

Native American Presence in the Federal Way Area

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Muckleshoot girl wearing traditional skirt
and cape of cedar bark, late 1800s
(Courtesy Smithsonian Institution)

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Introduction

Welcome

?ubutlačibitubułəd cəł

(See the **Language, Welcome Section** for the meaning and a discussion of this welcome.)¹

Material Covered

This monograph is intended to provide the information available for the presence of Native Americans in the Federal Way area² prior to large-scale settlement by non-Native Americans. It also includes a discussion of Native American relations with the white settlers from 1792 up to the present time.

Because so few specifics are known about Native Americans in the Federal Way area much of the paper assumes Muckleshoot culture applies to the Native Americans traveling in the Federal Way area. The Puyallup culture also overlapped into the area to a lesser extent.

This monograph is intended to provide source material for future work by other interested parties. It should therefore be considered only an initial draft that will be revised and added to during ongoing research.

Use of “Native American” Instead of “Indian”

This paper uses the term “Native American” when referring to these people except when older material is being referred to, quoted, or used, then the term Indian is used as it was used in the earlier material. The term “Native American” came into common usage in the 1970s as a respectful way of grouping American Indians into one general category.³ The use of the term “Native American” for the term Indian is an example of political correctness that has influenced much of current thought for many different subjects. The media, politicians and academia will all usually refer to Native Americans rather than Indians.

In my exposure to several Native Americans personally and in reading current writings by them, they almost always refer to themselves as Indians. The Affiliated Tribes of Northwest Indians, a group of 54 tribal governments in the Northwest, uses the term Indian.⁴ They would not do this if the term had a negative connotation in their minds. The Muckleshoot Tribe’s web page refers to themselves as the Muckleshoot Indian Tribe.⁵ The Puyallup Tribe’s web page refers to themselves as the “Puyallup Tribe of Indians.”⁶

¹ Some software may not be able to handle the special symbols used in writing the Salish language.

² The Federal Way area, as used in this monograph, is the same as the area the Historical Society of Federal Way covers. This includes the land inside the boundary of Federal Way District 210. This area includes all the area of Federal Way, portions of Des Moines, Kent, Auburn and some unincorporated portions of King County.

³ Jan Halladay and Gail Chehak, *Native Peoples of the Northwest* (Seattle: Sasquatch Books, 1996), vi.

⁴ Affiliated Tribes of Northwest Indians website, <http://www.atnitribes.org> (accessed July 21, 2010).

⁵ Muckleshoot Indian Tribe website, <http://www.muckleshoot.nsn.us/default.aspx> (accessed July 21, 2010).

⁶ Puyallup Tribe of Indians website, <http://www.puyallup-tribe.com> (accessed July 21, 2010).

Another term often used is “American Indian.” The term “American Indian” is used in legal documents regarding the relationship between Native treaty nations and the United States government. In October 2004, the National Museum of the American Indian was opened in Washington D.C. as part of the Smithsonian complex.⁷ The term “American Indian” is used by Watkins in *Beyond the Margin: American Indians, First Nations, and Archaeology in North America*.⁸ Watkins article points out the problems as it uses all three terms: Native Americans, Indians and American Indians somewhat interchangeably.

When greeting each other Native Americans rarely use the words “Native American,” “Indian,” or “American Indian.” Instead they will describe themselves according to their tribal affiliation and ancestry. Someone who is enrolled in the Muckleshoot Tribe will say, “I am Muckleshoot.”

I am trying to be politically correct so I will try to use Native American, but it is hard to be consistent.

Note on Style

The footnotes and bibliography normally follow the recommendations of Kate Turabian, *A Manual for Writers of Research Papers, Theses, and Dissertations*, 7th ed., rev. Wayne C. Booth, Gregory G. Colomb and Joseph M. Williams (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007).⁹

Reference style for web sites are still undergoing constant reformatting and has still not reached a uniform current format at the time of writing this monograph. The latest revision of Kate Turabian, *A Manual for Writers of Research Papers, Theses, and Dissertations*, 7th edition seems to contain an approved current approach so this has been used for formatting website references.

Northwest Native Americans

Pacific Northwest and Northwest Coast Native Americans

In the literature the terms Pacific Northwest and Northwest Coast are usually defined to mean the areas of Washington and Oregon between the Pacific Ocean and the Cascades although occasionally they are used for British Columbia and Alaska.¹⁰

In the pre-white settler days the Native Americans of the Northwest Coast were considered to be the richest and have the most enjoyable lifestyle of any Native Americans. To them their wealth was something a person could eat, wear or use to shelter him from the weather. In this sense the Northwest had everything. There were fish in the streams, game in the forests, berries and roots in open spaces with easy access. There were trees large enough to build large homes and meeting places and yet they could be cut and split easily. There was a climate so moist that

⁷ <http://americanindian.si.edu/anniversary> (accessed July 23, 2009). This museum had formerly been located in smaller quarters in New York City.

⁸ Joe E. Watkins, “Beyond the Margin: American Indians, First Nations, and Archaeology in North America,” *American Antiquity* 68, April 2003, 273-285.

⁹ The original author, Kate Turabian, died in 1987 so the book is now revised and updated by others but has kept the well know name of the original author. Often it is just referred to as ‘Turabain’.

¹⁰ Ruth Underhill, *Indians of the Pacific Northwest* (Washington D.C.: United States Department of Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs Branch of Education, 1944), 9.

plants grew as if they were in the tropics, yet the climate was so mild that few clothes were necessary.¹¹

People who lived in such a climate did not need to plant. They had more berries and roots than they could use, simply by going to the places where nature had spread them. Most of them did not even hunt, unless they felt like a change of diet. Every year, they had only to wait until the salmon came swarming up the streams, “so thick,” say the old settlers, “that you could walk across on their backs.” In three or four months, a family could get food enough to last a year. The rest of the time they could give to art, to war, to ceremonies and feasting. And so they did. Their basketry is some of the best in North America.¹²

Bill Reid a Northwest Native American artist, writer and poet, who lived most of his life (1920-1998) in British Columbia, has written of this time prior to the Europeans:

But it was a rich land above all, a rich sea.
Millions of salmon returned each year to the rivers to spawn and die,
a sacrifice that assured the survival of their kind,
and at the same time gave easy life
to the bear, the otter, the eagle and a host of others,
a few of whom were humans.
In a few weeks, men could gather enough salmon to last a year.
Shellfish grew thick on the rocks and sandy bottoms; . . .
berries were plentiful on the bare hillsides;
and if that weren't enough,
a fire on a hot day would provide one for the next year. . . .¹³

Native Americans in the Puget Sound Area

The Cascade Mountains parallels the coast of the state of Washington about 150 miles from the Pacific Ocean. To the west the Olympic Mountains jut north and slightly west. In the triangle between the two lies an irregular section of low land known as Puget Sound.¹⁴

The orientation to Puget Sound and the rivers and waterways that drain into it was the most obvious determinant to shape the culture of Puget Sound Native Americans. Marian Smith wrote the following about the Puyallup Tribe but the same is true for the Muckleshoot Tribe.

¹¹ Underhill, 9.

¹² Underhill, 9.

¹³ Robert Bringhurst, *Solitary Raven: the Selected Writings of Bill Reid* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000), 73. In the published version each of the lines I show was two lines. I have condensed the format to save space in this document. I realize this has reduced the poetic effect somewhat.

¹⁴ In the fall of 2009 the *Washington State Board on Geographic Names*, the *Province of British Columbia Geographic Names Office* and the *U.S. Board on Geographic Names* each approved the name 'Salish Sea' as an official designation for the inland marine waters of Washington and British Columbia, <http://myweb.facstaff.wvu.edu/~stefan/SalishSea.htm> (accessed July 8, 2010). Since Puget Sound has been used for so long this new name will probably not gain much use outside of mapmakers.

It was a land with heavy rainfall, a temperate land of swamps, extensive tidal flats, damp overgrown gullies and sudden floods. The bed of a stream might shift fifty feet in a single year only to return to its old channel the following spring. Salmon were plentiful and could be caught in the Sound at any time of the year...

Open country was apt to be only along water courses swept by the tide and flood, and each village was set at the mouth of a stream where it entered the Sound or, in the case of tributaries, at its junction with another stream.¹⁵

The area occupied by the Muckleshoot and Puyallup is part of a much larger watershed. Creeks and rivers that flow from the mountain ranges honeycomb the land. East of Puget Sound and on its headwaters to the south the slope is often steep, allowing for only a few miles of relatively level land between its shores and mountains. Some of the creeks become rivers and their waters flow into Puget Sound only after flowing through a network of tributaries and branches. A very heavy rainfall keeps the river beds constantly supplied and in the spring the melting mountain snows send torrents down each gully to flood the streams.¹⁶

People have lived in the Puget Sound area for at least ten thousand years.¹⁷ The people prior to the coming of the Europeans were hunter-gatherers. Hunter-gatherers have often been stereotyped as “people without a history” – people whose societies and cultures are treated as timeless and unchanging, whose life ways when the first European explorers encountered them were pretty much the way they had always been. Wolf argues that this viewpoint is wrong as modern and recent hunter-gatherer societies, including those of the Northwest Coast, are the product of very long histories.¹⁸ The history of a people who did not have a written language, yet had a culture based on a long development, was easily distorted or lost particularly when the culture was being interpreted by another culture that had strong bias based on their own culture.

If orientation to water is the most obvious determinant of the culture, than geographical difference in how and where one primarily interacted with water was the primary determinant of differences between and among people such as the Muckleshoot and Puyallup and surrounding tribes.

Thomas Waterman Smith described the Puget Sound Salish, such as the Puyallup and Muckleshoot as being either salt-water people or fresh-water people.¹⁹

I would say that the difference between salt-water people and fresh-water people is the one ethnographic distinction which rises most prominently in the Indian mind even today.... There are certain constant differences in culture between the people living “on salt-water” and those living in

¹⁵ Marian W. Smith, *The Puyallup-Nisqually* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1940, Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology, Volume XXXII, Reprint, New York: AMS Press, 1969), 4, 5.

¹⁶ Smith, 1.

¹⁷ Leonard Forsman, *History of Western Washington Native Peoples*, in Robin K. Wright, ed., *A Time of Gathering: Native heritage in Washington State* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1991), 205.

¹⁸ Eric Wolf, *Europe and the People without History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982).

¹⁹ Thomas Talbot Waterman, *Native Geography in the Puget Sound Region*, in Llyn De Danaan, *Ethnographic Background*, 20 and footnote 36, 30, in Julie K. Stein and Laura S. Phillips, eds. *Vashon Island Archaeology, A View from Burton Acres Shell Middon*. Burke Museum of Natural History and Culture Research Report No. 8 (Seattle: Burke Museum, 2002).

the interior which justify this distinction.²⁰

Marian Smith went into more detail dividing the Puget Sound Salish into six classes. Only two pertain to the Puyallup and Muckleshoot.

sxwaldjab. People of the salt water. These groups lived on the Sound and they were characterized as canoe Indians. They possessed canoes capable of navigation in the rough waters of the Sound and were skillful in the handling of such craft.

Stologwdbc. River people. A name applied by peoples located on the Sound to groups above them on the same river drainage. It implied that such people were comparatively unfamiliar with the Sound and navigation upon it. They were a particular kind of salt water people.²¹

The Muckleshoot were primarily river people and the Puyallup were a mixture of river people and salt-water people although the Puyallup discussed in this monograph were primarily river people.

The major travel routes were on water, either rivers or Puget Sound itself in sophisticated canoes. They built their villages near the water, mostly on rivers but sometimes on the sound itself. The first people to live around Puget Sound are known as Salish. They shared cultural and linguistic roots with people from the north side of the Columbia River to Canada's Strait of Georgia. Their life reflected the belief that spirits inhabit all things including rocks, water and animals and that spirits should be respected. Hundreds of generations of Salish passed on their history and values through story telling, songs and dance before non-native white immigrants arrived in the early 19th century.²²

Ethnographically, the Puget Sound tribes are lumped with the rest of the Natives of the Northwest Coast tribes due to their general common cultural features. These include: living near water, either salt or fresh, and the corresponding dependence on marine resources, travel by canoe, permanent winter villages, cedar plank architecture and homes, a hierarchical social structure based on the accumulation and control of wealth, and the development of ceremonial and religious systems that reinforce the social system. In a similar way the native people of eastern Washington are usually included with the greater Plateau or Intermountain culture of the Plains and great Basin.²³

When settlers began moving into what is now King County, the tribes living in King County (and slightly overlapping adjoining counties) were the Suquamish, Tulalip, Muckleshoot, Puyallup, Duwamish, Snoqualmie, Snohomish, and Skykokomish.²⁴

The Muckleshoot lived in what is now southwest King County and north central Pierce County.²⁵ The Duwamish lived just to the north and the Puyallup just to the south.²⁶ This paper

²⁰ Waterman, in Stein, 20.

²¹ Smith, 29, 30.

²² *Meeting of Cultures, The First People of What Is Now King County Washington*, Meeting of Cultures Project, King County Public Art Program, 506 Second Avenue, Seattle, WA 98104-2311, Poster, 1998, 1.

²³ Robin K Wright, ed, *A Time of Gathering: Native heritage in Washington State* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1991), 22.

²⁴ *Meeting of Cultures*, 1.

emphasizes that the tribe most associated with the Federal Way area was the Muckleshoot, but early maps often show the Duwamish and Puyallup coming together on Puget Sound just north of the Federal Way area and the Muckleshoot boundary starting a few miles inland.²⁷ The Puyallup overlapped the Muckleshoot somewhat on the White River.²⁸ There was a Puyallup village at Brown's Point.²⁹

Change in the Flow Pattern of the White River

Some care must be used when referring to the Green River and White River as the White River was diverted as a flood control measure from the lower part of its channel in 1906 and its place was taken by the Green River. Bagley describes this change as well as anyone.

The White River, with its east and west forks, fed by the glaciers on the north and northeastern shoulders of Rainier, flows westwardly, then northerly, forming part of the boundary between Pierce and King Counties, until it reaches a point about one and one-half miles southeast of Auburn [Auburn has grown since Bagley wrote in 1929 so this point is in Southeast Auburn.] Here one may [still see] the old channel [prior to 1906] which the river once followed northwardly through Auburn until it joined the Green River half a mile from that town; but the stream now turns to the south at this point, flows into the channel of the Stuck River and continues through Pierce County to unite with the Puyallup.³⁰

There is a sign in Auburn's Game Farm Park describing the 1906 change to the White River's direction of flow and its combining with the Stuck River and one can walk along the river and see the change.

This change makes it difficult to be sure of the exact location of some event or tribal presence as discussed in early sources or even later ones. What is described as being on the White River might now be called the Green River. Bagley, for example, admits he uses the name White River for what is now the Green River:

Throughout this chapter the name White River has been used to designate the stream which from pioneer days has been the lifeblood of this valley. Geographically this name is of course a misnomer, because the winding flood which meanders down to Elliot Bay past Kent is no longer the White but the Green River; for some years since, the White River grew weary of flowing toward Seattle and headed off down the Stuck and Puyallup toward Tacoma,

²⁵ *Waterways Associated with the First People of King County*, Meeting of Cultures Project, Map, King County Public Art Program, 506 Second Avenue, Seattle, WA 98104-2311, Poster, 1998, 1.

²⁶ Washington State Museum Staff, *The Indians of Puget Sound* (Seattle: Washington State Museum, no date), unnumbered page after table of contents and prior to page 1. The latest reference used is to a 1955 publication so the publication date is probably in the late 1950s.

²⁷ For example in Herman Haeberlin and Erna Gunther, *The Indians of Puget Sound* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1930, reprinted 1952), 8.

²⁸ Haeberlin and Gunther, 7.

²⁹ Haeberlin and Gunther, 9.

³⁰ Clarence B. Bagley, *History of King County Washington*, Vol. 1 (Chicago: The S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1929), 708.

leaving its old confluent, the Green River, to make its way to the Bay. Nor is this stream the Green River throughout its length; at its junction with the Black River channel [now also gone] it becomes the Duwamish, and under this name flows into Seattle Harbor. . . .³¹

The lowering of Lake Washington with the construction of the Lake Washington Ship Canal and Ballard Locks is the reason for the disappearance of the Black River. This lowering of Lake Washington has also affected the location of many river systems, making locations now different than they were in pioneer times.

Language

Northwest Salish

The tribes mentioned above spoke dialects of Coast Salish, which were very similar.³² Underhill states that the Muckleshoot spoke a mixture of languages that was mostly Salish.³³ More properly Salish is a broad term for the language of the Native Americans of the Northwest Coast, Puget Sound and in some areas east of the Cascades.³⁴ The language of the Puget Sound region is normally referred to as Lushootseed. Lushootseed is one of some twenty Native languages comprising the Salish family, spoken over much of Washington, British Columbia, and parts of Idaho, Montana, and Oregon.³⁵

Lushootseed

The language of the Puget Sound people is referred to by three words used somewhat interchangeably. These are Lushootseed, Whulshootseed or Puget Salish.³⁶ Most Salish speakers, particularly those in the north Puget Sound area, and academic studies seem to prefer the use of 'Lushootseed.'³⁷ The Muckleshoot seem to prefer the use of the term 'Whulshootseed,' for their language.³⁸ The term 'Whulshootseed,' derives from the fact that Native Americans that lived around Puget Sound called Puget Sound the "Whulge".³⁹

The Muckleshoot language is a dialect of Puget Salish known as Whulshootseed. It belongs to the eastern Puget Sound group spoken

³¹ Bagley, *History of King County Washington*, 707, 708.

³² Haerberlin and Gunther, 9.

³³ Underhill, 13.

³⁴ Kenneth Greg Watson, *Native Americans of Puget Sound – A Snapshot History of the First People and Their Cultures*, June 28, 1999, 2, http://www.historylink.org/output.CFM?file_ID=1506 (accessed August 4, 2004).

³⁵ Thomas Hess, introduction to Vi Hilbert, *Haboo: Native American Stories from Puget Sound* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1985), xviii.

³⁶ Dawn Bates, Thom Hess and Vi Hilbert, *Lushootseed Dictionary* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1994), vii and "The Whulshootseed Alphabet," <http://www.wrvmuseum.org/alphabet.htm> (accessed August 4, 2004), and Watson, "Native Americans of Puget Sound – A Snapshot History of the First People and Their Cultures," 2.

³⁷ Crisca Bierwert, ed., *Lushootseed Texts: An Introduction to Puget Salish Narrative Aesthetics* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), Introduction by Thomas Hess, 5 and Bates, vii.

³⁸ "Language," 1, <http://www.muckleshoot.nsn.us/language.htm> (accessed July 30, 2004).

³⁹ Lori Price and Ruth Anderson, *Puyallup: A Pioneer Paradise* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2002), 10.

by most of the Native Americans between eastern Puget Sound and the Cascade Mountains.⁴⁰

The White River Valley museum web site, which includes material about the Muckleshoot, has a page showing the Whulshootseed Alphabet. Whulshootseed is described as being the same as Lushootseed.⁴¹

I am not sure why one should be selected over the other for the Native Americans around the Federal Way area. I will use the version taken from each source referenced and not try to sort it out.

Salish is the language family to which Lushootseed belongs. Lushootseed domain encompasses the entire Puget Sound watershed and some surrounding river drainages.⁴² Lushootseed (or Whulshootseed) therefore is the proper designation for the indigenous language spoken by people of the land between the Cascade Mountains and Puget Sound in western Washington State.⁴³

Of the Lushootseed-speaking people, many groups living on different rivers in the Puget Sound area had different ways of pronouncing certain words and had some words altogether different from each other. Today, these varieties of Lushootseed are named after those who speak them; Skagit, Snohomish, Snoqualmie, Suquamish, Duwamish, Puyallup, Nisqually, Sahewamish, and the Muckleshoot who lived on the Green and White Rivers.⁴⁴ Thomas Hess indicates the major dividing line between northern and southern Lushootseed would be the present Snohomish-King County line. The cultures of these people also differ slightly north and south of this boundary. The most noticeable would be the use of the ritual number four in the north, while south would use five.⁴⁵

Two similar descriptions are given for the derivation of the word Lushootseed. The first, states that Lushootseed derives from the native word for the language that means approximately, “language (of the) people”.⁴⁶ The second derivation suggests that the beginning and end of the word Lushootseed refers to ‘language’ and the root center designates the Puget Sound region.⁴⁷

Prior to the coming of the white settlers each village and probably even each household, in Lushootseed-speaking territory could be identified by its speech. Although reservation relocation has blurred many of these distinctions, identifiable groups still existed into recent times that shared language traits. These groups are called dialects and they are named for those who use them.⁴⁸ Bates describes six major Lushootseed language groups with the Southern one being

⁴⁰ Patricia Slettyet Noel, *Muckleshoot Indian History* (Auburn, WA: Auburn School District No. 408, 1980), 8. Based on the later publication *Muckleshoot Today*, referenced below, Patricia Slettyet Noel was the name used in 1985 but in 1992 the name Patricia Noel Fleming was used. The King County Library System has two versions of this publication – one with 219 printed pages. The other version has only 74 pages (the first 74 pages of the longer version.)

⁴¹ “The Whulshootseed Alphabet,” <http://www.wrvmuseum.org/alphabet.htm> (accessed August 4, 2004).

⁴² Bates, vii.

⁴³ Bierwert, ed., *Lushootseed Texts*, 5.

⁴⁴ Crisca Bierwert, introduction to Pat Noel, *English to Muckleshoot Handbook*, no publisher given, published through special grant; Language and History Development for Indian Children in pre-School through Grade Tree. grant number G00 790 4179, 1980, iii.

⁴⁵ Hess, *Habbo*, xviii.

⁴⁶ Bierwert, *Lushootseed Texts: An Introduction to Puget Salish Narrative Aesthetics*, 5.

⁴⁷ Bates, vii.

⁴⁸ Bates, vii.

spoken by Skykomish, Snolqualmie, Squamish, Duwamish, Muckleshoot, Nisqually and Sahewamish.⁴⁹

The sounds of Lushootseed are quite different from those in English. The individual sounds, consonant clusters, and the inflections are difficult in English.⁵⁰ This language uses a glottal stop, a sound very difficult, if not impossible, for English speaking people to make. This accounts for the lack of agreement about certain pronunciations.⁵¹

Archaic forms of the language have been recorded telling us that the spoken language of today is different from what it was in the past.

[Thom] Hess remarks on the different quality of pronunciation that he has heard from speakers whose mouths have never shaped the English language. Lushootseed language today, like all aspects of the culture, has transformed over time and through cultural exchange.⁵²

Written Form

The native Muckleshoot language was historically an oral language, having no written form. Between 1962 and 1974, Thom Hess from the Department of Linguistics, University of Victoria, Canada, working with Earnie Barr, Eva Jerry, Bertha McJoe, Bernice Tanewasha, and Ellen Williams, all from the Muckleshoot, developed a method to convert the oral language into written form.⁵³ The work described in Bierwert and in Bates continues to develop the written language on a broader base.

There are three readily available dictionaries if one wants to convert words from Lushootseed into English or English into Lushootseed. These are: Hess's *Dictionary of Puget Salish*⁵⁴ which is now considered somewhat outdated and was replaced by Dawn Bates, Thom Hess, and Vi Hilbert's, *Lushootseed Dictionary* and Patricia Noel's, *English to Muckleshoot Handbook*.⁵⁵ The first two are adult, detailed, full range dictionaries while the last was designed for use at the elementary school level by Muckleshoot children.

Anyone trying to spell out Salish words and names with the English alphabet is up against a big problem. There are sounds not found in any combination of letters. Some sounds are difficult for white people to pronounce. Salish place names are hard to translate too, since the meaning is based on understanding the culture of the original speakers.

The orthographic symbols (essentially the letters) should not be used to have absolute sound and meaning values. "The Lushootseed orthography is morphophonemic: the spelling of words is constant, rather than expressing the sounds made exactly by each speaker in each instance."⁵⁶

The alphabet consists of 41 sounds⁵⁷ and has thirty-seven consonants.⁵⁸ Bierwert provides the sound values for 47 symbols used for written texts.⁵⁹ Sometimes words are transliterated into

⁴⁹ Bates, ix.

⁵⁰ Bierwert, ed., *Lushootseed Texts*, 41.

⁵¹ Washington State Museum Staff. *The Indians of Puget Sound*, 7, 8.

⁵² Bierwert, ed., *Lushootseed Texts*, 41.

⁵³ "Language," 1.

⁵⁴ Thom Hess, *Dictionary of Puget Salish* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1976).

⁵⁵ Pat Noel, *English to Muckleshoot Handbook*, no publisher given, published through special grant; Language and History Development for Indian Children in pre-School through Grade Three, grant number G00 790 4179, 1980.

