U. S. DISTRICT COURT, TACOMA

No. 9213

PLAINTIFF

EXHIBIT USA-74

US vs Wash

ADMITTED

APR 10 1975

USA-74
ORIGINAL

IDENTITY, TREATY STATUS, AND FISHERIES

OF THE

SWINOMISH INDIAN TRIBAL COMMUNITY

IDENTITY, TREATY STATUS, AND FISHERIES OF THE SWINOMISH INDIAN TRIBAL COMMUNITY

I. INTRODUCTION

The Swinomish Indian Tribal Community is a federally recognized Indian community maintaining a tribal government on the Swinomish Indian Reservation. The members of the Swinomish Indian Tribal Community are descendants of Indian groups, generally known as tribes or bands, which were parties to the Treaty of Point Elliott.

The modern Swinomish Indian Tribal Community is composed largely of people who are descendants of one or more of the groups known in 1855 to the treaty commission as Skagit, Kikiallus, Swinamish, Squinahmish, Sahkumehu, Noowhaha, Nookwachahmish, Meeseequaguilch, Chobahahbish, and Samish.

These groups used and occupied territories along the Skagit River and its tributaries, on the mainland north and south of the Skagit River system, and on the islands adjacent, such as Whidbey, Camano, Fidalgo, Guemes, Samish, and Cypress. In addition, some of the ancestors of the members of the present Swinomish community in treaty times travelled to the San Juan Islands to hunt, fish, and to gather root crops and berries.

While the Swinomish Indian Tribal Community is comprised of descendants of the above named groups, not all descendants of those groups are members of the Swinomish Indian Tribal Community.

In order to understand the composition of membership in the Swinomish Indian Tribal Community, it is necessary to review briefly the history of post-1855 population movements in this area.

According to the Treaty with the Dwamish, Suquamish, etc., (also known as the Treaty of Point Elliott), January 22, 1855, 12 Stat. 927, Ratified March 8, 1859, Proclaimed April 11, 1859, the lands of the aforementioned groups of Indians were ceded to the United States except for certain lands which were reserved for the Indians who were parties to the Treaty.

Under Article II of the Treaty, four reservations were established: Port Madison, Lummi, Swinomish, and Snohomish. The first was intended for the Suquamish and for the various groups who lived along the Duwamish drainage system. The Lummi Reservation was meant primarily for the Lummi, Nooksack, and Samish peoples. The Swinomish Reservation was intended to serve the Indians who lived in the Skagit River drainage area. The people living along the Snohomish, Snoqualmie, and Skykomish rivers were expected to move to the Snohomish Reservation.

At the time that the treaties in western Washington were negotiated, it was the intention of the treaty commission to remove all the Indians west of the Cascade Mountains to a single reservation as soon as that was practicable.

Article III of the Treaty reserved out of the ceded lands thirty-six sections, or one township of land, as a general reservation at Tulalip. The Tulalip Reservation was intended to serve all of the Indians in western Washington.

All of the major installations and services were to be provided at this general reservation. It was thought that by providing educational, medical, and other facilities at Tulalip, people would be induced to locate there and in this way the local reservations could be terminated.

The government did not carry out its original intent and the Port Madison, Lummi, Swinomish and other local reservations in western Washington still exist today. Many of them have since been enlarged, as it became clear that inadequate lands had been reserved. Within the area ceded by the Point Elliott treaty, an additional reservation was later created at Muckleshoot.

Although the original government intent to phase out the local reservations never was carried out, an awareness of that policy is critical to an adequate understanding of Indian population movements in the area.

The Swinomish Indian Reservation originally drew most of its population from the people in the immediate vicinity. The reservation was located in Swinomish territory, so that the Swinomish did not have to remove themselves from their own lands. The Kikiallus and Lower Skagit groups were neighbors of the Swinomish and joined them on the reservation. Samish territory lay between the Lummi Reservation and the Swinomish Reservation. Most, or perhaps all of the Samish initially

moved to the Lummi Reservation, but later many moved south to the Swinomish Reservation.

Similarly, while many Skagit and Kikiallus people moved to Swinomish, others moved south to Tulalip. In this way some Samish people were enrolled at Lummi and some Skagit and Kikiallus people were enrolled at Tulalip.

It is apparent from the records of the Washington Superintendency of Indian Affairs that there was never any particular effort made to insure that all members of a particular Indian group removed to a single reservation. It seems likely that no special effort was made because the local reservations were not intended to be permanent.

Some of the people who initially moved to the Swinomish Indian Reservation later left and moved to other locations. In some instances they moved to other reservations and became enrolled as members of those administrative units. In other instances people left the Swinomish Rerservation and returned to their traditional homes. Their descendants are not carried on any reservation roll.

The reasons for leaving the Swinomish Indian Reservation were varied, but they related primarily to survival. In part because of funding problems and in part because the reservation was not intended to be permanent, the federal government failed to provide funds and services which would have allowed larger numbers of people to reside permanently on the reservation.

In consequence, many people were forced to leave the Swinomish

Reservation to seek employment. Some went to work in saw-mills; others attempted to sustain themselves by returning to traditional occupations like fishing.

Because inadequate lands had been reserved for the Indians and the promised services and facilities were not provided for many years, large numbers of people removed for a time to the Swinomish Reservation and then left. Some move to other reservations; others returned to their former homes; still others were unable to do so and moved to cities or logging-camps where they could find employment.

In this way the modern descendants of the Skagit, Kikiallus, Swinomish, and Samish have become dispersed and divided. Some are on the Swinomish Reservation and constitute the majority membership of the modern Swinomish Indian Tribal Community. Others reside on the Lummi, Tulalip, and other reservations and are listed on those rolls. Still others reside in western Washington, but are not on any reservation.

To sum up, the modern Swinomish Indian Tribal Community is composed primarily of descendants of the Swinomish, Samish, Kikiallus, and Skagit River groups, but all descendants of those groups are not members of the Swinomish Indian Tribal Community.

II. IDENTITY

Documentary evidence as to which people actually moved to the Swinomish Reservation and comprised the resident population at various periods is found in the records of the Washington Superintendency of

Indian Affairs, in unofficial records left by employees of the Indian Service, in ethnographic works, and in published histories relating to the area.

George Gibbs, the lawyer-ethnographer who served as secretary to the treaty commission which negotiated the Treaty of Point Elliott, published an account of the Indians in western Washington which he wrote in 1855. The following excerpt from that account sets out which groups of Indians were intended to reside on the Swinomish Reservation.

The Skagits, including the Kikiallu, Nukwatsamish, Tow-ah-ha, Smali-hu, Sakumehu, Miskaiwhu, Miseekwigweelis, Swinamish, and Skwonamish, occupy the remaining country between the Snohomish and Bellingham Bay, with the northern part of Whidbey Island and Perry Island. With them a different dialect prevails, though not so distinct but what they can be understood by those already mentioned. They altogether amount to 1,475, and have been assigned to Goliah as head chief. This division have no horses, but are altogether canoe Indians. With the exception of the islands and the immediate shore of the main, their country is altogether unexplored. They formerly had some communication with the Indians beyond the mountains; but it is supposed to have been discontinued in consequence of obstructions to their trails. The Skagit reservation, as agreed upon in the treaty, was the peninsula forming the southeastern extremity of Perry Island.

[1]

Perry Island was the former name of Fidalgo Island. The Skagit Reservation is now called the Swinomish Reservation.

Nineteen years later, the Indians resident on the Swinomish Reservation were asking the government to supply an employee to look after the reservation and to supply tools and stock for the reservation. The Reverend Father Chirouse, missionary priest in charge of the Tulalip

Reservation, wrote to Marshall Blinn, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, as follows

The Swonomish came again and want me to write and let you know that they all petition for a good whiteman to go and take care of them and help them everyday in their labours.

They ask the Department to furnish them with a wagon, oxen, tools, nails, windows, etc.

They want me to enumerate to you all the tribes belonging to their reservation.

Swonomish, Sco-damish, Nokwatchams, Kikialos, Shaliw, Scadgetts, Sakmur, Tchobahamish, Mottollows, Miskerrweor.

[2]

Allowing for differences in spelling, it is clear that the Indian groups recorded by Chirouse to be reported by the Indians themselves as resident on the Swinomish Reservation in 1874 comprise the same groups that Gibbs listed in 1855.

In 1936, Agent O.C. Upchurch at Tulalip, published a short historical essay on the Swinomish Indian Reservation. On the basis of a review of the historical literature and on oral history as given by older Indian residents of the reservation he reported the following:

The Swinomish people with whom we deal today are a composite of remnants or fragments of seven originally distinct bands of Coast Salishan stock whose various habitats judging from the earliest reports of white visitors and the most trustworthy accounts of present day narrators among the people themselves, were as follows:

(1) The Swinomish, from whom the reservation and the slough take the name, occupied the north end of Whidby Island from Dugala Bay to Ts'chudz, or Deception Pass, the eastern part of Fidalgo Island to Fidalgo Bay, where they met the Samish, and both sides of Swinomish Slough where they met the Stkitabish or No wha ha. Their principal village was on Swinomish Slough at LaConner. Recent excavation reveals shell refuse to a depth of several feet at this ancient village site, and an ancient gambling bone was found at an undisturbed depth of two feet.

(2) The Squinomish, a small band closely related to the Swinomish, held the northern mouth, estuary, and delta of the Skagit River, forming a sort of buffer between the Swinomish and the Skagit.

(3) The Skagit, from whom the river, the county and the village of Skagit are named, occupied Whidby Island from Dugala Bay south to Holmes Harbor where they met the Snohomish, and the central mouths, sloughs, and delta of the Skagit River to the point of the river's separation at Skagit City were claimed, visited, and used as fishing grounds in season. The principal village of the Skagit tribe was located at Sneatlum Point just below what is now the town of Coupeville.

(4) The Kikiallis occupied the territory from Mount Vernon south to Stanwood, where they met the Stillaguamish, and the northern end of Camano Island to the village of Camano, where they met the Snohomish. Some narrators claim that this tribe had holdings on Whidby Island; others deny this. The Kikiallis had their principal villages at Utsaladdy on Camano Island and at Fir in the Skagit River delta.

(5) The Samish, a band related linguistically to the Clallam, the Songish of Vancouver Island, and the Lummi, have their name perpetuated in Samish Bay, Lake, Island, River and Village. I am inclined to believe that the word Samish is a different pronunciation of the name Songish of the Vancouver Island band. So many generations have passed since their separation that it is doubtful whether it could be authentically determined today. The Samish held Samish Island, Guemes Island, eastern Lopez Island, Cypress Island, and Fidalgo Island west of Fidalgo Bay where they met the Swinomish. On the shores of the mainland in the vicinity of Edison they met the No wha ha, sometimes called the Upper Samish, along a wide front.

(6) The No wha ha, called Upper Samish, (although they are not linguistically related to the Samish as closely as they are to the Snohomish or some of the other interior bands) occupied the country from southern Lake Whatcom on Samish Lake and Samish River south to where Mount Vernon now stands, where they met the Kikiallis on the South and the Nook-wah-chah-mish on the southeast, and around the shore to Hw.Hw. Piats, or Bayview, on Padilla Bay and to Telegraph Slough where they met the Swinomish. They ranged easterly to the vicinity of what is now Sedro Woolley where they met bands of what are now known as Upper Skagits. Their principal villages were on the Samish River and what is now the village of Bayview.

(7) The Upper Skagits, a term now used to include such bands as the Sah -ku-mehu, Nook-wah-chah-mish, Spa-mee-hwu, and Me-see-qua-guilch, occupied the valley of the Skagit River and its tributaries from the vicinity of what is now Sedro-Woolley east to the mountains. Very few representatives of the Upper Skagit bands moved down to the Swinomish Reservation and are now included in our present discussion.

[3]

The situation described by Upchurch with respect to territories and villages for the various groups enumerated accords with the evidence available from historical sources.

With regard to the groups comprising the population of the Swinomish Reservation, Upchurch's data differ in several respects from the earlier reports cited. According to Gibbs' 1855 report and also Chirouse's 1874 letter, neither the Samish nor the Nuwhaha were represented on the Swinomish Reservation. Both of these groups are listed by Upchurch as members of the present day Swinomish community.

As noted earlier in this report, the treaty commission intended the Samish to remove to the Lummi Reservation and apparently most or all of the Samish did move to that reservation initially.

