

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

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IDENTITY

The name Stillaguamish (under various spellings) has been used since about 1850 to refer to those Indians who lived along the Stillaguamish River and camped along its tributary creeks.

In contrast to some of their neighbors like the Snohomish to the south and the Lower Skagit to the north, these people remained relatively isolated from white influence until some years after the Treaty of Point Elliott. Prior to the treaty very few whites had even visited their territory.

Samuel Hancock, a pioneer settler, explored much of the country around Puget Sound in 1850 and 1851. In the summer or early fall of 1850 he was taken by some Snohomish Indians to see a coal vein on the Stillaguamish River. His description of the Indians encountered on that trip and on a return visit about two weeks later makes it clear that the Indians along the Stillaguamish River had at that time very little direct contact with whites.

According to his account (Hancock 1927:107-117), at a village some twenty miles up the river where he encountered an estimated three hundred people, only one man had a blanket pinned

around his neck. The other men were naked and the women wore cedar bark kilts. The people were curious about his food, had never seen a revolver, and did not understand the use of coal. They apparently thought it would be made into powder with which to shoot them. Judging by Hancock's account of their behavior, it is patent that the appearance of a white man in their country was a highly unusual event.

From his description of the country he passed through, it seems certain that Hancock's travels in Stillaguamish territory were confined to the main branch of the river and the south fork. On his first trip he ascended the river from its mouth to a large village some twenty or so miles upriver and from there he travelled further upstream to the coal vein. His second visit was overland via Indian trail from the Snohomish River north to the Stillaguamish River. He arrived at the latter place directly after passing a prairie and then found that he had reached the large village visited on the previous trip. On the basis of all available evidence, it would appear that the prairie and village were located near the junction of the main branch of the river and the south fork.

Hancock mentioned an Indian house about five miles from the mouth of the Stillaguamish River and a temporary camp of mat houses fifteen or twenty miles from the mouth in addition to the large village near the prairie.

Further information on Indian settlements is contained in a diary kept by George O. Wilson of a trip he made up the Stillaguamish River February 14 to 21, 1851 in company with Hancock. They started at the mouth of the Stillaguamish River, ascended it to the coal seam, which Wilson described as near a falls, and then descended the river to its mouth.

Wilson (Diary pp. 61-73) mentioned an Indian house about three miles from the mouth of the river, a village five miles from the mouth, a large village of about 200 people (presumably the village near the forks), and an Indian house with one family in it not far from the exposed coal vein at the falls.

Both Hancock's earlier account and Wilson's diary contain passages commenting on the difficulties of ascending the river. There were numerous drifts past which canoes had to be portaged. The swiftness of the current made progress very slow. The Indians had to stand in the canoes and pole them upstream. Wilson noted that the Indians were expert canoe handlers shooting the rapids on the downstream journey while taking in very little water. It would appear from the accounts that the Indians were familiar with and accustomed to travelling all those portions of the river on which Hancock and Wilson travelled. At least one house was situated well up the south fork.

Despite the 1850 discovery of coal on the Stillaguamish River, there appears to have been no white activity or interest in the area for some years. Coal was discovered at about the same

time in other localities around the Sound which were more easily accessible.

The two accounts by Hancock and Wilson appear to constitute the sole information collected in Stillaguamish territory prior to 1855 of which there is any record. Apparently the knowledge held by Hancock and Wilson was not generally available prior to 1855. All other references to the Stillaguamish prior to the treaty negotiations merely cite the name, locate them on the Stillaguamish River, and estimate their numbers as about 150 or 200.

Edward Starling, as Indian agent for Puget Sound, submitted Indian population figures to Isaac I. Stevens under date of December 10, 1853. Among the Indian groups listed were

<u>Names</u>	<u>Locations</u>	<u>Numbers</u>
Steillaguahmish	Steillaguahmish River vicinity	150

Starling noted that his figures represented estimates based largely on hearsay as no census had yet been taken and he had not been able to travel about the Sound.

In September 1854, Michael Simmons, as Indian Agent for Puget Sound prepared estimates of the native population for Governor Stevens. According to Gibbs' journal Simmons estimated the entire population of the Snohomish and Stillaguamish watersheds and the neighboring islands at 400 and estimated that they raised 700 bushels of potatoes. His estimates subsequently proved to be far too low, but the notes are instructive in that they document the state of knowledge held by the treaty commission at the time of the negotiations. The following ex-

cerpt contains all the information Simmons reported regarding the Stillaguamish. It is evident that he regarded them as subordinate to the Snohomish and it is likely that his information about them was derived from Patkanam, the Snoqualmie Indian whom Stevens and Simmons had named as head chief.