⁵⁶ Bierwert, ed., *Lushootseed Texts*, 41.

⁵⁷ "Language," 1.

English and can be typed with a normal keyboard. Many published articles now use both the English transliteration and a closer Lushootseed pronunciation. Puget Sound Salish is then written in a modified form of the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) developed by Thom Hess.⁶⁰

Welcome

As an example of the written language, the welcome given at the start of this paper will be discussed.

?ubutlačibitubuləd cəl (-oo-boot-lah-chee-too-boo-thluhd chethl)

This Lushootseed greeting was obtained from Vi Hilbert as part of a collection and transliteration into English of ten Northwest Native American greetings assembled by Greg Watson for the *Time of Gathering* 1989 Burke Museum exhibit. It is said to mean “We raise our hands to you in welcome.”⁶¹ If interested, the pronunciation of the individual letters can be found in the *Lushootseed Dictionary’s Guide to Pronunciation*.⁶² Following are examples of the first three letters in simplified form using the system developed by Hess and Hilbert.⁶³ From this example it can be seen that pronunciation in English can be difficult if not impossible.

? – This symbol is called the “glottal stop” and it represents the catch in the throat in the middle of the English word *Uh-oh*.

u – Depending on the sounds around it, this symbol can represent the vowels in the English word *boot* and *boat*.

b – The symbol *b* is pronounced very much like English *b* in *baby*. (voiced bilabial stop)⁶⁴

Modern Spoken Language

In modern times most of the ability to speak the ancestral language was lost as English came to dominate. Lushootseed is a complicated language quite different from English, both in oral and written form. It contains several sounds without English equivalents. It is possible for one native word to mean an entire sentence or concept in English. Today many elders are beginning to teach the native language to the youth in an attempt to revive it.⁶⁵ There are several organizations now teaching the native language. The video, *Houchoosedah: Traditions of the Heart*,⁶⁶ shows Vi Hilbert telling several stories in Lushootseed with English subtitles so it is possible to hear the spoken language.

Translating the literature of one language into another is never easy, especially when the cultures involved are essentially dissimilar. The task is made even more difficult when the

⁵⁸ Bierwert, introduction to Noel, *English to Muckleshoot Handbook*, iv.

⁵⁹ Bierwert, ed., *Lushootseed Texts*, 41-43.

⁶⁰ Cisca Bierwert, *Brushed by Cedar, Living by the River* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1999), xv.

⁶¹ Welcome discussion by Greg Watson in Robin K Wright, ed., *A Time of Gathering: Native heritage in Washington State* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1991), 21.

⁶² Bates, xii-xix.

⁶³ Hess and Hilbert, *Lushootseed I and II*,

⁶⁴ Bates, xii-xiii.

⁶⁵ Noel, *Muckleshoot Indian History*, 8.

⁶⁶ *Houchoosedah: Traditions of the Heart*, (Seattle: KCLS TV, 1995), video, 57 minutes.

translator must render into writing what had been only an oral tradition which itself had to first be translated into a newly developed native written language. Many syllables have no lexical meaning so then can not be translated. This is especially true of legends and most songs so an integral part of the mood is lost.⁶⁷

Chinook

Another language (although not technically a language) often associated with the Northwest is Chinook. This was spoken as a trade language by many of the Northwest people including the Muckleshoot to some extent.

Because of the many different languages (and dialects) and because trade was carried on among several different tribes, the Chinook trade jargon grew. It contained the most easily understood or most used words from all the different languages. As the influx of French and English speaking people grew, so also the jargon grew. This language, or jargon, was never meant to replace a language, but merely for use in facilitating trade.⁶⁸

Smoke signals and sign language were not used by the Muckleshoot. The trees were so tall that such signals could not have been seen. If a message had to be sent, a messenger was dispatched to deliver it.⁶⁹

Muckleshoot Tribe

Muckleshoot Background

One of the two tribes of Native Americans most closely associated with the Federal Way area is the Muckleshoot. These people did not live in the Federal Way area but often traveled through it in their search for food.

For hundreds of years, the ancestors of the people now called “Muckleshoots” lived in small villages along the Green and White Rivers. Their life was centered around many varieties of salmon that returned to small mountain streams via these two rivers. Life was good for these people, with each village member contributing to the good of the whole.⁷⁰

Small bands, made up primarily of family members, lived their winters in large cedar bark homes along the banks of the Green and White River and associated creeks. The Green River was known as Skopkh and the White River as Stokh.⁷¹ These Native Americans, ancestors to the

⁶⁷ Hess, introduction to Hilbert, *Haboo*, xxii, xxiii.

⁶⁸ “Language,” 1.

⁶⁹ Washington State Museum Staff. *The Indians of Puget Sound*, 8.

⁷⁰ Patricia Noel Fleming and Virginia Cross compilers, *Muckleshoot Today* (Auburn WA: Auburn School District, 1985, rev. 1992), 1.

⁷¹ Arthur Ballard, “Indian Place Names,” *Auburn Argus*, April 13, 1912, p. not known, in Noel, *Muckleshoot Indian History*, 91.

present Muckleshoot, were named according to their village site. People living in the village of Ilalko were called, Ilalkobsh, meaning, living in the village of Ilalko. Later when Territorial Governor Isaac Stevens took a Native American census count, the Native Americans in this area were named by the river they lived near. The largest band, Skopamish, lived on the upper Green River, the Smalkamish lived on the upper White River and the Stkamish lived on the lower White River.⁷² The Muckleshoot had villages into the foothills of the Cascades.⁷³ In referring to Muckleshoot villages in pre-white times, Ballard states, “there were nearly a dozen villages, some containing hundreds of souls, on streams above named points convenient for trapping the ever needed salmon. Their population have faded and their names all but forgotten.”⁷⁴

The name Ilalko, designated the Indian town at the mouth of the Green River. This is almost the same sound and location as kho-alky at the point between the junction of the White and Black Rivers [this would be the original White River flow path.] The nearest large village to the south was called Stokh and was located near the present town of Sumner. Up the Green River valley about half a dozen miles was the village of Stskah-sul. Five miles below Ilalko, at Thomas, where the railroad bridge spans the river was the village of Pob-sholku. The village of Stokk was further down river about where Van Doren’s Landing is now located. The town of Stokk was not located on the river known as Stokk. Stokk means a place where a river meets with an obstruction and can form log jams.⁷⁵ Walking along the Green River at the present Van Doren’s Landing Park one can see why ‘Stokk’ was used as a name at this point. Noel provides a map showing the location of these Indian names sites.⁷⁶

Unless a quote is being used these people will be referred to as Muckleshoot.

In the 1800s, things changed for the People. [The People was the term the Muckleshoot used for themselves prior to about 1870.⁷⁷] White traders, trappers and settlers discovering the benefits of Northwest living, began moving west in increasing numbers. The People wondered at the newcomers, but realizing there was enough land for all, did not foresee their present lifestyle changing.

Change it did. The settlers were not content sharing land with the People, they wanted it all for themselves. Realizing the People needed to have a site for relocation, the government authorized moving the People to the area of Fort Muckleshoot. This fort was to have been abandoned by the government and would serve as a good location for the People.

The People did not move willingly. Many tell stories about being burned out of their homes along the rivers and being physically moved to their new home.

[T]he People were never again free to wander their valleys at will, nor gather in all their traditional places. The age of the People was ending. The white man was taking his place.

By the end of the 1800s, the location was called the Muckleshoot Indian Reservation.⁷⁸

⁷² Noel, *Muckleshoot Indian History*, 3.

⁷³ Haeberlin and Gunther, 9.

⁷⁴ Ballard, “Indian Place Names,” April 13, 1912, p. not known, in Noel, *Muckleshoot Indian History*, 91.

⁷⁵ Arthur Ballard, “Indian Place Names,” April 27, 1912, p. not known, in Noel, *Muckleshoot Indian History*, 91, 92.

⁷⁶ Noel, *Muckleshoot Indian History*, 159.

⁷⁷ Noel, *Muckleshoot Indian History*, 3.

⁷⁸ Noel and Cross, 1.

It can also be assumed that the Duwamish just to the north and the Puyallup just to the south would have often been in the Federal Way area as well.

Meaning of Muckleshoot

The Muckleshoot referred to themselves as o'kelcul.⁷⁹

As mentioned previously, Muckleshoot, was a name only gradually adopted by the people who lived on the Muckleshoot Reservation around 1870. They referred to themselves as The People. [Many Native Americans throughout the United States referred to themselves as The People as well.] Muckleshoot is a name given to the native people of the White and Green Rivers because their reservation was located on Muckleshoot Prairie (or Plateau) at the site of Fort Muckleshoot. Very little is known about Fort Muckleshoot. “A fort of fir logs existed at Muckleshoot Prairie, commanded by Lt. McKibbin. It was abandoned in 1857.”⁸⁰

There is still a small-unincorporated town just north of Enumclaw that was once widely known as Plateau and some stores still use this in their name. This small town of Plateau is about three miles outside of Enumclaw on Highway 164, across from Pioneer Park.

Waterman provides three possible locations for Muckleshoot prairie;

1. Muckleshoot Hill is the place where the Auburn Seventh Day Adventist Academy now stands. This also had the name Pleasant Ridge, Qwe'qwəlt, “just a little warm.” This was originally (and still is somewhat) an open place or prairie.
2. Muckleshoot Hill was the site of Cameron’s Ranch, Qsa'dəb, “a pile.” This was also called a prairie. [While Waterman knew the location he did not specify it and I am not sure of the location of this property.]
3. The third prairie on this plateau, Bəkəlcuλ, “where a certain medicinal plant grows.” The term for this plant is bəq^w. Waterman indicates he could not identify this location. Waterman goes on to state that bəq^w transliterated into Muckleshoot.⁸¹

Thomas Hess also derives the derivation of the English word Muckleshoot from the same word, “the Native American name for this prairie was beqəłšut.”⁸² (Note the difference in letters and symbols between Waterman’s spelling and Hess’s is due to the use of different letter systems but it is the same word.) The name was transliterated by whites into Muckleshoot. Transliteration of the verbal Lushootseed into verbal and written English is very specialized and somewhat inconsistent through time. For a detailed transliteration and translation of beqəłšut– see Bate’s dictionary and Bierwert’s text on usage. In somewhat simplified explanation the special letters can be transliterated as follows. The b letter is pronounced as an m with m only appearing in

⁷⁹ Haeberlin, 9.

⁸⁰ *Women’s Progressive Club Pioneer History of Enumclaw*, compiled from old documents and letters, available only at the Enumclaw Public Library, 1941, 25, included in Noel, *Muckleshoot Indian History*, 135.

⁸¹ Thomas Talbot Waterman, *Indian Notes and Monographs* (New York: Museum of the American Indian, 1973), p. not known.

⁸² Thom Hess, *Muckleshoot Indian Language Book*, available only from the Muckleshoot Indian Tribe, as referenced in Noel 5 and Thom Hess and Vi Hilbert, *Lushootseed I and II*, (Seattle: Daybreak Star Press, 1977, second printing by Lushootseed Research, 10832 Des Moines Way S., Seattle). What I have shown as ł is as close as my software could come to the correct symbol of an l with a circular line running through it at the midway point in a perpendicular manner.

more modern usage as a replacement for b.⁸³ The ə is called a “schwa” and is used as a mid center vowel to represent the vowel sound in the words *but* and *of*, and the first sound of *around*.⁸⁴ The š, “s-wedge” symbol, represents a sound like the English *sh* in *ship*.⁸⁵ The ł, (l with a circular – running through it at the midway point) called a “barred-l” has a sound similar to a whispered l or a lisp.

No one is quite sure what *beqəłšut* originally meant. Noel presents arguments for the two main explanations – one that it means nose for the point between the Green and White rivers and the other that it referred to a medicinal plant found in the area.⁸⁶ Meany states that the word Muckleshoot means “river junction.”⁸⁷ Watson states that Muckleshoot is a place name meaning “where they can see all over.”⁸⁸

Meany states the accent for Muckleshoot should be on the first syllable in which the vowel is short.⁸⁹

Population

Population estimates for the Native Americans made by the early explorers and government agencies are very unreliable. Early censuses of Native American communities are inexact, since the information gatherers had scant knowledge of the seasonal rounds that moved whole populations within their localities. The census takers were also more interested in the white population specifics than in the Native American population. **(See the section on Disease for additional discussion of the population before and after white influence introduced disease.)**

What was to become King County had no white population in 1850; therefore, the first United States census was that of 1860. Its total population at that time was listed as 301 with 38 being listed as white and 263 listed as Native American.⁹⁰ Probably these figures are low both for whites and Native Americans.

An example of too high an estimate might be Arthur Ballard’s 1912 comment about the pre-white population of the Muckleshoot, “there were nearly a dozen villages, some containing hundreds of souls, on streams above named points convenient for trapping the ever needed salmon. Their populations have faded and their names all but forgotten.”⁹¹

George Gibbs, who in 1855 prepared a railroad survey covering the Washington Territory for the United States War Department, provided figures for some of the early population estimates. Gibbs includes some of the estimates made by others in the 1840s and 1850s. George Wilkes, in

⁸³ Bates, xiii.

⁸⁴ Bates, xii.

⁸⁵ Bates, xiii.

⁸⁶ Noel, *Muckleshoot Indian History*, 5.

⁸⁷ Edmond S. Meany, *Origin of Washington Geographic Names* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1923), 181. Meany used several sources for the origin of names, but he indicates one of his best was sending letters to state postmasters, newspaper reporters and pioneers asking for information. He received six hundred and eight useful replies. He filed these as *Names MSS*. The information about Muckleshoot was in *Names MSS*. Letter 551, from Victor J Farrar, quoting C. L. Willis, a pioneer of Seattle.

⁸⁸ Watson, ii.

⁸⁹ Edmond S. Meany, *Indian Geographic Names of Washington* (Seattle: Hyatt-Fowells Press, 1908; facsimile reproduction, Seattle: Shorey Book Store, 1966), No page numbers in book but items are alphabetical.

⁹⁰ Bagley, *History of King County Washington*, 500.

⁹¹ Ballard, “Indian Place Names,” April 13, 1912, p. not known, in Noel, *Muckleshoot Indian History*, 91.

his 1841 exploration of Puget Sound, estimated the population of the general southern Puget Sound region as about three thousand. In his 1844 autumn *Census of Various Indian Tribes Living on or Near Puget Sound*, W. F. Tolmie provides a figure of 2,689 total Native population with 186 of these being slaves. Of this group the closest one can come to those living in the Federal Way area would be those described as Puyallupamish [Puyallup]. Tolmie states their population was 207 with 7 of these being slaves. An 1854 *Estimate of Indian Tribes in the Western District of Washington Territory* shows Indians living on the White River, Green River and D'Wamish [Duwamish] River as numbering 351. George Gibbs himself estimated in 1855 the population of the same general Puget Sound area as 850.⁹² Gibbs feels all these estimates were high as the Indians moved seasonally and were probably counted more than once.⁹³

Bill Reid, a Northwest Native American, estimated the whole prewhite population of all the Northwest Coast area, including Puget Sound to be “probably no more than a hundred thousand people.”⁹⁴ “Nonetheless, it is certain that in the mid 1800s, despite waves of smallpox, tuberculosis, and other introduced diseases, every river drainage was home to hundreds if not thousands of indigenous people . . .”⁹⁵ This would mean the possible Muckleshoot population in the mid 1800s might have been in the several hundreds or less likely even one or two thousand.

No official census was specifically taken for the Muckleshoot until 1885. Since Muckleshoot Indian names were difficult to pronounce the white people living in the area gave them European or English names. These were usually just first names and on the early census records the early Indians used their Indian names also. The second generation was also given an English first name and frequently their father's first name became the family second name.

Even after the reservation came into existence the census numbers generated for the Muckleshoot and others were frequently in error as the count was not done by people who lived on the reservation. As Indian women left the reservation to marry whites, their children were frequently not counted on the census rolls. The problem of the Indians moving around for seasonal activities, even on the reservation, meant they might be counted at one place one day and another on the next day. While family roots can often be traced for whites from these early census records, it is impossible to do so for Native Americans.⁹⁶

Later, as the Muckleshoot Reservation became more organized, there was a ‘Farmer in Charge’ who took the census and records became more meaningful as he was familiar with all the families on the reservation. The practice of putting down a person's Indian name in addition to his white names was discontinued in the early 1900s. The tradition of giving a child an Indian name was not discontinued and even today many Native Americans have an Indian name and an English name.⁹⁷

Noel reproduces pages from Patrick Buckley's 1885 census of the Muckleshoot. While this is somewhat hard to read it appears there were 22 families with 49 males and 36 females making a total of 85 individuals. Of these, 62 are classified as adult and 23 as children. This census assigns

⁹² George Gibbs, *Indian Tribes of the Washington Territory*, originally published in volume 1 of *the United States War Department's Survey of Several Pacific Railroad Explorations* (Washington D.C.: United States War Department, 1855, reprint Fairfield, WA: Ye Galleon Press, 1978), 34, 40-42.

⁹³ Gibbs, 36.

⁹⁴ Bringhurst, 78.

⁹⁵ Kenneth Greg Watson, forward to Arthur Ballard, Recorder, Translator and Editor, *Mythology of Southern Puget Sound* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1929, reprint North Bend WA: Snoqualmie Valley Historical Museum, 1999), ii.

⁹⁶ Noel, *Muckleshoot Indian History*, 54.

⁹⁷ Noel, *Muckleshoot Indian History*, 54.

each person a number, provides the Indian name, the English name, indicates the head of the family and how each person relates to the family, provides the gender and age.⁹⁸

The Muckleshoot, like most tribes, seemed to have hit a minimum population around 1900 and have rebounded since.

According to the data presented in 1980 by Noel, King County had 8,935 Native Americans and Pierce County 4,085.⁹⁹

General Life Style

Normally the Muckleshoot lived inland near rivers. Their ways were different from the salt water Native Americans who lived on or near the sound. They did travel to the salt water to gather special foods, visit relatives and trade. Key elements in their relatively sophisticated economic system were: availability of natural resources, the level of technological complexity and the organization of the labor forces.

The Muckleshoot lived outside most of the year, hunting and fishing in the spring and gathering berries, shellfish, and plant life in the summer. Toward the end of November, when the “frogs stopped singing” and the days grew shorter, they moved permanently back into their longhouses. When the “frogs started singing again” in February the people emerged from the longhouses and returned to hunting and fishing.¹⁰⁰

The natural resources unique to this area were here because of the following factors: a moderate annual climate, an ample amount of annual precipitation and a highly productive environment.

The Muckleshoot high level of technology was shown in the materials used in tools, utensils, weapons and other objects used for fishing, gardening, gathering, hunting, or fighting. They also had a high level of knowledge needed to make these tools and utensils.

The labor force was organized on three levels: the simple division of labor based on age and sex, the sexually segregated work parties under the discretion of a headman or his wife and specialized crafts persons who devoted their time to a skill and received a significant level of support for their handiwork.

The Muckleshoot produced everything they needed for food shelter, clothing and technological implements. From this they developed the ability to live over a period of time in permanent communities in the winter months. In the warmer months they traveled in their own general area cultivating, gathering and preserving the resources necessary to survive.¹⁰¹

Muckleshoot People

Like all Native Americans living on or near Puget Sound, the Muckleshoot were a short, stocky people with long torsos, heavy shoulders, long arms, and short legs. Their faces were round with

⁹⁸ Noel, *Muckleshoot Indian History*, 54-60.

⁹⁹ Noel, *Muckleshoot Indian History*, 163.

¹⁰⁰ *Meeting of Cultures, The First People of What Is Now King County Washington*, 1.

¹⁰¹ This material is adapted from a pamphlet researched by Rose Mary Greene, *THE DUWAMISH, People of the River* (Renton: Renton Historical Society, 1994), 1, 2. Because of the Duwamish living just north of the Muckleshoot it is felt the general lifestyle description would be similar.

rather broad noses, and a slight epicanthic eyelid fold which gave their faces an oriental cast. Their skin was not red but a light tan.¹⁰² Bagley described the natives of Washington as,

Short and thick-set, with strong limbs, but bowlegged; they have broad faces; and aquiline type; color, a light copper, perhaps a shade darker than that of the Nootkas, but capable of transmitting a flush; the hair usually black and almost universally worn long.¹⁰³

Since Muckleshoot skin is a brown shade, Virginia Cross, Indian Education Coordinator of the Auburn School district in 1980, stated that some eastern Washington Indians refer to the western Indians as “white Indians” because of their comparatively light skin tone. Noel felt that this probably results from the western side of the state getting less sun during the year.¹⁰⁴

They had heavy black hair and brown eyes.¹⁰⁵ Noel also indicates that the hair is usually straight and dark. Men have little facial hair. Their eyes are usually brown.¹⁰⁶

Physically the Muckleshoot had strong, well-developed shoulders and chests. The strong shoulders are credited to the physical activity required by all in daily living activities.¹⁰⁷

Muckleshoot Tribe Today

The Muckleshoot website provides information on the Muckleshoot Tribe as it exists today.

Through the Indian Reorganization Act, the Tribe adopted its constitution in 1936. It provides for a nine-member council serving rotating three-year terms. With the advice and input of the General Council, which is comprised of all community members, the Muckleshoot Tribal Council provides a full range of governance services to the reservation.

Today's Muckleshoot Indian Tribe (MIT) is one of Washington State's larger Tribes, with an on-or near-Reservation population of about 3,300. Over the years, in common with other Northwestern Tribes, the Muckleshoots have been active in asserting their rights and defending their traditional freedoms. Self-governance has been the cornerstone of these efforts and, as a federally recognized tribal government, the Muckleshoot Tribal Council has actively sought out opportunities to improve the social and economic well-being of the Tribe.

New sources of economic and educational opportunity are now being developed. The advent of tribal gaming has been a large factor in opening up new possibilities for Indian people everywhere, and the Muckleshoot Tribe has been very entrepreneurial in capitalizing on its urbanized location, establishing successful casino and bingo enterprises. These, in turn, have provided the seed money that, for the first time, puts the Tribe on an equal financial footing with

¹⁰² Washington State Museum Staff. *The Indians of Puget Sound*, 5.

¹⁰³ Bagley, *History of King County Washington*, 129.

¹⁰⁴ Noel, *Muckleshoot Indian History*, 6.

¹⁰⁵ Washington State Museum Staff. *The Indians of Puget Sound*, 5.

¹⁰⁶ Noel, *Muckleshoot Indian History*, 6.

¹⁰⁷ Noel, *Muckleshoot Indian History*, 6.

other governments and makes it possible for the Muckleshoot Tribe to realistically plan for the future of its people.¹⁰⁸

Puyallup Tribe

Puyallup Tribe Location

The Puyallup Tribe was the second tribe of Native Americans important to the Federal Way area. They were primarily located immediately south of the present Federal Way area. The Puyallup Reservation came to the border of the Pierce County - King County line from Puget Sound and ran to the eastern edge and beyond of today's Federal Way city limits. The Puyallup were thought of as a salt water and river people in distinction to the horse owning Nisqually slightly south.¹⁰⁹

Puyallup Historical Overview

“The present day members of the Puyallup Tribe are descendents of Southern Coast Salish people who lived along the drainage of the Puyallup River, and adjacent to waterways in Southern Puget Sound.”¹¹⁰

The Puyallup web site describes their history as follows:

The Puyallup Indians have lived along the shores of Puget Sound for thousands of years.¹¹¹

In the ole days, in our aboriginal language, we were known as the S'Puyalupsh, meaning “generous and welcoming behavior to all people (friends and strangers) who enter our lands.”

Today we are known as the Puyallup Tribe of Indians. Our people lived here for thousands of years existing by the bountiful gifts provided by the Creator. Our Mother, Mount Tacoma, provided the water that supplied our salmon. We were fed by the abundance of nature's gifts: Salmon, shellfish, wild game, roots and berries. The cedar trees provided our homes, utensils, clothing and transportation. All of these gifts are part of ur rich cultural heritage we have today. Our environment was rich in the wealth of natural resources, providing all our needs, allowing us to live healthy, happy lives. There were no worries of where the next meal would come from, no rents to pay. There was the freedom to practice our religion, train our children, take care of our elders.

We are part of the Salish speaking people of the Pacific Northwest. Our particular dialect is called the “Lushootseed.” Our relatives in the neighboring tribes all spoke the same stock language, but many had different dialects. Many were intimately related by marriage and we were connected by common religion

¹⁰⁸ <http://www.muckleshoot.nsn.us/about-us/overview.aspx> (accessed July 31, 2009).

¹⁰⁹ Smith, *The Puyallup-Nisqually*, xi.

