LET'L, <i>Sub-chief,</i>	his x mark.	[L. s.]
SILLEY-MARK'L,	his x mark.	[L. s.]
CHER-LARK-TIN,	his x mark.	[L. s.]
HOW-YAT-'L,	his x mark.	[L. s.]
KNE-SHE-GUARTSH, <i>Sub-chief,</i>	his x mark.	[L. s.]
KLAY-SUMETZ,	his x mark.	[L. s.]
KAPE,	his x mark.	[L. s.]
HAY-ET-LITE-'L, or John,	his x mark.	[L. s.]

Executed in the presence of us; the words "or tracts," in the II. article, and "next," in the IV. article, being interlined prior to execution.

M. T. SIMMONS, *Special Indian Agent.*

H. A. GOLDSBOROUGH, *Commissary, &c.*

B. F. SHAW, *Interpreter.*

JAMES TILTON, *Surveyor-General Washington Territory.*

F. KENNEDY.

J. Y. MILLER.

H. D. COCK.

Consent of
Senate, March 8,
1859.

And whereas, the said treaty having been submitted to the Senate of the United States for its constitutional action thereon, the Senate did, on the eighth day of March, one thousand eight hundred and fifty-nine, advise and consent to the ratification of the same by a resolution in the words and figures following, to wit:—

"IN EXECUTIVE SESSION,

"SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES, March 8, 1859.

"*Resolved*, (two thirds of the senators present concurring,) That the Senate advise and consent to the ratification of treaty between the United States and the chiefs, headmen, and delegates of the different tribes and bands of the Qui-nai-elt and Quil-leh-ute Indians in Washington Territory, signed 1st day of July, 1855, and 25th day of January, 1856.

"Attest:

"ASBURY DICKINS, *Secretary.*"

Proclamation,
April 11, 1859.

Now, therefore, be it known that I, JAMES BUCHANAN, President of the United States of America, do, in pursuance of the advice and consent of the Senate, as expressed in their resolution of March the eighth, one thousand eight hundred and fifty-nine, accept, ratify, and confirm the said treaty.

In testimony whereof, I have caused the seal of the United States to be hereto affixed, and have signed the same with my hand.

Done at the city of Washington, this eleventh day of April, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fifty-nine, and of the Independence of the United States the eighty-third.

JAMES BUCHANAN.

By the President:

LEWIS CASS, *Secretary of State.*

APPENDIX B.
AMERICAN INDIAN RELIGIOUS FREEDOM ACT
(A.I.R.F.A.)

AMERICAN INDIAN RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

For Legislative History of Act, sec p. 1262
Joint Resolution American Indian Religious Freedom.

- Whereas the freedom of religion for all people is an inherent right, fundamental to the democratic structure of the United States and is guaranteed by the First Amendment of the United States Constitution;
- Whereas the United States has traditionally rejected the concept of a government denying individuals the right to practice their religion and, as a result, has benefited from a rich variety of religious heritages in this country;
- Whereas the religious practices of the American Indian (as well as Native Alaskan and Hawaiian) are an integral part of their culture, tradition and heritage, such practices forming the basis of Indian identity and value systems;
- Whereas the traditional American Indian religions, as an integral part of Indian life, are indispensable and irreplaceable;
- Whereas the lack of a clear, comprehensive, and consistent Federal policy has often resulted in the abridgment of religious freedom for traditional American Indians;
- Whereas such religious infringements result from the lack of knowledge or the insensitive and inflexible enforcement of Federal policies and regulations premised on a variety of laws;
- Whereas such laws were designed for such worthwhile purposes as conservation and preservation of natural species and resources but were never intended to relate to Indian religious practices and, therefore, were passed without consideration of their effect on traditional American Indian religions;
- Whereas such laws and policies often deny American Indians access to sacred sites required in their religions, including cemeteries;
- Whereas such laws at times prohibit the use and possession of sacred objects necessary to the exercise of religious rites and ceremonies;
- Whereas traditional American Indian ceremonies have intruded upon, interfered with, and in a few instances banned: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That henceforth it shall be the policy of the United States to protect and preserve for American Indians their inherent right of freedom to believe, express, and exercise the traditional religions of the American Indian, Eskimo, Aleut, and Native Hawaiians, including but not limited to access to sites, use and possession of sacred objects, and the freedom to worship through ceremonials and traditional rites.

American Indian
Religious Freedom.
42 USC 1996.

Sec. 2. The President shall direct the various Federal departments, agencies, and other instrumentalities responsible for administering relevant laws to evaluate their policies and procedures in consultation with native traditional religious leaders in order to determine appropriate changes necessary to protect and preserve Native American religious cultural rights and practices. Twelve months after approval of this resolution, the President shall report back to the Congress the results of his evaluation, including any changes which were made in administrative policies and procedures, and any recommendations he may have for legislative action.

Approved August 11, 1978.

LEGISLATIVE HISTORY:

HOUSE REPORT No. 95-1308 accompanying H.J. Res. 738 (Comm. on Interior and Insular Affairs).

SENATE REPORT No. 95-709 (Comm. on Indian Affairs).

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Vol. 124 (1978):

Apr. 3 considered and passed Senate.

July 18, H.J. Res. 738 considered and passed House; proceedings vacated and S.J. Res. 102, amended, passed in lieu.

July 27, Senate concurred in House Amendment.

92 STAT. 470

APPENDIX C.
EXECUTIVE ORDER 13007
INDIAN SACRED SITES

Executive Order 13007 of May 24, 1996

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

May 24, 1996

EXECUTIVE ORDER

- - - - -

INDIAN SACRED SITES

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and the laws of the United States, in furtherance of Federal treaties, and in order to protect and preserve Indian religious practices, it is hereby ordered:

Section 1. *Accommodation of Sacred Sites.* (a) In managing Federal lands, each executive branch agency with statutory or administrative responsibility for the management of Federal lands shall, to the extent practicable, permitted by law, and not clearly inconsistent with essential agency functions, (1) accommodate access to and ceremonial use of Indian sacred sites by Indian religious practitioners and (2) avoid adversely affecting the physical integrity of such sacred sites. Where appropriate, agencies shall maintain the confidentiality of sacred sites.

(b) For purposes of this order:

(i) "Federal lands" means any land or interests in land owned by the United States, including leasehold interests held by the United States, except Indian trust lands;

(ii) "Indian tribe" means an Indian or Alaska Native tribe, band, nation, pueblo, village, or community that the Secretary

of the Interior acknowledges to exist as an Indian tribe pursuant to Public Law No. 103-454, 108 Stat. 4791, and "Indian" refers to a member of such an Indian tribe; and

(iii) "Sacred site" means any specific, discrete, narrowly delineated location on Federal land that is identified by an Indian tribe, or Indian individual determined to be an appropriately authoritative representative of an Indian religion, as sacred by virtue of its established religious significance to, or ceremonial use by, an Indian religion; provided that the tribe or appropriately authoritative representative of an Indian religion has informed the agency of the existence of such a site.

Sec. 2. *Procedures.* (a) Each executive branch agency with statutory or administrative responsibility for the management of Federal lands shall, as appropriate, promptly implement procedures for the purposes of carrying out the provisions of section 1 of this order, including, where practicable and appropriate, procedures to ensure reasonable notice is provided of proposed actions or land management policies that may restrict future access to or ceremonial use of, or adversely affect the physical integrity of, sacred sites. In all actions pursuant to this section, agencies shall comply with the Executive memorandum of April 29, 1994, "Government-to-Government Relations with Native American Tribal Governments."

(b) Within 1 year of the effective date of this order, the head of each executive branch agency with statutory or administrative responsibility for the management of Federal lands shall report to the President, through the Assistant to the President for Domestic Policy, on the implementation of this order. Such reports shall address, among other things, (i) any changes necessary to accommodate access to and ceremonial use of Indian sacred sites; (ii) any changes necessary to avoid adversely affecting the physical integrity of Indian sacred sites; and (iii) procedures implemented or proposed to facilitate consultation with appropriate Indian tribes and religious leaders and the expeditious resolution of disputes relating to agency action on Federal lands that may adversely affect access to, ceremonial use of, or the physical integrity of sacred sites.

Sec. 3. Nothing in this order shall be construed to require a taking of vested property interests. Nor shall this order be construed to impair enforceable rights to use of Federal lands that have been granted to third parties through final agency action. For purposes of this order, "agency action" has the same meaning as in the Administrative Procedure Act (5 U.S.C. 551(13)).

Sec. 4. This order is intended only to improve the internal management of the executive branch and is not intended to, nor does it, create any right, benefit, or trust responsibility, substantive or procedural, enforceable at law or equity by any party against the United States, its agencies, officers, or any person.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

THE WHITE HOUSE,
May 24, 1996.

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APPENDIX D. ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adamson, Thelma

1934 Folk-tales of the Coast Salish. *Memoirs of the American Folk-lore Society* 27. New York.

Adamson provides an extensive collection of mythology from the Upper Chehalis, Cowlitz, Humptulip, Wynoochee, Satsop, Puyallup, White River and Skokomish. Includes some ethnographic detail.

Alcorn, Rowena L. and Gordon D.

1976 Way up There "Ah-kah-lahkt" Quileute Island Fortress. *Pacific Search*. 10(9):16-17.

The Alcorns worked for the NPS and spent a lot of time interviewing Quileute tribal members. In this article they recount that Meares saw nine wooden structures on top of James Island in 1788. Charles Howeattle was a champion fur seal hunter until sealing was prohibited in the mid-1930s. It was not uncommon for a woman to go sealing. The first white men were seen by Charles' great-great-grandfather in 1725. The Quileutes consisted of Bogachiel, Calawah, Dickey River, and Goodman Creek branches.

Andrade, Manuel J.

1931 Quileute Texts. *Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology* 12. New York.

Andrade was a student of Franz Boas, who sent him to La Push in 1929 to collect data on the Quileute language. This publication contains myths and ethnographic texts, many which had been collected earlier by Frachtenberg.

1933 Quileute. (Extract from Handbook of American Indian Languages Vol. 3:151-292, Franz Boas, ed.) New York: Columbia University Press.

The description of Quileute grammatical structure lends insight into the language. Andrade studied the manuscript material of Leo Frachtenberg, and added eighty pages of new text from his own field work.

Andrade, Manuel J.