Snohomish tribe. Snoqualmoo, Steilaguamish & Skai-whamish. Patkanam Head Chief. Bounded on the south by the Dwamish, and extend on the main land north to a line drawn eastward to the Mts. from the most northerly mouth of the Steilaguamish river. They also include all of Whidby's I. south of the northern extremity of Holme's Harbor, together with the southern half of McDonough's & the whole of Gedney's I.

McDonough's Island was another name for Camano Island. There is nothing in the historical or ethnographic record to support Simmons' assignment of the Stillaguamish to a role politically subordinate to or merged with the Snohomish. They lived in neighboring watersheds, spoke the same language, and were related by friendship and kinship. Despite this, the record seems quite clear that the Indians along the Stillaguamish River were in no way politically subordinate to those of the Snohomish watershed. According to Hancock, it was his friend, "the Snohomish Chief," who told him about the coal and sent two Snohomish men to guide him on his first trip, yet they were nearly killed by some of the Stillaguamish did not want to let Hancock proceed. Wilson's diary suggests that each village along the Stillaguamish may have been politically autonomous. It was necessary to procure new men and canoes at each major village because people from farther downstream were not permitted to continue as guides through their neighbors' territory.

George Gibbs, the lawyer who helped to draft the treaties in western Washington and served as secretary to the commission when the Treaty of Point Elliott was signed, left a sizable corpus of published and unpublished data on the Indians of the area. Gibbs recorded vocabularies, lists of place names, ethnographic data and comparative notes and analyses. He recorded nothing about the Stillaguamish except for their name, general location, and a hearsay estimate of their numbers prior to the Treaty of Point Elliott. In addition he noted that their name meant "river people".

His 1854 unpublished notes (NAA Ms.#2356) are interesting in one respect. He listed a separate name for a subgroup on the south fork of the Stillaguamish River.

Steila-qua-mish
Whetl-na-mish (S. Fork of do) 200

This is the only work in which this name appears and there is no indication given as to why it is dropped in later papers. Possibly Gibbs decided it was an error.

In 1855 Gibbs (Notebook NA RG E-198) made an actual count which included Stillaguamish Indians. Unfortunately, after the treaty Gibbs no longer listed the Stillaguamish as a separate group but instead merged them with the Snoqualmie and Skywhamish. His detailed population count included the following entries

Census of Indian Tribes in Western District
Wash. Ty. 1855

	old		young		boys	girls	infants		absent	total
	men	women	men	women			male	female		
Snoqualmoo } Stoluchwh &c }	30	55	114	155	90	79	46	47	60	556
Snohomish	20	36	100	110	55	41	28	23	28	441

Gibbs used the name Snohomish to include only those people on the main branch of the river below the forks. The people on the northern fork are the Skykomish; on the southern fork are the Snoqualmie. His 1855 census count is of interest for several reasons. First, his total comes to more than twice the number estimated by Simmons before the treaty. Second, Gibbs decided to list the Snohomish as a separate group rather than combining all the people of the upper drainages and the Stillaguamish with them as Simmons had done. Gibbs total for the Snoqualmie, Skywhamish and Stillaguamish rivers comes to 556. It is hazardous to estimate what proportion of this figure represents the 1855 count of the Stillaguamish. A simple assignment of one-third of the number each to the three groups would result in a figure of 185 for each, but there is no warrant for such a division. We have no data at hand which permit informed judgments as to the relative density of the respective areas.

The records at hand document the almost complete lack of information held by the treaty commission concerning the Stillaguamish and their upriver neighbors at the time that the treaties were negotiated.

Apparently this state of affairs continued for some time after 1855. An article in the August 24, 1855 issue of the Pioneer and Democrat, pleading for exploration, claimed that as of that date there was not a white man within a day's travel of the Sno-

qualmie and Snohomish valleys. It would appear from this that white settlers had not yet located in the Stillaguamish valley.

W.W. DeLacy, surveyor, prepared a sketch of the U.S. Military Road from Steilacoom to Bellingham Bay for the Superintendent of Military Roads. His sketch, dated 1857, shows a prairie near the junction of the main branch of the Stillaguamish River and the south fork and there is a notation of coal upstream on the south fork.

No information relative to Indian sites is recorded on the Stillaguamish portion of the map other than the existence of an Indian trail from the Stillaguamish River south to the Snohomish. The lack of data perhaps reflects the state of knowledge concerning the Stillaguamish area at that time. The sections of the map immediately to the north note the locations of Indian houses and Indian potato grounds.

No reservation had been set up by treaty in Stillaguamish country. Stillaguamish tribal members assert that Simmons had promised their ancestors a reservation in their own territory. Although some Stillaguamish moved onto reservations, many continued to reside in their traditional homeland.