In the same 1855 report, (which was published posthumously in in 1877), Gibbs wrote with respect to the Samish and the Lummi Reservation:

The Samish, Lummi, Nuksahk, living around Bellingham Bay and the Lummi River. The two former are salt water, the last exclusively river Indians, who as yet have had very little connection with the whites. Collectively, these might be called the Nuh-lum-mi. Tsow-its-hut was recognized as their common chief by the treaty, and a reservation made for them of an island at the forks of the river.

[4]

Evidence that the Samish did, in fact, move initially to the Lummi Reservation is found in the following official correspondence of the agent in charge of the Lummi Reservation under date of December 19, 1856.

. . . . I have them now nearly all at the encampment -- all of the Samish having moved up & joined the Lummas, very near my place. I can now give them more attention, then I could, when they were scattered over such an extent of country.

[5]

Evidence that the Nuwhaha, variously also known as the Stick Samish, or Upper Samish, were initially associated with the Lummi Reservation is found in the following excerpt from official correspondence of the farmer in charge of the Lummi Reservation, dated May 13, 1867

I am happy to inform you that I have succeeded in bringing the Stick Samish Tribe on the Reservation to plant their potatoes, &c.
[6]

By 1870 the Samish and Nuwhaha, or some portion of them had apparently decamped and disassociated themselves from the Lummi Reservation as the farmer in charge noted in official correspondence.

The Sahmish and No-wha-at, two small remnants of tribes, persistently refuse to come and live on the reservation.
[7]

The above wording would appear to suggest that the Samish and the Nuwhaha, or many of them, as of 1870 were not resident on any reservation. That they were not resident on the Swinomish Reservation is borne out by Chirouse's letter of 1874.

Upchurch's report of 1936 suggests that they arrived on the Swinomish Reservation sometime between 1874 and 1936. Suttles places the date of the Samish move to the Swinomish Reservation as of about 1905.

Charley Edwards. He was born about 1866 in the Samish village on Samish Island of a Samish father and Swinomish mother. The village moved in 1875 to Guemes Island, where he lived until about 1905, when the community broke up and moved to the Swinomish Reservation.
[8]

Whatever the date of the Nuwhaha removal to the Swinomish Reservation, their presence there is reported in 1936 by Upchurch and is confirmed

in a history of the Indians of Skagit County published by Chief Martin Sampson in 1972. According to Sampson, who was born in 1888 and who resided on the Swinomish Reservation from 1928 to 1942, the following individuals were residents of the Swinomish Indian Reservation and were of Nuwhaha ancestry.

The descendants of Chadas-kadim are Frank Bob of Alger, Alfred and Gene Sampson and their sisters of the Swinomish Reservation, the descendants of Julie Barkhousen of Summit Park, and the descendants of Ruth Shelton of Tulalip.

The descendants of Sat-hill are the children of the late Thomas F. Williams of the Swinomish Reservation, the McLeod family, and Susan Sampson Peter and her family of the Swinomish Reservation.

[emphasis added] [9]

Sampson also identified the following persons as residents of the Swinomish Indian Reservation who were of Samish ancestry.

Members of the Samish Tribe on the Swinomish Reservation are: Tommy Bobb, Lawrence Edwards, Alfred Edwards and their families; and James Snohomish and his sister, Marian Cladoosby.

[10]

In summary, the people who today comprise the Swinomish Tribal Community are descendants of the various groups of Indians who lived on the lower part of the Skagit River system and the islands adjacent. A smaller number of people are descendants of Upper Skagit and Nuwhaha Indians. The Swinomish Tribal Community is composed largely of people whose ancestors were known as Swinomish, Skagit, Kikiallus, and Samish.

III. TREATY STATUS

All of the Indian groups whose descendants form the present Swinomish Indian Tribal Community were parties to the Treaty of Point

Elliott and all held lands that were within the area ceded by that treaty.

Of the Indian groups with which we are concerned in this report, all but the Samish are named in the preamble of the treaty. Excepting again the Samish who are not named, all of the remaining groups ancestral to the Swinomish Indian Tribal Community are identified with one or more Indian signatories at the close of the treaty save the Chobahahbish.

Before examining in detail the evidence relating to the Samish and the Chobahahbish, the treaty status of the other groups is briefly reviewed.

The preamble to the Treaty of Point Elliott is reproduced here with the names of the groups ancestral to the Swinomish Indian Tribal Community underscored for clarity. The underscoring does not appear in the original treaty document.

Articles of agreement and convention made and concluded at Muckl-te-oh, or Point Elliott, in the Territory of Washington, this twenty-second day of January, eighteen hundred and fifty-five, by Isaac I. Stevens, governor and superintendent of Indian affairs for the said Territory, on the part of the United States, and the undersigned chiefs, head-men and delegates of the Dwamish, Suquamish, Sk'tahl-mish, Sam-ahmish, Smalh-kamish, Skope-ahmish, St-kah-mish, Snoqualmoo, Skai-wha-mish, N'Quentl-ma-mish, Sk-tah-le-jum, Stoluck-wha-mish, Sno-ho-mish, Skagit, Kik-i-allus, Swin-a-mish, Squin-ah-mish, Sah-ku-mehu, Noo-wha-ha, Nook-wa-chah-mish, Mee-see-qua-guilch, Cho-bah-ah-bish, and other allied and subordinate tribes and bands of Indians occupying certain lands situated in said Territory of Washington, on behalf of said tribes, and duly authorized by them.

Each of the groups underscored above, except for the last, is specifically identified with one or more Indian signers. The first four Indian signatories to the treaty were men designated by the

treaty commission as "Head Chief" for each of the four main drainage systems in the area covered by the treaty. The fourth signer, Goliah, was designated as "Chief of the Skagits and other allied tribes." His name affixed to the document was considered by the commission to authorize the land cession for all groups located in the Skagit River drainage area.

In addition to Goliah, seventeen other Indian signers were identified on the treaty document as Skagit. Their names are extracted from the close of the treaty document for convenience. They are listed in the order in which the names appear on the treaty, but the order is not directly sequential.

Kwallattum, or General Pierce, Sub-chief of the Skagit tribe
Kleh-kent-soot, Skagit tribe
Sohn-heh-ovs, Skagit tribe
S'deh-ap-kan, or General Warren, Skagit tribe
Ske-eh-tum, Skagit tribe
Patchkanam, or Dome, Skagit tribe
She-hope, or General Pierce, Skagit tribe
Kwuss-ka-nam, or George Snatelum, Sen., Skagit tribe
Hel-mits, or George Snatelum, Skagit sub-chief
S'kwai-kwi, Skagit tribe, sub-chief
Charley, Skagit tribe
Sampson, Skagit tribe
Hatch-kwentum, Skagit tribe
Yo-i-kum, Skagit tribe
T'kwa-ma-han, Skagit tribe
D'zo-lole-gwam-hu, Skagit tribe
Pat-sen, Skagit tribe

The men who were identified as Skagit on the treaty document lived in villages along the lower reaches of the Skagit River and on Whidbey Island.

One Indian signer was identified as representing the Kikiallus band.

Sd-zo-mahtl, Kik-ial-lus band

Three Indian signers were identified as Swinomish.

Sto-dum-kan, Swinamish band
Be-lole, Swinamish band
Kel-kahl-tsoot, Swinamish tribe

One of the Indian signatories was identified as a Squinahmish representative.

Sats-Kanam, Squin-ah-mish tribe

One Indian signatory was reportedly a delegate of the Sah-ku-mehu.

Dahtl-de-min, Sub-chief of the Sah-ku-meh-hu

The Noo-wha-ha were also represented by a single signer.

Pat-teh-us, Noo-wha-ah sub-chief

The Nookwachahmish were also represented by one signer.

Ch-lah-ben, Noo-qua-cha-mish band

And finally, the Meeseequaguilch are also identified with a single signatory.

Sd'zek-du-num, Me-sek-wi-guilse sub-chief

Of the ten groups identified as ancestral to the present SwinomishIndian Tribal Community, eight are clearly identified both in the preamble and among the signers as parties to the Treaty of Point Elliott.

The treaty status of the two remaining groups, the Chobahahbish and the Samish are considered next.

The Chobahahbish were an upriver Skagit group occupying villages near the present town of Lyman. Their immediate neighbors, both upstream and downstream along the Skagit River are represented by one signer each. Of the eight groups previously identified in the preamble and among the signers, only the Skagit and the Swinamish coastal groups are represented by more than one signer. If the collection of Indian "signatures" to the treaty document had been orderly and consistent, we should expect one Indian representative to have signed for the Chobahahbish group.

The question for determination is the weight to be placed on the apparent absence of a Chobahahbish signer to the treaty. There is no evidence on record to my knowledge that suggests that the Chobahabish declined to sign the treaty or that the United States decided not to secure a signer from that group.

Two possibilities exist. It may be that the failure to secure a representative signer from this group was an oversight. Alternatively, it may be that someone else signed for the Chobahahbish.

Sampson reported that the Nookwachamish leader signed for both his own group and that of the Chobahahbish. Writing of the Chobahahbish he said

> *Twik-kadim was the leader of this band before and at the time of the Point Elliott Treaty of 1855. However, the authority to sign the Treaty was delegated to the Noo-qua-cha-mish chief, Ch-lah-ben. These two bands were closely affiliated by intermarriage and location.*
>
> [11]

Apparently the Indians considered that the Nookwachamish leader had signed for the Chobahahbish band as well as his own. Whatever the Indian understanding of the situation, the treaty commission considered that Goliah's "signature" as head chief of the Skagit "and other allied tribes" represented all Skagit River groups.

One of the purposes in assigning head chiefs for each of the four main drainage areas within the treaty territory was to create larger political entities and representatives thereof in order to negotiate the treaty and to insure that all Indian bands were included as parties.

This policy and the documentation to substantiate it has been presented previously in the Anthropological Report on the Identity and Treaty Status of the Muckleshoot Indians (Exhibit USA-27a) at pages 24-29.

We have lastly to account for the failure to name the Samish either in the preamble or with the signatories to the treaty. It is a matter of record that the Samish were intended to be included among the Indians party to the Treaty of Point Elliott.

According to the official record of the treaty proceedings, the commission met December 10, 1854 in Olympia and proposed a number of reserves to be established under the prospective treaties. Under the Point Elliott treaty, one of the proposed reserves was in Samish territory.

Probable Reserves

. . . . . .

	Souls
Lummy, Nooksahk, &c.	*551*
One on Samish	
One on Lummi	

[12]

It is also a matter of record that the Samish were present at the treaty ground. George Gibbs, the secretary of the treaty commission, kept a private journal as well as the official record of the treaty proceedings. In his private journal he noted the arrivals and counted the numbers of Indians gathered at the treaty ground as of January 16, 1855. Among others is the following entry:

Samish	*Men & boys*	*55*
	Women & girls	*58*

[13]

There is nothing on record, either officially or unofficially, so far discovered which would suggest that the Samish departed the treaty ground or declined to sign the treaty.

Rather, it seems that Gibbs inadvertently forgot to include the Samish when he drew up the final copy of the Treaty of Point Elliott. A rough draft of the treaty, apparently in Gibbs' handwriting, shows the Samish as one of the groups listed in the preamble.

The draft copy of the preamble contains a number of blank spaces between the names of tribal groups, evidently left in order to insert additional names. In some cases, pencilled insertions have been made in those spaces, but they are too light to appear on the printoff from the microfilm.

Of interest to us with respect to the Samish is the last line of the preamble listing tribes and bands. This line, the twelfth, names both the Samish and the Lummi and only those two groups. Both of these are omitted from the final copy of the treaty. The fact that they appear together on a single line physically separated from other named groups suggests that their omission on the final copy of the treaty was inadvertent. It appears that in copying from the draft copy to the final copy one line was left out.

The first thirteen lines of the draft copy of the Treaty of Point Elliott are reproduced here in order to clarify the preceding discussion. The rough draft has been admitted as Exhibit Samish M-1.