1953 Notes on the Relations between Nootka and Quileute. Morris Swadesh, ed. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 19(3):212-215.

Andrade's comparison indicates a common language origin between Nootka and Quileute. The borrowing direction is not always apparent, but there are several cases where Salishan could be the source.

Bancroft, Hubert Howe

1874-1876

The Native Races of the Pacific States of North America. 5 vols. New York: D. Appleton.

Volume I (Wild Tribes), Volume III (Myths and Languages), Volume IV (Antiquities). Incredibly detailed early work. Volume I discusses stick Indians, house styles, resource uses, including "mountain sheep found on Olympian mountains," village areas and burials.

Boas, Franz

1905 The Jesup North Pacific Expedition. Pp. 91-100 in *Proceedings of the 13th International Congress of Americanists*. New York, 1902.

Summary of anthropological inquiry during the expedition. When Professor Farrand visited LaPush in 1898 he found that almost the entire tribe had scattered for the summer fisheries.

Broderson, Paul, and C.J. Hopkins

1939 Pelagic Seal Hunting as Carried on by the Makah and Quileute Indians of Washington. *Indians at Work* 6(7):12-16. Washington.

This article contains information concerning the North Pacific Sealing Convention Treaty, which stated that Indians could carry on seal hunting with traditional methods. The article also details the methods of seal hunting.

Capoeman, Pauline K., ed.

1990 Land of the Quinault. Taholah, Wash.: Quinault Indian Nation.

This is an excellent reference book on the history of the Quinault Reservation. Written by tribal members, it contains interesting case studies of the issues that have affected the tribe over the years.

Clark, Ella E.
1953 Indian Legends of the Pacific Northwest. Berkeley:
University of California Press.

This book contains a few stories important to peninsula tribes; however, Clark simplifies the stories to the point that she omits detail.

Cohen, Fay G., ed.
1986 Treaties on Trial: The Continuing Controversy Over Northwest Indian Fishing Rights. (a Report prepared for the American Friends Service Committee). Seattle: University of Washington Press.

A comprehensive study of fishing rights in Washington State from treaty time until the 1974 Boldt decision.

Colson, Elizabeth
1953 The Makah Indians: A Study of an Indian Tribe in Modern American Society. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Colson identifies this work as a study of culture change; however, it is basically a report on life in a small town and the relationships between various groups.

Confederated Tribes of the Chehalis Reservation
1989 The Chehalis People. Oakville, Washington.

Contains comprehensive historical data on the Chehalis, which includes facts about the tribal government, reservation and land claims.

Costello, J.A.
1895 The Siwash: Their Life, Legends and Tales. Seattle: The Calvert Company.

This book details early exploration of Western Washington from 1688. It provides the origin of some Chinook jargon words and contains information on spirituality, secret societies, sacred areas, and traditions, such as the great flood and Thunderbird.

Curtis, Edward S.
1913 The North American Indian, Volume 9. Norwood, Massachusetts: Plimpton Press.

Includes Lower Chehalis, Quinault, Twana, Puget Sound tribes, Clallam, Chimakum and Quileute. Excellent appendices: mythology, songs, vocabularies and village sites. Notes Quileute territory 30 miles south of Cape Flattery, and includes Jackson and Goodman Creeks.

Dall, William H.

- 1884 On Masks, Labrets and Certain Aboriginal Customs With an Inquiry into the Bearing of Their Geographical Distribution. Pp 67-203 in *3d Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology for the Years 1881-1882*. Washington (Reprinted: Shorey Book Store, Seattle, 1972).

Contains a section on Makah ceremonies taken from Swan, with plates of Masks. The author states that the "Dukwalli" ceremonial propitiates the Thunderbird, who takes precedence over all other mythological beings.

Densmore, Frances

- 1939 Nootka and Quileute Music. *Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin* 124. Washington. (Reprinted: Da Capo Press, New York, 1972).

Densmore was a student of Franz Boas, who sent her to the Northwest Coast to collect data on the music of Indians throughout the area. This book contains musical notations, words and translations, and settings in which the songs would be used. Densmore collected this material at Neah Bay during the summers of 1923 and 1926. Many of the songs are available on record at the library of Congress, Division of Music, Washington, D.C. (Record AAFS L32).

Drucker, Phillip

- 1943 Archaeological Survey on the Northern Northwest Coast. *Anthropological Papers* 20, *Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin* 133. Washington. (Reprinted: Shorey Book Store, Seattle, Wash., 1972).

This article contains information about Burials on the peninsula on pages 118 and 119.

Durham, George

- 1955 Notes on the History of Indian Canoes in the Northwest. *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 46(2).

These notes include the history of canoe style, carving and use of Salishan and Nootkan types, and information on the Quinault and Quileute "river canoe."

Eells, Myron

- 1878 Mounds in Washington Territory. *American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal* 1(1):13.

Eells mentions graveyards at Port Angeles and Dungeness that are so old that the present Indians do not remember who was buried there.

Eells, Myron

1879 The Religion of the Clallam and Twana Indians.
 American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal 2(1):8-14.

According to Eells, spirits dwell in the sun, idols and sticks. The Twana believed Changer (the creator of people) lived where heaven meets earth, in the south or west. The Klallam believe that the sun is the Creator, and Changer is the sun incarnate. The Makah say the Great Chief's representative is the sun. After creation the world became bad, so people were changed into animals and formations. Eells states that each individual has a guardian spirit that dwells in the form of an animal. Idols representing these spirits are placed in the woods. The article continues that a spirit whose dwelling place or stick (idol?) has been injured, will probably send sickness upon the people.

1884 Census of the Clallam and Twana Indians of
 Washington Territory. *American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal* 6 (1):35-38.

Census for 1880-81 states that the Klallam population was 485, including 11 medicine men, 4 medicine women and 40 basket makers. Klallam employment was at the cannery at Clallam Bay and the mill at Port Discovery. Port Discovery had a population of 22, Jamestown 86, Pysht 24, Port Angeles 57, and 67 at Elwha. The Twana population was 243, including 6 medicine men and 6 basket makers.

1886 The Stone Age of Oregon. Pp. 283-295 in *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution for the year 1885*. Washington.

This article deals mostly with Oregon archeology, mounds, and burial sites, but describes the extensive grave robbing taking place and accepted by a Christian missionary. Eells describes beads that were found, such as blue stone beads that resemble glass, bone and stone beads, and pre-Venetian glass trade beads.

1887 The Indians of Puget Sound. *American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal* 9(1):1-9.

Eells discusses the meanings of words, such as Twana, "Tu-ad-hu," which he understood meant portage, but was not able to verify. Skokomish, "Ska ka bish," means river. Thirty people lived at Seabeck and Quilcene. The Chemakum call themselves "A hwa ki lu," and reside from Hoods Canal to Port Discovery. He mentions the village at Port Townsend Bay as "Tsetibus." The Chimakum population was 90 in 1852; in

1887 there were seven left that had not married into other tribes. There was one complete family connected with the Port Gamble community.

Eells, Myron

1887 Traditions and History of the Puget Sound Indians. *American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal* 9(2):97-104.

Eells, a Congregationalist missionary, believed that the Indians thought the first exploring ship was a great deity, and they painted their faces for "tamahnous." Two years later, the people were not surprised by Vancouver's ships. Eells uses the term tamahnous for many facets of traditional and spiritual life.

1887 The Puget Sound Indians. *American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal* 9(4):211-219.

Eells documents that arrowheads were made from agate, basalt, chalcedony and jasper. Black mud of salt marshes was used for dyeing. Clay stones were used as rain-stones. Sheep or goat flesh was used for food. All animals except the mountain sheep and wild cat were still being used during Eells' time there.

1887 Decrease of Population Among the Indians of Puget Sound. *American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal* 95(5):271-276.

The earliest census was taken by Captain Wilkes in 1841. Gibbs took the first complete census in 1855. The first census in the Report of Indian Affairs was in 1862. Eells estimates that 25 years ago the population was two and a half to five times larger. The 1862 census records populations as follows: Twana 450, Clallam 1300 and Chemakum 100. Eells attributes the decrease in population to the theory that when the Indians started wearing clothes, the clothes got damp, which led to consumption.

1888 Puget Sound Indians. *American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal* 10(1):26-36.

In 1878 Eells made a trip with the Skokomish to a Klallam potlatch. He stated that when they wanted a fair wind, they would pound on their canoes with their paddles or strike the water and whistle to induce spirits to favor them. Vancouver noted similar actions as aggressive. The Quinault traveled by foot to a Twana potlatch 100 miles away. Eells notes that snow shoes were used in the mountains. According to Eells, the Klallams did not use horses as much as the other groups because their territory was too mountainous.

Eells, Myron

1888 Indians of Puget Sound. *American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal* 10(3):174-78.

Eells discusses trade networks and the origin of mountain goat horn from the Stikine, through trade with the Haida. He states that the tribes met every fall at Puyallup for hop picking and trading.

1889 The Twana, Chemakum, and Klallam Indians of Washington Territory. Pp. 605-681 in *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution for the Year 1887*. Washington. (Reprinted: Shorey Bookstore, Seattle, Washington, 1971).

This is a valuable reference. Although Eells had strong Christian values, he did not discredit native beliefs of power. His documentation of a water source on the Elwha that contained power is exceptional. Unfortunately, he did not elaborate or give its location. The publication contains data pertaining to the belief that the tribes were created where they live. This is supported by contemporary beliefs.

1890 Religion of the Indians of Puget Sound. *American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal* 12(2):69-84.

Eells viewed native religion from the eyes of a missionary, but understood that native religion contained knowledge of a supreme being before Christianity was introduced. Eells called all power beliefs "tamahnous," which is a word from Chinook jargon, originating from the Chinook language. The Klallams have a tradition that the first man was made from the earth. The Great Father created Seatco, who seizes women and carries them to the mountains where they become his wives and slaves. Seatco lives in caves and flies about at night. According to this account, the Twanas and Klallams of Port Discovery had idols kept in the woods, 10-12 feet long, which were worshipped long ago.

1890 Myths of the Puget Sound Indians. *American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal* 12(3):160-65.

In this article, Eells states that when lightning hit trees it was regarded as being touched by Thunderbird's wings. A basaltic rock at Enetai has the face of Thunderbird pecked into it. If the rock is shaken it causes rain. Eells notes that Mount Dosewallip had two wives, one was Mount Rainier who moved away. Interestingly, he states that dogs were obtained by domesticating wolves.