The Indians were not required to remove to the reservations until after the ratification of the treaties. However, in November 1855 a number of temporary reservations were established in order to separate the Indian non-combatants from the so-called "hostiles" in the winter of 1855-56.

Two of these temporary reservations were located on Whidbey Island. The Holmes Harbor location on southern Whidbey Island was intended to accomodate the Snohomish, Snoqualmie, and Skywhamish Indians. This reservation was supervised by Nathan D. Hill. The Penn Cove location farther north on the island was intended for the Skagit River Indians and was supervised by Captain R.C. Fay.

The Stillaguamish Indians whose home territory lay between the Skagit and the Snohomish apparently were overlooked and they remained at home on the Stillaguamish River until they were called in to the Holmes Harbor location in May 1856.

On May 1, 1856 Agent Hill reported to Stevens that there were Stillaguamish Indians who had never been down to the reservation. By the 13th, Hill wrote to Stevens

....The Steil-a-guam-ish have all come down except one family in which there are some sick. They say that they had never been ordered down and preferred remaining on their own grounds. I never visited them believing they properly belonged to Capt. Fay, but occasionally made inquiries after them. I believe they are all right

On May 21st Hill transmitted a roll of names listing Stillaguamish men with their wives and children who had come on to the reservation. In subsequent weeks he reported the departure of Stillaguamish families returning to the river to look after their potatoes. Some of these left with his permission; others went without it.

On June 24, Hill reported to Stevens as follows:

...The Steilaguamish have all "bolted". this is the second time. The first time

I sent after them. I do not think it advisable for me to send a second time. if I had force enough to bring them back I would do so. They are but few in number.

Hill gave no reason for the Stillaguamish reluctance to remain on the reservation to which they had voluntarily removed, but the explanation is probably contained in his letter to Stevens dated July 30th.

...A large number of my charge have gone up the river to fish....They are anxious to leave this place, want of water, the place becoming very foul and quite a number becoming sick, the cause....They prefer not to go to Tulalip until the war shall have been brought to a final settlement - and until after their paper arrives from Washington.

The Holmes Harbor location proved unsuitable also because of exposure to southerly winds in winter which prevented the Indians from gathering clams. The location was abandoned and the Indians were relocated at Penn Cove and at Tulalip.

Apparently some of the Stillaguamish moved to Tulalip but later returned to their old homes because of sickness at Tulalip. Others may have attempted to settle at Tulalip and been prevented because of insufficient land available there. As late as 1871 Father Chirouse, the Sub Indian Agent in charge of Tulalip wrote to Mr. Kenney, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs asking for funds to clear land and drain the marshland so that more Indians might be able to settle on the Tulalip Reservation.

...Every day new Indians arrive and want to stop on the Res - All they ask for is work so they can obtain a living and as I have no

funds, and not land enough cleared to give them all a piece it is impossible to make them stop and become good Indians unless they have some way to make a living.

For some years after the Treaty of Point Elliott the Stillaguamish were relatively undisturbed in the occupancy and use of their traditional living sites and camps. White settlers were initially attracted to places like Whidbey Island where there were large tracts of open land suitable for farming. The Stillaguamish valley was relatively undesirable because the river was difficult to use for navigation and transport.

Initial settlement on the Stillaguamish River was near the mouth of the river. The first white settlers are reported to have settled there in the summer and fall of 1864. Settlers did not arrive in any number nor did they begin to locate upriver until the 1870's when there was an influx of Scandinavian immigrants. Prior to the period beginning in the 1870's when settlers began to take up land, there was no reason for the Stillaguamish to leave their own territory where food supplies in the form of fish and game were plentiful.

Because many of the Stillaguamish remained on the ancestral lands and continued their traditional modes of getting a living, local and traditional knowledge was retained to a greater degree than would have been the case among descendants raised on a reservation in the territory of another people.

In 1926 a deposition was taken from James Dorsey (Quil-Que-Kadam), a Stillaguamish Indian who was born about 1850 and lived his entire life on the Stillaguamish River. His deposition concerning villages, camps, burial grounds and other sites was filed in the Court

of Claims, October 3, 1927 (The Duwamish, et. al. Tribes of Indians vs. the United States of America) and was entered as Commission Exhibit No. 3 in Docket No. 207 (The Stillaguamish Tribe of Indians v. The United States of America) before the Indian Claims Commission. Mr. Dorsey's testimony is attached to this report as Appendix 1. It constitutes the most detailed list of Stillaguamish sites and site use available. Dorsey's affidavit provides information on Stillaguamish settlement on the north fork of the river not available in the earlier reports of Hancock and Wilson.