¹¹⁰ Llyn De Danaan, *Ethnographic Background*, in, Julie K. Stein and Laura S. Phillips, eds. *Vashon Island Archaeology, A View from Burton Acres Shell Middon*. Burke Museum of Natural History and Culture Research Report No. 8 (Seattle: Burke Museum, 2002), 20.

¹¹¹ <http://www.puyallup-tribe.com> (accessed July 31, 2009).

observances, myths and traditions.

Our people lived in villages from the foothills of Mount Tacoma, along the rivers and creeks to the shores of Puget Sound. Our villages were scattered throughout the many islands, prairies and rich valley country of the Pacific Northwest. Historians often noted because of the abundance of salmon and shellfish that “When the tides were out the table was spread.”¹¹²

Puyallup Tribe Today

The Puyallup Tribe website discusses the tribe as it exists today.

The membership of the Tribe has grown considerably in recent years, and is now in excess of 3,800 people. A majority of tribal members live in the Puget Sound region, however there are members spread across the country.

Tribal members play vital roles in many aspects of life in the Puget Sound region. Adult members work as attorneys and fishermen [*sic*], doctors and construction workers. Some are entrepreneurs who operate successful businesses. Many members are active in sharing the rich Puyallup culture with the community through pow wows, art exhibits and other activities.¹¹³

Food, the Reason for Coming to the Federal Way Area

Food Sources in the Federal Way Area

Prior to white settlement, the area had plentiful supply of deer, bear, wild cats, cougars and wolves. Some small fur bearing animals such as beaver, otter, mink and raccoon were also in abundance.¹¹⁴ This made the Federal Way Area attractive for hunting. Hylebos Creek was the only flowing water source and some salmon were present.¹¹⁵ Native birds were numerous and many were used for food.¹¹⁶ By far the most attractive food was to be found on the Puget Sound beach areas - clams.

The Muckleshoot often would travel fairly long distances from their villages and camp at sites to gather food. This was considered as much a social activity as for food gathering and often the entire family would make the journey.¹¹⁷ So traveling to the Federal Way area was not uncommon.

Clams

As soon as the blossoms of the dogwood tree were their whitest, the Muckleshoot knew the clams were at their best. Families would pack up all their living necessities, travel to the beach

¹¹² <http://www.puyallup-tribe.com/index.php?nav=history&id=0> (accessed July 31, 2009).

¹¹³ <http://www.puyallup-tribe.com> (accessed July 21, 2010).

¹¹⁴ Noel, *Muckleshoot Indian History*, 3.

¹¹⁵ Currently efforts are underway to restore the salmon in Hylebos Creek.

¹¹⁶ Noel, *Muckleshoot Indian History*, 4.

¹¹⁷ Noel, *Muckleshoot Indian History*, 5, 6.

and live there for a short duration. The area near what is now Salt Water Park was a common clam digging area for the Muckleshoots.¹¹⁸

A special clam digging stick was used to get the clams. When a large quantity were collected they were steam baked and removed from the shells. The clam bodies were then strung on cedar strips without piercing the stomach and set around the fire to smoke.

The clams needed for longer storage were then put on smoking racks and smoked over night. After a quantity of clams were smoked, they were layered between sword ferns, piled several thicknesses, tied and then stomped with the feet until quite flat. The strings of clams were then separated and stored loosely in baskets. These clams not only provided an important food source, but a trade item. When they were smoke cured, they kept indefinitely and the more strips of smoked clams a man possessed, the wealthier he was considered.¹¹⁹

Following is a description of the adventure of clam collecting by the Muckleshoot who traveled through the Federal Way area to get to Puget Sound.

It is the middle of the nineteenth century-the year 1850.

Drifting up from the valley, the Indian families wind along the old trail. All around them are virgin timber, fir, cedar, and some hemlock. Dense, waist high undergrowth of salal and bracken confine their steps to a path their people have traveled for generations. Past the willow-bordered and snag-filled lake (Star Lake), on across the plateau, through the swamp and along the canyon rim their steps take them toward the Sound. First posting lookouts on the bluffs toward the north, they descend near the canyon's mouth and spread out over the beach to dig clams (at what is now Salt Water State Park.) The watchers on the bluffs above are vigilant. They search the great expanse of water for swiftly moving, curved prow war canoes. Without the lookouts' warning cry, the fierce warrior Tlingits from the North (British Columbia Indians) would sweep in from the Sound in surprise attack, searching for booty and slaves.

The clams are plentiful and with full utensils the Indians climb back to the canyon rim. In the woods beside the trail they halt at a long used tribal area to feast and to smoke their clams. (Today, piles of clam shells left by the Indians may be found back in these same woods.¹²⁰) Finally with part of their winter's food supply smoke cured, they pack up and return along the same trail to the edge of the ridge. With "the mountains" standing guard high above they disappear downhill toward their Muckleshoot reservation home.¹²¹

¹¹⁸ Noel, *Muckleshoot Indian History*, 29. They also traveled a few miles north to the Three Tree Point beach area, but that area is outside the area covered by the Historical Society of Federal Way.

¹¹⁹ Noel, *Muckleshoot Indian History*, 29.

¹²⁰ Fifty four years later almost all of these woods are gone and the area is occupied by residential and business developments. Unfortunately most of the locations of these midden piles were not recorded and most (if not all) of the middens were simply discarded.

¹²¹ Alice Reed Shaughnessy et al., *Your Community* (Star Lake, WA: Star Lake Community Club, 1955), 3. A copy is available in the files of the Historical Society of Federal Way.

Women had special open baskets for clam gathering. They were made of openwork, which allowed the water to drip out, making the worker's load lighter with every step she made back to camp. Once there, she must smoke her clams immediately, if they were to be kept. No kind of food got maggoty more quickly than clams. The smoking took a week or so and required the attention of some women all the time. First she smoked the clams in a hole dug in the ground with stones used for a floor. A fire was built on the stones. When the fire burnt itself out, the stones were very hot and the clams were placed on them, still in their shells. She covered them with earth or seaweed and let them steam in their own juice for an hour. By that time the shells had opened from the heat. She picked out the clams and what the family did not immediately eat, she dried.¹²²

Included later under the **Legend and Myths Section**, *Legend about Why the Tides do not Prevent Gathering Clams*, there is a short description about why it is easy to find clams on the area beaches.

Early Campground in the Federal Way Area

Native American Use of 26225 Pacific Highway South Site

A site near present 26225 Pacific Highway South was originally a Native American campground. The site was originally used by the Sta Kamish (White River) and the Scop Amish (Green River) Indians. These tribes are part of several groups which are now referred to as the Muckleshoot. The Native Americans would travel from their main villages (located on the White River and the Green River) around what is now the town of Auburn, up the hill, past Star Lake, across the plateau, through the swamp near the campground, along the canyon rim following the creek down to Puget Sound. They would then post lookouts on the bluffs facing the north. At the mouth of the creek they would spread out and search for food, mostly clams. The watchers on the bluffs would scan the great expanse of water for swiftly moving curved prow war canoes of the Tlingits from Vancouver Island. Without lookouts giving a warning the fierce warrior Tlingits would sweep in from the sound in a surprise attack. They would take booty and slaves (both men and women).¹²³

Canoe making was an art characterized by processes that followed religious rituals. Some canoes carried parties of 20 or more. Great war canoes made by the Native Americans of the Queen Charlotte Islands north of Vancouver Island appeared in Puget Sound propelled by the paddles of up to 60 warriors.¹²⁴ This water site on the sound is now the approximate location of Salt Water State Park.¹²⁵ The beach area around Redondo was also used to collect clams.

The threat of Native Americans from Vancouver Island attacking Native Americans around Puget Sound and also white settlers after they moved into the area was not removed until the 1850s wars between whites and Native Americans.

“A decisive engagement was fought in the summer of 1856 by the steamer

¹²² Underhill, 28.

¹²³ Dwayne Nikulla, “Muckleshoot Indian Campground and Jacob Reith Homestead District,” *King County Historic Sites Survey*, File No. 0064, October 17, 1977, , 2.

¹²⁴ Hemphill, John A. and Robert C. Cumbow, eds, *West Pointers and Early Washington* (Seattle: The West Point Society of Puget Sound, Inc., 1992), 14.

¹²⁵ Nikulla, 2.

Massachusetts with a band of Stikine Indians of the Tlingit tribe, then encamped at Port Gamble. An Indian defeat in this battle diminished the Indians desire for major confrontation.¹²⁶

No further problems were encountered from Native Americans invading from Vancouver Island. It appears that the Native Americans from Vancouver Island still came into the area but for peaceful trading after the 1860s. Slauson indicates that 40-foot long canoes from the north were paddling into the Black, Cedar and Duwamish Rivers to trade their cargoes of beads, lead, copper, powder and even slaves for the dried fish of local Indians.¹²⁷

The clams were plentiful at this time and when their containers were full the Native Americans would climb back to the canyon rim and stop at a long used tribal camp ground area to feast and smoke their clams. This long used area was a two – three acre site the Indians cleared out. At the time of the writing of the reference in 1977, this was referred to as the Wilson Sides residence. It was claimed that shells could still be found in the area even though much development had taken place. [In exploring some of this area in 2004, particularly the undeveloped area behind the Travel Inn Motel, which is at the approximate location of the Jacob Reith homestead, I have found no shells. In 2010 the whole area behind the motel has been graded in preparation for development so anything that was there is now definitely gone.] After feasting and smoke curing their catch, the Indians would head back down the trail to their villages.¹²⁸

Nikulla has a sketch which shows where he believes the trail went through the property and also where the campground was located.¹²⁹

Hudson's Bay Company

Nikulla reported a Hudson's Bay Company post being built on this campground site in the early 1800s.¹³⁰ This story has appeared both before Nikula and after in various forms but there does not seem to be any real evidence for it and Hudson's Bay Company records do not support it. Just to be complete in presenting the source material for this story I will present Nikulla's material as follows.

Originally, the site was an Indian Campground. Later, it became the site of a Hudson's Bay Company Trading Post. . . .

The Hudson's Bay Company cabin which was destroyed by fire several years ago was a 12 foot x 10 foot hewn log cabin built in the 1830's – 1840's in typical company architecture. . . .

In the early 1800's the Hudson's Bay Company became very interested in establishing fur trading posts in the southern Puget Sound region. In 1833

¹²⁶ Hemphill, 184.

¹²⁷ Morda C. Slauson, *One Hundred Years Along the Cedar River* (Maple Valley, WA: Maple Valley Historical Society, 1971, sixth reprint, 1996), 4.

¹²⁸ Nikulla, 1, 2. Nikulla indicates that he got much of the above information from Wilson Sides in an October 16, 1977 interview with Sides. Sides had purchased the property from J. L. Reith, the son of Jacob Reith. Sides was 81 at the time of the interview.

¹²⁹ Nikulla, 5.

¹³⁰ Nikulla, 1, 2. See also previous footnote for comment about Wilson Sides who was Nikulla's source for this story.

they built Fort Nisqually to help secure their holdings in the area. The Hudson's Bay Company built a fur trading post at the Indian campground area site a few years later (the exact date is unknown). The company built the trading post here for several reasons. First the Indians were very friendly, and [a] complacent group of people. Since it was a commonly used area by the Indians, the campground provided easy access for those living in the area. Another reason is that at the time, there were no roads or trails through the dense virgin forests except those used by the Indians. Since it was close to the Sound, this route which passes through the site was the only feasible path for easy transportation of goods.

The Company's use of the site was short lived, however, because in 1846 the U. S. and Great Britain divided old-Oregon by accepting the oft-rejected 49th parallel as the boundary. This meant the end of the Company south of the Canadian border. . . .¹³¹

As I mentioned above, the evidence for the existence of this Hudson's Bay Company post at this location seems weak. Official records do not credit either the Hudson's Bay Company or its successor, the Puget Sound Agricultural Company with any effort to establish ownership of acreage north of the Puyallup River. Four cabins for the purpose of holding claims, which are mentioned by historians as having been built for the company in 1847, were erected at Nisqually Lake and on the prairies between the Nisqually and the Puyallup Rivers. These may have been confused with several old houses in the Federal Way area and the White River area.¹³² Federal Shopping Way, in 1956 and later, advertised its Historic Park had a replica of this or another Hudson's Bay cabin. A more detailed discussion of the historicity of how this Hudson Bay cabin story originated can be found in Dick Caster's *Federal Shopping Way*.¹³³

In 1994 the Larson Anthropological/Archaeological Services examined the site for archaeological remains as part of the construction of the KC Motor Inn (now the Travel Inn Motel.) Grant's report indicated he checked out Nikulla's comment about the Hudson's Bay Cabin on the site. He could not find any archival references to support it. He also interviewed Dr. Robert Whitlam, State Archaeologist, Washington State Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation; Charlie Sundberg, Preservation Planner, Parks Planning, and Resources Department Cultural Resources Division King County; Joy Werlink, Reference Librarian, Washington State Historical Society and Steve Anderson, Director of Renton historical Museum and former Curator at Fort Nisqually. None of these could support the claim.¹³⁴

Grant indicates he feels that Wilson Sides, the man who bought the property from the Reith family, may be the source of the story of the Hudson's Bay Cabin. Grant states, "It is improbable that an established, undocumented, Hudson's Bay trading post existed on the site, but not impossible."¹³⁵

¹³¹ Nikulla, 1, 2.

¹³² Lucille McDonald, "Who Built Federal Way's Pioneer Cabin?" *Seattle Times*, July 14, 1957, 2.

¹³³ Dick Caster, *Federal Shopping Way*, 5 November 2003, 32-34, <http://www.federalwayhistory.org/Articles/FShoppingW.PDF> (accessed July 21, 2010).

¹³⁴ David M. Grant, *Cultural Resources Assessment of the KC Motor Inn Construction Site King County Washington*, Larson Anthropological/Archaeological Services, Technical Report 94-3, June 2, 1994, 5.

¹³⁵ Grant, 5.

Jacob Reith's Homestead

In the early 1880s Jacob Reith settled on the vacated land through a 640-acre timber claim. The Reith family used an abandoned cabin [Nikulla says it was the abandoned Hudson's Bay trading post] as their home until they could build one.¹³⁶ The first of the Reith cabins was built in the 1880s and was an 8-foot x 10-foot horizontal log cabin with no windows.¹³⁷ The Travel Inn Motel on Highway 99 now fronts this site. Much new construction is taking place behind the motel so any remaining evidence of the Native American campground or Jacob Reith's homestead is gone.

Shellfish Processing Site

While Grant does not accept the site as once having a Hudson's Bay Cabin he feels it is quite possible the site was used to by Native Americans to travel through and to process clams.

A clearing in the woods around the Sides' property [this is directly behind the motel site], and presumably the location of the shellfish processing activities, is visible in an aerial photograph taken in 1944 (US Army Corps of Engineers 1944). In addition to providing an open camping and food processing area, the location would have provided access to plant resources in the swamp southeast of the project area [the 3 acre portion of the 9.5 acres site where the motel was being constructed and the main interest of the archaeological survey] and the headwaters of McSorley Creek . . .

Contemporary Muckleshoot tribal members, however, continued to visit the stretch of beach from Alki Pint to Browns Point, well into the 1960s. Salt Water State Park and Adelaide [Redondo] Beach have been cited as popular places for digging clams because they have not been privatized.¹³⁸

Grant did not, however, find any artifactual evidence of Native American presence at the site.

No hunter-gatherer or historic cultural resources were identified during the pedestrian surface surveillance [walking across the area] or in the shovel tests within the project area footprint. . . . No surface deposits of cultural shell were observed in the wooded areas surrounding the project area or near the Reith complex. However, the areas outside the construction area were heavily vegetated and surface visibility was poor. Also this area was not addressed with the same scrutiny because it was outside the project area.¹³⁹

Grant did find much evidence of the mid to late twentieth century occupation of the site by white activities. Probably this was mostly from Wilson Sides' activities and illegal dumping.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁶ Nikulla, 2.

¹³⁷ Nikulla, 1.

¹³⁸ Grant, 6, 7.

¹³⁹ Grant, 9.

¹⁴⁰ Grant, 9, 12, 13.

Grant summarizes his opinion of the site as follows, “Although no hunter-gatherer cultural resources were observed within the project area footprint, this does not preclude their previous destruction or presence adjacent to the project area.”¹⁴¹

Louis Starr Remembers Clam Digging

The following was written sometime between 1975 and 1980.

Hundreds of Valley-area residents must visit Saltwater State Park south of DesMoines each year to listen to the surf, watch a skin diver wade into the depths and turn a clam shell or two.

There are thousands of such shells on that beach, along with a playground, public toilets, a rocky breakwater to preserve the recreation area and a boat launch - - all the trappings of modern outdoor entertainment. Along with that comes a guard with a rude bull horn who routinely orders pedestrians to return from the nearby private beach where the necks of rich, meaty horse clams protrude from the oozy ground. . . . [The guard has been replaced by large warning signs and fences.]

Louis Starr, 77, a Muckleshoot Indian, knows Saltwater Park well.

He knew it before the guard was there . . . And before the horse clams were staked out on private property.

He, his family and their ancestors are part of the reason that the beach is littered with thousands of clam shells, for 65 years ago [around 1910] and perhaps earlier, Louis Starr stood on the beach.

It was summertime, he recalled, a season of swollen tides when clamming was best. His family rode to the beach by wagon, set up camp and dug clams, which would be strung on strips of cedar bark, dried and traded to the Yakima Indians in Eastern Washington for horses.

“They were just like gold,” Starr recalled. Automobiles were not an important part of the Puget Sound life style, then. Although the 20th century had arrived, many of the old Indian ways were still a part of life.

But there were some changes. Starr’s parents and grandparents could recall the gun battles with the white man and how they were confined to a piece of land on the Enumclaw Plateau where the whites had raised Fort Muckleshoot. Muckleshoot became their name. The Dwabsh River was now called Duwamish; the Skopish was now called the Green.¹⁴²

¹⁴¹ Grant, 14.

¹⁴² Robert Smith, “The Scene has Changed, but for the Muckleshoots, the Battles Continue,” *Auburn Globe-News*, date between 1975 and 1980, p. not known.

Fishing

Fishing Importance

The Northwest Coast Native Americans were among the few hunting and gathering societies in the world that produced wealth beyond that needed for subsistence. The basis for this economy was fishing. Salmon was the major catch but it was not merely an important part of life, it was the heart of the whole way of life. It was the staple article of a year around diet; fresh, smoked or dried. Salmon was also a major commodity of trade between tribes. Above all it was a blessing for which the Native Americans of the region always gave thanks.¹⁴³

After the May collection and drying of clams and other kinds of shellfish they were taken back to the winter home. Then the people set out again, the women to collect fruit and berries, the men to hunt. These products were also taken back to the winter home and the most important activity of the year began, namely fishing. The fishing season lasted from late spring until November. When it was over, the people returned to the permanent houses for the winter.¹⁴⁴

Fishing was done mostly in the valley around the White and Green Rivers and the creeks flowing into them. As mentioned previously, clams were obtained on the shore of Puget Sound. From waters within a several mile range came cod, herring, smelt, crab, mussels, salmon, flounder, seals, clams and other shellfish.¹⁴⁵

At the base of the Muckleshoot prosperity was the salmon that the people have always regarded with great reverence. Season after season, the rivers and streams were filled with spawning salmon. The knowledge of how to smoke and preserve salmon for year round use did much to free the people from an endless pursuit of food. Large surplus quantities of smoked salmon, as well as other commodities, were traded far and wide in an extensive network of commerce spanning the entire Pacific Northwest and extending across the Cascade Mountains and far into the dry country beyond.¹⁴⁶

Five kinds of salmon were caught. In the order of the salmon runs these were: spring, humpback, silver, dog, and steelhead. The spring salmon was the most desirable.¹⁴⁷

Small fish like smelt, herring, flounder and trout were caught in abundance. Smelt and herring were prized for their richness in oil and were dried in large quantities. Cod, rock cod and skate were also caught.¹⁴⁸

In addition to clams other shellfish such as oysters, barnacles and crabs were available. When constantly picked, barnacles became large and juicy and were preferred to oysters. Only certain places where the beach was clean and the tide ran swiftly were visited for barnacles as those in sluggish water frequently were poisonous.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴³ American Friends Service Committee, *Uncommon Controversy: Fishing Rights of the Muckleshoot, Puyallup, and Nisqually Indians* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1970, Fourth Printing 1975), 3.

¹⁴⁴ Haeberlin and Gunther, p. 20.

¹⁴⁵ Greene, p. 4.

¹⁴⁶ "Muckleshoot Indian Tribe, People of the Salmon," 1, <http://www.muckleshoot.nsn.us/about-us/overview.aspx> (accessed, August 1, 2009).

¹⁴⁷ Haeberlin and Gunther, 21.

¹⁴⁸ Haeberlin and Gunther, 21.

¹⁴⁹ Haeberlin and Gunther, 21.

Salmon eggs were also eaten.¹⁵⁰

First Salmon Ceremony

Prior to the coming of the white settlers the native people who lived on the rivers believed that if the salmon were harmed they would transform themselves into birds and fly into the air and never come back.¹⁵¹ David Buerge's book on Renton is titled *Renton: Where the Waters Took Wing*, to reflect the current depletion of salmon, i.e. the salmon were not treated well and flew away.

The first salmon was considered to be the scout for the whole salmon tribe and according to the treatment he received, his people would follow or stay away. The man who caught him would lay him down carefully with his head upstream, so that others would swim upstream too. Then he took the salmon home to his wife and went out to summon the village to the ceremony.¹⁵²

The wife knew the special directions for the First Salmon Ceremony. The fish must be cleaned off with fern leaves, never water. It must be cut with the ancient stone knife and the cuts must be up and down not crosswise. No one could go fishing for more salmon until the First Salmon Ceremony had been held.¹⁵³

Each year the first salmon to return from the saltwater sea to the freshwater streams of its origin – a Spring Chinook – was ceremonially captured and brought to the village as an honored guest. Its flesh was meticulously removed from its bones and ceremoniously shared by all members of the community. Later, the skeleton of the salmon would be returned to the river with equal ceremony and placed in the water facing the same direction in hopes that it would tell its brother and sister salmon of the fine hospitality it received from the Muckleshoot people. The First Salmon Ceremony remains an integral part of the Muckleshoot culture today.¹⁵⁴

The Video, *Huchoosedah: Traditions of the Heart*, has a short segment on the First Salmon Ceremony that both discusses the ceremony and shows some of the ceremony.¹⁵⁵

Similar types of ceremonies were carried out with the first deer, the first berries and so forth.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁰ Haeberlin and Gunther, 21.

¹⁵¹ David Buerge, *Renton Where the Water Took Wing* (Chatsworth, CA: Windsor Publications, Inc., 1989), 7.

¹⁵² Underhill, 17.

¹⁵³ Underhill, 17.

¹⁵⁴ "Muckleshoot Indian Tribe, First Salmon Ceremony," 2, <http://www.muckleshoot.nsn.us/about-us/overview.aspx> (accessed August 1, 2009).

¹⁵⁵ *Houchoosedah: Traditions of the Heart*, video.

¹⁵⁶ Haeberlin and Gunther, 11.

Fishing Methods and Tools

During the annual run of salmon native to the area, every able bodied person turned out to help. During a few weeks, a large part of the year's food supply had to be caught, cleaned, smoked or sun-dried, and brought back to houses to be stored for winter.¹⁵⁷

Fishing had a complete set of necessary equipment with spears being most frequently used. The man would go into the river or stream and spear enough fish for the evening meal. When fish were needed in large quantity for major food provisions nets, traps or weirs were used.¹⁵⁸

Nets were made by the women. Nettle stems were gathered, peeled and dried then rubbed on the bare thigh to separate into fibres [*sic*]. These were worked together to form a section of string. Cedar bark twine was also used sometimes. This resulting twine was then woven into nets with wooden net needles.

Spears were made with a wooden shaft and two pieces of antler attached with twine from bark and sealed with pitch. Frequently the spear had a double head. A good fisherman could get fish with each trust of the spear.

Traps and weirs, fences through which water flowed, allowed large quantities of fish to be taken at a time salmon runs were at their peak. Weirs were built in the river to block the upstream passage of salmon or to guide them into a trap. The lattice was put up for the fishing season and removed afterwards. The framework would remain in the river all year, being repaired when necessary.

The framework of poles was set across a stream at an angle of forty-five degrees. One or more platforms, fixed on the downstream side, could accommodate the fisherman.