Elmendorf, William W.

1992 [1960]

The Structure of Twana Culture. Pullman:
Washington State University Press.

Elmendorf conducted his research from the 1930s to the 1950s, utilizing two principle consultants. This is a very thorough ethnography; however it does lack certain information. Since Elmendorf's consultants were both males, the data is structured from male perspectives. Elmendorf did not pursue a thorough questioning of the topic of mountain use, although his consultants had knowledge of this subject.

1993 Twana Narratives: Native Historical Accounts of a Coast Salish Culture. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Contains transcripts of interviews Elmendorf conducted with his principle Skokomish consultants during the summer of 1940. The material is categorized, indexed and cross-referenced for easy referral. This book is a valuable supplement to Elmendorf's *The Structure of Twana Culture*.

Erickson, K.O.

1946 Indian Invaders Got In Hot Water. *Seattle Post Intelligencer*, February 4, 1946.

Erickson writes about warfare between the Quileute and Makah, and the use of James Island as a fortress. The Makahs were called Keve-net-saths by the Quileutes.

1946 Indian Heros Lie in Canoe Cemetery. *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, September 20, 1946.

Erickson was apparently in the tribal cemetery and was told that there was a spell or spirit watching over the bodies and if anyone disturbed them the spell would be broken. He writes that a women's burial squad towed the burial canoe to the beach, wrapped the canoe and cargo in a large cedar mat, fastened cedar rope to one end, and dragged the canoe to the top of James Island where it was hoisted into a tree.

Ernst, Alice H.

1952 The Wolf Ritual of the Northwest Coast. Eugene:
University of Oregon Press.

Ernst conducted fieldwork among the Makah and Quileute from 1932 to 1940. She provides detailed background information and examples of the wolf ritual among these two tribes.

Farrand, Livingston
1900 Basketry Designs of the Salish Indians. *Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History* 2(5):391-399. New York.

Farrand describes the basketry designs of the Quinault and Thompson Indians as evolving from realistic to geometrical. However, he does not seem to utilize enough examples to justify this assumption. The evolution he refers to is probably more a matter of skill and time involved in the work. He includes a few Quinault examples. All have looped rims and are geometric. In fact, his only examples of realistic patterns are from Lillooet and Yakima.

1902 Traditions of the Quinault Indians. *Memoirs of the Museum of Natural History* 4(3):77-132. New York.
(Reprinted: AMS Press, New York, 1975.)

Farrand collected the information for this article and "Quileute Tales" while working with the Jesup North Pacific Expedition in 1898.

1919 Quileute Tales. Theresa Mayer, ed. *Journal of American Folk-Lore* 32(124):251-279.

This article includes; "Kweeti" (Kwati) stories, the origin of the sun, children of the dog, and the war between the Quileute and Ozette. The war story is similar to the Makah story of obtaining Cape Flattery.

Farrar, Victor J.
1916-1917 Diary of Colonel and Mrs. I.N. Ebey. *Washington Historical Quarterly*, Vols. 7 & 8.

Ebey's diary records the interactions of the local Indians and Ebey's family. There was a Klallam camp or village site at his homestead. The entire Klallam Tribe came over for the funeral of a Skagit sub-chief. The Klallams thought the Skagit were witches and tried to kill them off, as a Klallam and Skagit chief had both recently died.

Fletcher, Elizabeth Huelsdonk
1979 The Iron Man of the Hoh. Port Angeles, Washington: Creative Communications.

Tales of the life of a homestead family on the Hoh River with specific reference to certain Indian homesites: Indian Moolockman (elk man) had a house above Spruce Creek; a house on an island downriver was owned by Frank Fisher and Howard Wheeler; Jackson Station was named after Jackson, who had a

hunting cabin where the Hoh ranger station is today; and Indians had elk-drying racks at Falls Creek near Blue Glacier.

Frachtenberg, Leo J.

1916 Quileute Ethnology: LaPush, Washington. (Field notebooks, manuscript No. 30 (W3a5), [Freeman No. 3177] in American Philosophical Society Library, Philadelphia.)

Frachtenberg was a teacher at Chemawa School for several years and collected ethnographic materials (texts and artifacts) for the Bureau of American Ethnology.

1920 Abnormal Types of Speech in Quileute.
International Journal of American Linguistics
1(4):295-299.

Frachtenberg found that speech is altered, often with a prefix, when referring to a person with a physical disability, also when mythological beings are speaking; for example, Qwati prefixes words with sx-. Each word is prefixed with tcx when referring to a woman.

1920 Eschatology of the Quileute Indians. *American Anthropologist* 22(4):330-340.

According to this very informative article, after death the ghost and souls of the individual go to the underworld, where a river runs through the center. Old souls live on one side and new souls on the other. The river is crossed with a canoe; this is the reason the Quileute are buried in canoes. Infants and children live in a separate underworld, that has swings and a lake; older women care for them here.

1921 The Ceremonial Societies of the Quileute Indians.
American Anthropologist 23(3):320-352.

Quileute ceremonies include the wolf and fish ritual, hunter, whale hunter, and weather societies. According to Frachtenberg, the hunter society is the only original society; all the others are borrowed. He hypothesizes that ceremonial societies facilitated the potlatch. The hunting society members gain their guardian spirit in the mountains, where they live on the eastern slopes. A breakdown in tradition resulted in loss of the professional nature of these societies. In later times, basket makers, and other groups could join the fishing society; however, hunting and whale hunting always kept their professional features. The Quileute Indians must have originally lived farther inland as there are traces of old settlements 20 miles east of the coast.

Gibbons, F. Austin
1974 End of Terror. *Pacific Wilderness Journal* 2(1).

An interesting account of war with the Makah and the James Island fortress. Bear grease and whale oil were used to keep cold water off the body.

Gibbs, George
1877 Tribes of Western Washington and Northwestern Oregon. *Contributions to North American Ethnology* 1(2):157-361. John Wesley Powell, ed. Washington: U.S. Geographical and Geological Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region. (Reprinted: Shorey, Seattle, Wash., 1970).

Gibbs mentions historic Indian trails on the peninsula. He presents Native American views of intertribal relationships and land ownership and theorizes that populations moved from the interior to the coast to facilitate trade with Europeans.

Gorsline, Jerry, ed.
1992 Shadows of Our Ancestors. Port Townsend: Empty Bowl.

Includes chapters on first European contact in 1788; Hudson Bay Company diary on expedition against the Klallam; Barbara Lane on treaty negotiations; Kent Richards on Issac Stevens; and Langness, who psychoanalyzes the Jamestown Klallam. Overall this is a good reference book; however, there are some bibliographic omissions. The historical photographic data is very good.

Gunther, Erna
[1923-1934]
[Field Notebooks] (Accession No. 614-70-20, Manuscripts and University Archives Division, University of Washington).

These field notebooks contain primary data, some of which was not published in Gunther's *Klallam Ethnography*. Most of the notes were written in pencil and are difficult to read. Highlights of the material include a map of Washington Harbor where Slapu' went down in a whirlpool. Gunther recorded that the Klallam did not have mountain goat wool; instead they mixed duck and sea gull feathers with dog wool. She notes that the *Xunxanite* secret society is practiced by all of the sound tribes. *Xanite* means to growl. If anyone disclosed the secrets of the society, it meant death.

Gunther, Erna
1925 Klallam Folktales. *University of Washington
Publications in Anthropology* 1(4):113-169.

Erna Gunther was a student of Franz Boas who conducted research primarily among the Klallam and Makah. This publication contains numerous Klallam stories, many relating to the anthropomorphism of animals and landscape features.

1926 Analysis of the First Salmon Ceremony. *American Anthropologist* 28(4):605-617. Seattle.

Gunther discusses various first salmon ceremony practices from Bella Coola, the northernmost group who perform them, to central California. She theorizes that the eating of the salmon comprises the entire ceremony among Puget Sound tribes. There are certain taboos involved with the salmon. Gunther describes the birth of twins among the Klallam and Makah, and the resulting effects on the salmon run.

1927 Klallam Ethnography. *University of Washington Publications in Anthropology* 1(5):171-314. Seattle.

This is the only ethnography on the Klallam and is a valuable reference. It is written in the format of Leslie Spier's ethnographies, but does not contain the precise detail his research does.

1928 A Further Analysis of the First Salmon Ceremony. *University of Washington Publications in Anthropology* 2(5):129-173. Seattle.

Gunther writes that the first salmon ceremony is performed by tribes as far east as there are salmon runs, with various ceremonial patterns. The ritualized handling of the first salmon is based on the concept of immortality. Gunther states that the ceremony may belong to an older stratum of ceremonial life which existed before the superstructure of social rank and the secret society developed, because it is performed apart from the pursuit of wealth and status.

1936 A Preliminary Report on the Zoological Knowledge of the Makah. Pp. 105-118 in *Essays in Anthropology Presented to A.L. Kroeber*. Robert Lowie, ed. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Gunther identifies this work as the "beginning of a very fruitful study." This preliminary report discusses the birds and mammals identified by a Makah couple. Gunther notes that mountain goats are not found on the Olympic Peninsula, but

the wool was purchased from the Klallam, who got it in Victoria, usually in the form of finished blankets.

Gunther, Erna

1972 Indian Life of the Northwest Coast of North America As Seen by the Early Explorers and Fur Traders During the Last Decades of the Eighteenth Century. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

This book contains a chapter on the Strait of Juan de Fuca and recounts Quimper, in 1790, coming to the mouth of the Elwha and finding "delicious water." Vancouver mentions Dungeness and Discovery Bay village being near an Oyster bed in 1792. Gunther's ethnohistorical research is very thorough, however, she did not tie it into existing ethnographic and archeological research, which would have been very useful.

1973 Ethnobotany of Western Washington: The Knowledge and Use of Indigenous Plants by Native Americans. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

This revised edition was originally published in 1945, and contains additional material on Quileute plant names collected by J. V. Powell and Fred Woodruff. This book should be used in conjunction with Nancy Turner's ethnobotany, linguistic word lists, and local plant identification.