If the Stillaguamish remained relatively undisturbed in their use of traditional locations for about fifteen years subsequent to the treaty, as the record indicates, then Mr. Dorsey was in a position to participate in and obtain first hand knowledge of Stillaguamish site use until about age 20.

Mr. Dorsey was about age 76 at the time that his deposition was taken. He did not speak English and his deposition was taken with the help of an interpreter. Mr. Dorsey said that his information was derived from accounts given him by older people and from his own recollections.

The Indian Claims Commission in its Finding No. 17 (15 Ind. Cl. Comm. 1 at 12) decided that most of Dorsey's village data related to his later years.

...no specific dates are given for the villages except that they were known by the witness sometime during his life period, apparently for the most part, during his late adult life.

The reasons for the foregoing conclusion are made explicit in the Opinion of the Commission (15 Ind. Cl. Comm. 1 at 39)

An examination of his testimony shows that he was actually testifying about areas as he knew them many years after the Point Elliott Treaty. For instance he describes the dwellings of the Indians which were constructed out of lumber and that the Stillaguamish had fields of potatoes. Neither lumber nor potatoes were available to these Indians, so far as is known, prior to the coming of the white man. Lumber became available in quantity as a result of the efforts of early white settlers.

Contrary to the opinion of the Indian Claims Commission both lumber and potatoes were known to and produced by these Indians prior to the arrival of white settlers.

With respect to lumber, it is clear that Dorsey was describing the aboriginal split cedar plank dwelling and not houses constructed with milled or sawed lumber. Puget Sound Indians built large rectangular houses walled and roofed with cedar planks. These houses were built to accomodate a number of families, each of which owned the roof planks covering its section of the house.

These planks were ingeniously constructed and represented a considerable investment in labor and skill. The planks used for both walls and roofing were split from the living cedar tree by the use of mallets and wedges. Not everyone could do this successfully and the production of cedar planks was an occupation of professional carpenters who specialized in this field. The planks were sometimes three feet wide, the lengths being quite variable. After the planks were split, they were scraped down with a sharp musselshell and rubbed with "native sandpaper" consisting of dogfish skin. The roof planks were rabbetted and fitted together in such a way as to shed water and allow run-off. Both roof boards and walls were secured by means of holes bored through them and cedar withes passed through and tied to rafters and uprights.

Dorsey's description of several hundred people in several houses which took 40 or 50 men three or four months to erect and in which no nails were used patently refers to the traditional Indian house and not something recalled from the later years of his life.

With respect to potato cultivation the evidence is unequivocal that Indians throughout the Puget Sound area were raising potatoes before the first white settlers arrived in the country. They were planted in natural prairies and cultivated by Indian women with digging sticks in the same fashion as other native root crops such as camas. Suttles (1951:283) includes the following information on tribes neighboring the Stillaguamish to the north and south. The date of observation in his table refers to reporting of potato cultivation.

Tribe or Location	Date of Observation	Observer	Source
Snoqualmie	1853	Jones	Alvord, 1857, p.7
Snohomish	1843	Demers	Rapport, 1843, p.57
Skagit	1840	Blanchet	Rapport, 1842, p.65
	1841	Wilkes	Wilkes, 1845, 4:481

Dorsey's recollection of potato raising at Stillaguamish sites in no way conflicts with the general pattern observed and recorded from 1840 onward by the first whites who entered and later settled the Puget Sound region.

One final comment is perhaps necessary regarding the information in Appendix 1. The Claims Commission noted that Mr. Dorsey's data were phrased in legal terms and the Commission concluded that this weakened its probative value (15 Ind. Cl. Comm. 1 at 12). It is my opinion, as as an anthropologist, that the use of legal language may make the data

suspect but does not necessarily make it untrue. Nothing in Mr. Dorsey's evidence appears to be inconsistent with known ethnographic facts. In the absence of contradictory information or internal inconsistency, I see no warrant for discrediting his testimony.

On the basis of the available data it would appear that the Stillaguamish Indians in 1855 lived along both the north and south branches as well as the lower part of the Stillaguamish River. It is difficult to estimate their numbers at that time but they may well have comprised anywhere from 200 to 500 people.

TREATY STATUS

The Stoluck-wha-mish are one of twenty-two separate groups named in the preamble to the Treaty of Point Elliott, January 22, 1855, 12 Stat. 927, ratified March 8, 1859. Of the eighty-two Indian signatories to that treaty, each of whom is identified as representing a particular group, not one is identified as Stoluck-wha-mish.