Placed against the upstream side of the frame was a woven network of small poles [with] mesh so small fish could pass through. The fish swimming back and forth became entangled in a dip net which was held submerged by a fisherman. The opening of the net, about three feet in diameter, was held in form by a pole hoop which attached the three poles (tripod) long enough to reach well above the platform coming to an apex and fastened securely. A string from the middle of the net indicated to the operator when to draw up the net and remove the fish.¹⁵⁹

Hilary Stewart provides pictures and sketches of the nets and fishing procedures throughout her book.¹⁶⁰ Underhill also provides sketches of the fishing equipment and methods used.¹⁶¹ The White River Historical museum in Auburn has photos of actual Muckleshoot fishing weirs.

Salmon was dried or smoked. Near the winter houses there were sometimes little outsheds used for smoking salmon. Salmon was prepared for drying or immediate use by cutting it open on the dorsal side; the head and tail were cut off, but the skin was left on. After splitting, the

¹⁵⁷ Watson, iii.

¹⁵⁸ Noel, *Muckleshoot Indian History*, 18.

¹⁵⁹ Noel, *Muckleshoot Indian History*, 18, 19.

¹⁶⁰ Hilary Stewart, *Indian Fishing, Early Methods of the Northwest Coast* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1977).

¹⁶¹ Underhill, 14 – 31.

backbone was taken out and the entrails were given to the dogs. The pieces of fish were fastened to sticks and stretched out by means of cross-sticks. Salmon was smoked over a fire in the house or shed. When the salmon was used fresh it was roasted on a stick stuck in the ground and leaning toward the fire. The backbone was dried over the fire and sucked. The head was also eaten. Flounder were not dried because they would not keep.¹⁶²

Fishing Rights

Since the Muckleshoot and Puyallup were mainly fishing people the wording of the Medicine Creek Treaty and the Point Elliot Treaty affected them greatly in this manner. In 1896, it was noted by one of the reservation agents, that there was enough fish to sustain the Indians forever.¹⁶³

As whites moved into the area many of the fishing spots were made off limits to the Indians and development also reduced the available locations. The Puyallup web site has the following to say about what the Puyallup considered to be violations of the treaty fishing rights and what they did about it.

Efforts by the State of Washington to control this fast diminishing resource was a miserable failure. Years of allowing irresponsible regulation of commercial fisheries, environmental degradation and unwarranted forest practices were some of the causes of serious failure of this valuable resource. In the latter part of the 1960's a resurgence of effort was made to revive our fishing rights. By this time the State of Washington had taken a position that Indian fishing was illegal. Continuous efforts of tribal fishermen to carry on their treaty rights were met with arrests, beatings and confiscation of their gear and catch. Several court cases were filed and appealed.

It became necessary to take drastic measures to assure protection for fishermen and their families to exercise their rights under the treaty to take fish at their usual and accustomed areas. An armed camp was set up by some tribal members, Indians from all over, and others who supported the Tribe in regaining a rightful practice. After six weeks this courageous stand was met with hostility by the State of Washington's Fish and Game Department. Hundreds of local law enforcement officers joined the State in an effort to close this camp, located on tribal land.

Many of the fishing right supporters were arrested, maced, beaten and assaulted. Many were charged with either assault or inciting a riot. All of this occurred on our river. Some of the supporters were facing long jail sentences of up to fifteen years in prison. The charges were eventually dropped. Because of the seriousness of this situation investigations into the matters were started.

The Federal Government then initiated a court case on the fishing right issue. This case became very important to the tribes in the State of Washington. It was called *United States vs. Washington*. This case wound its way through the system until February of 1974, when a final decision was made by Judge George Boldt that Indian people did have the right to fish. However, it was

¹⁶² Haeberlin and Gunther, 22.

¹⁶³ <http://www.puyallup-tribe.com/index.php?nav=history&id=2> (accessed July 31, 2009).

determined that the tribes were entitled to 50% of the fish. Many felt they lost half of their entitlement. One of the mandates of this court order was that the tribes should regulate their own fisheries. If they failed to do this the State would have to.

With this decision ended years of hardship and having to hide like common criminals to exercise our rights to the fishery. Our tribe, and many others, have since developed sophisticated programs to enhance and improve the fishery on our reservations and in the State of Washington. Cooperative efforts of biologist and technical staff are proving that this can be done.¹⁶⁴

The Muckleshoot also had an interest in defending their fishing rights as their web site indicates.

Perhaps the most important element of the Muckleshoot Tribe's battle for recognition of its inherent rights as the original people of this ecosystem was the battle over treaty fishing rights. The right of tribal members to take Salmon at all of their "usual and accustomed" fishing sites was explicitly guaranteed in the treaties, and efforts to reassert those rights led to the so-called "Fish Wars" of the 1960's and 70's. The subsequent Boldt Decision, which reaffirmed the Tribe's treaty fishing rights, had a vast impact on the Muckleshoot Tribe, resulting in improved economic conditions and an opportunity to serve as co-manager of regional salmon resources. Many of today's Tribal leaders were active participants in the Fish Wars.

Unfortunately, the period of prosperity resulting from the restoration of the fishing rights so long denied was somewhat short-lived due to the precipitous decline in salmon populations in recent years. The Tribe's Natural Resources Department has worked hard on many fronts to stem the environmental degradation that has led to this state of affairs; however, the causes are many, our resources are limited, and the area that comprises the tribal homeland is becoming urbanized so rapidly that the struggle to preserve the salmon runs is a difficult one indeed. The age-old relationship between the Muckleshoot people and the salmon is one that will endure, though, and the Tribe is committed to preserving the runs.¹⁶⁵

Hunting

Greene provides a list of animals and birds that were available within a several mile radius of the White and Green Rivers. These include bear, mountain goat, otter, deer, raccoon, rabbit, muskrat, beaver, martin, porcupine, elk, squirrel, ducks, loons, grouse and geese.¹⁶⁶ Haeberlin and Gunther add elk, mountain-goat, wild-cat, groundhog, cougar and pheasants.¹⁶⁷

These animals were either shot or snared. Eagles, gulls or hawks were never eaten.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁴ <http://www.puyallup-tribe.com/index.php?nav=history&id=2> (accessed July 31, 2009).

¹⁶⁵ <http://www.muckleshoot.nsn.us/about-us/overview.aspx> (accessed July 31, 2009).

¹⁶⁶ Greene, 3.

¹⁶⁷ Haeberlin and Gunther, 21.

¹⁶⁸ Haeberlin and Gunther, 21.

Deer and elk meat were considered the best meat. They were dried with special care. The meat was cut in pieces and hung on a frame. Fires were built on three sides and the meat was thoroughly roasted. Then it was hung higher to dry more slowly. When done in this way the meat would keep a long time. Hunters often dried meat in the mountains and cached it in trees covering it with boughs and mats to keep it dry. In the house, dried meat was stored in baskets, never in a hole. In the winter it was soaked in water and boiled. Groundhog, wildcat, cougar, beaver and mountain goat was never dried.¹⁶⁹

Bird's eggs were eaten. These included pheasant, lark and duck.¹⁷⁰

Since the Muckleshoot (and other Puget Sound Native Americans) preferred fish to meat and had little use for skins, they did only a minimum of hunting.¹⁷¹

As is discussed in the **Myths, Legends and Stories** Section the Muckleshoot knew about whales, but there is no evidence that they ever hunted them. Apparently none of the Puget Sound tribes hunted whales.¹⁷²

Plant Food

The Muckleshoot and Northwest Native Americans were not farmers in that they did not plant and cultivate crops.¹⁷³ However, there was abundant plant life in the area between Puget Sound and the Cascades. All vegetable foods were gathered and prepared by the women.¹⁷⁴

Roots and Bulbs

Roots were dug with a digging stick about two and one-half feet long, usually made of the wood of some conifer. The women went to the prairies for roots, to the mountains for berries and around the lakes for wild potato. The roots of the brake fern (*Pteridium aquilinum*) and the wood fern (*Dryopteris dilatata*) were gathered in the fall and winter whenever the plant was not growing and used as food. Other roots were those of the dandelion and a wild species of sunflower. The big roots of the cattail were considered a delicacy and were eaten raw. Bulbs of plants were also used in great quantities. The most important was the camas which was dug on the Nisqually prairie. The bulb of the tiger lily was steamed in a pit and eaten. Another important food product among bulbous plants were the various kinds of so-called potatoes. One of the most widespread species is "wappato," which grows in shallow lakes and creeks, or any land flooded by fresh water. The bulb is the size of an egg, has white meat and is very sweet and nutritious. This plant can easily be grown and transplanted. . . . Another species of potato is called *sxaasem*; it is like the ordinary potato only very much smaller.¹⁷⁵

¹⁶⁹ Haeberlin and Gunther, 21, 22.

¹⁷⁰ Haberlin and Gunther, 21.

¹⁷¹ Washington State Museum Staff. *The Indians of Puget Sound*, 4.

¹⁷² Washington State Museum Staff. *The Indians of Puget Sound*, 5.

¹⁷³ Robert Boyd, ed., *Indians, Fire and the Land in the Pacific Northwest* (Corvallis, Oregon: Oregon State University Press, 1999), 3.

¹⁷⁴ Haeberlin and Gunther, 20.

¹⁷⁵ Haeberlin and Gunther, 20, 21.

While camas probably did not grow on Muckleshoot land in any quantity, they would probably go south toward the Nisqually prairie to collect it as it was considered to be one of the more delectable foods. The flower is purple blue. The bulb, the edible part, seldom grew larger than the end of a man's thumb. The bulb would than be brayed into a paste and dried for winter use.¹⁷⁶

Berries

A large variety of berries were used. Berries were eaten fresh or dried. These include salmonberry, wild strawberry, huckleberry, blackberry, raspberry, salalberry, serviceberry and blackcaps.¹⁷⁷ Greene adds cranberries and elderberries.¹⁷⁸

Nuts

A few nut like products were available. These include acorns and hazelnuts.¹⁷⁹ Greene mentions sunflower seeds.¹⁸⁰

Potatoes

The Native Americans were quick to adopt the white's cultivated plant food. The true potato was not native to this area. By the 1840s the potato was being grown throughout the Puget Sound area.¹⁸¹

Gathering

In addition to gathering plant food it was the women's responsibility to gather other items while the men were fishing or hunting.

This included caterpillars and clams. Women also collected the firewood.

A woman had to fit her work schedule to her husband's activities, selecting time when she was not needed for meat or fish drying. At any camp there was generally something for her to gather.

Normally the women would go with the men but occasionally women made their own excursions. Sometimes all the women who lived in one house would go together, perhaps two or three households would go together. An older woman would always be in charge, both to direct the work and to see that the younger ones behaved. One woman never went gathering alone.¹⁸²

¹⁷⁶ Robert Walkinshaw, *On Puget Sound* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1929), 47.

¹⁷⁷ Haeberlin and Gunther, 21.

¹⁷⁸ Greene, 3.

¹⁷⁹ Haeberlin and Gunther, 21.

¹⁸⁰ Greene, 3.

¹⁸¹ Wayne Suttles, *Coast Salish Essays* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1987), 137, 138.

¹⁸² Underhill, 61, 62.

Archaeological Remains

The archaeological remains for the Muckleshoot are very limited with no major finds available in the Federal Way area or for that matter on the Muckleshoot Reservation. The best source for presenting archaeological evidence for Northwest Native Americans living between 10,000 years before the present to the coming of the Europeans is *Peoples of the Northwest Coast: Their Archaeology and Prehistory*, by Kenneth M. Ames and Herbert D. G. Maschner.¹⁸³

All archaeological sites in the Puget Sound area are surface sites, with practically no buried remains. Time sensitive projectile points seem to span the last several thousand years. There are no faunal remains due to the area's wet climate and shallow locations. It is suspected that occupation in the Puget Sound area may have always been particularly intense but it is impossible to confirm this assessment. Since the sites are always surface sites only limited information can be drawn from them.¹⁸⁴

Artifact Definition

Artifacts are the material expression of a culture. Tools, implements, ornaments and items of ritual that were lost, discarded or abandoned may have been buried for centuries at ancient village sites or sites used temporarily by the Native Americans. Those made from perishable materials such as wood, bark, hide or wool decayed over time, but those made of stone, bone, antler and shell did not.

Stone Tools

From the time that Native Americans first started using tools to almost the present, stone was a major raw material. Because of stone's durability, artifacts made from it are generally all that remain of an ancient culture. The earliest simple stone tools found for Northwest Native Americans date back to about 10,000 years ago. More sophisticated stone tools date back to within the last 5,000 years.¹⁸⁵ Unfortunately very little in the way of stone tools has been found for the Federal Way area or on the Muckleshoot Reservation.

Long before people on the Northwest Coast range acquired iron, one of the methods for felling the all important cedar tree was by using stone-bladed tools. Once the tree was down and topped and the bark removed, woodworkers pounded in wedges with stone mauls to split off long planks from the trunk. They used stone-bladed tools to shape the huge beams and posts for their large houses, to cut and smooth planks for making boxes for storage and cooking, to shape and carve the masks, drums, rattles for ceremonials (as well as helmets for protection in war),

¹⁸³ Kenneth M. Ames and Herbert D. G. Maschner, *Peoples of the Northwest Coast: Their Archaeology and Prehistory*, (London: Thames and Hudson, 1999).

¹⁸⁴ Ames, 82, 83.

¹⁸⁵ Hilary Stewart, *Stone, Bone, Antler & Shell Artifacts of the Northwest Coast* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1973, 1981, 1996), 15.

and to fashion countless other necessities. Stone tools also served to cut and carve items from bone, antler and shell.¹⁸⁶

Probably the most vital use of stone tools before the coming of the white man was for canoe making. Using stone chisels, adzes, hand mauls, abraders and drills, canoe makers took a cedar log and transformed it into a functional watercraft.¹⁸⁷

Stone was also the material used for anchors and the weights for fishnets. Stone pile drivers pounded wooden stakes into riverbeds for fish weirs. Stones made sharp blades for spears, harpoon heads, arrows and knives. Stone whetstones were used to sharpen blades and points. Stone pestles were used to grind pigment, stone palettes to hold body paint, stone charms for the shaman, and ornaments for body and clothing were also among the items made of shaped stone.¹⁸⁸

Craftsman would often travel long distances to locate and collect various types of stone and there was also a trading network for stone. Nephrite (commonly, but incorrectly called jade or jadeite) was ideal for adze and chisel blades, but it was rare and hard to find and would be traded for. Obsidian, a volcanic glass, was unique for its fine flaking quality and sharp cutting edge. Since it was rare on the coast it made a good trade item for the Western Puget Sound people. There was sandstone for grinding and abrading, and thin slabs of slate for harpoon blades and fish knives. Basalt flaked well for making scrapers, spearheads, arrow points and knives. Schistose sandstone slabs served as saw blades to cut stone. Agate, quartz crystal, granite, steatite, jasper, chalcedony, serpentine, siltstone and other stones each had particular characteristics to best meet a particular need.¹⁸⁹

Stewart describes in detail how stone was worked by flaking, percussion, pecking and grinding to shape it into the useful tool it could be. She also provides pictures of the process and many types of stone tools themselves.¹⁹⁰

Bones at Redondo Beach

A telephone call on May 8, 1967 from a construction worker installing a sewage system at Redondo Beach caused three faculty members from Highline Community College to investigate the finding of bones. Donald McLarney, Robert Wright and Ken Knutson soon discovered that the construction crew had accidentally dug up an assortment of human bones. Two skulls were found and several vertebrae. One skull was severely damaged. The bones were buried at a depth of approximately six feet and were assumed to be less than 350 years old (more likely around 180 years old.) This estimate is based on the fact that the damp Northwest climate is not effective in preserving buried bones for any length of time.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁶ Stewart, *Stone, Bone, Antler & Shell Artifacts*, 15.

¹⁸⁷ Stewart, *Stone, Bone, Antler & Shell Artifacts*, 15.

¹⁸⁸ Stewart, *Stone, Bone, Antler & Shell Artifacts*, 15.

¹⁸⁹ Stewart, *Stone, Bone, Antler & Shell Artifacts*, 15.

¹⁹⁰ Stewart, *Stone, Bone, Antler & Shell Artifacts*, 16 - 123. Stewart's material is for the residents of British Columbia, but the concepts of stone conversion into tools and the tools made, would be similar to that of the Muckleshoot who probably were not as efficient or skilled in the use of stone tools.

¹⁹¹ Pat Koyamatsu, "Indian Bones Unearthed at Redondo Beach by Construction Crew, May 8," *Highline Community College Thunder-Word*, May 26, 1967, 9.

The teeth of both skulls were ground flat and the backs of both skulls were flat. The last feature indicates that the skulls were those of two Native Americans. The flat teeth hint that they were used in such a way that they were gradually worn flat.¹⁹²

Maria Provas, a biology student at the college cleaned the bones with a dissecting needle and a small paintbrush. It took her three days to complete the job. The skulls were treated with a mixture of albar and acetone. This chemical mixture would stabilize the bones. In 1967 the bones and a paper about them were placed in the school library.¹⁹³ Attempts by the author to locate these bones in 2001 proved unsuccessful.

Stone Artifacts at Lakehaven Sewer Plant

Shells, broken rocks and chips of stone, used as tools were first noticed near the Lakehaven sewer plant in 1953.¹⁹⁴

In 1979, a planned expansion of the sewer plant was begun. Several people felt that the site where the sewer plant was to be expanded was at a site where Native Americans prepared their shellfish and perhaps camped for the night. Fearing that the plant expansion might eliminate artifacts, Dr. Eric Carson of Community Development Research contacted state officials and requested that the site be surveyed. After a preliminary survey and after the potential significance of the site was pointed out to the sewer district commissioners, they retained reconnaissance archaeologist Russ Hanley of the Office of Public Archaeology affiliated with the University of Washington.¹⁹⁵

Hanley found charcoal, deposits of shell, fire broken rock and flakes of stone used as tools. Northwest Native Americans were noted for using hand-woven baskets and bowls. Rocks were heated and then dropped into a bowl or basket to heat the water they contained. But stones heated and cooled often broke. Some of the broken ones, thought to be about 300 years old, can be regarded as artifacts. These might be lost if not conserved during the sewer plant expansion. Hanley also indicated he heard that a skull had been found in the area years before, though he found no signs of burials.¹⁹⁶ Probably Hanley was referring to the skulls described above under the description of "Bones found at Redondo Beach." Apparently Hanley had not seen Koyamatsu's article and was not aware the skulls were at Highline Community College. Hanley commented that the acidic soil in Western Washington tends to erode bones rapidly, but that being in shell midden sites, which the campground at Redondo seemed to have been, the shells tend to neutralize the soil so the bones may be preserved.¹⁹⁷

Hanley felt that the Office of Public Archaeology and the sewer district could have been at odds but that they worked the issue in a manner beneficial to both. The plant expansion was allowed to proceed, but would be monitored by an archaeologist to insure no damage was done to artifacts.¹⁹⁸

Hanley made the decision to leave the artifacts, both those already discovered and those not yet discovered, in place in the ground, "we are more conservation oriented than salvation

¹⁹² Koyamatsu, 9.

¹⁹³ Koyamatsu, 9.

¹⁹⁴ Nancy Bartley Munds, "Artifacts in path of plant expansion," *Auburn Daily Globe News*, July 13, 1979, A1.

¹⁹⁵ Munds, A1.

¹⁹⁶ Munds, A1.

¹⁹⁷ Munds, A1.

¹⁹⁸ Munds, A1.

oriented and can use the site again as long as they (the artifacts) are not threatened and are left alone.” Hanley felt that Federal law was being followed by the fact that the exact site of the location of the artifacts was not being given to the public. He felt that most of the preservation effort would have to be borne by the sewer district commissioners. Hanley felt the site would only be monitored in the long run if the sewer district supported it. The project engineer at the time, Scott Slifer, said “if anything is found,” he would tell the archaeologist, but problems with the project might cause the sewer district’s interest in the artifacts to be low priority. Lakehaven Sewer District Commissioner Bob Green felt these “artifacts are no more significant than those found on the rest of the beach.”¹⁹⁹ This would seem to indicate the problems of getting permits and construction underway were more important to the sewer district than looking for artifacts. No one today seems to have any knowledge or records relating to these artifacts.

Stone Axe

Nikulla indicates in one of his bibliographical references that there was a 1939 Enumclaw Courier-Herald newspaper article, which discussed the finding of a stone axe in the campground area at 262nd.²⁰⁰ I have not yet located the original article to obtain any more details.

Possible Ancient Artifacts in Thompson Park

On August 28, 2004, the *Federal Way Mirror* reported the possibility of ancient artifacts in the 2200 block of South 333rd Street, Federal Way. This was the site of a proposed Federal Way park tentatively named Thompson Park after the previous landowner.²⁰¹

A letter from the Washington State Archaeology and Historic Preservation Office (AHPO) temporarily halted the development of Thompson Park because there were indications that artifacts might be on the site. The state office recommended an archaeological survey and consultation with local Native American tribes.²⁰²

We have reviewed the materials forwarded to our office for the proposed project referenced above [Thompson Neighborhood Park.] We did not receive a copy of the SEPA [State Environmental Policy Act] Checklist, so were unable to verify whether the applicant provided any information regarding Historical and Cultural Preservation. Based upon a review of our own records, we find the area has the potential for archaeological resources.²⁰³

In addition to the state sending a copy of the letter to the city of Federal Way, a copy of the letter was sent to the Puyallup Tribe. Since a copy of the letter was sent to the Puyallup Tribe, Betty Sanders, the city’s parks planning and development coordinator, recommended the matter be investigated before further action is taken by the city to develop the park. What might be located at the site was not known by either the city or the state [or the Puyallup]. Sanders said the

¹⁹⁹ Munds, A1.

²⁰⁰ Nikulla, 2. Referring to “Pioneer Tells History of Early Settlement,” *Enumclaw Courier-Herald*, April 29, 1938.

²⁰¹ Mike Halliday, “Archaeology stymies park project,” *Federal Way Mirror*, August 28, 2004, A1.

²⁰² Stephenie Kramer, Assistant State Archaeologist, letter to Deb Barker, Associate Planner, City of Federal Way, July 23, 2004. A copy of this letter is in the files of the Historical Society of Federal Way.

²⁰³ Kramer, letter.

issue came up because “the park is close to Hylebos Creek and the area has an ethnographic site name.” Sanders stated she did not know the actual site name, but it was not Hylebos.²⁰⁴

The City of Federal Way at this point was unsure how to proceed. At the August 24, 2004 City Council special meeting²⁰⁵, councilman Jack Dovey asked if the city had to do the investigation. Dovey stated that, “We’re stopping everything because of a letter. That’s kind of crazy.” Federal and state law directs the “whats, hows and wheres” of artifacts and archaeological sites on government property.²⁰⁶

Judy Rind, of the Puyallup’s archaeological department said she had not seen the letter from the state, but the tribe takes an interest in these issues [A copy of the letter was sent to Judy Wright of the Puyallup Tribe.] Rind was a little surprised about the issue since the Puyallup normally are involved with Pierce County where the Puyallup Reservation is. Typically the land use applicant approaches the tribe with their plans and the tribe determines if it has an archeological interest in the area.²⁰⁷

The next step for Federal Way was to determine the likelihood of artifacts at the park site. Sanders indicates that the city was working with King County’s Department of Historic Preservation.²⁰⁸ The county recently completed a database combining several sources of historical and topographical information to determine where areas of historic and archaeological importance might be in the county. Julie Koler, King County’s Historic Preservation Officer, indicated that because the site is near Hylebos Creek there was a possibility that there was archeological evidence of Native American use, especially since at one time salmon were running near the site. If it was determined the property needed some investigation the city would have to pay the bill. Possibilities included having an archaeological firm test the site or allow construction of the park to proceed with an archaeologist on site during construction.²⁰⁹

Since Thompson Park’s development was on hold until the archeological issue was settled the city council decided to move \$75,000 in federal dollars and \$65,000 in city funds to the Armstrong park site.²¹⁰

By 2006 everyone concerned decided there were no archaeological remains at the site. In June 2006 the City of Federal Way put the project out for construction bids.²¹¹ A 2.6-acre park exists at the site now.

Shell Artifacts

Shells were also of value for tools, containers and decoration. In an area with heavy rainfall, such as where the Muckleshoot lived, shells in a midden will break down with time and become crumbly and therefore are hard to find today. (A midden is an area of accumulated refuse,

²⁰⁴ Halliday, A1.

²⁰⁵ The special meeting was not called for this item but for a non-related item.

²⁰⁶ Halliday, A1.

²⁰⁷ Halliday, A1, A2.

²⁰⁸ Betty Sanders, Parks Planning and Development Coordinator, letter to author, November 29, 2004. A copy of this letter is in the files of the Historical Society of Federal Way.

²⁰⁹ Halliday, A2.

²¹⁰ Halliday, A2.