Gustafson, Paula

1980 Salish Weaving. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Gustafson believes the use of dog hair for weaving is a "myth" based on a lack of specimens. She suggests that the wool dog was actually coyote. Gustafson discusses the importance of mountain goat wool as a trade item. A double handful was the amount used in trade for such items as canoes, paddles, dried clams and herring.

Haberlin, Hermann and Erna Gunther

1930 The Indians of Puget Sound. *University of Washington Publications in Anthropology* 4(1):1-83. Seattle.

The book addresses the Snohomish, Snoqualamie and Nisqually tribes. There is a statement that half of the Quinault are Nisqually descendants. The authors discuss intertribal relations between the Makah and Klallam.

Hewes, Gordon W.

- 1947 Aboriginal Use of Fishery Resources in
Northwestern North America. (Unpublished Ph.D.
Dissertation in Anthropology, University of
California, Berkeley).

This is an insightful dissertation on salmon populations and the effects of increased fishing pressure and the commercialization of salmon. The author utilizes a comparative study of aboriginal fishing and modern commercial use. Hewes notes a "resting period" between the time that aboriginal populations declined, and commercial harvest began, which lead to extremely high productivity, early in the industry. Hewes' insight is displayed in the following:

to disregard the aboriginal fishing in the area, and to assume that the aquatic resources of that area were in a condition identical to the "natural environment," prior to the establishment of commercial or recreational fishing, is to commit a serious error (Hewes 1947:243).

- 1973 Indian Fisheries Productivity in Pre-Contact Times in the Pacific Salmon Area. *Northwest Anthropological Research Notes* 7(2):133-155. Moscow, Idaho.

This is a synopsis of the Hewes' dissertation discussed above.

Hobucket, Harry

- 1934 Quillayute Indian Traditions. *Washington Historical Quarterly* 25(1):49-59. Seattle.

Hobucket was a knowledgeable Quileute who recorded a number of legends from tribes on the peninsula. This article includes information about trails over the Olympic mountains.

Holt, Barry

- 1986 Can Indians Hunt in National Parks? Determinable Indian Treaty Rights and United States v. Hicks. *Environmental Law* 16(175):207-254.

Holt discusses his interpretation of Indian treaties in relationship to the Hicks and Shale hunting case that occurred within the Quinault area of the park. He presents information concerning this case that supports his view that the Quinault Tribe continues to retain the right to hunt in the park or should be compensated for that taking.

Howard, Helen Addison

1974 A Survey of the Densmore Collection. *Journal of the West* 13(2).

This article includes a section on the Nootka and Quileute. Howard writes that the Quileute had many hunting songs, and that there are few Makah songs that have words, as their language is hard to sing. Some of the tribes sing the song of other tribes. Howard found that the Makah use shell rattles and seashore pebbles in a long box, which is rocked back and forth across a log, as accompaniment in the Thunderbird dance. The elk horn rattle is used only by whalers. A cherry bark reed whistle concealed in the mouth was used to split the air in certain dances.

Howay, F.W.

1918 The Dog's Hair Blankets of the Coast Salish. *Washington Historical Quarterly* 9(2):83-92. Seattle.

Howay conducted historical research concerning the type of hair woven to produce woolen garments in southern British Columbia and northern Washington. He found that dog hair was used "wholly, or in great part" on the southern end of Vancouver Island, the Strait of Juan de Fuca, Puget Sound, the Gulf of Georgia, and Fraser River until about 1858, when the blankets and dogs became scarce.

Hudson, Pansy Howeattle

1989 Pansy Howeattle Hudson: Custodian of Indian Tradition. Jefferson County Historical Society Oral History Project. Port Townsend, Washington.

This published interview with Pansy Howeattle Hudson includes descriptions of traditional use. Hudson lived at Oil City from 1927 until 1930. She obtained elk grass at Bogachiel Lake. Hudson's family had a fishing camp south of Neah Bay. Hudson discusses the marking on canoe sails, for example a moon or star. Such crests represent a specific family. Hudson describes the location of Duskia's (the witch) swing on the upper Hoh where the "S" curve is. This interview also included an account of how the Hoh people were once upside down until kwati twisted them over.

Irvine, Albert

1921 How the Makah Obtained Possession of Cape Flattery. Luke Markiston, trans. *Museum of the American Indian. Heye Foundation. Indian Notes and Monographs. Miscellaneous Publications* 6. New York.

This story includes an account of Wadswud. In this version, Wadswud is a Makah from Ozette who went to the Nitinaht's

home at Deah and beheaded the chief. In the Quileute version by Farrand (1919) Wadswud was a Quileute who went to the Ozette village and killed the Chief there. The two accounts share many details that would suggest they are the same story, except for the different tribal affiliation. In the Quileute version the name of the Ozette chief is Laladeyuk. In the Makah version the Nitinaht chief's name is Watlwiekoos. Another Nitinaht chief is named Kitlcheduk.

Jacobs, Melville

1941 A Survey of Pacific Northwest Anthropological
 Research 1930-1940. *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*
 32:79-106.

This is an excellent bibliography, especially of unpublished song recordings and ethnographic field work.

Jenness, Diamond

1955 The Faith of a Coast Salish Indian. *Anthropology*
 in *British Columbia. Memoirs* 3. Victoria.

The Salish group discussed in this book has very similar cultural traits to the Klallam. This article contains information on winter dances, guardian spirits, and Indian doctors.

Johansen, Dorothy O.

1846 McLaughlin and the Indians. *The Beaver*, Outfit 277
 (June):18-21. Winnipeg.

This is the account of the murder of Alexander McKenzie in 1828 by the Klallam. According to this article, the Hudson Bay Company sent out an expedition to punish the Klallam. Their villages at New Dungeness and Port Townsend were destroyed and as many as 23 people were killed.

Kane, Paul

1859 Wanderings of an Artist Among the Indians of North
 America, from Canada to Vancouver's Island and
 Oregon....London: Longmans, Brown, Green,
 Longmans, and Roberts. (Reprinted: C.E. Tuttle,
 Rutland, Vt., 1967.)

This beautiful book contains many Kane paintings of places along the southern shores of the Strait of Juan de Fuca, including Klallam villages, women weaving blankets, canoes, and burials, as well as excerpts from his journal.

Keeting, Virginia, ed.
n.d. Dungeness: The Lure of the River. Port Angeles,
Wash.: Olympic Printers.

This history of the Dungeness includes a chapter containing information provided by Marion Taylor and Jacob Hall on the Jamestown Klallam and the history of the Hall family.

Kinkade, M. Dale
1976 The Salishan Languages. (Unpublished paper
presented at the Northwest Coast Studies
Conference, Burnaby, B.C.)

Kincade summarizes Salishan language distribution. Of the 23 Salishan languages, 16 are spoken in the Northwest Coast area. There are four divisions: Bella Coola, Tillamook, Central Salish, and the Olympic Group. The diffusion center of Proto Salish is identified as the Fraser River Delta. Sapir's combination of Salishan, Wakashan and Chimakum into Mosan has been abandoned because the similarities were not genetic.

Kinney, Jay P.
1937 A Continent Lost--A Civilization Won: Indian Land
Tenure in America. Baltimore, Md.: John Hopkins
Press.

A history of the Allotment Act and other land tenure programs. Kinney discusses the situation on the Quinault Reservation, which ended with litigation and allotment of most of the Quinault's timberland.

Kirk, Ruth
1962 Indians Whoop it Up for Young Chief. *Seattle Times*, December 2.

David Hudson received chieftainship of the Quileute Tribe from his maternal great-grandfather, Charles Howeattle, and chieftainship of the Hoh Tribe from paternal great-grandfather, Bill Hudson. This article includes photos of Pansy Howeattle Hudson, Theodore Hudson, and Charles Hudson. The Hudsons were one of the upper class families who often conducted potlatching.

Kirk, Ruth
1974 It's Birthday Potlatch Time on the Hoh. *Seattle Times*, August 25.

Discusses David Hudson's 20th birthday. Pansy Hudson displayed her son's spirit blanket with the family's killer whale crest.

Lambert, Mary Ann
1972 The House of the Seven Brothers, and Trees, Roots
 and Branches of The House of Ste-tee-thlum. Port
 Orchard, Washington: Publisher's Printing.

A genealogical history of the Klallam from the Dungeness
area.

Lambert, Mary Ann
1961 Dungeness Massacre and Other Regional Tales.
 Sequim: Dungeness Museum.

Stories of white antagonism and warfare against the Klallam
around Port Townsend.

Lane, Barbara S.
1953 A Comparative and Analytic Study of Some Aspects
 of Northwest Coast Religion. (Unpublished Ph.D.
 Dissertation in Anthropology, University of
 Washington, Seattle.)

The author divides religious areas of the Northwest Coast
into three sub-areas: north coast, Tlingit to Hoh; central
coast, Coast Salish, Chinook and Tillamook; south coast; and
Coos, Chetco, Galice, and northwestern California. Lane
considers the north coast group to be secular, with outer
ceremonial aspects of supernaturalism, and an emphasis on
ritual and form. She includes the Makah, Quileute and
Quinault in this group on the basis of their secret society
complex. However, she states this is a recent addition, and
they could be included in the central coast. Lane analyzes
the religious traits and makes comparisons with an emphasis
on the Cowichan.

1975 Identity, Treaty Status and Fisheries of the Lower
 Elwha Tribal Community. (Unpublished manuscript
 prepared for the U.S. Department of Interior and
 the Lower Elwha Tribal Community. July 25).

Includes thorough research of George Gibbs' journals and a
list of villages he documented: Hoko, Pysht, Crescent Bay,
Elwha, Tse-whit-zen, Tinnis (Dungeness), St-queen (Wash.
Harbor), Squa-que-hl (head of Port Discovery), Kahti (Port
Townsend), Klat-la-wash and Hunnint (west and east Clallam
Bay), Tsohkw (mouth of Dungeness), Ste-tehtlum (near
Jamestown), Sn-ogh (west of Clallam Bay), a summer camp two
miles west of Pysht, a fall camp at the mouth of Lyre, and
Yinnis. Gibbs wrote that the Elwha River had a big log jam
and canoes cannot get up, and that there were houses far up
the river. He considered Hoko a Klallam village, party to
the Treaty of Point No Point. Two groups moved across the
Straits to Beecher Bay in the 1840s. There were two

permanent villages at Pysht, pee-sht and nee-qho (east side of river). The lumber company made them move away 80 years prior to 1942.