The question has been raised as to whether the Stillaguamish declined to sign the treaty and hence were not parties to it. There is no evidence on record to suggest that representatives of the Stillaguamish were invited to sign and declined to do so.

Similarly, there is no evidence on record to suggest that the Stillaguamish failed to attend the treaty negotiations. On the contrary, the official record of the treaty proceedings noted that the Nooksack were unable to attend and then continued

Sunday, Jan. 21. The Snohomish and all the tribes expected at this place were now in.

All the tribes known to reside in the treaty area had been invited to attend and there is no record that any group declined to do so. Given this, the phrase 'all the tribes expected' must be understood to include the Stillaguamish.

If the Stillaguamish were present at the treaty ground, the question remains as to why they were not represented among the signatories. To place the question in proper perspective, we should note that out of twenty-two tribes or bands named in the preamble eight (or over one-third of them) are not identified with signatories. We would expect some mention of it in the official record if one-third of the prospective parties to the treaty refused to sign it. As nothing in the record indicates intentional abstention of these representatives, we must look for other reasons for their omission as signatories.

While it is difficult to credit the notion that the treaty commissioners inadvertently overlooked signatories for so many groups, this could have happened. The record makes it clear that the treaties were hastily negotiated. On the preceding treaty, at Medicine Creek, the commission overlooked identifying any of the signatories by tribe or band. On the Point Elliott Treaty the Lummi are not listed in the preamble although there are fourteen Lummi signatories. There were over two thousand Indians present at the Treaty of Point Elliott and some confusion was probably inevitable. (For a more detailed discussion of this point please refer to the Anthropological Report on the Identity

and Treaty Status of the Muckleshoot Indians, pp. 12-13.)

In the latter report it was suggested that five of the signatories "missing" from the treaty were probably not solicited because those groups were considered by the commission to be subordinate to the Duwamish and signed for by Seattle as head chief of the Duwamish.

The same sort of explanation may account for the lack of signatories for the Stillaguamish and others. Both Simmons and Gibbs in the material cited on pages 4 through 6 of this report merged the Stillaguamish with neighboring groups. Simmons considered them subordinate to the Snohomish and Gibbs classed them with the Snoqualmie.

Whether or not the omission of a Stillaguamish signatory was inadvertent, it is clear that Gibbs and Stevens both considered that the Stillaguamish were parties to the treaty.

In his post-treaty publication written in 1855, Gibbs (1877:179) wrote that the Stillaguamish were placed under Patkanam at the treaty.

3d. The Snohomish, with whom are included the Snokwalmu, Skiwhamish, Sk'tah-le-jum, Kwehtlma-mish, and Stolutswhamish, living on the Snohomish and Stolutswhamish Rivers. The Snohomish tribe itself occupies only the country at its mouth and the lower end of Whidbey Island; the upper part of the river belonging to the Snokwalmu, &c. They number 441 souls, and the other bands, collectively, 556. At the time of the treaty they were all placed under Patkanam, the chief of the latter.

In the foregoing passage the printer has transformed Gibbs' script Stoluckwhamish into Stolutswhamish.

Stevens was acting under instructions to treat with all tribes and fragments of tribes, but to unite small tribes into larger units. He was to make as few treaties as possible so long as all Indians were included. Consistent with this he appointed four head chiefs to represent all the bands on the four major drainage systems on the east side of the Sound (Lummi, Skagit, Snohomish and Dugwamish) and included them all in the Treaty of Point Elliott. (For documentation of the foregoing and a more detailed discussion please refer to the Anthropological Report on the Identity and Treaty Status of the Muckleshoot Indians, pp. 13-30.)

In an official report to George Manypenny, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, dated April 30, 1857. Stevens transmitted a "Map of the Indian Nations and Tribes of the Territory of Washington." The map was prepared under Stevens' direction in March, 1857. Lettered across the top of the map is a tabular statement listing for each treaty the tribes included, their population figures, and the reservations to which they have been assigned. One of the entries reads

	Population
Snoqualmoo	
Snohomish	
and allied tribes }	1700

This figure, given in round numbers, patently represents an estimate and reflects an additional increase over the numbers counted by Gibbs in 1855. Gibbs' 1855 figure specifically named the Stillaguamish as one of the allied tribes.

Evidence that Stevens included the Stillaguamish in his 1700 figure for the Snohomish, Snoqualmie and allied tribes can be adduced by simple arithmetic. The tabular statement also includes an entry for "Tribes with whom Treaties have not been made." Listed are the Chehalis and other groups in the southwestern part of the territory. Their total population is given as 1115. Also noted is the total number of Indians west of the Cascade Mountains. That figure is given twice. Once it appears as 9722; elsewhere as 9712. The total number of Indians with whom treaties have been made is given as 8597. The number with whom treaties have yet to be made is given as 1115, which corresponds exactly to the total figure given for the Chehalis and other southwestern groups.