Articles of Agreement and Convention made and concluded at Mukl-te-oh or Point Elliott in the Territory of Washington, this day of January 1855 by Isaac I. Stevens, Gov^r. & Supt. of Indian Affairs for the said Territory on the part of the U.S.A. and the undersigned Chiefs, headmen and delegates of the Dwamish, Suquamish, St-kehl-mish, Samamaish, Smalkamish, Skope-ah-mish, St-ka-mish Sno-qual-moo, Skai-whamish, N'Quentl-mamish, Sk-tah-le-jum, Stoluck-whamish, Sno-homish Skagit, Sah-ku-meh-hu, Kikiallus, Swinahmish, Squinahmish Samish, Lummi tribes and bands of Indians, occupying ~~the lands lying~~

[14]

A comparison of the tribal entries in the draft copy with those that appear in the final copy of the treaty reveals that the list is the same except that the names Samish and Lummi are missing from the final copy and four new names are added at the end of the list, viz: Noo-wha-ha, Nook-wa-chah-mish, Mee-see-qua-guilch, and Cho-bah-ah-bish.

The four new names are those of Skagit peoples whose descendants comprise part of the modern Swinomish Indian Tribal Community. It appears that in adding these new names to the list, the names Samish and Lummi were overlooked.

It is also a matter of record that after the treaty, both George Gibbs and Isaac I. Stevens reported that the Samish had been included in the Treaty of Point Elliott.

Gibbs' report of 1855 in which he states that the Samish were signed for by Chowitshut is reproduced in the present report at page 9 midway down the page.

Stevens officially reported to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, April 30, 1857 that the Samish had been included in the Treaty of Point Elliott. The information was included in a tabular statement showing the Indians west of the Cascade Mountains parties to the several treaties concluded by Stevens and his commission.

The information relative to the Treaty of Point Elliott is extracted from the tabular statement on Stevens' map dated March 1857.

Names of tribes	*Population*	*Reservations*	*Tem' Encampment*
Dwamish, Suquamish and allied tribes)	*942*	*Noo-soh-te-um near Port Madison and at Muckleshoot*	*Dungines Point Fort Kitsap*
Snoqualmoo, Snohomish and allied tribes)	*1700*	*Towilt-seh-da north side of Snohomish R.*	*Skayi Heua W Isl d*
Skagits and allied tribes)	*1300*	*S.E. end of Perry's I*	
Lummi, Nooksahk, Samish	*1050* 4992	*Chah choo sen Island at the mouth of the Lummi River*	*Penn's Cove W Isl d*

To summarize, all of the Skagit River drainage area groups who were or may have been ancestral to the modern Swinomish Reservation community were parties to the Treaty of Point Elliott.

All but the Samish and Chobahabish are so identified on the treaty document as named parties listed in the preamble and as represented by signers at the close of the document.

The Chobahahbish are named in the preamble, but are not indicated among the signers. According to Indian interpretation, this group was signed for by the Nookwachamish leader. In the eyes of the treaty commission, the Chobahahbish were represented by Goliah who signed for the Skagit and allied bands.

The Samish are neither named in the preamble nor represented among the signers. They were listed in an earlier draft of the treaty and were apparently omitted inadvertently in the final copy. Stevens later reported officially that they had been included and Gibbs later reported that Chowitshut had signed for them.

IV. FISHERIES

The ancestors of the present Swinomish Indian Tribal Community were both marine and river fishermen. The Swinomish, Kikiallus, Samish, and Lower Skagit people each used both saltwater and freshwater fisheries. Marine fisheries were more heavily used in the spring and summer seasons. Fall and winter fisheries concentrated on the salmon and steelhead runs in the mainland rivers.

The fishermen of the various Indian groups that were ancestral to the present Swinomish Indian Tribal Community had devised a wide variety of techniques and devices for harvesting fish in marine and fresh waters.

Detailed ethnographic data on species harvested, taking techniques, fishing devices, and fishing sites specific to each of the constituent groups of the present composite community are given in appendices to this report.

The remainder of this section provides only a general overview of the nature and extent of Indian fisheries and a discussion of the problems associated with documentation of marine fishing areas. The overview and the discussion are based on the ethnographic data included in the appendices, augmented by some information culled from reports written in the 1850's and 1860's, and on comparative considerations. The reader is referred to the appendices for verification of any undocumented statements of fact in the remainder of this section. All additional data are referenced in the usual way.

For all of the groups that were ancestral to the present Swinomish Indian Tribal Community, salmon was the most important food fish harvested. All five species of Pacific salmon were taken at one place or another and by one or another of the groups. Most of the people moved to different locations at different seasons in order to catch a variety of salmon species and/or to take the same species at different times.

For example, the Samish trolled for Chinook and Coho in San Juan Channel and probably elsewhere in the San Juan Island group in early summer. Later in the summer they took Sockeye and Pink salmon at their reef-net locations off Lopez Island at Charles Island, Iceberg Point, and Watmough Head and off Fidalgo at Langley Point. In the fall they moved to the mouth of the Samish River and to other mainland streams to take fall runs of Coho and Chum salmon with weirs, traps, gaff-hooks, seines, and gill-nets.

It is unclear whether some of the Samish may have wintered on the Samish River. Henry Roder (Roeder), one of the first settlers at Bellingham Bay, stopped at Guemes Island in the winter of 1852, at an unspecified month, but when there was snow on the ground. Apparently there were no Indians on the island at the time. Roeder inadvertently shot an Indian dog and then visited "the Indian camp" on the Samish where he reported the accident. Evidently he visited a fall (or fall and winter) fishing station. [16]

The Swinomish, like the Samish and other neighboring groups, evidently moved out into the San Juan Islands to troll for Chinook and Coho in the spring and early summer. A letter from R.C. Fay, the agent in charge of the temporary reservation at Penn's Cove, Whidbey Island, under date of April 25, 1856, addressed to Governor I,I. Stevens notes that the Swinomish were at that time fishing at Lopez Island.

Sir, I returned yesterday from a visit to the Indians under my charge that have not yet returned to this place. I found them all peaceably employed procuring food. I gave them permission to remain

a short time longer away. There are some of the Swodomish on Lopez Island, hunting fishing, and gathering roots. They wished to remain there ten days, but would come in now if you wished it.

[17]

Marine fishing carried on through the summer months. In June 1874 the farmer in charge of the Swinomish Reservation reported to Father Chirouse, the agent in charge of the Tulalip Reservation that Swinomish Indians were engaged in salmon fishing and fishing for dogfish. [18]

In the fall, the Swinomish returned to their winter homes on the Fidalgo shore of Swinomish Slough (also known as Swinomish Channel). In treaty times, this was referred to as "the Canoe Passage." This was a valuable fishing area. The Swinomish intercepted the salmon as they passed through the slough enroute to the Skagit River.

The Swinomish used a unique fishing device in Swinomish Slough which Suttles has called a "weir net." He suggests that this device, particularly suited to fishing conditions in the slough, bears certain resemblances to the reef-net, and may possibly be ancestral to it. The Swinomish device consists of a net suspended between two canoes anchored in an opening of a V-shaped weir. The weir was built out into the slough but did not extend entirely across it. A number of these weir-net combinations were installed along the slough.

Apparently rights to construct the device at particular sites in the slough or else the sites themselves were individually held or controlled. At least reference to individual ownership of such a fishing station was made during testimony before the Court of Claims in 1927.

A deposition of Sarsfield Kavanaugh was taken at the Swinomish Indian Reservation, March 5, 1927. Mr. Kavanaugh's deposition is of interest not only because he reports ownership of fishing locations in the slough; he actually refers to the weir-net device as a "small reef net."

Fishing stations in this slough right out in front of us here have been contentions in heated controversies. One particular occasion that I have reference to was a fishing station down north from where we are located right now, about a mile north from where we are now. The fishing station was built in funnel shape, out of small poles, so that the smaller end would accomodate small reef nets. These wings of the fishing station put in with the small poles caused sandbars to raise up, collect on the eddy side. Steamboat men wanted one of these taken out or the end of it cut off. It was Charley Blowl's father who owned the fishing station I have reference to. When he was informed that the steamboat men wanted that wing cut off, he immediately talked war.

[19]

Charley Blowl (or Belole) was a leading man or chief among the Swinomish. He was a descendant of the Chief Belole who signed the Point Elliott treaty and succeeded him in that position. It may be that Beloles father was said to "own" the fishing location because as a leading man he had custodianship or stewardship rights over it. Alternatively, he may have been a leading man because he owned a valuable and wealth-producing fishing location.

While the evidence at hand is inadequate to determine the precise nature of tenure, it is clear that the weir-net locations were held under some kind of tenure, rights to which were said to reside in individuals. This fits with the general pattern throughout the Coast Salish area whereby fixed appliances in specific resource producing areas were

said to reside in a particular individual, family, or local group.

The Swinomish moved to their villages on Swinomish Slough in the fall and remained through the winter. In a letter dated December 25, 1856, Agent Fay reported to Governor Stevens that

. . . . the Swodomish remain at their old location in the canoe passage as yet.

[20]

In addition to the Lopez Island trolling area cited in the 1856 report above, Suttles notes that the Swinomish trolled for Chinook and Coho in Skagit Bay and around Deception Pass. Suttles also reports that salmon were taken in the slough by gill net and harpoon.

Similar seasonal movements to different fisheries and similar varied techniques for taking fish are reported for the remaining groups. Most of the rest of the groups had territories along the Skagit River as well as on the shore of the salt water. The Mee-see-qua-guilch, for example, had winter villages along the Skagit River between the present towns of Lyman and Birdsview or thereabout. In the spring, they moved to Camano and Whidbey Islands.

The most important technique for taking salmon in the Skagit River was with the trawl net which was suspended between two canoes. Weirs and traps were used in tributary streams, but not in the main channel so far as is known.

People moved to the river in the fall and winter to harvest the salmon runs as well as to fish for steelhead and other trout. The spring and summer movements to the salt water were to harvest a variety of fish and shellfish (as well as other foods) not available inland.

Other fish harvested by ancestors of the present Swinomish community members included halibut, sturgeon, herring, smelt, cod, rockfish, dogfish, lingcod, flounder, skate, sculpin and perch among others. Oysters, clams, mussels and other shellfish were important species taken for food and for trade with other people.

Not all of the groups took each of the species mentioned. The importance of a particular species varied with the individual groups. Halibut, for example, probably were not fished by the up-river groups who, so far as present evidence goes, lacked the special equipment used in this fishery. In contrast, halibut reportedly ranked second only to salmon to the Samish.

Other species, such as herring, may have been fished by anyone who happened to be in a canoe when a school surfaced nearby. The herring rake, the device used by the ancestors of the present Swinomish people, took up practically no space in the canoe and was probably carried at appropriate seasons whether or not the primary aim of the excursion was to fish for herring.

Herring were important to all of the groups who engaged in trolling for salmon, because herring were the bait fish. Herring were also eaten, both fresh and cured. There were a number of important herring spawning areas within the territories used by the ancestors of the modern Swinomish community. These spawning areas provided opportunities to take not only the fish, but also those species of larger fish and waterfowl which followed the herring to their spawning grounds.

Important herring locations within territories used by the ancestors of the present Swinomish people included the waters off the southeastern part of Eliza Island, Bellingham Channel, off Cypress and Guemes Islands, inside Deception Pass, off the north end of Camano Island, off Greenbank, at Holmes Harbor and in Skagit Bay between Holmes Harbor and the mainland.

There are greater difficulties in specifying marine areas used by one or another Indian group than is the case with river areas. Similarly, it is easier to specify particular relatively stable locations in marine waters, such as reefnet locations or halibut banks, than it is to delineate trolling areas or areas where herring may have been raked.

As already indicated, many people moved down the rivers to the saltwater in the summer to fish, to collect shellfish, and for other purposes. Similarly, many coastal peoples moved out into the islands for spring and summer fishing.

Apparently at treaty times, few Indians were living in the San Juan Islands on a year round basis. However, large numbers of Indians maintained fishing villages there. The Songhees and Saanich of Vancouver Island held territories and reefnet locations in the San Juans. Lummi, Samish, Swinomish and Clallam and possibly others regularly resorted to the islands for spring and summer fishing.

Information respecting specific areas of use by particular groups at treaty times is incomplete and sometimes conflicting. Reference was

made earlier (at pages 22-23) to a report that Swinomish were fishing at Lopez Island in April, 1856. A second source of the same year also places the Swinomish on Lopez Island.