Lane, Barbara S.

1977 Identity, Treaty Status and Fisheries of the Jamestown Clallam Indian Community. (Unpublished manuscript prepared for the U.S. Department of Interior and the Jamestown Indian Community.)

Contains important information on Indian land settlement issues. In 1859, two sections of land at Clallam Bay had been discussed for the use and benefit of the Klallam Indians as a proposed reserve. In the 1870s, the Klallams were forced out of their Jamestown and other locations by non-Indians who were able to gain title to land improved and occupied by the Indians. Some Jamestown families came from Clallam Bay. Prior to February of 1870 it was not possible for Indians to obtain land through the General Land Office, as Indians were not citizens. In 1870, Secretary Cos stated that, under the 14th Amendment, Indians could become citizens and take up land, but in so doing they had to sever tribal relations. In 1874 Secretary Delano reversed this, as tribal relations could not be severed without approval of the tribe and federal government. He suggested Congress enact a law authorizing Indians to abandon tribal affiliation. At this point all previous claims became illegal and void and whites jumped Indian claims. He asked that a clause be inserted in the bill stating that all previous claims were legal.

Lane and Lane Associates

1990 The Conflict Between Indian Terminal Fisheries and Hydropower on the Elwha River. Unpublished Report for the Elwha Klallam Tribe, Lower Elwha Indian Reservation, Washington.)

Review of historical documents and oral testimony concerning the fisheries of the Elwha River and effects of dam construction.

Leighton, Caroline C.

1980 [1884]

Life at Puget Sound: With Sketches of Travel in Washington Territory, British Columbia, Oregon, and California. (Reprinted Ye: Gallon Press, Fairfield, Washington.)

Journal kept by Mrs. Leighton in the 1860s and 1870s. She lived in Port Angeles and recorded some aspects of local Indian life and a homesite which she calls the "Indian Ranch" next to Port Angeles.

Lennon, Mary

1944 Indian Tribes of Warriors. *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*. November 15, 1944. (970.1, Ind NA-Tribes-OR/WA-General). Special Collections, University of Washington.

Lennon discusses the burning of La Push while the Quileute were away hop picking in Puyallup in 1889. The fire caught the bladders of whale oil and ignited everything. At one time the Quileute population was 10,000.

1944 Brave Tribal Hero Beheads Foe Chief. *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*. November 16, 1944. (970.1, Ind NA-Tribes-OR/WA-General). Special Collections, University of Washington.

In this article, Lennon discusses battles that were ongoing between the Ozette and Quileute. The story relates how the Ozette chief offered his son to the daughter of the Quileute chief. The Quileute chief's son, Wadswud, dressed like he was his sister and married the Ozette chief's son. Then he slew the chief and brought his head back to LaPush. Contains a photo of wooden carving of Wadswud.

Lennon, Mary

1944 Power of Thunder Birds Destroyed. *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*. November 17, 1944. (970.1, Ind NA-Tribes-OR/WA-General). Special Collections, University of Washington.

Lennon recounts the story of Quileutes hunting in the mountains where they found a huge carcass of a whale and a white feather eight fathoms long. *Cs-til-al* is the Quileute name for Thunderbird. She wrote that eight of these birds, two parents and six sons, controlled elements of the sky and could change into human form. They hunted whale, carried it to their home in the mountains, and dropped bones in a nearby lake. The Quileute account names *Qua-aa-achee*, the mystery man, as the only one more powerful, so *Cs-til-al* beat its wings over the ocean and created a tidal wave. *Qua-aa-achee* killed four of the Thunderbird's sons and their powers soon decreased. Today, she relates, the remains of a whale turned to stone can be seen near Forks.

Lofgren, Svante E.

1949 Barth Ar-kell (The White Bear). Seattle: Publications Press.

A very ethnocentric second-hand account by Swedish homesteader, Olaf Erickson, who named Mora after his parish in Sweden. Of interest is the chapter on burial trees. There

is also some information on the Washington Fur Company, Quileute disputes with the Makah, whaling, and the strikes Erickson's Quileute employees initiated.

McDonald, Lucille

1955 Spanish Penetrated Far Into Strait of Juan de Fuca in 1790 Expedition. *Seattle Times*. October 9, 1955.

McDonald wrote a series of newspaper articles on local history. This article discusses Spanish claims in 1790. Explorers obtained specimens of elk hide armor and blankets of dog wool from the indigenous people.

1956 Menzies and the Vancouver Expedition. *Seattle Times*. June 3, 1956.

The Scottish naturalist on board the British vessel Discovery explored Port Discovery. He found extensive burials and charred remains, which he thought to be the bodies of cremated vanquished enemies. Menzies noted extensive trade items among the Indians up the sound.

Marr, Carolyn J., Lloyd Colfax, and Robert D. Monroe
1987 Portrait in Time: Photographs of the Makah by Samuel G. Morse, 1896-1903. Neah Bay, Washington: The Makah Cultural and Research Center in Cooperation with the Washington State Historical Society.

Contains wonderful photos from the extensive Morse collection, located at the Washington State Historical Society, Tacoma.

Meany, Edmond S.

1905 Indians have Lived at La Push for Countless Centuries. *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*. (University of Washington Archives, Bagley Scrapbook, Vol. 12, pg. 100).

Meany mentions a specific homesite one and a half miles up the Quileute River known as *ok't-sok't*. The article includes photographs of Quileute people.

1905 Why Makah Tribe is Highest of Canoe Indian. *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*. September 24, 1905.

Meany states that there is a drinking pool south of Ozette, built up with rocks at the mouth of a creek or spring that has been used for ages. He describes rock art on a face of the solid rock near the trail entrance where there are Indian carvings. The Ozette's had an old camp at Tatoosh, as

did Indians from other villages, where they stayed while trolling for salmon [probably halibut]. Sometimes as many as 200 canoes were trolling.

Meany, Edmond S.

1905 Twana and Clallam Indians. *Seattle Post
Intelligencer*. October 22, 1905.

Meany states that Squaxin Bill believes the provisions of the old treaty protect him in his hunting rights. He recounts a story of Mount Rainier and Mount Constance. They are the wives of Mount Dosewallips. When Rainier left, she dropped her food (salmon) into the Skokomish River, that's why there are salmon. Meany states that Clallam Jackson, *Ki-kliis-ma*, was the last survivor of the Clallam Bay band (*Ka-neend*). The few Klallams that moved to the Skokomish Reservation were Charley Jones and Mrs. David Charley. He states that the Lummi canoe procession is called *chay-ni-quah* or play of lightning.

Meany, Edmond, S.

1905 Story of a Journey on Foot from Moclips to Neah Bay. *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*. September 3, 1905.

Meany wrote that the coast Indians have no tradition or transmitted memory of the Spanish "massacre" incident. Billy Mason's name is *tah ho lah*, which is the name of his grandfather who signed the treaty. Billy toured the coast to Neah Bay, in order to locate Indians with Quinault blood and encourage them to take allotments. The Quinault sought to sell the rest to the government and open it for white settlement as they did not want it incorporated within Olympic Forest Reserve. They wanted stores, roads, and the land value. The Executive Order of November 4, 1873 which established the reservation boundary, stated that the reservation was intended for all tribes along coast.

Meany explains that the Quinault River got its name from the stockades built there. Apparently, he interviewed Bob Pope, for he mentions his Quinault name as *Quots-o-weet* and says that the Quinault medicine man got his power in the mountains above Lake Quinault. There he dreamed of another world under this one. He saw a spirit that walked like a man and had hair on its head like a person. The spirit told him that if a man lost his soul he could go and get it for him. In his magic house he had such a figure carved in wood, with hair on its head. Every Christmas he gave a big feast, and amidst the weird music of rattle and tom-tom he worked on this image until it stood alone and walked about.

Meany, Edmond S.

1905 Indians Have Lived at La Push for Countless
 Centuries. *Seattle Times*. September 10, 1905.

Meany describes the Hoh Indians as a separate subsidiary tribe of Quileutes. In 1893, John McGlinn, agent at Neah Bay, set aside one square mile reservations at Ozette, Quileute and Hoh. These were subsequently created by executive order under President Cleveland. Meany notes that one and a half miles up the Quileute River is the village of *Ok't-sok't*, where three or four houses are located on a grassy flat. He discusses salal berries being dried, ground and dried again in clumps. Elderberries are packed in alder boxes between layers of leaves. The boxes are submerged in wet mud and later roasted over heated stones.

1920 Indians of the Olympic Peninsula. *The Mountaineer*
 13(1).

Contains historic accounts of the Destruction Island "massacre" of 1775. [The journal account of this incident is referenced under Wagner, Henry R.]. Provides limited information about Makah guides during a 1854 expedition to Mount Olympus [which may be unfounded], and mentions mountain use by the Indians for hunting.

Mooney, James

1896 The Ghost Dance Religion: The Shakers of Puget
 Sound. Reprinted by Shorey Book Store, Seattle.

The title is a misnomer, as there is no connection to the Ghost Dance. The Shaker faith was persecuted by Reverend Eells. In 1886 the Indian Land Severalty Bill allowed the Shaker's to establish their own church.

Morganroth, Chris

1991 Footprints in the Olympics: An Autobiography.
 Katherine M. Flaherty, ed. Ye Gallon Press.
 Fairfield, Washington.

Morganroth had a Quileute wife. His knowledge of places used by the Quileute represent time he spent on the Sol Duc River with her. The oral history he recorded about the hot springs is of interest.

Morrison, Homer L.

1939 A Clallam Community: A Study of the Rehabilitation Program of The Clallam Indians in the Valley of the Lower Elwha in Clallam County, Washington. Superintendent, Indian Education. June 6, 1939. University of Washington, Special Collections.

This document appears to be the original and was found in the University of Washington archives. It contains information on family names and former Klallam residences at Ediz Hook. It is an important reference of tribal history.

Newman, Thomas S.

1959 Toleak Point: An Archaeological Site on the North Central Washington Coast. *Washington State University. Laboratory of Anthropology. Reports of Investigation 4.* Pullman.

Ethnographic data based on Pettitt (1950) and midden analysis of Albert Reagan. Toleak Point was a historic Quileute village with three houses, called "Kahii," referring to a tall rock island with arches. Quileute consultant Bill Hudson said there was a long plank house here.