Stevens is clearly reporting that all Indians in western Washington except the Chehalis, Cowlitz, Chinooks and Tiatanapan have been included in treaties. If we take Stevens' figure for the total population, 9712, subtract those not yet treated with, 1115, we are left with 8597, precisely the number he reported 'with whom treaties have been made.'

The conclusion appears inescapable that Stevens and Gibbs considered Patkanam's X mark on the treaty sufficient to bind the Stillaguamish as parties to the document.

FISHERIES

The only pre-treaty mention of Stillaguamish fisheries occurs in Wilson's 1851 diary of his trip up the river in February of that year. Wilson mentions purchasing salmon from people at the village five miles from the mouth of the river, complains about the numerous

stops the crew made to warm themselves and to eat salmon, and he remarks on their "shrewdness in catching fish."

James Dorsey reported that there were fish traps at all or practically all of the villages mentioned in his affidavit. The fish taken in these traps were eaten fresh and they were also smoked and dried for winter use. Dorsey further mentioned that after white people entered the area, they interfered with the Indian fish traps.

Nels Bruseth, son of a pioneer Scandinavian family, was greatly interested in the Indians of the Stillaguamish valley and recorded a number of Stillaguamish and Sauk-Suiattle folktales as well as information about Indian customs as he observed them around the turn of the century. His published work (?1927:5-6) contains the following passage which appears to refer to downriver fishing.

...Not only we children, but also the grownups marveled at the skill of the Indians in catching fish with their two-pronged spears; even in the muddy flood waters they would glide along in their canoes, a woman in the stern end gently paddling, with two men in the middle or forward end, casting or thrusting spears into the water and bringing in the thrashing silvery salmon or Tyee. Indian women would also spear fish, but sometimes by another method, bobbing spears up and down with prongs crosswise of the current. This method was also quite effective.

Bruseth (?1927:10) includes a brief description of the fishing spear.

Indian fishing spears are now seldom seen. They were ingenious affairs, of various design, the most common being the twin barb. A long shaft with two points--tipped with mountain goat horn or bone barbs--the double barbed point tied with thongs to the shaft would pull off when the fish was speared, thus relieving the (sic) strain on the shaft.

At another place Bruseth (?1927:9) described the old style Indian houses which were still being used during his boyhood in the Stillaguamish valley. The passages which follow are excerpted from a longer description of a house he visited at the junction of South and Koch sloughs, south of Silvana.

...From the ridge pole hung bundles of smoked salmon and other foods....There were a couple of roughly built smaller houses nearby; also salmon smoking racks over fire pits....

Bruseth's eyewitness accounts document the fact that the Stillaguamish Indians continued to rely on salmon as a food staple in the years after white settlers had begun to move into the valley.

Additional information on Stillaguamish fishing gear and techniques collected in 1952 is contained in unpublished field notes of Dr. Wayne Suttles, a noted authority on Coast Salish linguistics and ethnology. Suttles recorded native names for the five species of salmon, steelhead, as well as several varieties of trout and other fish found in Stillaguamish waters. Sockeye were reported to enter these waters only very rarely.

Suttles recorded native terms for the tripod weir with platform and associated dipnet, as well as two weir locations--one about four miles above Arlington on the North Fork, the other above Florence at the Alec Rob homestead. The latter was owned by Split-lip Jim (one of Bruseth's informants) who caught springs there.

A trap called *ḥda'p* was made for steelhead descending smaller streams. It was built at places where the current struck a rock or bar and turned abruptly. Basically the trap consisted of a cedar

plank set into the stream at right angle to it and positioned so that some water was forced over it, a box-like enclosure behind the plank, and a lead to turn the fish toward it. Fish would leap the plank and become trapped in the shallow water of the enclosure below it.

Another trap called qə'cqs was used for trout coming downstream after spawning. It was a long cylinder made of cedar limb warps and vinemaple wefts tapering at one end. Fish which entered the wide mouth of the trap were unable to turn once inside it.

Suttles' notes mention a two-pronged harpoon used for salmon and a three-pronged harpoon used for trout. Whitefish and suckers were taken with a leister. Harpoons and leisters were used on log jams. When the sun made visibility poor a fisherman might put up a shade of poles and mats to shade the water. If the current made visibility poor he might break hemlock boughs, tie them in a bundle, and put them in the stream above the fishing spot to make the water clear. Fish caught in this manner were clubbed.