²¹¹ <http://www.cityoffederalway.com/folders/home/eservicesdocuments/bidsrfps/2006/RFB%2006-108%20Th> (accessed July 22, 2010).

indicating a habitation site, campsite or other area of occupation. A shell midden is a site largely composed of discarded mollusk shells.²¹²⁾

A large shell midden (designated 45KI3) was examined in 1981 on Redondo Beach on Poverty Bay.²¹³

Larson Anthropological/Archaeological Services recorded a small portion of what may have been a larger shell midden at Salt Water State Park on May 22, 1994. The visible midden lies at the transition from steep canyon side to valley floor on the south side of McSorley Creek. The Muckleshoot hunter-gatherers following the southern rim of the canyon may have accessed the beach via a route down through the midden vicinity.²¹⁴

Normally shells were just piled up as refuse but sometimes they were used for tools. The technique of working shells was much the same as for slate, since both have similar hardness and workability. To cut shell, it was scored along a line by repeated strokes of a sharp pointed stone tool, and then snapped along the line. Edges were shaped and sharpened by grinding and abrading. Drilling or breaking through the shell made perforations.²¹⁵

Some shells needed little or no modification to be useful. For instance, large clamshells served as food containers and ladles, and smaller sized ones as measures for potions and medicines.

Stewart discusses and provides pictures of shells being modified and the finished product in use.²¹⁶

Village Sites

While there are some possible Muckleshoot village sites located on the Green and White Rivers nothing is definitive or has been excavated. The only known local village sites to be excavated are related to the Duwamish located in present day Renton. In 1979, village sites from the 1800s were located.²¹⁷ In 1980, an archaeological dig was conducted at a longhouse site on the Earlington Golf Course (Renton). The dig provided key information about the Duwamish Indians. Later construction covered the site and made further excavation virtually impossible.²¹⁸

Archaeologists, in 1981, excavated the partially preserved floor of a fourth-century longhouse that had stood on the bank of the Black River in Renton. [The Black River, which flowed out of Lake Washington to the south, no longer exists because Lake Washington was lowered in 1916 with the opening of the Montlake Cut and the Ballard Locks.] This area is now the Renton Shopping Mall below Earlington Hill.²¹⁹

The house appears to have been somewhat over 50 feet long and possibly 30 feet wide. Among the artifacts recovered there were a number of projectile points which had been chipped off petrified wood from the Columbia plateau east of the mountains. And what seemed to be a killer whale effigy carved from nephrite, a variety of jade, presumably from British Columbia. Other carved pieces included

²¹² Stewart, *Stone, Bone, Antler & Shell Artifacts*, 135.

²¹³ Guy F. Moura, "Shell Midden (45KI3)," 1981, Washington Archaeological Site Inventory Form. This is on file at the Washington State Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation. Olympia, Washington.

²¹⁴ Grant, 4.

²¹⁵ Stewart, *Stone, Bone, Antler & Shell Artifacts*, 125.

²¹⁶ Stewart, *Stone, Bone, Antler & Shell Artifacts*, 125 - 133.

²¹⁷ Doug Margenson, "Dig unearths white impact on tribe," *Auburn Daily Globe News*, October 25, 1979, 1.

²¹⁸ Buerge, *Renton*, 11.

²¹⁹ Buerge, *Renton*, 13, 14.

a bone animal figure and a small, freestanding quadruped, possibly of a wildcat.²²⁰

A sketch of the reconstructed longhouse and sketches of harpoon points found at the site are included in Buerge's account.²²¹ Rowe and Evans indicate the floor of the longhouse was 78 by 26 feet and was occupied by five families.²²²

Because such accomplished artistry is typically the product of leisure time, the house would appear to have sheltered a relatively affluent group. The fact that materials from which some of the objects were formed were from east of the mountains and from British Columbia suggests the group enjoyed distant trade connections.

Buerge concludes that this village was made up of longhouses standing on both banks of the Black River. One cluster of longhouses was located on the north bank at a place called *Shah-bah-DEED* ("little mountain") where the river had excavated cliffs from the toe of Earlington Hill. Trade goods were found scattered around what had been the floor. Across on the south bank a small stream called *Tu-hu-Dee-du* made up a winter village group. The burial ground for this winter village was on the slope of Earlington Hill above the village.²²³

On what had been the floor of the longhouse at *Shah-bah-DEED* remains of trade goods were found scattered about. The 25 foot wide and 80 foot long longhouse had an interior arrangement that indicates a shelter for five families. The blue glass beads, copper and other artifacts suggest that the house was occupied between 1790 and 1825. Copper and iron fragments were found along the house margin, while beads were more common in the center. From this distributive pattern, it can be assumed that men sat on benches along the sides of the house as they made their tools, while women wearing beads gathered at the center, where the cooking fires were located.²²⁴

Other villages are known to have existed in the area but little if any remains have been found. These include one at the confluence of the Black and White Rivers. This site was called *Sko-AKH-ko* meaning confluence. A site was also at *Skah-TELBSH*, just west of present Renton high School. Several other house sites are known to exist on the east side of Lake Washington and up through the Cedar River watershed.²²⁵

Virginia Cross told Patricia Noel, that in addition to burying items with the corpse, the belongings were often burned. This would help explain why there are not artifacts left even within the family.²²⁶

²²⁰ Buerge, *Renton*, 13.

²²¹ Buerge, *Renton*, 14, 15.

²²² John Paul Rowe and Jack R. Evans, *Little History of Renton, Washington* (Seattle: SCW Publications, 1987), 1.

²²³ Buerge, *Renton*, 14.

²²⁴ Buerge, *Renton*, 20.

²²⁵ Buerge, *Renton*, 14, 15.

²²⁶ Noel, *Muckleshoot Indian History*, 52.

Cedar

Importance of Cedar

As described in several of the following sections, cedar was a major raw material for use in homes, clothing, tools and utensils. The Muckleshoot had an intimate knowledge of the cedar tree and they knew how to exploit every part of it.

So thoroughly did the cedar permeate the cultures of Northwest . . . peoples that it is hard to envision their life without it. Indeed, perhaps the cedar's fourfold supply of the essential materials of their culture – wood, bark, withes and roots – contributed to their special mystical regard for the number four.²²⁷

The poet, Bill Reid, mentioned earlier, had this to say about the cedar tree:

Oh, the cedar tree!

If mankind in his infancy had prayed for the perfect substance
for all his material and aesthetic needs,
an indulgent god could have provided nothing better.
Beautiful in itself, with a magnificent flared base
tapering suddenly to a tall, straight trunk wrapped in reddish brown bark,
like a great coat of gentle fur, gracefully sweeping boughs
soft feathery fronds of grey-green needles.

Huge, some of these cedars, five hundred years of slow growth,
towering from their massive bases.
The wood is soft, but of a wonderful firmness and in a good tree,
so straight grained it will split true and clean into forty-foot planks,
four inches thick and three feet wide, with scarcely a knot.

Across the grain it cuts clean and precise.
It is light in weight and beautiful in color,
reddish brown when new, silvery grey when old.

It is permeated with natural oils that make it one of the longest lasting of all woods,
Even in the damp of the Northwest climate.

When steamed, it will bend without breaking.
It will make houses and boats and boxes and cooking pots.
Its bark will make mats, even clothing.

²²⁷ Hilary Stewart, *Cedar: Tree of Life to the Northwest Coast Indians* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1984), 13. This 192 page book discusses all aspects of the Northwest Native American use of cedar.

With a few bits of sharpened stone and antler, some beaver teeth and a lot of time,
With later on a bit of iron, you can build from the cedar tree the exterior trappings
of one of the world's great cultures. . . .²²⁸

Two types of cedar trees have grown in this area. The majority have been the red cedar. Red cedar is known by several names: red cedar, Pacific red cedar, giant cedar and canoe cedar. A few cedar trees have been the yellow cedar. Actually neither the red nor yellow cedars are true cedars. The cedar family, *Cedrus*, is not native to North America. The red and yellow cedars belong to the *Cupressaceae* or cypress family.²²⁹ Western red cedar is a member of the *Thuja* genus and the yellow cedar is a false cypress, a *chamaecyparis*. *Thuja* is of Greek derivation, and means "to bear scent."²³⁰

The scientific binomial *Thuja plicata* was given to red cedar. *Plicata* refers to the flattened, folded, scale like leaves which look pleated or interwoven. Together many leaf-covered shoots form a fernlike fond, which droops gracefully but presents a flattened plain to the sunlight. The seed cones are one of the species' most recognizable features. They sit in clusters several inches back of the tip of a shoot complex, pointing up and bent back slightly, as though they are trying to escape the center of the tree. Green when ripe, they are about the size and shape of a pistachio nut and resemble an unfolding rosebud.²³¹

The red cedar grew as tall and as straight as the companion conifers – the Douglas fir and the hemlock. Toward the top, its branches spread horizontally, tips upturned; on the lower part of the tree the branches take a down turn. The finest cedars preferred to be rooted in the deep, moist porous soils of cool slopes, lakesides, river estuaries and rich bottom lands. Growing in the shade of a dense forest, the cedar reached up for light, producing a tall straight trunk uninterrupted by branches for much of its height. Some trees grew to 70 m (230') in height and 4.3 m (14') in diameter.²³²

Yellow cedar presents a weeping silhouette with soft yellow green foliage. It only grew to about 44m (145') and with a trunk diameter of 0.9 m (3').²³³

The tree normally used by the Native Americans was the red cedar.

Western red cedar is not often found in large unmixed stands by itself. It likes to keep company and be mixed with any of the other coastal trees and is more tolerant of shade than most of the others, except western hemlock. It has been reported as living as long as 1,000 years and some say 2,000 is a possibility. The largest western red cedar still alive, but not easily accessible is the Cheewhat Lake tree on the west coast of Vancouver Island. It is approaching 2,000 years old and is still growing.²³⁴

The great cedar trees are becoming difficult to find as most have been cut by loggers or cut to make room for developments. Only a few relatively small cedar trees still exist in the area covered by the Historical Society of Federal Way. The large ones are gone. Probably the largest red cedar still growing and accessible, "hulks in a grove a short distance off Highway 101 where a narrow stretch of Olympic National Park hugs the Pacific coast six miles north of Kalaloch in

²²⁸ Bringhurst, 76-78.

²²⁹ Stewart, *Cedar*, 21, 22, 24.

²³⁰ Audrey Grescoe, *Giants, the Colossal Trees of Pacific North America* (Boulder, CO: Roberts Rinehart Publishers, 1997), 77.

²³¹ Grescoe, 77.

²³² Stewart, *Cedar*, 22

²³³ Stewart, *Cedar*, 25.

²³⁴ Grescoe, 77, 78.

Washington State. . . . it isn't so much a tree as an accumulation of boles [tree trunks], burls, buttresses, and roots jammed together to form a mass 64 feet, two inches in circumference [20 feet, five inches in diameter.]”²³⁵ While this tree is still living it is greatly distorted from age and so no longer is straight and useful for wood. This is why the circumference is somewhat larger than reported above for large trees of the past.

Some tribes called the cedar tree “shalalup,” which means “dry underneath.” A more general term used in the Puget Sound area referred to the tree as “Rich-Woman Maker” or “Long-Life Maker.” Obviously the name shows the value one large tree could bring a family. When white Europeans came into the area they referred to the red cedar as “Arbor-Vitae.”²³⁶

Properties of Cedar

While it took scientists to name the thujaplicins and tropolone derivatives, the Native Americans knew that the wood had properties that protected it from decay-producing fungi. The wood did not have to be preserved by oiling and could be used for structures without the fear of decay.

The low specific gravity, compared to that of other trees, made it ideally suited for canoes which could carry many people and several tons of cargo.

The ease with which red cedar can be split was a property put to use in making lumber and wood house components. For a pre-Iron age people it meant smooth board planks were available.²³⁷

Cedar Withes for Rope

Cedar withes are the branchlets that hang down from the main branches of the cedar in long graceful curves. Some are short, but some are long, slender and free of any side shoots. Occasionally a withe grows directly from the trunk and reaches an extreme length. These were used for making rope. The best withes were found on cedars standing in swampy areas.²³⁸

Federal Way, prior to white settlement, contained many large areas of swamp so it can be assumed the Muckleshoot and others looked for withes in this area.

Cedar Roots for Baskets

The Muckleshoot knew how to dig into the earth to take and use the long, slender roots of the cedar tree. The roots were used for basket making.

In the spring, when the sap coursed through the cedar, men and women went into the forests to collect the cedar's roots as well as the bark.

Choosing a spot about 4.5 m (15') away from a large, old tree, a woman used her hardened digging stick of yew or some other hardwood to dig down 61 cm (2') or more. . . . Roots growing on old rotten logs were ideal.

²³⁵ Grescoe, 67.

²³⁶ Grescoe, 77.

²³⁷ Grescoe, 79.

²³⁸ Stewart, *Cedar*, 161.

For the split-root coil basketry . . . cedar roots about 2.5 cm (1") in diameter were favored.²³⁹

Cedar Bark

The making of things from cedar bark was mostly done by women. It was mentioned previously that clothing was often made from bark but there were many other uses for it.

The women would harvest the bark from the trees by making cuts and peeling off large sections of bark. The video *Houchoosedah: Traditions of the Heart*, contains a scene with a woman peeling a long section of bark from a cedar tree and then processing it further for making into a basket.²⁴⁰

The strips of bark would then be dried either by hanging them up in garlands over a line or by laying them flat and straight on the ground and turning them frequently. Women would try to keep a store of neatly bundled cedar bark to supply their upcoming needs. Since bark was best worked when it had thoroughly dried out for a year, they always worked with bark taken the previous season.²⁴¹

Bark was often used for temporary shelters made by the women. Bark cradles were also made to carry babies across the mothers' shoulder. Sometimes a baby was securely bound in its cradle, arms at its sides, with strips of bark. Bark containers were often made to hold tools. Even short term use canoes were made of bark. Hats and baskets were made from shredded bark. Rope could also be made from bark which looks very much like a modern rope.²⁴²

Mats for use in the longhouses or in canoes were also made of shredded bark. A video *Teaching of the Tree People*, features Bruce Miller stripping bark to make mats and making mats.²⁴³ Two mats made by Bruce Miller, one about four feet by six feet and the other about five feet by seven feet are displayed near the showing of the video at the Seattle Art Museum, Northwest Coast Native American display.²⁴⁴

Felling Trees

As a result of working with the cedar tree for thousands of years, generations of wood workers devised and perfected various technologies for felling and transporting trees, splitting and cutting planks, joining pieces of wood together, steaming and bending wood and sanding finished products. They also knew how to patch and repair damaged wooden objects.²⁴⁵

Drift logs were always examined and used if practical. Since these were not always available or of the best quality, large standing cedar trees were selected for felling and processing. As there were specialists in every major field or endeavor, there were men particularly skilled in felling trees. The time preferred was late summer to early spring, as felling when the sap was up

²³⁹ Stewart, *Cedar*, 171.

²⁴⁰ *Houchoosedah: Traditions of the Heart*, video.

²⁴¹ Stewart, *Cedar*, 117.

²⁴² Stewart, *Cedar*, 113 – 159.

²⁴³ Kate Jennings, Producer, *Teaching of the Tree People*, video, viewed at Seattle Art Museum, Northwest Coast Native American display, 20 minutes, viewed August 13, 2004.

²⁴⁴ Stewart, *Cedar*, 113 – 159.

²⁴⁵ Stewart, *Cedar*, 36.

hastened the rotting of the wood. Also, it was important to find the right cedar for the purpose required: house construction, canoe or other specific needs.²⁴⁶

Before starting the task of felling a cedar, the faller respectfully addressed the spirit of the tree with a prayer, asking for the trunk to topple in the direction he wished. David Funk said that he would calculate the direction so that the cedar's fall was cushioned by hitting other trees on its way down, to prevent the trunk from landing too heavily and cracking. Care also had to be taken to ensure that the tree would not become hung up on another.

One method of felling the tree was by burning. The feller set red hot rocks inside a chiseled out cavity . . . to burn the wood. Under his directions workers . . . chiseled and adzed out the charred wood. With a back cut chiseled out, the great cedar let go, falling to the ground where the faller had asked it to. A similar burning technique involved setting fire to the base of the tree and using wet clay to prevent the rest of it from catching fire.

Another method of cutting down a tree entailed building a scaffold and platform around the trunk, just above the flaring base. The woodworkers removed sufficient bark to enable them to chisel two parallel grooves, about 30 cm (12") or more apart, around the trunk. The men then used wedges and stone mauls to split out the wood from between the grooves. They repeated the chiseling and wedging process to cut away the trunk, making sure the lower chisel cut remained horizontal, while the upper one was chiseled downward at a forty-five degree angle. When these cuts became too deep for the chisel to reach into, the men switched to one with a longer haft; then one man held the chisel while another wielded the stone maul.²⁴⁷

Stewart has sketches of the tree felling process.²⁴⁸ Stewart also describes and shows sketches of the process for splitting planks, steaming and bending wood and finishing.²⁴⁹

Canoe Making

Stewart has sketches and describes the process for making canoes.²⁵⁰

Wood Carving

The people of the Muckleshoot, Duwamish, and Puyallup had virtually no ornamental carvings or paintings. They did not make totem poles or masks.²⁵¹

²⁴⁶ Stewart, *Cedar*, 37.

²⁴⁷ Stewart, *Cedar*, 39, 40.

²⁴⁸ Stewart, *Cedar*, 37, 38.

²⁴⁹ Stewart, *Cedar*, 40 - 48.

²⁵⁰ Stewart, *Cedar*, 48 - 60.

²⁵¹ Washington State Museum Staff, *The Indians of Puget Sound*, 4.

Housing

Wooden Houses

When the first white explorers came to Puget Sound they were amazed to find the shores of Puget Sound and the major rivers lined with wooden buildings. Many of these were well constructed and larger than the ones the first white settlers built. They were not painted but many of the white settlers did not paint theirs either. The whites were also amazed that they were made by a people who had only stone tools and no nails. The northwest (northern California to southern Alaska) was the only area of the country where Native Americans actually used wooden boards for their structures.²⁵² The presence of the easily worked western red cedar wood is the reason stone tool-carpentry was possible. The cedar was easily cut and split and the straight grain made for straight boards.²⁵³

Permanent Homes

No Native American permanent living quarters are known for the Federal Way area. The permanent villages, as mentioned previously were built around the White and Green Rivers.²⁵⁴

The villages were always built near the water with the houses facing the water and generally in a single row. The permanent villages occupied during the winter usually had from three to five large houses, together with a number of smaller ones. The Muckleshoot apparently did not build stockades or walls around their villages.²⁵⁵

Virtually all western Washington Native Americans lived in cedar plank houses.²⁵⁶

Villages were made up of one or more, large rectangular houses made of split cedar boards covering massive post and beam frames carved of cedar logs. Most houses in the Puget Sound area had roofs with a single gentle slope. Roof boards, usually more than a foot wide and at least ten feet in length were often carved with a lip down either edge, so that they could be fitted together like large tiles to prevent leaks. Wall boards were plane split cedar boards. Walls and roof were held together by a massive cedar framework, rectangular posts set deep in the ground, dished on top to hold the ends of the roof beams which were usually dressed logs up to forty feet in length.²⁵⁷

The direction of the planks could be vertical or horizontal and the roof planking could have a different slant, but the material used was always cedar. Often the houses were 20 feet wide and 40 to 100 feet in length. Noel provides a nice summary of the construction details, interior furnishings and uses of objects.²⁵⁸ Stewart provides a discussion and sketches of the construction

²⁵² Underhill, 70.

²⁵³ Underhill, 74.

²⁵⁴ Noel, *Muckleshoot Indian History*, 10.

²⁵⁵ Haeberlin and Gunther, 15.

²⁵⁶ Noel, *Muckleshoot Indian History*, 10.

²⁵⁷ Watson, ii.

²⁵⁸ Noel, *Muckleshoot Indian History*, 10-12.

of houses and other structures.²⁵⁹ Underhill also discusses and shows with the aid of sketches and photographs the construction methods for wooden structures.²⁶⁰

Poorer individuals often just lived in simple huts made of cross sticks covered with coarse mats made by laying bulrushes side by side, and knotting them at intervals with cord or grass and the possible addition of a few slabs.²⁶¹

Life Inside the Permanent House

The houses were shared by more than one family. A large house might be owned by one man or by several of its occupants.²⁶²

The walls of the large communal houses were hung with mats. Each person owned the mats that hung in the section where his beds were. Over the beds were the storage shelves and ladders were used to reach them. On them provisions were stored for winter use; no fresh things were ever kept there, only dried provisions such as meat, clams, berries and fish. All these things were stored in baskets. If a person owned any extra blankets they were also stored up there. The floor where people sat was covered with mats and often mats were used as partitions between families in a large house. The fires were arranged around the sides of the house, never in the middle. This space was usually reserved as a passage way from one end of the house to the other. Two to four families had one communal fire. Ordinarily each family ate its meals alone. The whole house, however would gather for a meal when a hunter or fisherman had been particularly successful.²⁶³

On the Evergreen State College campus, outside Olympia Washington, there is a full scale adaptation (with modern restrooms, kitchen, and offices) of a traditional Salish longhouse. Several other museums in the area contain partial replicas of living accommodations that would be comfortable to the Muckleshoot. One is at the Washington State History Museum in Tacoma and another at the Burke Museum in Seattle.

Temporary Homes

The wooden house and its outbuildings was the winter home. In the summer the people partially deserted the permanent dwellings and traveled to other areas to fish or gather food. This travel repeated itself from year to year so it was possible to know exactly where the people would be at any time during the summer. It was usually the most energetic who were involved in the spring

²⁵⁹ Stewart, *Cedar*, 60 - 75. While the concepts are suitable for the Muckleshoot much of what Stewart is discussing involves Northern Pacific Coast Native Americans (British Columbia and Southeast Alaska) who built larger and more sophisticated houses.

²⁶⁰ Underhill, 73 – 87.

²⁶¹ Bagley, *History of King County*, 128.

²⁶² Haeberlin and Gunther, 17.

²⁶³ Haeberlin and Gunther, 16, 17.

migration with the old people remaining home.²⁶⁴ Underhill, however, states that many of the old people would also travel.²⁶⁵

Families started out in late spring or early summer with what household goods they needed and camped out at each place until they had gathered and stored all it provided. When the weather turned cold and rainy the people would return to the winter home.²⁶⁶

Usually the people did not leave their own lands, unless they had friends or relatives elsewhere. Although there was no sharp dividing line between the territories of neighboring tribes, it was taken for granted that a person straying too far into the country of another tribe was asking for trouble.²⁶⁷

For summer camping all that was needed was a shelter. This was made just wide enough for the family to sleep side by side with a few storage baskets along the wall. They put up a basic wood framework made from the poles available. The poles were simply tied together with mats hung over them and tied on with strands of cedar bark, passed between the cattail strands.²⁶⁸

Daily Living

Social Structure

In the society prior to white contact, there were high class people, who in most villages probably constituted the majority, a small number of low class people, and slaves at the bottom.

High class status was based on wealth and proper conduct. The wealth was measured in goods produced and natural resources controlled. Wealth also included the rights to songs, dances, and other features of important ceremonies. From the high class came the most influential men who, by virtue of their rank and prestige, oversaw the activities of the village. Political influence and leadership control rarely extended beyond the local community.

The low class had little of either the material or intangible wealth and worse, did not always conduct themselves appropriately. They lacked good manners. The most stigmatized of all would be the slaves who were taken in raids, traded from owners, or born of slave parents.²⁶⁹

Family Life

Family life was very important. There was a distinct division of labor between men and women. Men did the tool making, fishing, hunting, canoe building and raiding. Women did the food gathering, clothes making, mat and basket weaving, cooking and general household tasks.²⁷⁰

Children were raised by several close family members. Since many inter-related families lived in the same home structure it was natural for more than one person to be responsible for the care of children. For the first months of life a child was carried by the mother in a blanket or

²⁶⁴ Haeberlin and Gunther, 10, 15.

²⁶⁵ Underhill, 14.

²⁶⁶ Underhill, 14.

²⁶⁷ Haeberlin and Gunther, 10.

²⁶⁸ Underhill, 87.

²⁶⁹ Hess, introduction to Hilbert, *Haboo*, xx, xxi.