George Gibbs, in a map of the western part of Washington Territory, shows the Swinomish (Swin-a-mish) on Fidalgo Island, except for the northern Samish district, on both sides of Swinomish Slough, and on the southern part of Lopez Island. [21]

Two years later, in February, 1858, Gibbs wrote to Lieutenant Parke of the Northwest Boundary Survey suggesting reasons why the United States should be interested in including the San Juan Islands within its territorial boundaries. In this connection, he cited Indian claims to the various islands.

A consideration very important to be borne in mind, is that they for the most part belong to our own Indians, the Lummies claiming Orcas, Blakely, Cypress, Decatur and a part of Lopez; the Samish the remainder of Lopez, and the Clallams a part of San Juan; while only Waldron, Stuart, Johns & Speiden & possibly a small part of San Juan belong to the Sannitch of Vancouver's I. The whole inside or north eastern part of San Juan formerly belonged to a tribe kindred to the Lummies and now extinct. As the islands afford valuable fisheries & hunting grounds they would form admirable reservations, if at any future time it should be desireable to remove those tribes from the main.

[22]

Gibbs' reporting of Indian claims in the San Juan Islands in the 1958 letter do not agree precisely with his early reports and maps, nor with later ethnographic information. The precise details and their accuracy may be impossible to specify with accuracy at this time. It is clear that a number of different Indian groups used fishing areas in the San Juan Islands at treaty times. These included ancestors of the present Swinomish Indian Tribal Community.

Similarly, open marine areas in the straits and in Puget Sound generally were undoubtedly used by all of the people who lived in the vicinity and who travelled through them. Constricted marine waters like Deception Pass, Swinomish Slough, and Holmes Harbor, for example, were likely controlled by the resident groups in whose territory those waters were located.

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[7] Finkboner 1870:44

[8] Suttles 1951:iv

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[10] Sampson 1972:30

[11] Samspon 1972:21

[12] Official record of the Treaty Proceedings:4

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[15] Stevens 1857: map with tabular statement

[16] Roder ms. n.d.:10-11

[17] Fay 1856:1

[18] McGlinn 1874:1

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ABORIGINAL SALT-WATER FISHERIES: SWINOMISH, LOWER SKAGIT, KIKIALLUS AND SAMISH TRIBES OF INDIANS

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ABORIGINAL SALT-WATER FISHERIES: SWINOMISH, LOWER SKAGIT, KIKIALLUS AND SAMISH TRIBES OF INDIANS

Sources of Information

Information for this document was obtained by the writer principally from Indians living at Swinomish Indian Reservation in the years 1952 and 1953; and from Indians related to one or several of the 4 tribes (located at Swinomish Indian Reservation), living off the Reservation, in 1954. The Indian informants were selected on the basis of greatest knowledgeability about aboriginal life in Northern Puget Sound. The youngest of them was a man in his late fifties. Several were so old that they had never learned to speak English, and two were close to one hundred years of age.[1]

Aboriginal Fishing Rights

There are several general features of aboriginal culture in Northern Puget Sound--especially principles of territoriality, principles of descent, and in-law relationships--which are important to understanding systematic exploitation of fisheries resources.

1) Fisheries dependent upon fixed constructions (dams, weirs, traps) or near-to-shore natural features (such as reefs) were under strict controls as to who may direct and share in their operations, and <u>when</u>.

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[1] My field-work was concentrated upon Skagit-speaking Indians (Lower Skagit, Upper Skagit, Swinomish, Kikiallus). My materials on Samish culture, including economic activities in their area, are comparatively meagre.

2) Fisheries dependent upon concentrated shore-line activities which involved organization of large numbers of persons (such as at the fish-drying camps) were under strict controls, as in (1).[2]

Many fisheries combined features of (1) and (2).

3) Fishing in "open waters" which was not dependent upon fixed structures, advantageous geographic characteristics close to shore, or large groups and camp activities, was also not closely supervised by band-based organizations. However, these waters were "open" only to persons of their coasts or to nearby friendly tribes. Open waters were characteristically the less protected waters to some distance off-shore of the windward or west coasts of islands. Fishing which was controlled as in types (1) and (2) were in protected and restricted waters such as bays and harbours, channels lying to the east of islands, and rivers.

Except for (3) (Fishing in "open water"), privilege to use the fishing camps, associated structures, and/or to participate in organized activities were governed by principles of bilateral descent, patrilocal residence, paternity, and in-law affiliations.

The descent system of the four tribes is bilateral exogamy. Persons who could trace descent to a common ancestor or ancestress could not intermarry. According to my information, most persons could formerly trace not only their own ancestry,

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[2]"Large numbers" refers to encampments of between 40 and 500 persons. Some groups may have exceeded the largest figure in the early 19th century.

but other related lines back to seven or eight generations. This means that the "incest group" (persons who could not intermarry) was large. Most villages of average size were composed of such relatives, except for the women who were already married into them. Therefore, village exogamy was a general rule for everyone. Exogamy was further elaborated by the more "respectable" classes of persons and always the nobility (chiefs and their close relatives) to outside the band, frequently outside the tribe. As a result, there was typical marked heterogeneity of tribal identification in the genealogy of any one person.

However, because residence was traditionally patrilocal--that is, women upon marriage left their natal villages to reside at their husbands' where they reared their children--the latter were more oriented to their father's people and territory than their mother's. Such identification changed for females when they married and left home; but it was permanent for males. Thus, there was a bias for the paternal line for men, but not for women. The female's change or orientation was to her husband, his village, and her in-laws.

In-law ties were important. Marriages were contracted between families with an important economic motive: to gain privileged access to in-laws' resource areas, especially to their fishing-grounds. These benefits were mutual. Because the children of a band daughter were raised in their father's territory, they, too, came to be treated something as "in-laws" by their mother's family in this in-law reciprocity about

resources. Although in-laws took for granted their privileges, privileges were extended to them as to guest from host. The host was responsible for task-group leadership, maintenance of apparatus, enforcing regulations about work, including the women's fish-processing in camp, and allotment of fish to participating families. The guest must respect his host's authority and property.

In short, at any type (1) or type (2) fishery some one band or tribe was in control, and during the season for that location members of several "in-law" tribes were together, working and sharing in the take. And despite the sharing, there was stability in fisheries management over the generations, passing within a band or tribe from fathers to sons.

Succession of fishing controls through the paternal line was not a mere formality. The variety and localization of species, variety of local fishing conditions (such as tides), required special knowledge of species habits, geography and locally specialized technology. For a man to be thoroughly familiar and competent in a milieu of fishing was normally possible only by his being reared and trained there.

While one may identify a fishing site as "belonging to" one or another tribe or band, others directly profited from its use on the basis of privileged invitation. Territorial rights were usually respected, trespass was rare, and punishable by death.

Seasonal Round

The round of the year's cultural activities in Northern

Puget Sound was importantly determined by the availability of important food fish in large quantities. Clark Wissler was the first to designate the North Pacific Coast and Plateau as the 'salmon' food area of aboriginal North America. Since Wissler wrote, the North Pacific or Northwest Coast culture-area has been identified by anthropologists as having had a maritime economy, with fish the staple food, and salmon figuring largest in the food inventory.

In Northern Puget Sound, economic movements were closely geared to the migratory cycles of the five species of Pacific salmon, as well as to the appearance of other fish in the waters. Moving about from one to another fishing-camp or home-village (winter habitation with permanent housing) conveniently located near fishing-grounds was the life-style of the greater part of the year--from March, with the appearance of spring salmon, to into October. For more than seven months of the year, time and energy were devoted almost exclusively to fishing. It was the full-time occupation of all able-bodied males, daily from dawn to dark, and sometimes at night. And women's work was concentrated on processing the hauls. But even in winter fishing was pursued--sometimes casually for a change from meals of smoke-dried fish, and often importantly in late winter when supplies were low (some eventually went mouldy). In Northern Puget Sound some fish species were caught year-round.

Apparatus of Fishing: Watercraft, Traps, Gear

Fishing Canoes

The canoe customarily used by fishermen from which to fish was a 'hunting-and-fishing canoe', the ɬɪwaʔɬ, a maneuverable dug-out with low gunwhales, and identical "mouth-shaped" bow and stern pieces. It was smaller, lighter and proportionately lower and narrower than the big "family" or "war canoe", the aʔoʔχɬs, which was twenty to forty feet long, and carried up to four tons. The ɬɪwaʔɬ was constructed in different lengths, depending upon use. The largest was used for sealing, and could carry several men and the carcasses of about twenty seals. The aʔoʔχɬs, though not a vehicle from which to fish, was sometimes used to collect and haul the catch. Trolling, most harpooning and spear-fishing, reef-netting, and most seining, were from canoes. (The small-waisted shoveled-nosed canoe, the ʔaʒaiʔ, was seldom used for salt-water fishing. The ʔaʒaiʔ was a "river canoe"). A smaller boat was used for fishing too, the ʔəwɪʔɬ, narrow, seating two persons, and between fourteen and sixteen feet. The gunwhale was deep, and prow and stern differentiated.

Traps

Trapping here refers to the use of fixed, man-made structures--fences, dams, leads. Some were provided with removable seines, and at least one type was combined with seining from canoes. Some were manned during use. Others were unattended except to remove fish and replace trap devices.

qəle'c (or šʌbəb)

The qəle'c was the most frequently mentioned form of trap, and was the standard apparatus in salt-water channels, and outside the mouths of rivers and creeks, for salmon. It consisted of fixed fence leads of upright cedar stakes in shallow waters, positioned diagonally to the currents. Suspended between two canoes stationed up to forty feet apart (depending on width of channel and size of net) was a type of 'drift-net' or 'purse-seine' made of woven nettle-root, elk-thong and mountain grass. In each canoe were two men, the ones in front to paddle and the ones in back to hold and operate the net. The net was hung from brailers held by the two stern-fishermen, and was positioned within the leads. The mouth was closed with a line attached to a sliding ring when the net was full, signalled by surface evidence of fish.

Many of the qəle'c in the area were small--only six feet across--but the fences of most, large and small, were constructed to form groups of several, so that each qəle'c location was a complex of traps.

The qəle'c was built only in shallow water, 4 to 5 feet at high tide. Its use was seasonal.

There was a confusion in terminology among informants for this apparatus. Some called the net kʌ'ləč, a term others used for a dip-net of any size. Some used the term šʌbəd to refer to the same thing. And others referred to the entire apparatus--fence-and-net--kʌ'ləč, šʌbəd or qəle'c. In any case, the seine of the qəle'c was not a dip-net,

(which properly is a much smaller device with a firm frame at the mouth, which may or may not be retractable, and usually with a single pole or handle. But because the larger dip-nets used in Northern Puget Sound held such large catches--these are nets with two and one-half foot diameter fixed mouths and six-foot long webbing, they were equipped with two poles and handled by two fishermen in a fashion similar to fishing with the qəle'c or ʔʌbəd).

Reef-net (sxwa'lo)

Reef-netting, strictly speaking, did not involve traps. But in principle the features of their locations, the seine, and technique was that of the qəle'c. Instead of man-made fences, kelp and sea-weed at the reefs formed leads. The waters of reef-net fishing were considerably deeper, the seines larger, and the number of men and canoes required to operate a seine greater than for qəle'c fishing. Reef-netting was limited to Samish waters, with important locations at Guemes Island. South of Fidalgo Island (within the area of consideration) it was not practiced. Reef-netting was the most productive salmon-fishing technique in the vicinity.

tkʌ'pəd (a stationary trap)

The tkʌ'pəd was a fence-and-fixed-seine combination, which was not manned except to empty and re-set. It was comprised of two fences, the shoreward one, or one nearest the river-mouth, being higher than the other. The higher fence was upright and often was the framework for a wall or dam.