At this late date it is no longer possible to document all the fishing techniques and fishing sites used by the Stillaguamish Indians over a century ago. From the evidence available it is obvious that the Stillaguamish Indians were skilled fishermen and canoe handlers who relied on the resources of their river and its tributary creeks for their staple food. Salmon and steelhead were taken with a variety of gear and techniques. As elsewhere throughout western Washington anadromous fish were taken in quantity as they ascended the river system to spawn and were preserved for later use.

CONCLUSIONS

1. The Stillaguamish Tribe of Indians is composed of descendants of the 1855 Stoluch-wa-mish of the Stoluch-wa-mish River. The population in 1855 resided on the main branch of the river as well as the north and south forks.
2. The Stillaguamish were believe to number about 200 people in 1855, but the actual number may have been over double that figure.
3. The Stoluch-wa-mish are named in the preamble to the Treaty of Point Elliott. No signatory is identified as belonging to that group, but they were designated as subordinate to Patkanam who signed the treaty as head chief for the Snoqualmoo and associated tribes.
4. The Stillaguamish were assigned to the Tulalip Reservation, but many of them remained in their aboriginal homeland where they were able to feed themselves through fishing and hunting.
5. Fishing constituted the principal means of subsistence for the Stillaguamish in pre-treaty times and continued to do so for many years afterward. It is still a matter of concern today.
6. Four species of salmon as well as steelhead were taken in Stillaguamish waters. The fish were eaten in both fresh and cured form.
7. Salmon were taken by harpooning, both from canoes and from log jams. Weirs with associated dipnets were used to take salmon and steelhead as they ascended the rivers and fish returning downstream were caught in traps.

THE DUWAMISH, et. al. Tribes of Indians

Claimants,

vs.

Defendants.

/S/ Earl L. Richards
Commissioner

James Dorsey (Quil-Que-Kadam), being first duly sworn, on oath deposes and says: That he was born in the year 1850, at or near Florence, Snohomish County, State of Washington. That he has lived his whole life in the vicinity of his said birthplace, and for many years since, has lived at or near Trafton, said County and State, about 20 miles from his said birthplace. That he is a member of the Stillaguamish Tribe of Indians, and having spent his entire life on the Stillaguamish River, and among said tribe, is very familiar with all of the doings, history and facts in connection with said Tribe generally.

That said Tribe had a village with three large homes (sometimes called Pot latch houses) in Section 25, Twp. 32 N. R. 3 East of W. M., said County and State, at or near the present Townsite of Stanwood, Wash; That the grounds on which said buildings stood and where said village was located is now embraced within the lands owned by N. P. Leque, deceased. That to the best of the recollection of affiant, about 250 people made their homes in said village, occupying in common, said three buildings or Potlatch houses; that the name of the Chief of said Tribe at said time was Zis-aba, that is Chief of the tribe at said village only.

That there was another village at or near Florence, said County and State, in which village there were three houses or potlatch houses; said village being located in Section 30, Twp. 32 N. R. 4 E. W. M., said County and State; That one John Silva homesteaded said tract, embracing the location of said village; That two of said houses were occupied by five families each, with one acre of clearing, said two houses being located in Lot 11, Sect. 30, Twp. and range as above.

That several families occupied the third house which was situate in Lot 12, Sect. Twp. and Range as above; That there were about two and a half acres of cleared land around said last mentioned house; That the name of the Chief of said Tribe, for said latter village, was Kal-cud.

That there was another village, with several homes or potlatch houses across the river (Stillagnamish) to the South of the one last mentioned above; being located also in Sect. 30 (Govt) Lots two and Three, Twp. 32, N. R. 4 E. W. M., said County and State; That to the best of the recollection and information of affiant, at least 400 people living at said village; That there was maintained at said village a "Strong House", probably 150 feet long, in which were stored blankets of fur and skins and other valuables; that a "burglar trap" was maintained to catch prowlers or thieves. That the lands embracing the grounds last mentioned were homesteaded by one Gardner Goodridge. That the chief of said village was Kal-Kad. That the name of the last mentioned village was Cub-ial.

That there was another village in Govt. Lots 5-6 Twp. 32, Sect. 30, N R 4 E. W. M., said County and State, consisting of one large home with about five families living there. That James Cuthbert home staded the lands embracing said grounds. That the name of the chief at said village was Good-wich; That about $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres of land was cleared around said home, and said village was called Lo-Al-Ko

That there was another village in Sect. 29, Twp. 32 N. R. 4 E W.M., Govt. Lot one; three homes or houses, one of which held about five families; about $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres of clearing; That the name of the chief at said latter village was Sa-Quil-ten. The name of the village was Sel-ta-ch. About two hundred people lived in said village.