²⁷⁰ Noel, *Muckleshoot Indian History*, 6.

shawl tied around her back or front. This method is very similar to the slings used by mothers today. As more Yakima influence came to the Muckleshoot, the cradleboard was used.²⁷¹

Gibbs, in his 1855 railroad survey report stated that all Puget Sound Indians flattened the heads of infants.²⁷² Bagley indicated that while all the tribes flatten the head more or less those of the Puget Sound area do not do it as extensively as others to the south.²⁷³

Discipline was carefully administered. Children were taught respect for their elders and pride in themselves. The many stories and legends (some quoted below) were used to teach about the physical world as well as moral behavior. If a child went against a teaching she was reminded of what might happen to her. Rarely was physical punishment necessary for a child. Children were raised with love and the knowledge of what was expected of them and proper behavior usually resulted.²⁷⁴

As a child grew he learned the work roll he was expected to follow.

Girls at a young age helped the women gather and prepare food, tend to the fire, and play with younger children. Boys would accompany the men in their work. As the children learned about heritage they also learned to look upon their cousins as their brothers and sisters. It was considered wrong to marry anyone closer than at least a 5th cousin and for the earlier Indians they discouraged marriage with anyone within the extended family. Today, the young Indians are not as aware of family ties. . . .²⁷⁵

Family Problems

Current studies of Native Americans in general and Puget Sound Salish Tribes in particular are looking into issues that in the past were ignored. One of these is family violence that results from communal living in the longhouse and the power structure of the family. This subject falls outside the areas I am discussing in this paper. Crisca Bierwert, in her book, *Crushed by Cedar*, has a chapter on family problems entitled, *Facing Monstrous Prospect, Structures and Narratives of Family Violence*.²⁷⁶ Bierwert also has a chapter on *Indian Business and Cultural Practice*, which discusses the state of trying to blend past cultural heritage with modern forms of living.²⁷⁷

²⁷¹ Noel, *Muckleshoot Indian History*, 6.

²⁷² Gibbs, 36.

²⁷³ Bagley, *History of King County*, 128.

²⁷⁴ Noel, *Muckleshoot Indian History*, 7.

²⁷⁵ Noel, *Muckleshoot Indian History*, 7.

²⁷⁶ Bierwert, *Crushed by Cedar*, chap. 7, *Facing Monstrous Prospect, Structures and Narratives of Family Violence*. 197 – 223. This book discusses First Nation People (the Canadian equivalent of Native American) who lived in the Fraser River Valley of British Columbia and the upper Puget Sound area, so is not directly applicable to the southern Puget Sound Salish. Because they lived near rivers and relied heavily on cedar there is much overlap.

²⁷⁷ Bierwert, *Crushed by Cedar*, chap. 8, *Indian Business and Cultural Practice*, 224 – 265.

Crafts

The major artwork which we normally associate with Northwest Native Americans involves totem poles, wood carving and fancy basketry. This artwork is, however, centered in southeast Alaska and coastal British Columbia. Artwork further south becomes utilitarian and not so symbolic.

The Tlingit, Haida, and Tsimshian developed a highly standardized and conventional series of representations. . . . When one leaves the center of the area and begins to approach the south, however, one finds that the art forms begin to lose their drama. Those of the Salish, for example, begin to be simplified copies of the work of the more northerly peoples.²⁷⁸

The Muckleshoot were never major craftsman. What little art they were involved with disappeared rapidly after contact with the whites. The accounts available were largely given by people who no longer practiced them. There appears to have been no artistic wood carving or basket making. The few articles made were for utilitarian purposes and were not outstanding from either the technical or aesthetic point of view.²⁷⁹ Very little Muckleshoot early wood carving or basketry is currently available.

While elaborate and artistic wood working was not done by the Muckleshoot, their culture did depend on a lot of utilitarian wood objects. In this type of culture all men acquired a well-rounded basic knowledge of working with wood. Probably each village had a master wood worker who enjoyed a prestigious place in the community. A young boy who showed an interest and a natural talent for woodworking was encouraged to specialize in this field. He would watch and copy the work of an experienced worker. This master worker – apprentice approach was the typical method of schooling.²⁸⁰

Leadership

Each house was home to an extended family or to groups related by marriage, under the leadership of an individual with enough wealth and accomplishment to be accepted as leader for a house, a village or a region.²⁸¹

Travel

The dense forests and the location of the villages on or near the rivers made water travel a preferred method of travel. Canoes were therefore much used even after horses came into the area.²⁸² Children learned to paddle at an early age by going out in canoes with fishermen.²⁸³

²⁷⁸ Robert F. Spencer and Jesse D. Jennings, (*the Native Americans: Ethnology and Backgrounds of the North American Indians* (New York: Harper & Row, 1977), 144.

²⁷⁹ Haeberlin and Gunther, 30.

²⁸⁰ Stewart, *Cedar*, 29.

²⁸¹ Watson, ii.

²⁸² Washington State Museum Staff, *The Indians of Puget Sound*, 4.

²⁸³ Noel, *Muckleshoot Indian History*, 6.

Walking was probably the main mode of getting from place to place.

Clothing

Most people of the White River area wore clothing made of cedar bark. The mild Puget Sound climate required protection from the rain and little else. Hides were not used except for special needs as they became soaked in the rain. One special use of hides for clothing was by hunters as protection against brush in the woods.²⁸⁴ One person Noel interviewed, Ernie Barr, said “deer skin was preferred because it is easily worked and not as heavy as elk hide or other animal fur.”²⁸⁵

Moccasins tend to stretch out of shape when wet and shrink and harden as they dry so were usually not worn. A type of moccasin was worn for non rainy weather but was not decorated.²⁸⁶

Cedar bark, stripped and pounded smooth by the women, was made into the perfect apparel for the climate. Noël describes how the women made the clothing,

A woman would choose a small cedar under one foot in diameter, with smooth trunk and few branches. With blades, shell horn, or sharpened rock, she would cut the bark at knee height and slip a sharp stick into the cut running it up as high as she could reach. She then pried the bark until she could get her fingers under it. Pulling gently she would loosen the piece and free it from the tree. After peeling off the rough outer bark to expose smooth inner layers, she would let this dry in the sun or in front of a fire for several days. The stiff cedar bark strips were laid over a board or old canoe paddle and pounded with a special tool ... which had a smooth edge that did not cut through the fibres [*sic*] but shredded them into soft strands. These were doubled over a cord and fastened into place with rows of twining to form knee-length skirts.²⁸⁷

For wet work, and in rainy weather, clothing made from cattails was worn. Since the raw material for this clothing was so plentiful, the clothing was discarded when it became dirty or torn.²⁸⁸

Men wore a breachcloth in warm weather, hide clothing for hunting including leggings and added a fur or cattail cape for rain or cold. There is no record of early Muckleshoots wearing woven hats for rain but most fishermen prefer a hat to keep the glare of the water out of their eyes so maybe they adapted some sort of head covering.²⁸⁹

Blankets, woven from mountain goat hair, blended with fireweed fluff, bird down and possibly dog hair, were also used according to comments by early white settlers.²⁹⁰

²⁸⁴ Underhill, 121.

²⁸⁵ Noel, *Muckleshoot Indian History*, 13.

²⁸⁶ Noel, *Muckleshoot Indian History*, 13 and Washington State Museum Staff. *The Indians of Puget Sound*, p. 6.

²⁸⁷ Noel, *Muckleshoot Indian History*, 13.

²⁸⁸ Noel, *Muckleshoot Indian History*, 13.

²⁸⁹ Noel, *Muckleshoot Indian History*, 13.

²⁹⁰ Noel, *Muckleshoot Indian History*, 14.

After white settlers arrived, European clothes became the fashion. “[Muckleshoot] women did not adopt the layers of undergarments typical of the ladies of Europe. In fact rarely was anything worn under long dresses.”²⁹¹

Grooming

Bathing

The Muckleshoot, if they were like most of the other people of the Puget Sound area bathed every day, and scrubbed with small bundles of rush on special occasions. This was because they believed that the guardian spirits would not come near them if they were not scrupulously clean. When their religion was banned by law by the United States government and their way of life disrupted by an alien culture, they saw no reason to bathe. Of course, if one lives on fish constantly one will smell of fish regardless of the frequency of bathing.²⁹²

Hair

The Muckleshoot, if they were like the other people of the Puget Sound area, were very proud of their beautiful hair and would wash, brush and comb it constantly. The sign of a good wife was her husband’s well kept hair. Women parted their hair in the middle, tied it back of each ear and let it hang loose down the back. Men wore their hair long, swept back of their ears. Since this would get in their way when working they wound it into a knot on the back of the head and held it with a pin of bone or wood.²⁹³

Skin Decoration

Most of the Puget Sound natives did not practice tattooing. Normally they did not paint their faces as many Native Americans did. “On festive occasions a plentiful and hideous application is made of charcoal or colored earth pulverized in grease, and the women appreciate the charms imparted to the face by the use of vermilion clay.”²⁹⁴

Jewelry

Both men and women wore earrings, necklaces, bracelets, anklets and garter bracelets of shell. These were made of carefully worked fresh shell, not just any beach worn shell strung on a string. The jewelry was well designed, and incorporated trade beads after the whites arrived.²⁹⁵

²⁹¹ Noel, *Muckleshoot Indian History*, 14.

²⁹² Washington State Museum Staff. *The Indians of Puget Sound*, 7.

²⁹³ Washington State Museum Staff. *The Indians of Puget Sound*, 7.

²⁹⁴ Bagley, 128.

²⁹⁵ Washington State Museum Staff. *The Indians of Puget Sound*, 7.

Tools and Utensils

The pre white Muckleshoot had to make all of their tools and utensils. Cedar again proved to be a major source of raw material since it was so accessible and easy to work.²⁹⁶

Noel describes the use and making of tools and utensils as follows:

Dear hunting was done with bows and arrows despite the density of the forest. Small arrows with shafts of ironwood and points of bone were used for small birds. Other arrows were made of cedar with bone or rock points tied on. The flint for arrowheads was obtained in the mountains.

Cutting, scraping and chipping stones were formed from rock. Clam shells were also sources of dishes. Wedges, adzes and other carving tools were a combination of rock, bone or horn and wood with cedar bark twine and pitch used to connect the various pieces.

Woods such as yew or vine maple were used for tools requiring more strength because cedar is very light weight. Tool handles, wedges, bows, paddles and spoons were all carved out of a variety of woods. Digging sticks used for roots and clams, were made from a hard wood, pointed and then a horn or antler was added.

Tools for woodworking were wedges of wood, stone, bone or horn for splitting cedar, mauls or hammers of stone used to drive the wedge into the wood, adzes with stone blades and wooden handles attached by means of wild cherry bark or cedar bark twine. Carving knives were made of sharpened shells set in wooden handles or of sharpened rock. Drills were sharp pointed pieces of stone attached to the ends of straight sticks. Sand paper was wet sand, special sand-stone rocks smoothed on the bottom, rounded on the ends and graduating in shape to form a sort of handle, or sometimes dogsalmon [*sic*] skin....

Stone was shaped by flaking and by rubbing with coarser stone and wet sand. It was cut by pulling a wet, sand-coated string back and forth across it. Bone and horn were worked in much the same way.

Horn spoons were made by boiling the horn until it was soft and then doing the cutting and shaping. Wooden spoons were carved and usually made of maple.

Salmon clubs were made with rock attached to a wooden handle by strips of skin. Anchors or sinkers were fashioned of rock. Sometimes they were drilled and attached to the net through the hole, but more frequently they were indented at the ends, wrapped with twine and attached to the net.²⁹⁷

One tool unique to the Puget Sound area was the berry picker. These were carved to look like wide-toothed combs. Some were in the shape of a deep bowl for catching the berries. They were pulled over the foliage of the elderberry or blueberry causing the berries to fall off but leaving the leaves attached to the branches.²⁹⁸

²⁹⁶ Noel, *Muckleshoot Indian History*, 16.

²⁹⁷ Noel, *Muckleshoot Indian History*, 16, 17.

²⁹⁸ Waterman, *Indian Notes and Monographs*, p. not known.

Mat making involved needles and creasers carved from wood. Awls for basket making and sewing were either wooden or antler.²⁹⁹

Tools for Wood

In a culture where so much daily life depended on products made of wood all men acquired a well rounded knowledge of working with wood. Only men made things from wood. By constructing plain boxes for general family use, making fishing and hunting gear, tools and other implements, small dugout canoes as well as the longhouse they lived in, a man provided many of the necessary requirements of his family out of wood, much of it cedar.³⁰⁰

Hammers often consisted of a hammer stone, a well-worn cobble chosen for its shape, hardness and resistance to cracking or chipping. Unmodified, the oval stone was grasped in the hand, and either end could be used for pounding.³⁰¹

Wedges, which were hammered into cedar logs to split them, had to withstand heavy abuse. Tough, fine-grained yew wood provided the best material for their manufacture, though other woods such as spruce, maple and crabapple were often used. The wedge maker scorched the wood to increase its hardness, rubbed tallow into the heated wood to stop it from warping, and twisted a grommet of cedar withes around the top end to prevent a hammer blow from splitting it. The opposite end was beveled to allow it to be driven into the wood.³⁰²

For decorative woodworking the carver probably employed a curved, split beaver-tooth knife. The introduction of metal gave rise to knives that had a similar blade, but with varying widths and curves.³⁰³

Thomas Waterman described glue made from the skin of dog salmon. He said that the glue was used for manufacturing sinew-backed bows. The glue caused the sinew to adhere to the wood and also preserved the entire surface similar to a modern- day lacquer. The glue was prepared by chewing the inner skin of the dog salmon. When it was chewed fine, it was heated in a large clam shell causing it to form a liquid. The glue was applied while still warm, possibly with porcupine quill brushes. Fir sap was also used as glue.³⁰⁴

Cooking

The principal means of cooking were boiling with hot stones, steaming in a pit and roasting by an open fire.³⁰⁵

Broiling over an open fire was the method for cooking fresh foods. It took little time and required no more equipment than a few green sticks with pointed ends. On these a fresh fish or a strip of meat could be prepared over the open fire and embers. Usually Native Americans did not salt their meat before eating.³⁰⁶

²⁹⁹ Noel, *Muckleshoot Indian History*, 17.

³⁰⁰ Stewart, *Cedar*, 27.

³⁰¹ Stewart, *Cedar*, 30.

³⁰² Stewart, *Cedar*, 31.

³⁰³ Stewart, *Cedar*, 35.

³⁰⁴ Waterman, *Indian Notes and Monographs*, p. not known.

³⁰⁵ Haerberlin and Gunther, 23. Haerberlin and Gunther provide much more detail on food preparation and even provide some basic recipes, 23, 24.

³⁰⁶ Underhill, 68.

Baking was more elaborate and done in deep outside pits. The pits for cooking were always outdoors and often as much as four to five feet deep. After the food was placed in a pit in which there had been a fire, it was covered with boughs and earth and a fire was again started on top. Fish, meat and certain kinds of bulbs were cooked in this manner.³⁰⁷

The third method of cooking was boiling. This was often done indoors. It was used mostly for dried foods. It was the usual method in winter. Boiling needed elaborate equipment. Since clay pots were never used by the Salish they had to heat the water without putting it over a fire. The method was to heat stones in the fire and then drop them into cold water. The pot used was a tightly woven waterproof basket. If the stones were hot enough and if new ones were added as the first ones cooled, water could be boiled in a fairly short time. Tongs made of green wood slit part way down were used to handle the hot stones.³⁰⁸

Warfare

The Muckleshoot were not aggressive or war-like. Tribes from the north and the east often raided them. While they did not sit down passively and allow themselves to be captured or killed, the weapons available for defense were usually just the tools used in peaceful occupations. A dead enemy was not scalped. Tomahawks were introduced from Europe but saw very limited use in the Muckleshoot area.³⁰⁹

A quarrel between two villages was laid before the leaders of both villages. Such quarrels might be settled by fines, by extremely rough shinny games, or other inter-village contests. If this could not allay feelings on both sides, the men of both villages prepared for war, but this usually, in the end, consisted of insults hurled back and forth, and harmless hostile gestures. Seldom was anyone killed.³¹⁰

As mentioned previously, the greatest danger came from the Tlingits from British Columbia who would raid for slaves all along the Puget Sound coastal areas. Sometimes other northern tribes, such as the Makah, Haida and Tsimshian would raid the Puget Sound area.³¹¹

Slavery can only exist in a culture that is well off and fairly civilized.

Wandering tribes who live from hand to mouth could not afford to feed a slave. Nor would they have extra work for him to do. People can use slaves or servants only when they have more possessions than they actually need. Then they can go in for luxury or they can start some sort of business. Few Indian tribes had this opportunity. With most, a stranger in the house was simply a nuisance and so they rarely took captives. True, when they found a specially [*sic*] good one, they might bring him into a family, even letting him marry a daughter. . . .³¹²

³⁰⁷ Haeberlin and Gunther, 23.

³⁰⁸ Underhill, 68.

³⁰⁹ Washington State Museum Staff. *The Indians of Puget Sound*, 5.

³¹⁰ Washington State Museum Staff. *The Indians of Puget Sound*, 31.

³¹¹ Haeberlin and Gunther, 12.

³¹² Underhill, 159.

The fact that the Muckleshoot were peaceful might indicate they were not as well off as some other tribes and therefore were not raiders or warriors. As mentioned in earlier discussions there is some evidence that the Muckleshoot did have a few slaves.

Of course some of the tribes were in the position of being well off and did raid particularly to obtain slaves. This included those northern tribes mentioned previously plus the Klallam, Lummi and Cowlitz. All of these would raid the peaceful people of Puget Sound who generally rushed into the woods when they saw them coming.³¹³

The method was for a canoe full of tough warriors to creep up on a small camp at night when the people were asleep. They tried to kill the men before they could provide a defense. It was of no use to take a grown man as a slave as he would be too rebellious. Old people and babies were not sought after either. The desirable slaves were young women and girls and boys ten or twelve, able to work but not resist.³¹⁴

The raiders would look for women near the beach by themselves. Women out clamming learned to be watchful and learned to hide when a strange canoe came into sight. Women learned to be fearful of any strange man.³¹⁵ The Muckleshoot were reasonably secure when staying in their permanent homes on the Green and White Rivers since that was too far inland for the raiders to travel safely. While they were on the beach they were at risk.

One did not want to become a slave as that meant their whole life would be changed forever. Once a slave the shame lasted forever and the tribe did not welcome people back. This meant that escape would not be worthwhile. Slaves did not suffer physically although they were usually given the hardest work to do and the coldest bed.³¹⁶

Religion

Overview

Almost every action in Northwestern native life was connected with spirit power. The whites, who later tried to wipe out this belief, hardly realized how deep they were reaching into Native American behavior. The worldview allows for worlds beyond this one.³¹⁷ **(See the Myths, Legends and Stories Section for more material relating to religion.)**

Whether their belief system was true or not, it was the basis for their hardest work, their greatest self-control, and their belief in their own abilities. Probably all conversations would eventually relate to their understanding of the supernatural. Every happening whether it was funny and commonplace or important and serious was under the religion's influence.

The Salish had no one who could be called a priest. Each village had at least one old man who knew the tales of what might be called the religious beliefs and told them in the rainy winter nights when the people stayed at home. The hearers knew by heart the stories and tales which belonged to each. Listeners had to pay close attention. Anyone who went to sleep, even a child, would suffer. At certain points the hearers would respond to show they were awake.³¹⁸

The ancient religion was based upon having a personal spirit.

³¹³ Underhill, 159.

³¹⁴ Underhill, 160.

³¹⁵ Underhill, 160.

³¹⁶ Underhill, 160, 161

³¹⁷ Marriott, 17.

³¹⁸ Underhill, 183.

A young person, upon reaching puberty, went out into the woods alone in search of a spirit. He would fast for several days, bathe daily and open his mind to find a spirit of his own. Girls could get spirits but they were considered less powerful than those of the men. The Smokehouse religion practiced by some Indians today is based on the ancient religion. Each member has a spirit and portrays that spirit through costume, dance and song.

A person could use his spirit for good or bad. Earnie Barr said the way a person got sick was when a bad person used his spirit in an evil way. He could make another person ill. If this happened an Indian doctor was called in to drive out the offending spirit. Indian doctors usually had more than one spirit to have so much spirit.³¹⁹

Sweat Lodges

Like many Native Americans throughout the United States, the Muckleshoot used the sweat lodge in their religion.

The sweat lodge was used to cleanse the body for religious and medical purposes. Earnie [Barr] remembers a small sweathouse on the Muckleshoot Reservation being used until about 1920 or 1930. The sweathouse was a small dome shaped hut about three-four feet tall and a little larger in diameter. Vine maple sticks were driven into the ground in a circle, bent over and fastened together at the upper end. It was then covered with branches of evergreen or maple leaves and finally dirt packed over the leaves. The bottom was fastened with pegs and sealed with pitch. Construction size was for one or two people. Fires were never built inside the house. Stones were heated and then brought inside. Water poured onto hot stones produced the steam. After the person had taken the steam bath he would run from the hut and immediately plunge into the cold river or stream.

Cleanliness was an important part of the spirit religion. Daily bathing and hair grooming was considered essential because a spirit would not come to, or stay with, someone who was unclean. Cedar boughs are important in this cleanliness. Even today in the Smokehouse religion the body and home are both rubbed or swept with the boughs as part of the purification.³²⁰

Creation

Above and beyond all the powers of nature there is a Creator, a divine being who makes men out of the dust of the earth or the mud of lakes and river bottoms. Under the Creators guidance are a host of other supernatural beings, all great but none all powerful or supreme.³²¹

³¹⁹ Noel, *Muckleshoot Indian History*, 43.

³²⁰ Noel, *Muckleshoot Indian History*, 43, 44.

³²¹ Marriott, 16.

The Creation stories told how the earth at first was flat, without mountains or trees. It was full of cannibal monsters with its entire people having powers unknown to man. Some could fly, some could swim under water, and some had claws. In fact they did what animals could do now but they behaved and thought as people.³²²

Sun is father and Moon mother of us all. Exposure to the sun and contact with the earth will bring strength and blessing. Winds, rain, clouds, thunder, and storms are Sun and Earth's means of communicating to us through lesser beings. Rivers and mountains, deserts and fields, stones and running water, animals and plants and human beings all are endowed with protective power. Sometimes the good spirits can be obtained through fasting, suffering, and prayer. Sometimes a blessing comes without man's seeking it.³²³

The Changer

Then the Changer came. Sometimes the Puget Sound Salish would say this was the Fox, less often the Mink, Raven, Coyote or even the Moon or Sun. Often the Whites would refer to this being as the Great Spirit (Note the Great Spirit is the Changer not the Creator as is often assumed by whites.)³²⁴

The Changer is not all powerful and not all good. He was like an allegory of the human race itself, some times benevolent, sometimes greedy, and sometimes silly. Wherever he traveled things changed. Where he camped, creeks developed and springs sprang up where there had not been any. He piled up the mountains. Concerning the other inhabitants of the earth, it was the Changer who changed the preexisting forms into birds, beasts, fish, the rocks and trees or maybe humans.

Mostly the Changer converted the First People into other things. The term, 'First People' is a loose term given to those beings prior to the Changer and prior to our understanding of humans. Most of the time the beings agreed to the change; sometimes it was a punishment. When it became apparent that the human race was coming, everything changed.

The salmon chose to be covered with scales and to live in the water. The wolves preferred fur and a home in the woods. Even the trees and rocks took their outward appearance because it suited their character. [Note the terminology 'outward appearance', since all beings were the same at the core and still related to the 'First People'.] "The people will want hard wood," said the Changer to a thin, tough one, "so you had better be an alder. Then they will need greasy wood so you, who are fat, be a pine."

The First People consented. They knew that the trees would be cut down by human beings and the animals would be killed, but it would not be real death. They would only return to their villages and, later, would help the human race again.³²⁵

Human beings came later, perhaps by chance, perhaps made by the Changer. They never had the power of the First People. This is why the humans felt they need to find and tap the extra

³²² Underhill, 183.

³²³ Marriott, 16.

³²⁴ Underhill, 183.

³²⁵ Underhill, 184.

power that was available in the past and to others. The Native Americans did not consider the world of inanimate objects and animals to be gods, but they believed them to have special powers because of what they originally were and that they still partially retained. This hidden power might be anywhere from the cackle of a blue jay to the flash of the Thunderbird's eye, which is the lightning.³²⁶ It was important for men and women to understand the power around them and to use it for good. This is why the First Salmon ceremony mentioned previously was so important.

Spirit Canoe Ceremony

Until the early 1900s special shamans among the southern Lushootseed of Puget Sound and many neighboring Salish communities would gather during the middle of winter to hold a ritual intended to cure someone who was obviously dying.

The invariable diagnosis in these cases was that an invisible part of the patient had been taken away by a ghost to the land of the dead, there to await his or her final demise.