It was made of very closely positioned stakes of cedar, fir, or alder firmly woven with withes. When the channel was narrow, this fence was banked with brush, mud, debris, to serve as a bridge above water-surface from which the fishermen hauled up and lowered the seine. The lower wall slanted toward the upper, was staked as the upper, in the 'up-stream' or shoreward direction. The tkaʼɒɔd were built to trap at flow or ebb tide, and filled at three-quarter tide. As long as they were kept in good repair, and as long as fish entered them, they produced on a daily basis. As with the qaleć, these structures were not large, but were built in sets of several at most locations. They were an important source of fish not only during the height of runs, but year-round. (Figures 1 and 2, Plate 1).

teʼtkab ("blocking of tide") (a stationary trap)

The teʼtkab was a fence-and-trap construction which in ground-plan was V-shaped. Two leads or fences of very closely spaced upright stakes converged to the apex, which was the trap. At the apex was an enlargement or pocket, about four feet in diameter. At its entrance was a fence of the same width, but with stakes slanted toward the pocket. At high tide fish entered and stranded, to be gathered up by fishermen at low tide. Seines were not used. This was a trap for small fish. The largest one in the area may have been at Dugualla Bay, where enough of it was still remaining in 1953 to obtain dimensions. (Figure 3, Plate 1).

sʷiʔyap (a stationary trap)

The sʷiʔyab was a conicate basket-trap woven of cedar root. Its length of about six feet tapered from a squared mouth, three to four feet on each side. The trap itself, the qəʔəddxʷ was a two-piece inward swinging (only) tied door, set a couple of feet in front of the tip. The largest ones were used principally for silvers, and faced going up, downstream. Smaller ones, more finely woven, faced upstream for trout coming down. sʷiʔyap were owned and operated by individuals (even women) and small-family heads. Although their capacity was small, between 1 or 2 silvers and not many more trout, the yield per annum was large. There probably were some few thousands of these traps maintained year-round in the nineteenth century. They were located in shallow waters at river-and-creek-mouths, lagoons and channels; and need not be attended except to empty and re-set.

Below are brief descriptions for some of the implements of fishing in the area, Haeberlin and Gunther report others used here and there in Puget Sound, and which may also have been known and manufactured in this region.[3] Few of aboriginal construction had been saved, and I did not actually see any. All descriptions are based on verbal information (and suffer, accordingly).

Dip-nets, kʷəlaɬ or ɬəʔbəd (See p. 7)

Sizes of dip-nets ranged from large ones, with two and one-half foot diameter hoops and six-foot long nets, equipped with two seven-foot poles or 'brailers' and handled by two

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[3] Haeberlin, H. and Gunther, E. Indians of Puget Sound. University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, Vol. 4(1), Sept. 1930, pp. 26-29.

fishermen, to small ones equipped with a single handle and used by one person. Small ones were used to get smelt and other small fish in shallow water, or to clear traps. All of them had bent vine-maple hoops, and nettle-root webbing.

Gill-nets, huyq and kʷiliyed

The huyq was described as a nine-inch (?) gauge net for kings and silvers. The kʷiliyed, a two to three pound net was used for sconering out and gilling small fish, such as trout. The kʷiliyed used at the mouths of the Skagit were set among pilings and left to fill.

Seines

Seines of various sizes, similar to those used in the qəle'c were used for beach-seining.

Spears (xətlich or taxl) and Harpoons (ʔaiʔc or tadl)

Spear-fishing was a technique for getting fish of varying size and species--trout, devil fish, crab, salmon, cod. Spearing was associated with trapping, too, as a means of emptying traps. Some spears had a flattened, paddle-shaped projection beyond the handle grip used to locate fish by feel in muddy and dark water. Most spears were two-pronged leisters, and were furnished with one to four bone points. Shaft-length ranged from nine to fifteen feet.

For the largest marine species--seals, very occasionally whales (when they got into Skagit Bay), and Sturgeon--harpoons were used. The harpoon was pronged and had two detachable bone points secured by fifty to one-hundred foot elkhide lines to the shaft and grip. Floats of inflated seal bladder

or alder bark were attached for release to indicate the position of the strike. Plate 11, figure 4.

Hook-and-line

Trolling with baited hook-and-line was used for salmon, 'trout' and most importantly, for halibut. Hooks were made of bent yew-wood, and lines twined from bark of vine-maple. The halibut gear, shown on Plates 11 and 111, figures 5 and 6, was the most elaborate of hook-and-line devices.

Herring-rakes

The rake was the specific instrument for herring. It was a slender eight to fourteen foot-long pole, flattened at the rake end at which twelve to fourteen long ironwood spikes (later, nails) were set in the flat or leading edge. From canoes, the rakes were vigorously drawn through the water to impale the fish on the spikes.

Cod-lure

This was an unusual device--a cedar propellor of three fins radiating from a central ball--used for attracting ling cod to the surface. (Plate 111, figure 7.) With a long pole, it was thrust toward the cod-bed (it was not used in waters so deep that it would not nearly touch bottom--in deeper water a lure of herring was employed). As the lure spun to the surface, it was followed by cod "in droves", which were speared or gaffed from canoes.

Hooks

Large hooks made of bent iron-wood on a spring-pole were used for gaffing cod and salmon, and removing fish from traps.

Kelp-cod sighting device

A very peculiar but simple instrument was described for locating kelp-cod, an important bait-fish. It was peculiar because the material of its construction was of 'burnt clay', made in an area reportedly lacking pottery. It was a wide, rather short tube, which was partially immersed in water, with the fisherman's face at the upper end to enable him to see clearly where kelp-cod lie at the bottom where he speared them. It was used at kelp-cod beds of no more than about three fathoms, and required a very long-shafted spear.

It might be added that fresh-water fisheries were extremely important to the four tribes. Along the North Fork of the Skagit River almost to Mount Vernon were important Lower Skagit salmon sites, fishing camps and villages. Swinomish had equally important locations inside the mouth of the North Fork, and Kikiallus many locations on the South Fork. Samish had river fishing in Samish River. Smaller stream fishing and lake fishing were fairly well developed, especially in mainland territory.

Food-Fish Species, Fishing Sites,
and Techniques (if known)

Pacific Salmon. (Genus Oncorhynchus)

The 5 species of Pacific salmon were seasonally present in Northern Puget Sound, passing through the waters to rivers where they spawn far upstream. All but sockeye (O. nerka) were caught in great numbers in any one season in open waters, protected waters, and river-mouths. Sockeye were abundant, however, in the most northerly sector, in the southern San Juans, through which they passed to rivers north of the Skagit River, the Fraser being the destination of most of them. A few did travel up the North Fork of the Skagit to spawn in Baker Lake. Otherwise they were rare in waters south of Fidalgo Island.

General salmon-fishing grounds (species not designated):

Swinomish Slough, north of the Anacortes bridge, trapped with tkaʔpad

Outside mouth of North Fork of the Skagit River, nearby the present jetty (trapped).

Halfway between the La Conner and Anacortes bridges, on Swinomish Slough, trapped with qəliʔc.

All along the west shore of Fidalgo Island, from the south end to Anacortes, at many small-trap locations in the several bays and harbours.

Off Harrington's Lagoon.

South of the Anacortes bridge above where Middle Slough meets Swinomish Slough, trapped with qəliʔc.

All along the west coasts of Fidalgo and Whidby Islands, spring trolling.

Hole-in-the-Wall, trapped with qəliʔc, and speared.

Duqualla Bay, speared from canoes in shallow waters.

Outside mouth of Edison Slough, gill-netted.

Bald Island, trapped.

Rocky Point.

Dry Slough.

Ika Island, speared in shallow water.

Crescent Harbor.

Offshore from Dewey and Fidalgo City.

Guemes Island, reef-netted.

Offshore of northern Fidalgo Island, in Guemes Channel.

Spring salmon (O. tschawytscha) also known as 'King', 'Chinook', 'Tyee'; young springs are known as 'black-mouth'. Spring in Skagit: yu'bəč; Blackmouth in Skagit: yu'yubəč

Springs were the most esteemed of the salmon. Their appearance in March marked the beginning of the year, and the new food-cycle for the tribes. The first springs were caught ceremonially in the First Salmon Ceremony, a most important religious event in Puget Sound. Blackmouth were usually gotten in winter.

The season is March to August; during this period they were almost ubiquitous in the waters between the mainland and the waters, where they were fished.

Deception Pass, trolled.

Swinomish Slough, trapped.

Offshore of Dewey, trolling in early March.

Offshore of Edison and in Edison Slough.

Holmes Harbour, winter, for blackmouth.

Mouth of the Skagit, gill-netted with šə'bid.

Ika Island, speared at a site of ceremonial fishing.

Mouth of Samish River, trapped with swi'yap.

Mouth of the North Forth of the Skagit, netted with the ʔa'bid. This area was considered to be about the best for springs.

Silver Salmon (O. Milktschitsch) (also known as 'pink' and cohoe). In Skagit, sqaɛ'ks ("crooked bill") or sxiuc ("red-skin")

A fall fish, appearing in September; and in Sound waters throughout the winter. Although not as highly-prized as springs or salmon, silvers probably figured more heavily in the diet, and contributed importantly to filling out dwindling dried fish and meat stores in late winter. Nearly ubiquitous.

Skagit Bay.

Off Goat Island, speared at very low tide, as they ran to the river mouth.

Mouths of Skagit River, trapped with ʔa'bid, and gill-netted with kyiʔ. Mouth of North Fork considered best for silvers.

Offshore of Edison and in Edison Slough.

Mouth of Samish River, trapped with swi'yap.

Indian Slough, Fall.

Chum Salmon (O. Keta) (also known as 'dog salmon'). In Skagit, lab.

Chums start running heavily in late October and through November. They were the least valued of salmon, although processed and used, as the more favored species. Nearly ubiquitous.

Mouth of the Skagit River, trapped.

Offshore of Edison and in Edison Slough.

Mouth of Samish River, trapped with swi'yap.

Humpback Salmon (O. Corbusche) In Skagit, ʔɛdɛP .

Most limited of the four main species in the area, since it runs for only about 2 weeks in the late August and early September, and only in alternate (odd-numbered) years. Highly considered as a food-fish.

Inside Deception Pass, around Hoypus Point to Skagit Bay, trapped in small net bags.

Flagstaff Point, trapped as above.

Lone Tree Point, trapped as above.

Mouth of the North Fork of the Skagit River.

Sockeye Salmon (O. Nerka), in Skagit ɛɛk

(see above, under 'Pacific salmon'). Runs in June and July. Caught in appreciable quantities in the southern San Juan Islands, Lopez and north.

Steelhead Salmon trout (Salmo gairdneri), in Skagit, kɛ'oxʷ.

The largest and most important trout fished in Northern Puget Sound. The season started in December, and steelhead usually continued to appear in traps as late as July.

Swinomish Slough, in winter, fished at night by fire-blinding, with spears.

Holmes Harbor.

Mouth of Samish River, trapped with swi'yup.

Halibut. In Skagit, sɛ'ɛdX .

An important 'bottom fish', especially from "open" waters in the area; with a westerly and northerly provenience. According to my information, the only halibut-fishing technique was trolling with the device described above (p.) (the weighted 'spreader' and trailing, baited hooks).

A "Samish halibut gear" was mentioned, the ɣʷuɬ'ɬ, but I do not know if it is the same. Halibut fishing was pursued any time of the year, but typically when salmon runs slackened, in late fall and winter. It was casual fishing in that it did not require fixed structures, sheltered waters, or team-work. Fishermen usually went out for halibut in small parties. Even so, halibut was an important article in the diet.

Burrows Bay and Burrows Channel.

Off the west coast of Whidby Island from Fort Casey to the west side of Deception Island, open-waters.

Canoe Pass.

In open waters west of Fidalgo Island (and beyond Burrows Island) in Rosario Strait.

In Skagit Bay, offshore from Snaetlum Point and Duqualla Bay.

Off the west shore of Cypress Island.

Bellingham Channel (between Guemes and Cypress)

Cod. Rock-cod and ling-cod, or green-cod. Ling-cod in Skagit, ait.

Only reported technique by leister spear, ɣaʔla, after luring the cod to the surface with a bait of rock-stuffed kelp-cod on a long line; and sometimes for rock-cod, a bait of a bunch of herring. For fishing rock-cod outside Deception Pass, the spinning lure described on p. was used.

West of Deception Pass.

Inside Deception Pass.

Holmes Harbour

Off Baby (Hackney) Island.

Bowman Bay (for ling-cod).

Kelp-cod. (In Skagit, ʔaiɬ

Fished primarily as bait for larger cod and other fish. Speared with a very long-shafted pole, in about 3 fathoms of water. Sighted with the device briefly described on p. No locations given.

Sturgeon. In Skagit, _____.

Usually speared with a two-pronged leister.

Off Ika Island, from canoes in shallow water.

Off Goat Island, at extremely low tide as they moved toward the river mouth.

Off Bald Island, speared as they lay in mud, sighted by bubbles on the surface.

Generally, at mouths of north and south forks of the Skagit River.