Nicolay, Rev. Charles G.

1846 The Oregon Territory: A Geographical and Physical Account of that Country and Its Inhabitants, with Outlines of its History and Discovery. London: Charles Knight.

This account documents duck nets seen at Port Discovery. The mode of burial along the coast was in a canoe, which was sometimes ruined to prevent theft. The custom of flattening the head did not prevail, according to Nicolay, as it once did.

Olson, Ronald L.

1927 Adze, Canoe, and House Types on the Northwest Coast. *University of Washington Publications in Anthropology 2(1).* Seattle.

1936 The Quinault Indians. *University of Washington Publications in Anthropology 6(1):1-190.* Seattle.

Both reprinted in one volume in 1967, University of Washington Press. *The Quinault Indians* is one of the best ethnographic works of this region. The detail and use of consultants' direct quotes makes the accounts of spirit power acquisition exceptional.

The Oregonian

1937 Indian Totem Poles. April 4, 1937 (University of Washington Archives, Dubuar Scrapbook 52:14).

Includes Qua-ti story and photos of Chief Howeattle's totem carvings. This article is missing a page.

Pettitt, George A.

1949 The Quileute of La Push: 1775-1945. *University of California Anthropological Records* 14(1).
Berkeley. (Reprinted: Kraus Reprint, Milwood, N.Y., 1976.)

Pettitt documents the social changes that occurred after World War II. The manuscript might have been stronger had he compared the acculturation which had taken place in the area between the time of Olson's work among the Quinault in 1925 and Pettitt's work among the Quileute in 1945, as the changes were striking.

Pickering, Charles

1863 *The Races of Man; and Their Geographic Distribution. New Edition to Which is Prefixed, an Analytical Synopsis of the Natural History of Man,* by John Charles Hall. London: H.G. Bohn.

Pickering's *Races* is an early classic. His historic reconstruction of the 1841 exploration, by Vincennes (Terra del Fuego), of the peninsula, including stops at Discovery Harbor and Neah Bay is of interest. He states that the Chinooks (meaning all tribes on the peninsula) wove blankets and belts, principally from the wool of the mountain goat (*Capra americana*, an animal said to be abundant to the north).

Powell, J.V.

1975 *The Quileute Indians. LaPush, Washington: The Quileute Tribe.*

Quileute society was based on the "house group," composed of those who occupied the big houses during the winter at the mouths of the Quileute and Hoh Rivers and Goodman Creek. During the summer these groups would fragment into family groups, some of which moved upriver to hunting camps. The Quileutes were created from wolves by transformer.

1976 *Chimakum-Wakashan: Evidence of Genetic Relationship, (Paper read at the Northwest Coast Studies Conference, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, B.C., 1976.)*

A summary of linguistic work related to a common origin for the Quileute and Makah language families. Powell looks at

examples of recurrent sound correspondences. He concludes that the Wakashan and Chimakum are related, suggesting that borrowing is not the reason because nasal resonants date prior to a Wakashan/Chimakum split.

Powell, J.V.

1989 Don't Spoil the Natural Environment. A Quileute Tribal School Big Book. LaPush, Washington: The Quileute Tribe.

Includes an introduction by Jay Powell based on discussions with Quileute elders from 1969-1981 and a speech by Jack Ward. This was copied from Andrade in 1931 at La Push.

n.d. Quileute for Kids. A Quileute Tribal School Book. LaPush, Washington: The Quileute Tribe.

A series of books for the Quileute school. Book six includes myths and legends, religion (secret societies, land of the dead, burial trees), potlatch, whaling and sealing, the life cycle, annual cycle, and place names.

Powell, J. V. and Vickie Jensen

1976 Quileute: An Introduction to the Indians of La Push. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Powell is a linguist who has worked at LaPush under contract to the Quileute Tribe. This book is brief, but contains information on dugout canoe manufacture, social organization, religion, games, and food of the Quileute. Powell states that the Quileute formerly occupied the entire northern area of the Olympic Peninsula, but were dislodged by the Makah and Klallam. This publication includes two Quileute myths, and an introduction to Quileute language, as well as historic photographs.

Powell, J.V., Bill Penn, et al.

1972 Place Names of the Quileute Indians. *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 63(3):105-118.

Excellent reference, especially for the Sol Duc and Bogachiel Rivers. Bill Penn is the last Quileute to have gone to sea as a member of an Indian whaling team.

Powell, J.V., and Fred Woodruff

1976 Quileute Dictionary. *Northwest Anthropological Research Notes. Memoirs* 3. Moscow, Idaho.

Powell and Fred Woodruff, who was the chairman of the Quileute Tribal Council, worked seven years collecting and editing language data for the Quileute language program.

Puget, Peter

1939 The Vancouver Expedition: Peter Puget's Journal of the Exploration of Puget Sound, May 7-June 11, 1792. Bern Anderson, ed. *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 30(2):177-217.

Discusses the remains of a large fire with burnt human skulls and bones and a canoe burial hung by ropes in the branches of a tree at Port Discovery. The expedition found square boxes, bows, arrows and fishing implements laid by these remains. In another place they discovered a basket suspended in a similar manner with the remains of a child who had died not more than 6 weeks prior. They believed that the charred bones were those of war captives. Puget suggests that the Indians believe in a future state, as the canoe is placed in the air to prevent its deterioration so that it may be used by the deceased in the hereafter. The expedition passed several deserted villages, with crudely carved wooden images displayed, and heads mounted on top of poles near Marrowstone.

Reagan, Albert B.

1907 The Games of the Quileute Indians. *The Westerner*. Pp. 20-21.

Reagan was the school teacher and Indian agent at LaPush from 1905 to 1909. A number of elders in the community recall being taught by him. Reagan describes various games, such as the disk game, stick game, Indian dice and bow and arrow contest.

1908 The Secret Dances and Medicine Ceremonies of the Quileute Indians. *Alaska-Yukon Magazine* 5:10-18.

This is an excellent account of "Klukwalle" and "Tomanawis" performances, which include sketches made by various Quileute tribal members.

Reagan, Albert B.

1908 The Shake Dance of the Quilente [sic] Indians, with Drawings by an Indian Pupil of the Quileute Day School. *Proceedings of the Indiana Academy of Science for 1908*. Pp. 71-74. Indianapolis.

This article contains a short description of a Shaker dance taken from *The Quileute Independent*, a newspaper published by Quileute tribal member, W.H. Hudson.

1908 The Shaker Church of the Indians. *The Alaska-Yukon Magazine*. April, pp. 82-86.

Describes a Shaker ceremonial in detail. Reagan does not give a date, but describes an order by the Indian department

that prohibited medicine men to practice, this is the reason the Indians reconstructed their customs in the form of Christian practices that would be protected under their constitutional rights.

Reagan, Albert B.

1908 Myths of the Quillayute Indians. *Alaska-Yukon Magazine*. December, pp. 210-214.

Includes three stories: "How the Blue-Back Quinault Salmon Came to Be," "Kwatte Kills the Elder Thunderbird," and "How the Headlands and Promontories of the Washington Coast were Formed."

1908 Sketches of Indian Life and Character.
Transactions of the Kansas Academy of Science
23:141-149. Lawrence.

This article includes a discussion of the secret dances: *Ka-kla-kwal*, *tsi-yuk*, and *klu-kwal-le*, which Reagan describes in detail. He also writes about *Duskia*, the witch, who is sister of *kwatte*, and who has homes at the mouth of Maxfield Creek, above Quileute prairie and at the Quileute needles.

1908 Some Notes on the Olympic Peninsula, Washington.
[1909] *Transactions of the Kansas Academy of Science*
22:131-238. Lawrence.

Includes Indian accounts of the formation of Lake Crescent and prairies in the area, as well as the story of Thunderbird's home and the terminus of the last glacial retreat on the Hoh.

1917 Archaeological Notes on Western Washington and
Adjacent British Columbia. *Proceedings of the*
California Academy of Sciences, 4th ser., 7(1).
San Francisco.

Contains some excellent descriptions of Indian tradition. Reagan mentions middens in prairies, canoe burials and burial mounds among the Quileute. The paper provides an account of Thunderbird living in a hole under a glacier at Mount Olympus, the origin of Lake Crescent, the war with the Klallam, and the creation and Great Flood traditions. Reagan mentions an ancient midden heap 16 miles up the Hoh at the bench where the glacier made a stand. Reagan believes that the Quileute once "owned" the entire peninsula.

1925 Whaling of the Olympic Peninsula Indians. *Natural History* 25(1):24-32.

The whale principally pursued is the California gray. A whales' rib and head bones can be seen at Forks Prairie. The

whale hunter must bathe in cold salt water two or three times each night for several moons, beginning in December, before whaling season. He rubs himself with the twigs of a tree that his family has held sacred for generations. The whale staff and paddle are made of yew wood. The whaling canoe has a prow representing the mythical river deer. The saddle of the whale is placed on a pole with eagle feathers, covered with down, and then the oil is allowed to drip into a vessel.

Reagan, Albert B.

1927 The Shaker Church of the Indians. *The Southern Workman* 56(10):447-448. Hampton, Va.

This article contains a very brief description of Shaker religion. The Shakers prophesied that a great tidal wave would destroy the earth in 1884.

1928 Ancient Sites and Burial Grounds in the Vicinity of Queets, Washington. *El Palacio* 25(19):296-299.

Reagan mentions a shell mound at Kalaloch, which he believed to be abandoned 500 years ago. The Queets village once had a population of 2,000, but there was a massacre there by the "Makah (Nittenats)."

1929 Traditions of the Hoh and Quillayute Indians. *Washington Historical Quarterly* 20(3):178-189. Seattle.

Within these traditions are recounts of battles at Pysht. The chief at Pysht offered his daughter in marriage to the Makah chief in order to stop the hostile acts.

1931 The Klukwalle Dance of the West Coast Indians. *The Frontier* 12(1):67-71. Missoula, Montana.

Reagan provides a detailed account of Klukwalle (the Thunderbird performance) performed by a society whose purpose is to restore departed spirits.

1931 The Medicine Ceremonies of the West Coast Indians. *The Frontier* 11(3):273-276.

Reagan states that the medicine performances are enacted by medicine men at the *Tsiyuk*, *Kayklakwal*, and *Klukwalle* dances of twenty years ago. They are performed to cure sickness by retrieving the soul. In his example, the soul is held prisoner, (on the back of a great Thunderbird) by evil spirits.