That there was another village in Sect. 13 Twp. 31 N R 3 E. W. M. said County, Govt. Lots 3-4; there was one large house and another smaller one and several smaller cabins; That said village was a visiting center for other neighboring members of said tribe and other tribes. That the name of the chief at said village was Zis-a-ba. That the name of said village was Sp-la-tum. That the Town of Birmingham or Warm Beach is now the name of said village; That a burial ground was maintained at said village.

That there was another village in Sect. 4, Twp. 31 N R 4 E. W. M. said County, between Florence and Silvana. One big house in which several families lived; where affiant was born; That there were about $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres cleared at said village and affiant can remember some one bringing in ten potatoes which were planted and thereafter potatoes were raised. About 100 people lived at said village. That Robert Robb homesteaded the tract of land embracing said village, and said Robb is now deceased. That the name of the chief of last village was Quil-Que Kadam.

That at the village in Sect. 25, Twp. 32 N R 3, E. W. M., at or near Stanwood, was a cemetery; that said cemetery was desecrated and is now farmed over by white people.

That across the Stillaguamish River from the next above mentioned village, another cemetery or burial ground was maintained, but that now said cemetery has been desecrated and farmed over by the white people.

That another burial ground was used on place at one time owned by one Capt. Marvin; same has long since been abandoned and is now grown up to brush.

That another burial ground was maintained at the village in Sect. 30 Tp. 32 N. R. 4 E. W. M., Govt. Lots 2-3, which was desecrated by and now used by the white people for agricultural purposes.

That there was another village on the banks of Hat Slough about four miles South of Stanwood, at which there were two large homes or potlatch houses, with about 100 people living there.

That there was another village maintained in in Sect. Two, Twp. 31 N. R. 5 E. W. M., said County and State, on lands formerly owned by J. H. Persun and W. H. Ford; That there were two large houses or homes, commonly occupied, and several hundred people, or a large number, exact number unknown to affiant; a cemetery was also used at said village, but that same was later used for pasturage by white people and a portion of same cut away by the river.

That there was another large village at or near Trafton, said County and State, in Sect. 20, Twp. 32 N. R. 6 E. W. M. That there were four large buildings at said village, one very large home, another smaller one and a large smoke house. That it took 40 or 50 men some three or four months to erect the buildings. At none of the villages mentioned above did the Indians have nails, but used pegs and branches to bind the timbers together. About two hundred people made the village at Trafton, their home. That a cemetery was maintained at said village, and later a county road was run thru one corner and to the best of affiant's knowledge some graves were overrun.

That at or near Oso, said County and State, the said Tribe had large camping grounds, no permanent houses being used, but a general congregating place for use when picking berries, hunting &c.

That at or near Hazel, said County and State, was another village, with two large homes or houses; about 150 or two hundred people.

That at said village at or near Hazel, was used a cemetery and the same has not been destroyed by white people.

That on Mt. Higgins, at or near last mentioned village of Hazel, was maintained a very large camping or hunting grounds, with a large shed, drying racks and a fire place; at which place large numbers of both men and women would gather for hunting of bear, deer, elk, goat and other animals, the meat of which was stripped, smoked and dried on the racks; berries were picked and dried. This camp was used by people of the Tribe from all of the villages named heretofore.

That at the village at Trafton there were some four or five acres cleared, on which potatoes were raised; that name of village was Chuck-Kol-Che, and chief Chad-is.

That at all or practically all of the villages hereinbefore mentioned, the Indian people had fish traps, in which fish were taken for fresh eating, and smoking and drying for winter use. Deadfalls or traps were in common use by all the members of the Stillaguamish Tribe for catching fur bearing animals for food and clothing. That said tribe also used for food, all kinds of wild berries, wild cherries, and several kinds of nuts.

That said Stillaguamish Tribe maintained, both by claim, by occupancy and by defense if necessary and sometimes same was necessary against other tribes, reasonably well defined territorial limits, confined for the most part to the aforesaid Stillaguamish River, both branches and tributaries. That other Tribes, such as Sauk and Skagits, made visits and upon agreement were allowed and invited to join in hunting expeditions, and the Stillaguamish Tribe was invited by other adjoining Tribes to do likewise in the territory of said other tribes, but until the coming of the white people, said Tribe was practically unmolested in the occupancy of said territory above mentioned; that after the coming of the white people, the latter for the most part paid little respect to the rights of the Indian people; dispossessed them of their lands, interfered with their fish traps, drove them from camping grounds and in many cases desecrated burial grounds and plots.

Subscribed and sworn to before me,
this 26th day of July, 1926.

His

James

Dorsey

Mark

A. M. Wendell

Notary Public in and for the State of
Washington, residing at Arlington.