Telegraph Slough (as at Bald Island).

Flounder. In Skagit, ʔowáiʔ.

Obtained the year round, and casual (although easier) fishing, as of halibut, but in more protected areas.

Off March's Point.

Off Snaetlum Point.

Mouths of the Skagit River, trapped (in a fixed woven fence, used principally for salmon)

Penn Cove, near Coupeville, speared year-round.

Oak Harbor, speared year-round.

Off Greenbank.

Holmes Harbor.

Pull-and-be-Damned, fishermen standing in three feet of water would just stomp on the fish and lift them to the canoe.

Herring. In Skagit, luz

According to information, the "herring rake" was the only device used to fish herring. Herring fishing and processing involved large organized groups of workers. Seasonal.

Inside Deception Pass.

North Camano Island, near Utsaladdy.

Off Greenbank.

Holmes Harbor, and Skagit Bay between Holmes Harbor and the mainland.

Off both sides of Snaetlum Point.

Smelt. In Skagit, loqʷ or ɬiɣuɬ.

Seasonal, late summer and September.

Utsaleddy, with small dip-nets in shallow water, or killed by churning the water with paddles.

Pull-and-be-Damned Point (no longer nearby because of Jetty).

Penn Cove, off Coupeville to Snaetlum Point, large 20-foot 'dip-nets' or beach-seines, possibly the liqɣəd.

Holmes Harbor.

Skate. In Skagit, k̓ʷe'k̓ʷəlt A minor food-fish.

Padilla Bay, gathered in mud at low tide

March's Point

Octopus. ('devil-fish'), in Skagit, sqeɬk̓ʷ. A minor fish.

Deception Pass.

Bowman Bay.

Trout Generic Skagit term: xʷəsqɬ. Dolly Varden; in Skagit čqʷəc. Perch. In Skagit, səbqʷ.

These smaller fish were valued by the Northern Puget Sound tribes, and beside taking them in salt-water, they obtained them in trade from inland foothills bands.

Duqualla Bay, hook and line, and trapping with the ɬe'ɬkəb.

Off Skagit Flats, trapping with device similar to ɬe'ɬkəb.

Swinomish Slough, near Anacortes Bridge, as above, and at night by fire blinding and spearing, March to May.

Mouths of the Skagit River, as in Swinomish Slough. (In Similk Bay, at one time there was a very long fish-fence which nearly spanned it, for trapping 'small fish'--(trout?).)

Eels. In Skagit, sqəpqəpəqʷ. A minor food-fish.

Duqualla Bay, taken from mud at low tide.

Dog-fish Shark. Very minor.

Usually a nuisance to net fishermen. Aboriginally dog-fish may not have been saved for any purpose. But after Whites were in the area they used them for their oil (liver?) as a medicine for smallpox, and to sell to Whites in Bellingham.

Grunters, in Skagit, kak. A minor fish.

Near Bayview, taken from under rocks, June and July.

Bullheads (Skagit, sqəde!) and Red Snappers (Skagit, tətəqʷəqʷ) were mentioned as food-fishes gotten in the area, but no information was given about where they were found or how they were caught. Both were very minor in the fishing economy.

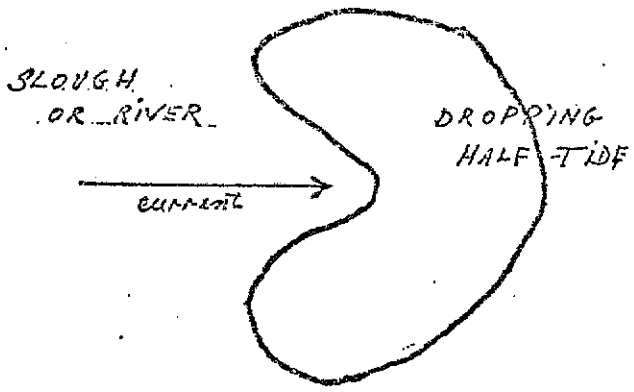


Figure 1 tka'pad ground-plan
(from informant's sketch)

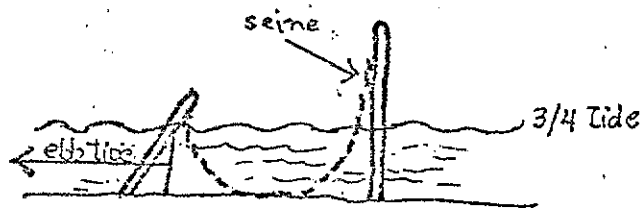


Figure 2. tka'pad profile view
(from informant's sketch.)

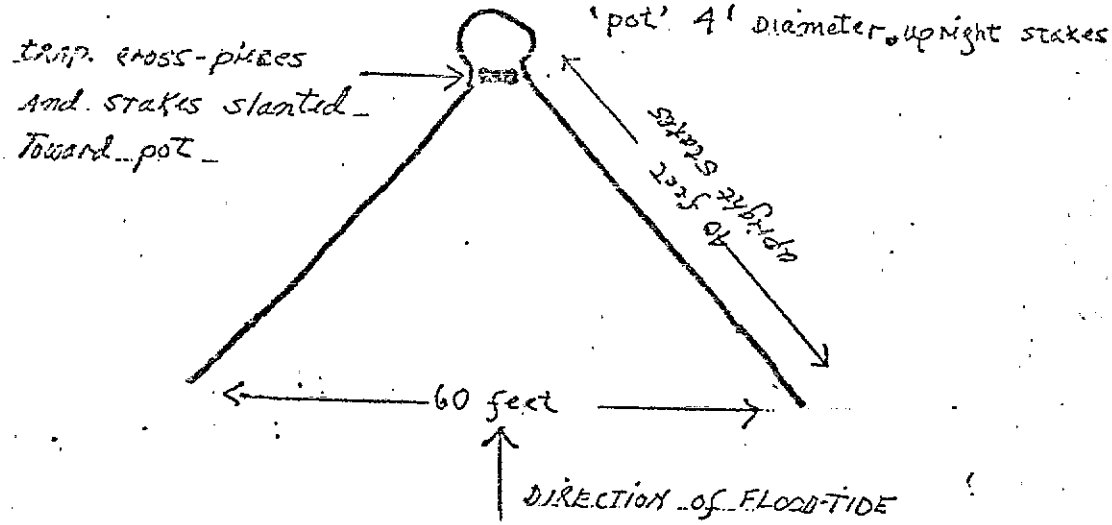


Figure 3. te'tkab
(drawn after remains of
the Duquette Bay trap)
-ground-plan view.

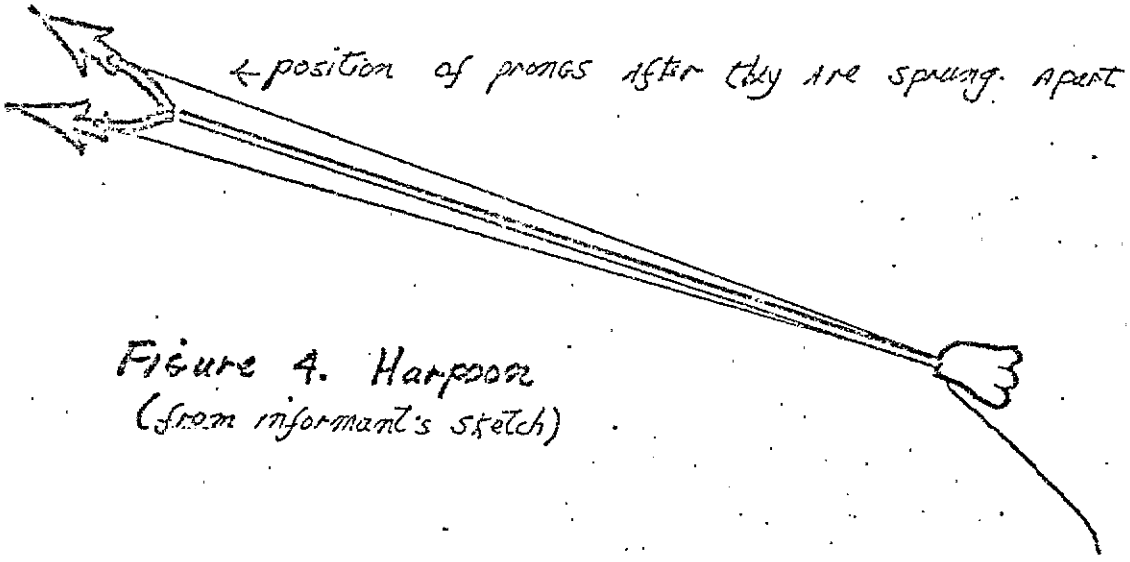


Figure 4. Harpoon
(from informant's sketch)

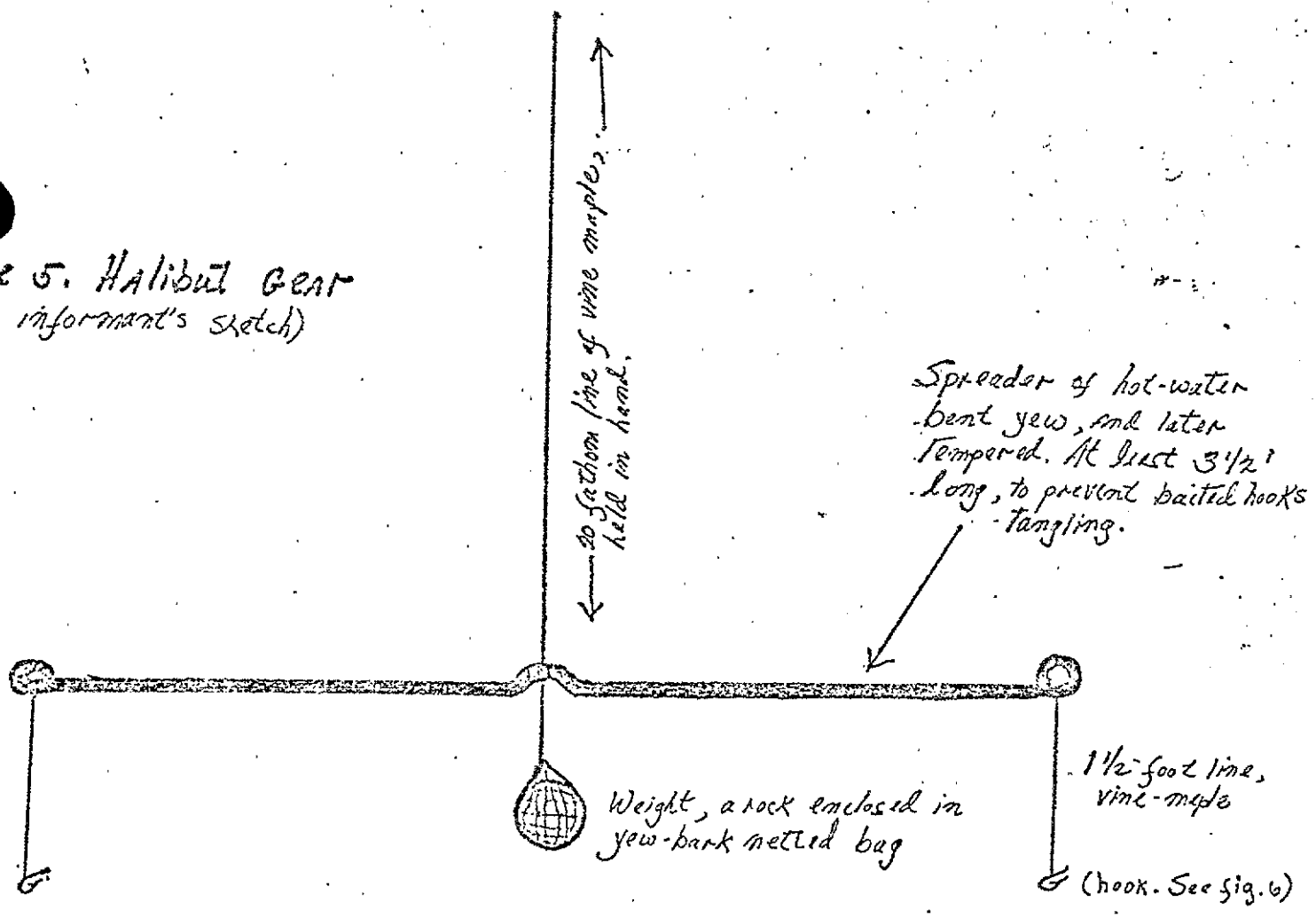


Figure 5. Halibut Gear
(from informant's sketch)