Reagan, Albert B.

1932 Some Traditions of the West Coast Indians. *The Frontier*. 3(4):318-321.

Includes the accounts of the "Battle of Chinook," "Battle of Nittinat," and "Battle of Neah Bay, Warm House, and Ozette." The accounts describe the Makah's capture of the Cape Flattery area.

1933 Plants Used by the Hoh and the Quileute Indians. *Transactions of the Kansas Academy of Science* 37:55-70. Lawrence.

Reagan documents that the prairies were burned to enhance hunting and fern sprouts.

1934 Some Additional Myths of the Hoh and Quileute Indians. *Proceedings of the Utah Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters* 11:17-37. Provo.

Includes the story, "How a Quileute Chief got a Clallam Wife."

1934 Various Uses of Plants by West Coast Indians. *Washington Historical Quarterly* 25(2):133-137. Seattle.

This paper includes a few species of plants utilized and preparation methods. Of note is the use of foxglove as a decoration at a Quileute potlatch.

1934 Some Traditions of the West Coast Indians. *Utah Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters* 11:73-93. Provo.

In this article Reagan refers to battles, including the battle of Chimakum. He notes that the fishing grounds of the Quileute are at Cape Flattery and states that at one time the Quileute/Chimakum had complete control over the greater part of the peninsula. He describes the one hundred war canoes that went to Nittinat to keep the Makah from invading Cape Flattery. The Makahs captured the Quileute settlement of Warmhouse, between Cape Flattery and Neah Bay; then captured villages at Tsooez, Waatch and headed toward Ozette. The Makah also raided the village of Kalaloch. The people who were killed were placed in canoe burials there. Some of these burials were seen by Reagan in 1928. Reagan mentions the level area among the hills where the Hoh glacier made a stand as it retreated. Quileute territory once included all of Klallam territory. He relates the story of Natankabostub, who became a witch, and whose tamahnous was a lizard with horns that chased game to the home of Thunderbird at the glacier. He tells how when Thunderbird

flapped its wings, painted warriors fell on the helpless Quileute who perished and the Klallams (warriors from the sky) gained the land.

Reagan, Albert B.
1937 The Christmas Ceremonies at Quileute, Washington,
 in 1906. *Northwest Science*. February, pp. 21-22.

Includes an interesting account of a Christmas celebration at LaPush, combining traditional Klukwalle and Shaker ceremonials.

Reagan, Albert B. and L.V.W. Walters
1933 Tales from the Hoh and Quileute. *Journal of American Folklore* 46(182):297-346.

Includes 52 stories, 45 of which were recorded by Reagan between 1905-1909, while he was serving as the government agent for the Quileute and Hoh. Edited by Walters, who collected the seven other tales.

Righter, Elizabeth
1978 Cultural Resource Overview of the Olympic National Forest, Washington, Vol. I. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Contract 006709N, March 1978.

A brief overview of peninsula ethnography, written by consulting firm Jack McComick and Associates, Inc., out of Washington D.C. The data was gathered from previous ethnographic and historical sources, except for personal communication with Dr. Barbara Lane concerning the Elwha.

Shaw, George Coombs
1933 Vancouver's Discovery of Puget Sound in the Year 1792: Being Excerpts from the Rare Original Journals--The Naming of Geographic Features--Around the Sound with Capt. George Vancouver in Twenty Minutes. Arranged by George Coombs Shaw. (Reprinted: Facsimile Reprint 1967).

In these excerpts, Shaw mentions that Vancouver had discussed the behavior of the Indians as paying "little mind to the ship" and behaving in a "respectful and orderly manner." Vancouver noted that the Indians painted their faces with red ochre and shining mica when they visited his ship on Hood Canal.

Sicade, Henry

1940 The Indians' Side of the Story. Pp. 490-503 in
Building a State: Washington 1889-1939. *Washington
State Historical Society Publications, Volume III.*
Charles Miles and O.B. Sperlin, eds.

Sicade was a Nisqually Indian who wrote a detailed chapter about a set of people known as Siatcos. Siatcos were ventriloquists that called in high-pitched tones and roamed about at night. They came from the north, but headquartered at Bucoda in Thurston County.

Singh, Ram Raj Prasad

1966 Aboriginal Economic System of the Olympic
Peninsula Indians, Western Washington. *Sacramento
Anthropological Society Papers* 4. Sacramento.

Singh's manuscript includes data on resources, food preparation and conservation of an "economic system." He discusses controlled burning, whaling taboos, seasonal rounds, canoe travel nearly to the river's source, and trade networks of the Quinault, Quileute and Makah.

Smith, Marion

1941 The Coast Salish of Puget Sound. *American
Anthropologist* 43(2):197-211.

This is a well written article on the relationship between land use and village groups. Smith clarifies tribal distribution in the Puget Sound region. She also describes the characteristics and distribution of power-attaining practices. A Klallam form of a secret society reached southern Puget Sound through the Twana.

Smith, Marion W. and Dorothy Leadbeater

1949 Salish Coiled Baskets. Pp. 111-132 in *Indians of
the Urban Northwest*. M.W. Smith, ed. Columbia
University Press.

A good reference for basketry designs.

Sproat, Gilbert Malcolm

1867 Scenes and Studies of Savage Life. London: Smith,
Elder. (Reprinted: Sono-Nis Press, Victoria, B.C.,
1987.)

The focus of this book is the Nootka, who Sproat refers to as the Aht. Sproat relates a story of a great ebb and flow of the sea which could correspond to the Great Flood on the peninsula. There is an interesting fishery management practice recorded: "It is a common practice among the few tribes whose hunters go far inland, at certain seasons, to transport the ova of the salmon in boxes filled with damp

moss, from the rivers to lakes, or to other streams[148]." The burial method of placing the high ranking men and young girls the highest elevation from the ground is described. The Cape Flattery Indians induced the Vancouver Island tribes to attack small neighboring tribes on their own shores, and capture persons fit for the slave market. In 1854 the Nitinaht attacked and beheaded an Elwha, who had been on friendly terms.

Stallard, Bruce and Clayton Denman
[1956] An Archaeological Site Survey on the Coast of Western Washington. (Unpublished manuscript on file at Olympic National Park, Port Angeles.)

This is the earliest archeological survey in the park. The author's mention changes in the Quillayute River. Stallard and Denman identify Tokeak Point as the principle village of the Quileute. The authors utilized Singh's field notes, which could not be relocated by the park anthropologist. The additional note section discusses stockades, water travel and trails.

Stewart, Edgar I.
1957 Washington: Northwest Frontier, Volume II. New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company.

Only mention of peninsula is that the Stikine and Queen Charlotte Indians camped at Port Gamble in October, 1856. They were asked to leave and when they did not they were attacked by a detachment from the steamer Massachusetts, under the command of Lieutenant Raphael Semmes. Their canoes and provisions were destroyed, then they were shipped to Victoria. Fort Townsend was constructed to guard against further depredations. The Indians returned to Puget Sound for revenge and later killed Colonel Ebey.

Suttles, Wayne
1955 Katzie Ethnographic Notes. *Anthropology in British Columbia, Memoir 2.*

Ethnography of a man from the Lower Fraser Valley, which includes details about subsistence, kinship and language.

1987 Coast Salish Essays. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Suttles' 16 eloquent essays were written over a thirty year period. They are arranged into four chapters; "Models of Historic Social Systems at time of European Invasion," "Knowledge, Belief, and Art in Historic Culture," "Adaptation and Survival Through the European Invasion," "Inferences about Prehistory - Attempts to Reconstruct History from Ethnological, Archeological and Linguistic

Evidence." Suttles does not generalize about Northwest Coast culture, in fact he creates critical thought concerning ethnographic interpretations.

Suttles, Wayne, editor
1990 Handbook of North American Indians, Volume 7,
 Northwest Coast. Smithsonian Institution Press.

An exceptional source of information on Northwest Coast cultures. The bibliography in this work is excellent.

Swan, James G.
1857 The Northwest Coast; Or, Three Years' Residence in
 Washington Territory. New York: Harper.
 (Reprinted: Ye Galleon Press, Fairfield,
 Washington, 1989.)

The first of Swan's writings on the Northwest Coast focuses on the years 1852-1855 at Shoalwater Bay. It includes ethnographic information on the Chinook, Chehalis and Quinault. He describes the smallpox epidemic that ravaged the region, the equal relationship of male and females, details of the spirit quest, and an interesting journey to Quinault.

1861 Murder of Wha-lathl, or "Swell," one of the Makah
 Chiefs by the Elwha Indians, near Old Dungeness.
 Washington Standard. March 30, 1861, pg. 1, col.
 2-4.

1861 Scenes Among the Mackahs [sic]. An Indian War
 Party. *Washington Standard*. Olympia Washington,
 November 2, 1861.

These two articles appear to be first hand accounts of Swell's murder and its avenge.

1870 The Indians of Cape Flattery, at the Entrance to
 the Strait of Fuca, Washington Territory.
 Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge 16(8):1-
 106. Washington. (Reprinted: Shorey Publications,
 Seattle, 1972.)

Prepared for the Smithsonian Institution, after Swan had lived at Neah Bay as a school teacher in the 1860s. This publication contains details of every aspect of Makah culture and includes some detailed drawings by Swan.

Swan, James G.

1971 Almost Out of This World: Scenes From Washington
Territory. The Strait of Juan de Fuca 1859-61.
Tacoma: Washington State Historical Society.

This book is taken from Swan's travels to various areas, and gives detailed descriptions of resource areas, Indian homes, and other points of interest in route. He writes of a Klallam secret society initiation with much detail, and describes a trail from Quileute territory to Pysht. The most enlightening account is that of a trip to Port Townsend with the Makah. Along the way they stopped at several Klallam villages that had been destroyed through warfare.

[Swindell, Edward G., Jr.]

1942 Report on Source, Nature and Extent of the
Fishing, Hunting, and Miscellaneous Related Rights
of Certain Indian Tribes in Washington and Oregon
[etc.] Los Angeles, Calif.: United States
Department of the Interior, Office of Indian
Affairs, Division of Forestry and Grazing.