In addition to being the most elaborate of the Lushootseed rituals, the ceremony to recover lost souls represented one of the few situations in all Native America where a group of shamans, usually bitter rivals, dared to trust each other to share the same ritual time and space for the good of a patient and community.³²⁷

In anthropological literature this is known as the Spirit Canoe or Soul Recovery ceremony. Miller translates the various Salish terms for this ceremony to possibly mean; "Shamans curing in a row," "Healing Line," "Lineal Curing," and similar terms indicating several shamans together trying to cure the patient by recovering his or her absent spirit. Like all Salish ceremonies, no one performs alone. Everything is done with a sense of community.³²⁸ Large effigy boards were prepared for use in this rite.³²⁹ No known effigy boards appear to have survived for local Native Americans, but the Museum of the American Indian in Washington D.C. and the Field Museum in Chicago have some on display.

Jay Miller's, *Shamanic Odyssey*, explains this ceremony in detail.

Death

Death was a time for entering the land of the spirits located just under the earth. If the soul of the deceased became lonely for his family he would come back and steal the soul of a living person. For this reason the name of a recently deceased person was not used. If a person died in the house, the house was most often vacated for a period of several months. The corpse was taken out by removing boards from the house wall and the body carried through the hole. If the body was removed through the door it would remember the way back.³³⁰

³²⁶ Underhill, 184.

³²⁷ Jay Miller, *Shamanic Odyssey: the Lushootseed Salish Journey to the Land of the Dead* (Menlo Park, CA: Ballena Press, 1988), xv.

³²⁸ Miller, xv-xvii.

³²⁹ Miller, 5.

³³⁰ Noel, *Muckleshoot Indian History*, 52.

To ensure a pleasant future life all personal belongings of the deceased were included with the body so he would not come back looking for them. The body was then wrapped in a blanket and placed in a canoe which was set on posts or those unable to provide a canoe constructed a platform in a tree and the body was wrapped and placed on this platform.³³¹

A transcribed radio talk by Nard Jones from the early 1960s states:

Puget Sound Indians believed spirits lived the same kind of life as do people on earth. They hunted, fished and traveled. They were great for song and faithfully haunted houses. This was why when an Indian died he was placed in a canoe with all his belongings – so he wouldn't have to come back for something that he had forgotten. On his journey to the "Land of the Ghosts" he had to cross two rivers, one by log bridge and one by canoe. There were two roads leading to the rivers, one turned right and one turned left. The left road was short and traveled by those who died suddenly, usually in battle or by an accident. The longer road was traveled by those who had been sick for a long time.³³²

After the coming of the white man the burial method changed. The Muckleshoot would dig a shallow grave, wrap the body in a blanket, include personal items in the grave with the body, and construct a small hut over the entire grave.³³³

Virginia Cross told Patricia Noel, that in addition to burying items with the corpse, the belongings were often burned. This would help explain why there are not artifacts left even within the family.³³⁴

Christianity

In the 1860s Catholic priests brought organized Christian religion to the Muckleshoot and most were converted. St. Claire's mission was built in 1874 entirely by reservation members. It was used infrequently because the church had a mission status only and no resident priest. Father Pelieske would come from Tulalip and say Mass, perform weddings and baptisms. In its history the mission had many different priests responsible for these tasks.³³⁵ **(See the later section on St. Claire's Mission Church for more details on the current status of this church.)** From the 1870s until through the 1950s most of the Christianity on the Muckleshoot reservation was Catholic.

Florence Yates started a Pentecostal church in the 1950s. She organized a mission on the present location with the help of Bertha McJoe. Visiting ministers would come to the church almost every Sunday. Mrs. Yates dropped out of active participation and Mrs. Robertson took over. During this time the original mission caught fire and was destroyed. Insurance helped

³³¹ Noel, *Muckleshoot Indian History*, 52.

³³² Nard Jones, *Puget Sound Profile*, Vol. 1 (City not given: Puget Power Press, 1961-1962), 70.

³³³ Noel, *Muckleshoot Indian History*, 52.

³³⁴ Noel, *Muckleshoot Indian History*, 52.

³³⁵ Noel, *Muckleshoot Indian History*, 45.

replace the original building and Bertha McJoe took over the mission. Today [1980] there are about 13 enrolled adults and 30-40 children who attend Sunday School.³³⁶

Shaker Religion

In the 1880s, the Shaker Religion was developed. This Native American version should not be confused with the white Christian Shaker Religion that developed on the east coast. Patricia Noel provides the Indian version of the origin of the Shaker religion.

In 1881, John Slocum a Squaxin Indian from the Olympia area died and in view of his family arose at his own wake. He said he had died and that his soul had gone to be judged by God, where an angel turned it away revealing the error of his sinful life. He was instructed to return to earth, relate his transformation and lead other sinners into the Christian life. If he did this he would be granted a brief respite from the ultimate death.

About a year later, Slocum became ill and was again expected to die. His wife became so disturbed that she suffered a bysterical [hysterical?] seizure during which she prayed, cried and shook over her husband's body. Slocum recovered slightly and it was attributed to the shaking. Thus the Indian Shaker religion was born.

The basic features of the Shaker religion are:

1. Totally spiritual, no written work to follow. The Holy Spirit guides directly through the members.
2. God gave this religion to the Indians through Slocum.
3. Shaking is a form of medicine.
4. Cures are derived from the principle virtue of power, the acquisition of which brings mental and physical relief.
5. Power comes through the shake giving extra-ordinary insight and ability.
6. Visions which come while under power give a shaker insight into the future.
7. Faith – this is possible [*sic*] the most vital component for one must believe in order to be cured.
8. Prayer – the quality of spontaneity is stressed. . . .³³⁷

This religion is strict in its standards of behavior and the obligations placed on the member are dictated by their spiritual faith. Temperance, faithfulness to one's spouse and no gambling are some of the member expectations. In ritual, bells, candles, dance and the Sign-of-the-Cross play prominent roles. Prayers are said in both English and Indian. Handshaking, with the expression "Anyone who wants to live, come and shake hands with me," is also used. The body and home may be brushed and swept to rid them of sin and instill a more holy attitude.

During a Shaker service, the men and women sit on separate sides of the church. The church is usually plain with benches to sit on, an altar is in the front and sometimes religious statues or pictures are present. The Muckleshoot Shaker Church was dedicated in 1913. Since most people

³³⁶ Noel, *Muckleshoot Indian History*, 49.

³³⁷ Noel, *Muckleshoot Indian History*, 47.

were Catholic converts, both religions blended together and played a part in the lives of the people.

Many Muckleshoot today still consider the Shaker Church to be part of their lives whether they practice the religion or not.³³⁸

Ethics

The legends and stories told were one way of communicating the moral values and ethical system expected for the youth to learn and the adults to follow. Vi Hilbert lists eight of the values people were expected to know and follow.

Respect (Hold Sacred) All of the Earth –
Respect (Hold Sacred) All of the Spirits –
Remember (Hold Sacred) The Creator –
Be Honest (Don't You Dare Lie!)
Be Generous (Be Helpful To Your People In Any Way You Can!)
Be Compassionate (Feel Forgiveness For Others)
Be Clean (You Will Be Washed)
(Keep Washing Away All Badness – Dirt and Sin-Crime)
Be Industrious (And You Will Work Always, Don't Be Lazy!)³³⁹

The legends and stories that involved Coyote, Mink and Raven provided examples of wrong behaviors that the people would understand as actions not to be done by them. Children would never be like them. Vi Hilbert continues with comments about how one is expected to behave.

All of us were told, again and again, you are not to disgrace yourself or your people under any circumstances. . . .

Native people are very careful in public. No one should be made to feel embarrassed or unwanted. We genuinely appreciate differences. . . . All life is respected. . . .

Among my people, disapproval is shown by silently ignoring someone, but even this is only temporary. Everyone should be made to feel welcome and, therefore, important. Bad habits are overlooked. Unwise activity might lead to ridicule, but this was a way to help the person overcome difficulty.³⁴⁰

Sources Available for Daily Living

Local Museums

Unfortunately the Muckleshoot do not have a museum and there is very little of their material available in museums. For example when the Burke Museum put together a state Centennial

³³⁸ Noel, *Muckleshoot Indian History*, 48.

³³⁹ Vi Hilbert, *Haboo: Native American Stories from Puget Sound* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1985),

x.

³⁴⁰ Hilbert, *Haboo*, xi.

exhibit in 1989 (April 1 – October 1, 1989), *A Time of Gathering: Native Heritage in Washington State*, the catalog includes one hundred artifacts that were on display, but none was Muckleshoot.³⁴¹ The two closest neighbors to the Muckleshoot, the Puyallup and the Duwamish are also under represented as only one Puyallup item is included. In 1998, the Seattle Art Museum had an exhibit, *Native Visions: Evolution in Northwest Coast Art from the Eighteenth through the Twentieth Century*. The catalog admits the reason for the date range is that little material is available prior to the eighteenth century for the northwest. Most of the known artifacts for our region have been made since 1800. This catalog also includes no Muckleshoot or nearby tribal material.³⁴²

The Washington State Capital Museum in Olympia and the Longhouse at Evergreen State College Campus in Olympia display artifacts from the southern Puget Sound area. The Washington State History Museum in Tacoma has many Native American artifacts on display but these are from non-area tribes such as the Makah on the coast. They do have material in their special collections from all the tribes of Washington but usually space prevents most of these from being displayed.

The Burke Museum, on the University of Washington campus in Seattle, is a treasure trove for Northwest Coast art. The collection, however, is mainly from British Columbia and Southeast Alaska.

Many have visited Tillicum Village on Blake Island to eat a salmon dinner and enjoy a live dance performance. One does get to see a somewhat commercialized longhouse and performance center. Probably most people attending do not realize that the Native Americans who meet them, costumed in the traditional blue and red button capes and headpieces are wearing clothes worn by Southeast Alaska and British Columbia tribes and not Puget Sound Salish. The village reflects mostly Southeast Alaska and British Columbia coastal art and tradition. The dances are authentic with real Native American dancers, but they dance the dances of the Lummi Tribe and those further north. I was told by one of the dancers in September 2004 that the dance coordinator is from the Lummi tribe near Bellingham.

References on Daily Living

The following provided information on the daily living activities of the Muckleshoot and Puget Sound Salish.³⁴³

1. Patricia Slettvet Noel, *Muckleshoot Indian History*. This 219-page book is the best single source that is specifically aimed at the Muckleshoot culture.
2. Ruth Underhill, *Indians of the Pacific Northwest*. This 232-page book is a good overview of Puget Sound Salish, discussing all aspects of daily living.

³⁴¹ Wright. ed., *A Time of Gathering: Native heritage in Washington State*.

³⁴² Steven C. Brown, *Native Visions: Evolution in Northwest Coast Art from the Eighteenth through the Twentieth Century* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1998).

³⁴³ See the Bibliography Section for publishing details on these books.

Myths, Legends and Stories

History versus Myth

One of the most interesting and informative aspects of the Muckleshoot and other Puget Sound cultures concerns their myths, legends and stories. Native stories can be divided into two broad categories. One is a formal true history of the way things were. This would include the ability to orally recite the long history of a tribe or family.

A group that could not tell their traditions would be ridiculed with the remark, “what is your ‘history’?” And if you could not give it, you were laughed at. “What is your grandfather’s name? And where is your crest? How do you know your past, where have you lived? You have no Grandfather. You cannot speak to me, because I have one. You have no ancestral home. You are like a wild animal, you have no abode.”³⁴⁴

Unfortunately very few of these types of stories exist for the Muckleshoot, or even the adjoining tribes, for the time prior to the coming of the Europeans.

The second type of story is the myth or legend. These do exist but it is not always easy to sort out the influence of the white culture.

Definition of Myths, Legends and Stories

Often the terms myths, legends and stories are used interchangeably. Marriott and Rachlin provide a formal definition for each, plus folklore [stories].

“Myth” applies to the actions and counteractions of supernatural beings.

“Legend” represents the humanized counterpoint: the recording of the deeds and doings of earthly heroes, whether or not they trod the ground with historic feet.

“Folklore” [or stories] applies to everyday happenings: joking, socials, and the contemporary stories that are told and retold so often that they lose any tribal identity.³⁴⁵

We do not know when these myths, legends and stories originated (unless they relate to white settlers, then it is obvious they are recent.) The Native Americans referenced past time by referring to especially remarkable occasions, such as the year of the solar eclipse, or the period when a big log jam occurred in a certain river or when a big fire occurred, or of the time when the whites came. All of the pre-white culture was only derived from memory. To this end the

³⁴⁴ Ames, 1, quoting John Brown, a Girkisan elder speaking to the ethnographer, Marius Barbeau, in Kispiox, British Columbia in 1920.

³⁴⁵ Alice Marriott and Carol K. Rachlin, *American Indian Mythology* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1968), 1, 2.

people developed excellent memories in order to pass on important information to later generations.

One way of learning about the Native Americans is to study their myths and legends.

The Muckleshoot and other Native Americans all divided time into three loosely defined and overlapping periods: the Myth Period, the Period of Transformation, and the Historical Period.

In the earliest of these, the Myth Age, the great primal beginnings took place; there were no human beings yet; the world was peopled with animal-spirits in more or less human form; monsters, freaks, and confusions of nature were abroad, threatening a general disorder. The Myth Age flows into the Age of Transformation, when Coyote or some other transformer went about fixing up the world (not “perfecting” it – is it perfect now?), turning animal people into animals *per se* and certain beings into natural landmarks – usually with the unsettling prophecy that “The People” (i.e., the real Indians, like those listening to the story) “are almost here now.”

The third age is the “Historical” only in the sense that its events are not cataclysmic or precedent setting; transformations still occur but not as a matter of course; the world with its human and animal inhabitants has settled down and pretty much taken on its present reality. Narratives set in this age are really more stories or tales than myths. . . .³⁴⁶

Ramsey suggests a fourth period which can stand alone or be a subset of the third period. This is the truly historic event which would include the coming of the white man. This would represent the final “Age of Transformation” when the culture was shattered. Ramsey says this phase of native oral history has been largely ignored.³⁴⁷

Hess says that many Lushootseed speaking people divide their literature into two categories, history, called *lələʔulab* and Myth Age stories known as *sx^wiʔab* in the south and as *syəyhub* (or simply *syəhub*) in the north. In addition to these two genres, there are also personal accounts which fall under the general term *syəcab* which refers to any sort of news or non-traditional story.³⁴⁸

Most [myths] are fairly light and humorous, reflecting the foibles of human nature. Although these are treated lightly, almost every story serves to teach appropriate behavior. This instruction is usually achieved by humorously detailing the unfortunate, even disastrous consequences of breaking taboos.

A few of the traditional stories, however, have a more serious tone. Typically these are longer than the lighter ones, and they are concerned with graver questions. They examine the world order and deal with points of tension within social fabric. The major characters are heroes who act wisely rather than impetuously or foolishly as in the lighter stories.

However, this dichotomy into lighter, shorter tales and longer, graver ones

³⁴⁶ Jarold Ramsey, *The Indian literature of Oregon*, in Edwin R. Bingham and Glen A. Love, compilers and editors, *Northwest Perspectives: Essays on the Culture of the Pacific Northwest*, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1979), 9.

³⁴⁷ Ramsey, 9, 10.

³⁴⁸ Hess, introduction to Hilbert, *Haboo*, xviii.

is only a tendency.³⁴⁹

An example of a longer story (too long to include here) is Annie Daniels' version of *the Fly* recorded in Hilbert's *Haboo*, which tells how insects were created and why they became the scourge of humankind.³⁵⁰

Supernatural power, potency neutral in and of itself, is another attribute of the early beings who preceded humans on the earth. By means of this power, they performed feats that no creatures, human or otherwise, could do today. Hess compares the Myth Age with the present as follows:

The events recounted in myth took place before the world was transformed. Long ago, before the change, there were no humans as we know them. All of the beings of this age shimmered among humankind, animal, and spirit forms; but they always had the same emotions and sensibilities as humans. When people did arrive, the world had been prepared for them by the transformer (changer), who had arranged for all of the beings to take on the fixed forms of animals, plants, and geological features. During the Myth Age, beings had some of the characteristics of the modern species with the same names. In addition, some of the denizens of the old order have some of the characteristics we know them for today. For example, Raven, when a man, could fly and he was an unbridled glutton, an apt parallel to the scavenging habits of the present birds.³⁵¹

These characters, each with human and animal traits, provide the storyteller with great flexibility. The storyteller can draw on either characteristic as plot, imagination, and a sense of humor require.

The old order did not last however. At some time in the remote past a being of great power walked through the world changing everything into its present form, preparing the land for the Native people who were soon to come. Such a transformation is discussed under Religion Section discussion of the Changer.

Native American Mythology and Legends

The mythology of the Muckleshoot and other tribes in the surrounding areas provides a way of looking at their beliefs. The Native Americans used myth stories as a way of teaching. Legends made order out of the world, defined certain behavior and rituals and confirmed the existence of a supernatural power.

Since the pre-white world had no written language the Native Americans developed a large verbal and oral history that was easily memorized in the form of myths and legends.

Some of these were very short others could take up to four days to tell. They had to be repeated word for word, even syllable for syllable or the magic and meaning would be lost.³⁵²

³⁴⁹ Hess, introduction to Hilbert, *Haboo*, xviii, xix.

³⁵⁰ Hilbert, *Haboo*, 33 – 41. Hilbert indicates Annie Daniels, a Southern Lushootseed, at Puyallup in 1952, told this story.

³⁵¹ Hess, introduction to Hilbert, *Haboo*, xix.

³⁵² Marriott, 14.

One of the most important uses of the big cedar houses happened after the salmon had been caught, the berries and roots had been gathered and the traders returned and winter came on:

[After] the moon (approx. November) called . . . (shee-chal-wass) “putting paddles away.” In winter the most important, intangible wealth of traditional Puget Sound – the ancient legends and ceremonies handed down through generations – became most active.³⁵³

When winter came there was little for the People to do but stay indoors and try to keep warm and dry. This was the right time to bring back the stories of the culture. Probably one cannot truly understand the pre-white culture without being exposed to the myths, legends and stories of the People.

This was the time for periodic events to occur throughout the winter. The whole community as well as visitors from other villages might come together to witness two families merge by marriage or the confirmation of a family name, handed down through generations, on a young person who had proved worthy of carrying it. Weddings were held as well as ceremonies and related dances. Everyone present could benefit from the sharing of tradition and spiritual power.

The Muckleshoot were not as wealthy as some of the surrounding tribes so their ceremonies were not as extravagant. Often they did not have a special cedar house for the ceremonies so the living quarters were used. Partitions and extra furnishings were removed from the living quarters and the festivities held there.

While major events were held periodically throughout the winter, every evening one or more elders would provide the experience that gave Puget Sound Native American culture its surest continuity – the telling of syayhub (syah-yah-hobe) or legends.³⁵⁴

Through the oral literature of the syayhub, given as short vignettes, epics, or cycles of stories, the culture’s wisest members could pass on information about the origin of the world and its inhabitants, about ancient monsters, natural phenomena and present day species, and about culture and the results of right and wrong behavior. These legends were heard many times by young people as an important part of their education. They were cherished and repeated by adults, refined and dramatized by elders. . . . Figuring out the point of the story and applying it to one’s own life is an important part of the education process. The job of the audience was (and is) to pay attention and think. . . .

Usually, syayhub do not describe historic “real time” or the actions of human beings. Although the people in the stories may walk and act and speak as human beings, they are myth people – that is, they are ancestral forms of animal species, plants, forces of nature, and supernatural beings that inhabited the pre-human world envisioned by many Native American cultures. . . .

This oral literature was created by centuries of Native American life in the Puget Sound area, and in turn helped to shape the culture as it evolved and was refined. They offer one of the best glimpses we now have of human life in the region prior to the coming of the explorers of the eighteenth century and immigrant homesteaders of the nineteenth.³⁵⁵

³⁵³ Watson, iii.

³⁵⁴ Watson, iii.

Meaning of Legends

A skillful storyteller can influence the meaning by his emotions and actions.

A skillful Indian storyteller is an actor as well as a narrator. His facial expressions are lively, his eyes twinkle, he gestures not only with his hands but with his feet, he changes his voice to fit his characters. When one of his characters sings, the storyteller sings.³⁵⁶

This is why the original meaning is sometimes lost when the story is only on paper. Reading these stories off the printed page leads us to forget that they have been utterly transformed into a mode unthought of by the original sources. All the dramatic quality of the person who related it is lost.

All stories and legends had meaning but the exact meaning was to be determined by the listener. Vi Hilbert discusses how meanings were to be determined;

Our Legends are like gems with many facets. They need to be read, savored, and reread from many angles. My elders never said to me, “This story carries such and such a meaning.” I was expected to listen carefully and learn why the story was being told. Though guided, I was allowed the dignity of finding my own interpretation.³⁵⁷

While the characters in myth time belong to the prehuman era, their inter-relationships reflect the social organization of the Lushootseed speaking peoples before contact with Europeans. There is a wide diversity in literary sophistication and readability among the published texts of the myths and legends. Some have been published in a literal “word-for-word,” format. These are very hard to follow as the word order is different from English and they often repeat phrases several times. Other published texts are easier to read but are really only paraphrases. Some of the earlier texts have softened or deleted offensive material. Some texts are translations from the Salish language while others are taken directly from English speakers (both Native American and white.) During the last half of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century stories were often paraphrased in such a manner as to conform to white printed literature and not Native American.³⁵⁸

Two Videos Containing Legends and Stories

Two excellent videos are available for seeing and hearing legends and stories told by local Native Americans. These are *Stories from the Muckleshoot* and *Houchoosedah*.

³⁵⁵ Watson, iv.

³⁵⁶ Ella E. Clark, *Indian Legends of the Pacific Northwest* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1953, reprinted 1997), p. 2. Clark claims that her material is all authentic, 2.

³⁵⁷ Hilbert, *Haboo*, ix.

³⁵⁸ Jarold Ramsey, *The Indian literature of Oregon*, in Edwin R. Bingham and Glen A. Love, compilers and editors, *Northwest Perspectives: Essays on the Culture of the Pacific Northwest*, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1979), 5.

Stories from the Muckleshoot Video

The video, *Stories from the Muckleshoot*, provides eight stories told by three Muckleshoot tribal elders.³⁵⁹ The elders tell the stories in both historical and modern settings and are illustrated with drawings from tribal members. The stories range from cautionary stories told to children to teach them discipline to creation cosmology. Also included is a traditional berry picking song that shows the type of basket used by the women for picking berries.

Houchoosedah: Traditions of the Heart Video

The Video, *Houchoosedah: Traditions of the Heart*, has Vi Hilbert, an Upper Skagit elder, telling several stories in Lushootseed with English subtitles.³⁶⁰ A more proper translation of the title might be - *Ancestral Teaching*.³⁶¹

How the Indians Raised the Sky

Following is one of the stories told in both *Stories from the Muckleshoot* and *Houchoosedah: Traditions of the Heart*.

In the early days, when all the animals were still human beings, the sky was very low. It was so close to the earth that the people could not stand upright. They had to crawl around on their hands and knees, and it was very hard to get about and do their work. They held meetings and discussed how they could raise the sky. Everyone had some plan and they tried many of them, but none seemed to work. No man among them seemed strong enough to lift the sky, so what were they to do?

Finally they came upon this idea: that it might be possible to raise the sky if all the people – every single one of them – would lift at the same time. But how could they all lift at the same time? They were scattered all over the country, and many were too far off to hear a signal. So they decided to create a new word which, at a given time, they would all shout together as a signal for them to start lifting the sky. They wanted a word that would sound far and echo well. So they created the word “Yahoo.” It was a good word that could be drawn out long until everyone heard it.

So all the preparations were made. Everyone was to cut a long pole of cedar. At the signal they were all to brace their poles against the sky, and when they heard the new word “Yahoo” they were all to lift.

Finally the day came for the great task. Bright and early everyone was out with his pole, and they all waited for the great word to come to them. At last everyone was ready; they braced their poles against the sky, and then they heard “Yahoo”

³⁵⁹ Robert B. Spenser prod./dir., *Stories from the Muckleshoot*, (King County Library System – Media Services, 1988), video, 25 min.

³⁶⁰ *Houchoosedah: Traditions of the Heart*, video.