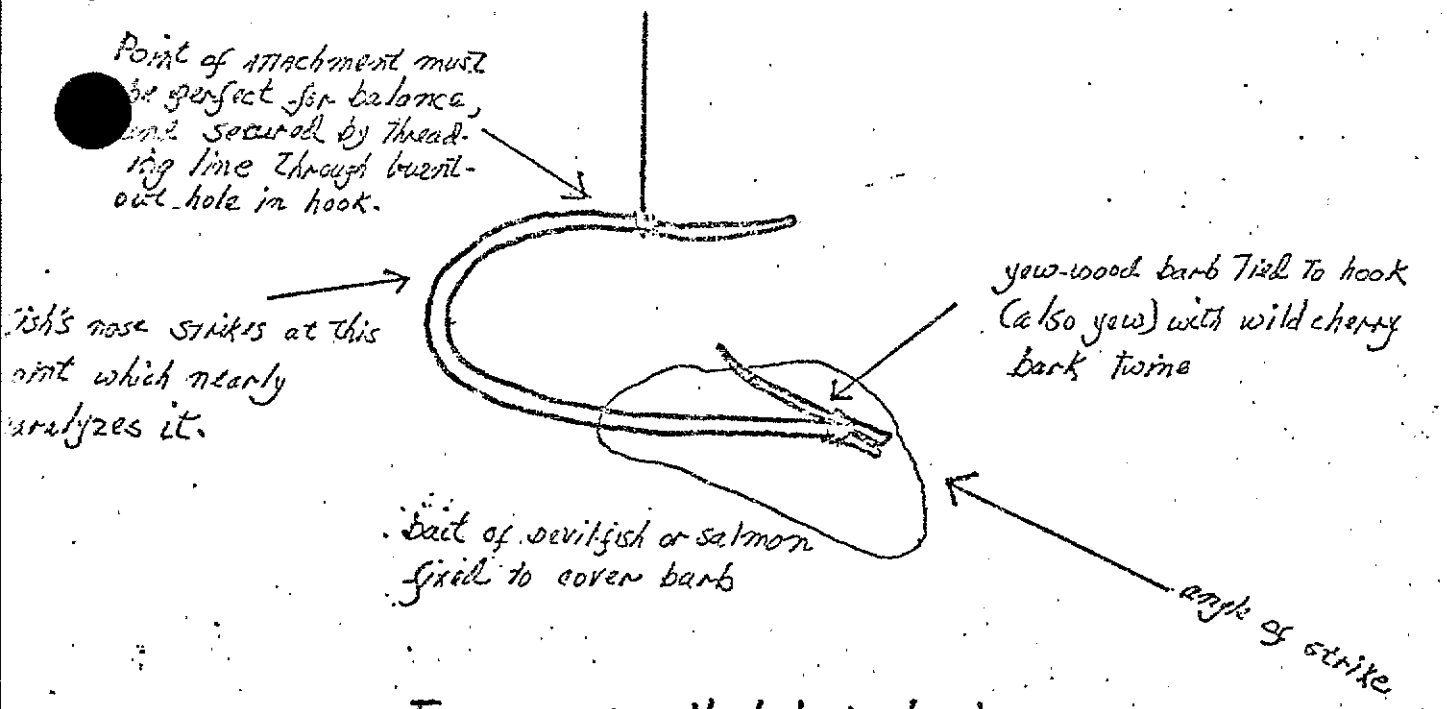


Figure 6. Halibut hook.

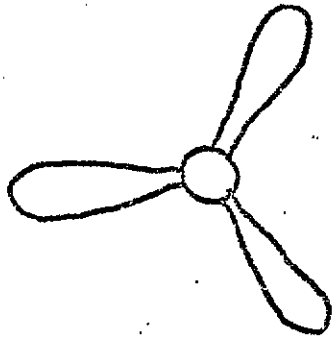
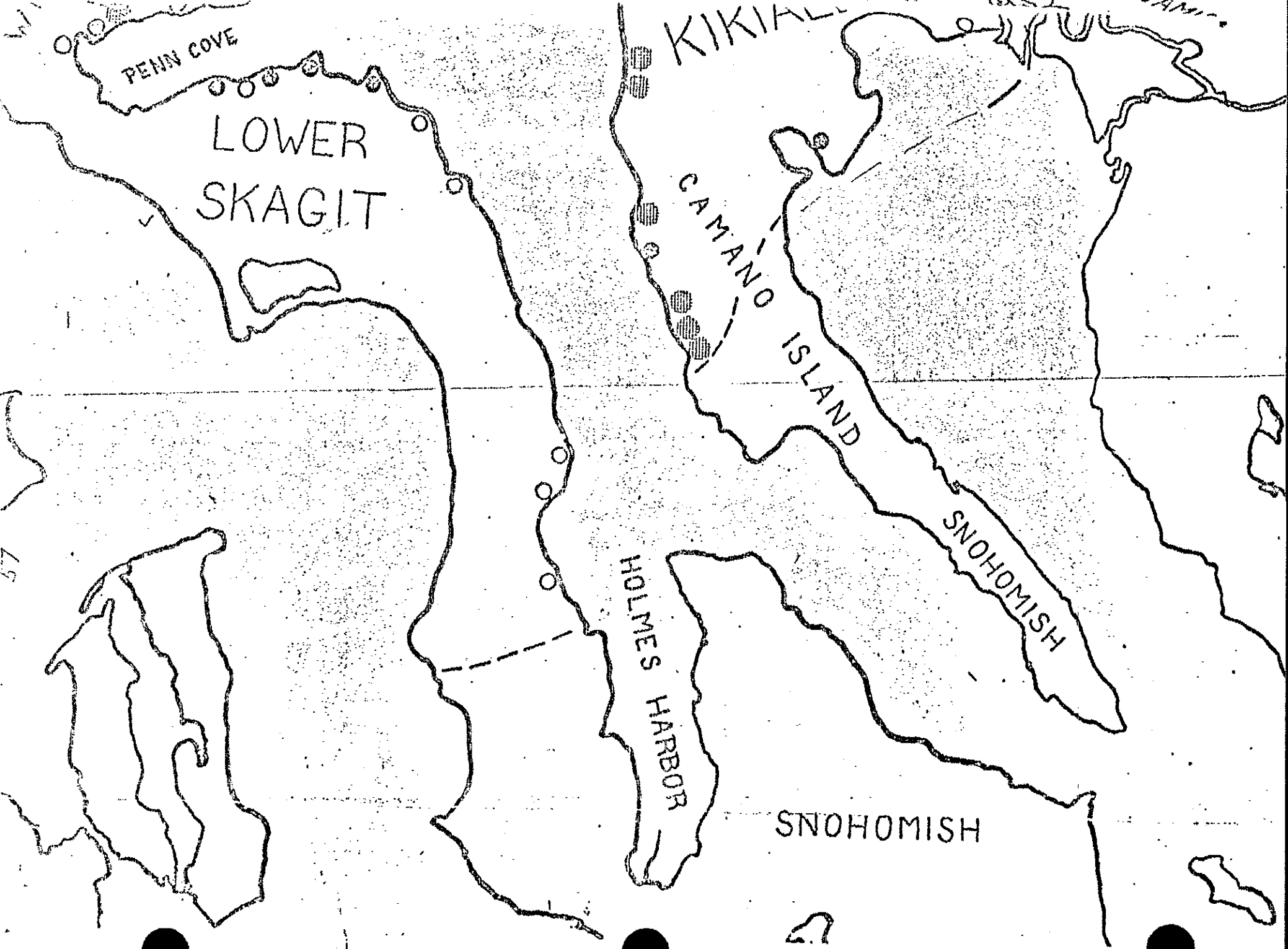
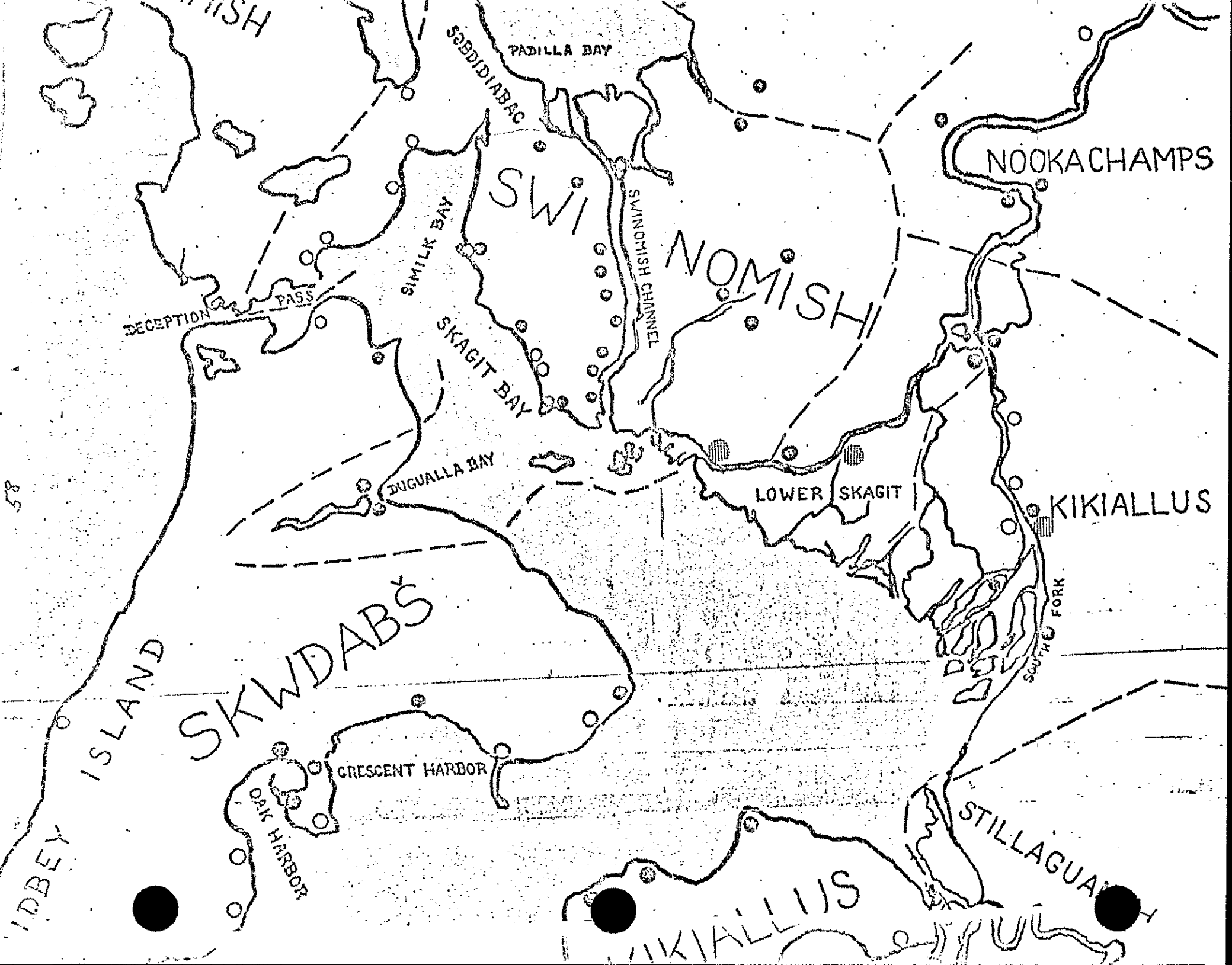
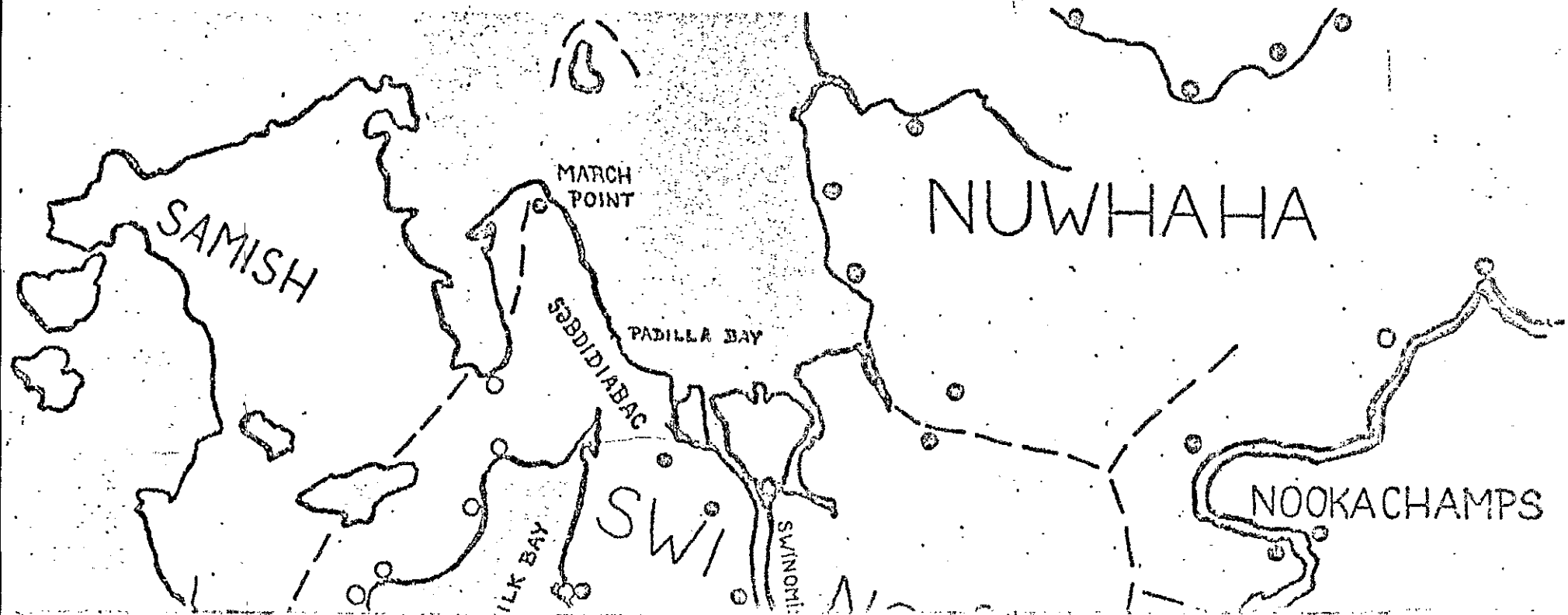