Affidavit's from the peninsula tribes on usual and accustomed fishing places. The most comprehensive source for place names on the peninsula.

Taylor, Herbert C., Jr

1963 Aboriginal Populations of the Lower Northwest
Coast. *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 54(4):158-165.

Taylor compiled and compared population figures for Klallam, Chimakum, and Lower Chehalis based on Hudson Bay records, and Mooney's estimates, which were probably inaccurate. Taylor provides dates for epidemics as well.

Taylor, Herbert C., Jr.

1974 Anthropological Investigation of the Makah Indians
Relative to Tribal Identity and Aboriginal
Possession of Lands. Pp. 27-89 in Coast Salish and
Western Washington Indians, III., *American Indian
Ethnohistory: Indians of the Northwest*. New York:
Garland.

A fairly comprehensive ethnohistorical study, prepared for the Indian Claims Commission proceedings. This document includes some details of early explorers observations and relationships with other groups, as well as resource gathering and subsistence activities.

Thompson, Laurence C.
1973 The Northwest. Pp. 979-1045 in *Current Trends in Linguistics*. Vol. 10: Linguistics in North America. Thomas A. Sebeok, ed. The Hague: Mouton. (Reprinted: Plenum Press, New York, 1976.)

This thorough paper on Northwest Coast linguistics contains an excellent bibliography. Thompson notes that the Chimakum have a limited time-depth and the Klallam are removed from the rest of the dialect continuum.

Thompson, Laurence C., M. Terry Thompson, and Barbara S. Efrat
1974 Some Phonological Developments in Straits Salish. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 40(3):182-196.

Contains phonological studies of Straits Salish and Proto-straits Salish which look at patterns of diffusion and the need for ethnographic evidence to establish linguistic history.

Thompson, Nile
1976 Balancing the Power of Indian Doctors in Southern Coast Salish Societies. (Unpublished paper presented at the Northwest Coast Studies Conference, Burnaby, B.C.)

Thompson's paper looks at sorcery of an Indian doctor as a means of controlling social behavior. His hypothesis is that lay people retaliated against the Indian doctors to put a check on their power.

Tro, Roger P.
1976 Ethnohistory and Northwest Coast Studies. (Unpublished paper presented at the Northwest Coast Studies Conference, Burnaby, B.C.)

Tro looks at ethnohistory as methodology to assess the effects of white contact. He discusses four objectives of ethnohistory: (1) reconstruct aboriginal cultures; (2) document culture change; (3) supplement ethnographic data; and (4) utilize the results for nomothetic purposes.

Turner, Nancy J., and Marcus A.M. Bell
1971 The Ethnobotany of the Coast Salish Indians of Vancouver Island. *Economic Botany* 25(1):63-104.

Turner, Nancy J., and Barbara S. Efrat
1982 Ethnobotany of the Hesquiat People of the West Coast of Vancouver Island. *British Columbia Provincial Museum. Cultural Recovery Papers* 2. Victoria.

Turner, Nancy J., John Thomas, Barry F. Carlson, and Robert T. Ogilvie
1983 Ethnobotany of the Nitinaht Indians of Vancouver Island. *Occasional Papers of the British Columbia Provincial Museum* 24. Victoria.

Turner's work is an exceptional source for ethnobotanical information which is very useful as a comparison to Gunther's ethnobotany.

U.S. Department of Interior, Commissioner of Indian Affairs
1980 Memorandum To: Assistant Secretary; From: Commissioner (Acting Deputy); Subject: Recommendation and summary of evidence for proposed finding for Federal acknowledgement of the Jamestown Band of Clallam Indians of Washington pursuant to 25 CFR 54.

Final determination from the BIA for Federal Acknowledgement 2/10/81. The Jamestown Klallam came from Dungeness and parts of Washington Harbor and Port Discovery. Jamestown was treated as a recognized tribe until the termination era when services were discontinued because the tribe had no land base. This manuscript describes the history of all three Klallam groups. A settlement existed at Washington Harbor until 1925.

Vancouver, Captain George
1798 A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean, and Round the World; In Which the Coast of Northwest America Has Been Carefully Examined and Accurately Surveyed. 3 vols. London.

Vancouver's visit to the peninsula in 1792 occurred soon after a smallpox epidemic. Vancouver noted deserted villages, canoe tree burials, a child's burial basket, interred bodies, and a burnt over area with skeletal remains. He believed that people moved from the interior to the coast to trade, and were then affected by epidemics. He commented that the Indian's dogs resembled pomeranians, shorn close to the skin. The woolen clothing was possibly made from dog hair and another finer kind of wool. The abundance of these garments indicated to him that the animal was very common.

Vaughan, Thomas, ed.
1971 Paul Kane, *The Columbia Wanderer 1846-47: Sketches and Paintings of the Indians and His Lecture, "The Chinooks."* Portland: Oregon Historical Society.

Follows Kane's travels, with information about his perceptions. Includes an 1853 reprint of a book on Chinook jargon.

Vaughan, Thomas, and Bill Holm
1982 *Soft Gold: The Fur Trade and Cultural Exchange on
 the Northwest Coast of America.* Portland: Oregon
 State Historical Society.

Explains the use and evolution of objects of trade.

Wagner, Henry R., and A.J. Baker, eds. and trans.
1930 *Fray Benito de la Sierra's Account of the Hezeta
 Expedition to the Northwest Coast in 1775.*
 California Historical Quarterly 9(3):201-242. San
 Francisco.

Fray Benito was chaplain on this expedition and writes of
the encounter with the Indians near Destruction Island.

Wagner, Henry R.
1933 *Spanish Explorations in the Strait of Juan De
 Fuca. Santa Ana, California: Fine Arts Press.*
 (Reprinted: AMS Press, New York, 1971.)

During the Spanish exploration of 1791, the Spaniards saw
Indians at Port Discovery wearing elk shirts resembling
doublets. Wool blankets were worn for warmth. At Neah Bay,
where sea otter capes were worn, one copper was traded for
one sea otter skin.

Waterman, T.T.
1920 *The Whaling Equipment of the Makah Indians.*
 *University of Washington Publications in
 Anthropology* 1(2). Seattle.

A very detailed manuscript of not only whaling equipment,
but canoe manufacture, ceremonies associated with whaling,
and sealing in sea caves. Waterman consulted ethnographic
accounts obtained by Edward Curtis, James Swan, and Franz
Boas, as well as working directly with C. Peterson of Neah
Bay. The manuscript includes incredible photos of whaling
operations taken by Asahel Curtis.

1920 [Puget Sound Geography.] (Manuscript No. 1864 in
 National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian
 Institution, Washington.)

An excellent source for early ethnographic material.
Waterman includes maps of place names for the entire Puget
Sound region and the Strait of Juan de Fuca.

Waterman, T.T.

1973 Notes on the Ethnology of the Indians of Puget Sound. *Museum of the American Indian. Heye Foundation. Indian Notes and Monographs. Miscellaneous Series 59.* New York.

A good source for museum use in the identification and understanding of material culture.

White, Richard

1980 Land Use, Environment and Social Change. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

White discusses the cultural landscape on Whidby Island. He states that the Klallam arrived later than the other tribes on Whidby Island. He includes a section on the use of fire to maintain nettles, bracken fern, and camas. White states that smallpox reached Puget Sound in 1782 or 1783; syphilis in 1805; intermittent fever in the 1820s and 1830s; measles in 1847; and tuberculosis among the Quinault in 1907-08. By 1840 the population of Puget Sound was reduced to half. White notes the wool dog vanishing by the 1850s with the rise of trade blankets.

Widrig, Charlotte D.

1957 Ancient Indian Rites Re-enacted in Dedication of Child Chief. *Seattle Times*, August 4, 1957.

This includes an account of a Kluqualie celebration, initiation/dedication of the chief. The description includes the evolution of the potlatch. The author discusses "shaking hands" or exchanging gifts and the giving of songs that belong to a family. Previous givers are called "paddlers."

Williams, Johnson

1916-1917 Black Tamanous, the Secret Society of the Clallam Indians. *Washington Historical Quarterly*, vol. 7-8.

Written by a member of the Klallam Tribe and read at Cushman Indian School. Williams was initiated in 1893, prior to the suspension of the meetings of this society. The leaders had the power to restore life. The importance of the society was understanding that people can be the master of one's own forces.

Willoughby, C.

1886 Indians of the Quinault Agency, Washington
Territory. *Smithsonian Institution, Annual
Report*:267-282.

According to Willoughby, in 1886, 423 Indians were living at Quinault. Their homes were squarely built lodges with pitched roofs. The door was one foot below ground. In former times, different parts of the beach belonged to different families, but this was no longer firmly adhered to. Yellow basket grass [sweet grass?] was found at only one locality. The grass was gathered one blade at a time. Willoughby stated he could not "eradicate" traditional beliefs from the minds of the Quinault. He describes one medicine man's power as the rodent, mole. In the land of spirits everything is better and there are no white men. The Quinault captured Skokomish who came across the mountains to hunt elk.

Wilson, Daniel L.L.D., F.R.S.E.

1876 Prehistoric Man. Researches into the Origin of
Civilisation in the Old and New World. Vol. II.
Macmillan and Co., London.

[Vol. I contains information on the Klallam]. The author discusses canoe burials among Northwest Coast tribes: "In such a canoe the dead Chinook chief is deposited." Holes are bored in the canoe to render it useless, as its use on earth is at an end, but the Great Spirit will restore the salmon upon arrival to the "elysian hunting-grounds." An early ethnographer, Mr. Hale, is mentioned in conjunction with "Ethnography of the U.S. Exploring Expedition."

Wilkeson, Samuel

1869 Wilkeson's Notes on Puget Sound, Facsimile
Reproduction, Shorey Book Store, Seattle, 1964.

Wilkeson discusses harbor exploration, and details the extensive tree and fish resources of the area.

Wood, Robert

1976 Men, Mules and Mountains: Lieutenant O'Neil's
Olympic Expeditions. Seattle: The Mountaineers.

According to Wood, O'Neil hired an Indian scout who quit, and O'Neil blamed it on a superstitious fear of a giant bird that dwelt in the mountains. O'Neil believed that this superstition prevented the Indians from making trails into the mountains, yet he goes on to describe an Indian Trail up the south fork below the "Three Sisters", and an Indian trail into the hills southeast of Port Angeles.

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