Figure 7. Rock-cod lure



Aborigina down-river and salt-water villages and camps for Kikiallus, Lower Skagit and Swinomish.
and hatched circles, winter-homes with planked houses. White circle, hunting and fishing camps.


PADILLA BAY
SAMISH
NOOKACHAMPS
SWINOMISH
SWINOMISH CHANNEL
SIMILK BAY
SKAGIT BAY
DECEPTION PASS
DUGUALLA BAY
LOWER SKAGIT
KIKIALLUS
SOUTH FORK
SKWDABŠ
IDBEY ISLAND
CRESCENT HARBOR
OAK HARBOR
STILLAGUA
KIKIALLUS


SAMISH
MARCH POINT
NUWHAHA
PADILLA BAY
NOOKACHAMPS

Aboriginal Fishing Practices of the Tribes Forming the Modern Swinomish Community

The Samish

Territory. From the southeastern end of San Juan Island eastward to Deception Pass and northeastward to Chuckanut Mountain, including the southern and eastern shores of Lopez Island, the western and northern shores of Fidalgo Island, the mainland shores around Samish Bay, and the islands lying between these, principally Samish, Guemes, and Cypress. They shared the area around southeastern San Juan Island with Lummi, Songhees, and possibly Clallam trollers and halibut fishermen; they shared the area around Deception Pass and perhaps Fidalgo Bay with Swinomish camas diggers; and they shared the mainland shores of Samish and Chuckanut Bays with Nuwhaha and Nooksack clam-diggers and fishermen.

Villages. According to one tradition the "original village" of the Samish was on Lopez Sound on Lopez Island but was abandoned at the time of the first smallpox epidemic, presumably in the late 18th century, with the survivors moving to Guemes Island. Early in the 19th century there were Samish villages on Guemes, Fidalgo, and Samish Islands. By mid-century all had moved to Samish Island, but they were forced to leave it about 1875. They then established an independent village on Guemes, which they occupied until the beginning of the 20th century.

Salmon Fishing. Reef netting for sockeye and pink salmon at Samish-owned reef-net locations off Lopez Island at Charles Island, Iceberg Point, and Watmough Head and off Fidalgo at Langley Point. Trolling for chinook and coho salmon perhaps anywhere in the territory indicated but especially in San Juan Channel in early summer. Fishing for fall runs of coho and chum salmon and whatever other species might be present, with weirs, traps, gaff-hooks, seines, and gill-nets, in the mouths of the Samish River and other streams along the mainland shore, which they shared with the Nuwhaha.

Other Fishing Halibut were next in importance after salmon. Samish fishermen caught halibut with hooks baited with octopus. The favorite halibut banks were northwest of Cypress Island and the Salmon Bank south of San Juan. Other places where the Samish caught halibut were around Vendovi Island, in Bellingham Channel, around Peapod Islands, northeast of Blakely, west of Blakely, and west of Deception Pass. Herring were also important, not only as human food but as trolling bait. Bellingham Channel was once especially good for herring. Other fishes caught by the Samish include lingcod, rockfish, smelt, dogfish, flounder, perch, and sculpin.

(Based on work with Charlie Edwards and Annie Lyons in 1947 and 1948 and with Ruth Shelton in 1951.)

The Nuwhaha

Territory The mainland shores from Indian Slough to Chuckanut Bay (sharing the shores of Samish Bay with the Samish), the whole drainage of the Samish River including Friday Creek and Lake Samish, the upper (southern) end of Lake Whatcom, and a stretch of the north bank of the Skagit River around the present Avon and Burlington.

Villages Only one important village on the salt water— at Bayview, several others up Edison and McElroy Sloughs and up the Samish River on Jarman and Warner Prairies.

Salmon Fishing In the Samish River and in their several sloughs and creeks, with weirs, basket traps, dip-nets and gaff-hooks, for chinook, coho, and chum salmon. Some trolling in the salt water, but probably much less important.

Other Fishing The Nuwhaha caught trout with the same devices used in streams for salmon. They also caught a land-locked salmon that ran in the creek at the head of Lake Whatcom. In the salt water they caught flounders, "grunters", and probably other smaller fishes.

(Based on work with George Bob in 1950, Betsy McLeod and Ruth Shelton in 1951, and Susan Peters and Tom Williams in 1952.)

The Swinomish

Territory The shores of Padilla Bay from Indian Slough to March Point and the shores of Skagit Bay from the mouth of the North Fork to Deception Pass and around the northeastern shores of Whidbey to Dugualla Bay or perhaps as far as Strawberry Point, including all but the north and west shores of Fidalgo Island, a part of the northern end of Whidbey Island, and a few miles of the mainland east of Swinomish Slough, and including, of course, the salt water within this area.

Villages Several on the Fidalgo shore of Swinomish Slough and one or two others up Sullivan Slough. A village on Dugualla Bay seems to have been separate from but subordinate to the Swinomish.

Salmon Fishing The Swinomish used a unique device in the Swinomish Slough that might be called a "weir net". It consisisted of a net suspended between two canoes anchored in an opening of a V-shaped weir built out into but not crossing the slough. There were a number of locations along the slough where these devices were installed. The Swinomish used them for all the species of salmon that ran in the slough. They also harpooned salmon (perhaps mainly chinook salmon to judge from Lummi practice) in the slough. They went trolling for chinook and coho salmon in Skagit Bay and around Deception Pass. And they used gill nets in the slough (and presumably also in the salt water to judge from Lummi practice).

Other Fishing Other fishes of some importance to the Swinomish included flounders, lingcod, smelt, and sculpins. Informants did not mention herring, but their presence may be implied by trolling, since herring were usually used for bait in this area.

(Based on work with Peter Charles in 1947 and 1948 with some additional information obtained from Amelia Billy, Annie Lyons, and Charlie Edwards during the same period.)

(Note on the Skagit Bay and Saratoga Passage people: My information on the people south of the Swinomish is not at all as detailed as my information on people to the north. It is based mainly on brief discussions in June of 1952 with Andrew Joe, Susan Peter, Gaspar Dan, Alfonse Sampson, Martin Sampson, and Ruth Shelton, during which I recorded native place names in the area. The "territories" of the "tribes" of this area are difficult to identify because there seems to have been considerable overlapping and sharing--perhaps for different purposes--of the same places, so much so as to suggest that the whole question of "tribal territories" cannot be understood in terms of European nations and national boundaries. I present below first what I learned about the "tribes" and "territories" of the area and then what I believe fishing practices to have been.)

The Skwehamish

Territory Whidbey Island from the west end of Crescent Harbor to the northeastern shore of Penn Cove and the North Fork of the Skagit River, probably sharing the North Fork with the Skagit of Penn Cove.

Villages At Oak Harbor and Monroe's Landing on Whidbey and on the North Fork.

The Kikiallus

Territory Whidbey Island from Skagit Bay to Crescent Harbor, Camano Island from around Demock Point to Davis Slough, the mainland shore northward to the mouth of the South Fork, the South Fork and eastward to McMurray Lake.

Villages At Utsaladdy on Camano, on the South Fork--the most important being at Conway and Fir, and at the west end of Crescent Harbor.

The Skagit

Territory From the northeastern shore of Penn Cove southward to Holmes Harbor, with the area around Holmes Harbor shared with the Misekwigwils, and the Skagit River from the Forks upstream to around Mt. Vernon, possibly also sharing the North Fork with the Skwehamish.

Villages On both north and south shores of Penn Cove and on the Skagit River below Mt. Vernon. (There seems also to have been a village on Holmes Harbor in a subordinate status.)

The Misekwigwils

Territory A stretch of the Skagit River from Skiyou Slough to Minkler's Mill (between Sedro-Wooley and Lyman), the Saratoga Passage shore of Camano Island from around Demock Point southward perhaps to Elger Bay, and the shores of Whidbey Island around Holmes Harbor, which they probably shared with the Skagit of Penn Cove.

Villages One winter village On the Skagit River; salt-water territory used only in the spring and summer.

Fishing Practices of the Skwenamish, Kikiallus, Skagit, and Misekwigwils

Salmon Fishing in the Salt Water I have no statements from persons I talked with in the 1940s or '50s about salmon fishing in the salt water, but from practices reported for peoples both north and south (e.g., my work with the Lummi and Samish and Haeberlin and Gunther 1930, pp. 27-28, on the Snohomish and others) I believe it is certain that the Skwenamish, etc. caught salmon by trolling and gillnetting.

Other Fishing in the Salt Water In giving place names Andrew Joe volunteered that Blower Bluff was a good place for catching herrings and Susan Peter that Greenbank and a beach near Camano City were good places for herrings and smelt. A Samish, Charley Edwards, mentioned that sturgeon were caught near Utsaladdy. I believe it would be safe to say that the Skwenamish, etc. caught herring, smelt, flounders, sturgeon, and probably other fishes.

Salmon Fishing in the Skagit River Probably the Skwenamish, Kikiallus, and Skagit caught salmon in the Skagit River with the same methods used by the "Upper Skagit", that is, the people (including the Misekwigwils) whose winter villages were upriver. The most important method was with the trawl net, a net suspended between two canoes. This was used for all five species of Pacific salmon, for steelhead,

and for smaller trout. Very likely they also used harpoons and gaffhooks, especially at the great log jams near Mt. Vernon. And they may have used weirs and traps in the smaller sloughs of the delta of the river, though the main channels were probably too deep for such devices.

The "Upper Skagit"

This term has generally been used for as many as a dozen separately named "tribes", actually villages or clusters of villages, whose territories extended from the mouth of Nookachamps Creek to the upper reaches of the Skagit and Sauk Rivers. The Misekwigwils identified above are one of these. Early in 1948 Mrs. Susan Peter described to me (through her son Al Sampson) Upper Skagit salmon fishing practices. The Upper Skagit caught salmon, steelhead, and trout in the trawl net, at weirs with lift-nets, in three different kinds of traps, with dip-nets, harpoons, and gaff-hooks.

Wayne Suttles

6 March 1974