³⁶¹ Explanatory sign next to video presentation at Seattle Art Museum, Northwest Coast Native American display, viewed August 13, 2004. (Since the sign was viewed the museum has been remodeled so the arrangement may not be the same.)

sounding far and wide. Everybody pushed hard, pushed against the sky with all their might. After their great effort they stopped and looked. Yes, it had helped; the sky was a little higher. They raised themselves up a little and their heads did not bump against the sky as soon as they usually did. The great word had helped. They were so much encouraged that they decided to try again. Everything was made ready; the great word sounded again and the sky rose up further. It was so wonderful they kept up their work, getting longer and longer poles until the sky was up where it is today. Then the people danced for joy for they could stand upright and could look up into the bright blue sky.³⁶²

Like all legends and myths it is up to the listener to interpret the meaning. Vi Hilbert introduces this story with the explanation that it tells how people can learn to work together for a common good.³⁶³

Many Indians still use the word “Yahoo” when they want to do something as a group, for example lift a canoe or other large object.³⁶⁴ Haerberlin indicates the word used was “Yahu”³⁶⁵ and Clark indicates the word was “Ya-hoh.”³⁶⁶ In the video *Houchoosedah: Traditions of the Heart*, the pronunciation given by Vi Hilbert sounds like yahup.³⁶⁷

Clark, at the end of her version of this myth, adds some information about those who did not participate in the Sky Pushing.

But a few people did not know about the sky pushing. Three were hunters who had been chasing four elk for several days. Just as the people and animals and birds were ready to push the sky up, the three hunters and the four elk came to the place where the earth nearly meets the sky. The elk jumped into the Sky World, and the hunters ran after them. When the sky was lifted, elk and hunters were lifted too.

In the Sky World they were changed to stars. At night, even now, you can see them. The three hunters form the handle of the Big Dipper. The middle hunter has his dog with him – now a tiny star. The four elk make the bowl of the Big Dipper.

Some other people were caught up in the sky in two canoes, three men in each of them. And a little fish also was on its way up into the Sky World when the people pushed. So all of them have had to stay there ever since. The hunters and the little dog, the elk, the little fish, and the men in the two canoes are now stars, but they once lived on earth.³⁶⁸

³⁶² Rather than transcribe the sound from the video I have used a similar written version from Washington State Museum Staff, *The Indians of Puget Sound*, added section at end with no page numbers

³⁶³ *Houchoosedah: Traditions of the Heart*, video.

³⁶⁴ Washington State Museum Staff, *The Indians of Puget Sound*, added section at end with no page numbers.

³⁶⁵ Herbert Haerberlin, “Mythology of Puget Sound,” *Journal of American Folklore* XXXVII (1924), 417, based on information from Snohomish Chief William Shelton.

³⁶⁶ Clark, 149. Clark also bases the source of this word on Chief Shelton (see previous footnote.)

³⁶⁷ *Houchoosedah: Traditions of the Heart*, video, during the telling by Vi Hilbert of *How the Indians Raised the Sky*.

³⁶⁸ Clark, 149, with Snohomish Chief William Shelton as the original source.

The meaning of this addition seems to be that if one does not participate in the group activities then one will be forever left outside the group.

Changer Stories

In Lushootseed, as in other Northwest Coast literatures, stories about the Changer constitute a genre, and part of their function is to distinguish between the present time and a time long ago when there were not the separate categories of “people” and “animals.” Everyone was both. At some point in time, the changer appeared, stalking through the world and asking everyone, “What are you doing?” Depending on their response, he then decided for them what their future characteristic activity in the world would be. The time before and during the changer is known as myth time.³⁶⁹

The stories, myths and legends therefore can take place in one of three time periods: before the changer, when there were not separate categories of people and animals; during the changing process; or after people and animals were separate categories.

The beings prior to the Changer are not fully animal or fully human or fully spirit. They had many simultaneous aspects of all three which only got sorted out when the world changed or “capsized” in preparation for modern humans.

As the Epic Age Came to a close, each being assumed a single form and became associated with a particular location. Many transformed into particular landmarks where they now exist as aspects of geography, unusual acoustics, or appearance. Others became species of plants or animals occupying particular ecological niches. For most natives, the Epic Age continued for countless eons until a sudden flurry of activity prepared for the change, set off by rumors that human people were coming soon. Sometimes, the agent for these events is a being called the Changer, who turned Animal People into species, rocks, river rapids, and many other things. For example, he would encounter Deer, who were sharpening stakes to kill the Changer before he could transform the world. Changer would ask to examine the slats and suddenly poke them into Deer’s head, creating antlers and forever making this animal a timid prey of hunters.

During this transformational period, everything was in flux. Somehow, every narrative picks up the story in the midst of this. There is no instant or point of beginning for the Lushootseed. Instead the narrative begins and proceeds in terms of connections. Things are already in existence, but leading separate lives until a link is made and other events follow in due course.³⁷⁰

There are many different versions of origin stories around Puget Sound. As conditions changed in the region, the versions of the epic tended to drift apart somewhat. A flood is often part of all these events.³⁷¹

³⁶⁹ Bierwert, ed., *Lushootseed Texts: An Introduction to Puget Salish Narrative Aesthetics*, 63.

³⁷⁰ Vi Hilbert, transcriber, *Aunt Susie Sampson Peter; The Wisdom of a Skagit Elder*, (No City: Lushootseed Press, 1995, rev. September 1995, rev. 1997), 129. The primary title of this book is in Lushootseed. I have used only the English version.

³⁷¹ Hilbert, *Aunt Susie Sampson Peter*, 129. Aunt Susie Sampson’s version of a flood story, Beaver and River Bullhead is given on 147 – 159.

A couple of Changer stories can only be referred to here, as they are too long to include completely. In the first, Bierwert discusses and presents a Changer story told by Lushootseed speaker Martha Lamont.³⁷² There are several episodes of the Changer dealing with different animals: Mink, Crow, Raven, and the Wolf brothers. In the second, Clark presents a Changer story told by Puyallup, Jerry Meeker, in 1952.³⁷³ In this story, two sisters from earth marry stars in heaven and then escape back to earth. The older sister has a son by her star husband. While she was digging roots she would leave the son with his blind grandmother. Two women from the north steal the boy without the blind grandmother realizing he is gone. This part of the story takes up the first three pages and continues from here as follows:

Many years later, Blue Jay, on his travels, reached the edge of the world, far in the northland. There he saw a land beyond the edge of the world. To reach it, Blue Jay saw that he would have to fly below a shelf of land. This shelf rose and fell all the time, and shook the earth with its movement. Blue Jay hesitated, but gathering all his courage, he dashed through feet first. The shelf of land caught his head and flattened it on both sides. This is why blue jays today have flattened heads.

In the land beyond the edge of the earth, Jay saw but one house. In it he found a man chipping arrowheads from stone. Somehow Blue Jay recognized the man as the child who had been stolen from his grandmother in his babyhood.

“I came to find you,” said Jay. “Your mother has been mourning for you for many years.”

“I am getting ready to go to your people,” replied the man. “I have been making bows and arrows and other things to take with me. Go home to your people and tell that I am coming. I will teach them how to use the things I am making. Then life will be easier for them. And I will change the earth so that it will be less cruel and more beautiful. People will call me the Changer.”

Blue Jay returned with the message for his people. In time the Changer came, bringing with him bows, arrows, war clubs, baskets, moccasins, leather garments, and other things which he had made. He showed the people how to use them and how to make them.

He brought seeds of many trees and shrubs. He brought roots and berries and grasses of many kinds. All these he planted on the earth, to make it beautiful and fruitful. He placed animals and birds on the land, and fishes in the water. He made canoes and fish traps and showed the people how to make them.

Up to this time, stones had had life; bees, flies, and other insects had been giants. The Changer removed life from stones and made the insects small and less harmful. Crane had been troublesome to many people by ripping them whenever they tried to cross the river. The Changer transformed Crane into a bird that could do nothing but wade around in the water looking for fish.

As the Changer passed across the land, he came to the house where lived a bad man who sometimes set the earth on fire. “I am the son of Fire,” the man kept singing. “I am the son of Flames.”

³⁷² Bierwert, ed., *Lushootseed Texts: An Introduction to Puget Salish Narrative Aesthetics*, 63 – 102. Bierwert indicates this story was recorded by Thomas Hess in the mid 1960s.

³⁷³ Clark, 143 – 146.

As he sang, his house caught on fire and the flames spread. Soon they reached the Changer. He ran, but Flames followed. Alarmed, he asked Boulders to protect him.

“We cannot,” Boulders replied. “If we should try, the heat would break us.”

The Changer asked Trees to help him. “We cannot,” trees replied. “If we should try, we would be burned.”

As he ran to the River, he asked River to help him. “I cannot,” replied River. “Fire would make my water boil.”

At last he came to a hard-worn path. “Lie down on me,” called Trail. “Lie down on me, and Fire will pass over you.”

So the Changer lay down, and Fire passed over him.

Then he returned to the man and the house where Fire had started. All around him were many snakes. When asked about them, the man mocked him. So the Changer killed the man and split him open. From the man’s stomach and from every corner of the house, angry snakes jumped upon the Changer. But he killed them or made them weak. That is why there are few snakes in this country, and why all that are here are harmless.

Thus the Changer traveled over the land, helping the people and getting rid of evil creatures. He taught the people how to make all the things they needed, how to play games, how to cure the sick. He showed them how to get power from the spirits.³⁷⁴

The Star Child myth is the Lushootseed great epic and exists in many versions. It involves two sisters (sometimes they are only friends) who wished for what seems impossible, yet married stars. Pregnant by the older man, one sister escaped to earth, where she created a house, fish weir, and a babysitting grandmother from a log. Since people were few, her son was stolen by two women. Grieving, his mother received a second son while wringing out the diaper left behind. Mother and Diaper Child became enslaved to Raven until the brothers met. (At this point different versions occur, sometimes with the brothers meeting and sometimes not.) After various adventures the boys (in one version) become the moon and sun. Thereafter the landscape was named and occupied by humans.³⁷⁵ Aunt Susie Sampson Peter provides a slightly different version than Clark.³⁷⁶

Even the Changer could be tricked but he always got even.

One day as he [the Changer] was traveling along a river, he became hungry. He saw a salmon jumping, called it to him, put it on a spit, and placed it beside his fire. While he was cooking, the Changer fell asleep. A wandering creature came and ate all the salmon. Before he slipped away, he rubbed some grease on the lips and fingers of the sleeping Changer, and put some bits of fish between his teeth and lips. When the sleeper awoke, he knew that he had been tricked. He followed the tracks of the creature and soon found him looking at himself

³⁷⁴ Clark, 145, 146.

³⁷⁵ Hilbert, *Aunt Susie Sampson Peter*, 91.

³⁷⁶ Hilbert, *Aunt Susie Sampson Peter*, 91- 127. A slightly different second version is also credited to Aunt Suzie Sampson Peter, 131 – 140 as well as several variations summarized by Hilbert, 140, 141.

in the water. The Changer transformed him into a coyote.³⁷⁷

Even the Changer was changed from his original form. Following is only one of many legends about the Changer being changed into something else by his own actions. This legend is the ending of the legend recorded by Clark that I began with concerning the Star Child.

When he [the Changer who had been the Star Child] went to the home of his blind grandmother, Toad, he saw a mountain or rock. The mountain had been formed from the coils of cedar rope which his mother and aunt had made in Star Land. As he looked up at the sky, the Changer thought that there should be more light. So he went up to the Sky World and traveled across in the form of the sun.

But he made the days so hot that the people could not stand the heat. He called his brother, who had been made from the cradleboard, and made him into the sun.

“I will be the night sun,” said the Changer.” “And I will take with me as my wife the maiden who can lift and carry this great bag of things which I have made.

Only the daughter of Frog could carry such a load, and so she went up to the sky with him. Today the Changer, the Frog, and the bag carried can be seen in the full moon.³⁷⁸

Other Characters

Like the Changer, many other characters appear over and over in many stories. Mink and Raven are two of the most important characters in Lushootseed literature. Raven and Mink and only a few other characters, have personality that exists independent of any one story. When a narrator mentions Mink or Raven, the audience already knows all about the part he will play in the story.³⁷⁹ Hess adds Coyote as being one of the most important characters. All three are tricksters for which no deception is too immoral or dishonest when they are trying to gratify their base desires. Their attempt at deception is often far fetched and humorous. As often as they trick others, they themselves are either tricked or caught in their duplicity. And yet these moral failures do on occasion, rise to heroic deeds for the benefit of others. For example, it was Mink and Raven who managed to bring daylight to the people.³⁸⁰

Raven is the best-known character in Lushootseed literature. He is sometimes called “the Creator,” and was often a coworker with the Changer. For example an often-told story credits Raven with bringing daylight into the world. Raven, however, is a somewhat negative character who is often called a trickster and is motivated by greed. Raven is never shown as stable but as a miscreant with gluttony as his chief goal in life. He never shares food (a very significant failing in Lushootseed values.) He also never shares credit for any accomplishment.³⁸¹

[Raven] is lazy, cowardly, irresponsible, vainglorious, and his manners are terrible. . . . His fatuous, raucous way of speaking is easy to mimic,

³⁷⁷ Clark, 146. Clark credits, Puyallup, Jerry Meeker, with telling this story originally in 1952.

³⁷⁸ Clark, 146.

³⁷⁹ Bierwert, ed., *Lushootseed Texts: An Introduction to Puget Salish Narrative Aesthetics*, 64.

³⁸⁰ Hess, introduction to Hilbert, *Haboo*. p. xx. Hess adds that the coyote is a fairly new addition as they were not common to this area until recently.

³⁸¹ Bierwert, ed., *Lushootseed Texts: An Introduction to Puget Salish Narrative Aesthetics*, 64.

and storytellers do a lot of direct quoting of his words. His unregenerate character is so well known that he has only to promise to carry out a responsibility or do a favor for someone and the audience will burst out laughing.³⁸²

The trickster per se is used to explain natural phenomena, especially those from which a moral can be drawn. He makes trouble. He displays disagreeable traits, like greediness. He is often the central character.³⁸³

In myth time, Mink stands out for his intelligence and practical ability, which includes expertise in impersonation, as well as in what might be called “acts of magic.” Mink often makes things appear or disappear.³⁸⁴

As one might expect from a person with the abilities of a mink, he is an excellent broken-field runner: stories of his escaping from irate pursuers or absconding with stolen articles are numerous. Mink’s love of female companionship repeatedly gets him into trouble. As distinct from Raven, whose tricks are frequently motivated by greed, Mink is most often moved to some mischief by a spirit of fun; and while some stories show Mink engaged in activities for which we have no sympathy, he is most often seen as amiable.³⁸⁵

Whenever Raven or Mink appear they always are the same characters regardless of the story setting. The character of crow is much less defined. The crow character may be any of several people. Crow can be either male or female while Raven and Mink are always male. Crow can act as a messenger who has knowledge of the future or as a person who has extraordinary powers for getting food. Crow can sometimes be the wife of Raven.³⁸⁶

Wolves are usually depicted as families or groups of brothers out hunting and they may help hungry people by sharing their kill or by bestowing their ability to hunt on others. Often animal characters play parts that we would expect them to based on what we know about animals; at other times they take on different characteristics than we might expect.³⁸⁷

³⁸² Bierwert, ed., *Lushootseed Texts*, 64.

³⁸³ Marriott, 15.

³⁸⁴ Bierwert, ed., *Lushootseed Texts*, 64.

³⁸⁵ Bierwert, ed., *Lushootseed Texts*, 64.

³⁸⁶ Bierwert, ed., *Lushootseed Texts*, 64, 65.

³⁸⁷ Bierwert, ed., *Lushootseed Texts*, 65.

Arthur C. Ballard Recorder of Myths

Arthur Ballard was a collector of Puget Sound Native American legends and myths. He was born on his family's homestead in Slaughter (later renamed Auburn), Washington Territory in October 18, 1876.³⁸⁸ The Native Americans whose villages had stood for centuries on the shores of the White and Green Rivers were adjacent to his family's property. He grew up with playmates from the nearby Muckleshoot Reservation – the descendents of the Skopamish, Yilalkoamish, Stkamish and others. Ballard remembered "Old Nelson," a powerful leader in treaty times, who helped clear the first acres of the Ballard homestead for Arthur's father.³⁸⁹

Ballard attended Whitworth College and graduated from the University of Washington in 1899 with a B. A. in Latin (the University did not offer a degree in Anthropology at that time.) As an adult Ballard supported himself and his family by working as a schoolteacher, post office worker, City Clerk for the City of Auburn, as well as secretary for the Azurite Gold Company and the Auburn Investment Company. He married, raised three children and lived all his 85 years in the town where he was born. He is buried in Auburn's Mountain View Cemetery.³⁹⁰

Ballard's interest in languages was lifelong. When he was about 15 years old, he started compiling Yakima word lists. As an adult he was skilled in Latin, Greek, German, Spanish, and Esperanto, as well as Native American languages from Puget Sound and eastern Washington. Ballard was able to transcribe Native American legends without paraphrasing.³⁹¹

In the winter of 1911-12 he regularly walked from his home in the town of Auburn to the Muckleshoot Reservation several miles away to talk to a man named Sukwa'lasxt (Big John) who had been born around 1840.³⁹²

Big John was generous in teaching Ballard stories that explain the origin of his people and the creation of his homeland. He taught Ballard Muckleshoot words for animals and place names, family genealogies, accounts of historical events and more. . . .

Big John may have referred to Arthur Ballard with the traditional phrase, 'listen my nephew' as a way to begin instruction. Teaching in traditional Muckleshoot families proceeded from uncle to nephew. Ballard used this phrase to title his last and as yet unpublished book.³⁹³

Big John became the source of several legends and basic information about Native Americans. Much of the information about Big John came from his great, great grandson, Harold Moses of the Muckleshoot who passed away in early 2003.³⁹⁴

³⁸⁸ "Death Claims Arthur Ballard," Obituary, *Auburn Globe*, 21 May 1962, p. not known.

³⁸⁹ Watson, vi.

³⁹⁰ Watson, vii.

³⁹¹ Watson, vii.

³⁹² Watson, vii.

³⁹³ Patricia Cosgrove, contact, press release, "Major Sculpture Unveiled at Museum," September 17, 2003, p. 1, http://www.wrvmuseum.org/news/news_pr091703htm (accessed August 1, 2004). This press release was announcing the unveiling of a life size sculpture of Big John that will stand in the White River Valley Museum.

³⁹⁴ "Biographical Sketches, Big John (c1840-c1930 and Arthur Ballard (1876-1962)," September 17, 2003, p. 1, http://www.wrvmuseum.org/news/bigjoun_ballard.htm (accessed August 1, 2004).

Shortly after his work with Big John, Ballard met John Xot (Hote), a Puyallup, born about 1845. Ballard considered his relationship with Xot a breakthrough in substantive information and the opening he needed to collect legends from others.³⁹⁵

Ballard continued to collect legends for the rest of his life and worked with all the anthropologists who were beginning to enter the study of Puget Sound area Native Americans. Thomas Talbot Waterman, the first anthropologist hired by the University of Washington, in his introduction to his book *Notes on the Ethnology of the Indians of Puget Sound*, places Ballard's value and contributions as follows:

A good deal of the field work was done in company with Mr. Arthur C. Ballard, of Auburn, who had previously, on his own initiative, recorded a very considerable body of information concerning Indian life around Puget Sound. Mr. Ballard may be regarded as the leading authority on the Indians of the State of Washington. His acquaintance with them and with their mode of life has extended over a long period and is extremely intimate. . . .³⁹⁶

Twice the University of Washington published collections of legends recorded and transcribed by Ballard. The first was *Some Tales of the Southern Puget Sound Salish*.³⁹⁷ The second was *Mythology of Southern Puget Sound*.³⁹⁸

Several myths and legends relating to the Federal Way area are included in Ballard's work. Following are the Legends about Blanket Rock on Redondo Beach and the at first improbable sounding tale about Whales in Steel Lake.

Blanket Rock Discussion

There is a large rock, about eight feet tall and eight feet by eight feet at the base, which is located on the wide beach along Poverty Bay just south of Redondo Beach. The site is several hundred feet south of present day Salty's Restaurant below a row of houses. This rock is easily visible especially at low tide. It can be seen as one walks along the boardwalk between Salty's and the private beach area sign. Blanket Rock is about 100 yards south of the boundary between the public beach and the private beach to the south. I have been told by Jerry Knudson, the owner of the beach area that Blanket Rock sits on, that he has no objection to people walking out to Blanket Rock from the public beach area.

Ballard's Blanket Rock Legends

Following are three of Ballard's five versions of the Blanket Rock legends. I have not included versions three and four as they only refer to the women who became the white rock north of Blanket Rock.

³⁹⁵ Watson, vii.

³⁹⁶ Thomas Talbot Waterman, *Notes on the Ethnology of the Indians of Puget Sound*, (New York: Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, 1973), p. not used in introduction.

³⁹⁷ Arthur C. Ballard, "Some Tales of the Southern Puget Sound Salish," *University of Washington Publications in Anthropology*, 3(2), (December, 1927), 57-81.

³⁹⁸ Arthur C. Ballard, "Mythology of Southern Puget Sound," *University of Washington Publications in Anthropology*, 3(2), (December, 1929), 31-150.

Blanket Rock – Ballard’s First Version

The young wife of a member of the Tatida’pabc, a tribe near Squally, became homesick and wished to go back to her parents, who lived on the shore of Puget Sound near Three Tree Point [north of Des Moines]. When she got there, her people had set off with the camp equipment in a canoe. The young women hastened along the shore, until she caught sight of the boat in the distance. Crying to her mother, “Wait for me,” she sank down exhausted. There she is to this day in the form of a white rock. Her husband was dressed in a blanket of whistling marmot skins. He was turned into another boulder, down the beach. The surface of that boulder looks like a wrinkled blanket. The white people call it Blanket Rock (qoiqwi’ltsə or qoqoi’ltsə, derived from sqoiqoi marmot). It now stands on the Beach near Buenna [Redondo]. The boat and cargo were turned to stone and the poles to trees. Crow, who was the slave of the old people, was carrying water in a basket. This she hid. It turned into a spring on the south slope of Three Tree Point. That spring is hard to find and brings bad luck to those who drink it. We call Three Tree Point, Sqe’leb, which means “loading things into a canoe.”³⁹⁹

Ballard credits this as being related by Ann Jack who was born around 1840 and lived on the Green River.⁴⁰⁰

Blanket Rock – Ballard’s Second Version

The father and mother were going out in the Sound with the big raft made of two canoes and a platform between the two loaded with provisions and utensils.

The father heard the young woman on the shore call, and the wife said, “Your daughter calls,” The man turned the raft and went back.

The rock called tca’kagwəs, (near Woodmont) is the woman. It still stands on the beach. Her husband was turned into a big rock call kwa’sdolitsa (blanket), one mile south.⁴⁰¹

Ballard credits this as being related by Joe Bill, a Duwamish, born about 1860. Ballard says Joe Bill had a stepfather who lived on the White River.⁴⁰²

Blanket Rock – Ballard’s Fifth Version

A women of the White River people from the village of staq’ [Stuck] was married in the old legal Indian way to a man of the tcelpab, living where the town of Morton is now. That man was a hunter; he was a chief, as all

³⁹⁹ Arthur Ballard, Recorder, Translator and Editor, *Mythology of Southern Puget Sound* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1929, reprint North Bend WA: Snoqualmie Valley Historical Museum, 1999), 82, 83.

⁴⁰⁰ Ballard, *Mythology of Southern Puget Sound*, reprint, 38, 82

⁴⁰¹ Ballard, *Mythology of Southern Puget Sound*, reprint, 83.

⁴⁰² Ballard, *Mythology of Southern Puget Sound*, reprint, 39, 82.

hunters are.

One day the women said, "I am lonesome for my mother, I shall go home." She did not tell her husband. When ready she left. Having arrived at the salt water she followed the beach toward home. She was past Des Moines when the change came.

As she was sitting down to rest she saw her people ready to set out on a camping trip. "Wait for me," she shouted. The mother said, "Your daughter calls." "We'll wait for her," said the father. They did wait. They shoved the boat stern foremost towards the shore. The old people had been setting out for the northern end of Vashon Island, the place which is called taxks. They had a raft made by lashing two canoes together. It carried a load of luggage. That raft and its luggage were turned into land. It is the place the white people call Three Tree Point. We call the place sx'elab, which means "a load." Another name is t'aleyaqW, which means "two canoes bound together."

Crow was the slave of the old people. She had a little basket of water near the stern of the raft. All who find that water die. That spring is call kaka'alqo, Crow's Water."

The young woman who had a pack on her shoulders, was turned into a big white marble rock. The rock stands between Des Moines and Three Tree point. We call it q'aweils, which means, "glistening white."

The stone into which the man was turned is called qwiqweils. It is named for the whistling jack. The man's blanket was made from the skin of that animal. The white people call it Blanket Rock. Near Blanket Rock is a stream we call k'ak'aXwats, because crabapple trees grow there.⁴⁰³

Ballard credits this as being related by Annie Jack, the daughter of Anne Jack who told Version One of Blanket Rock. Annie Jack was born around 1880 and lived on the Green River. Stuck Jack born, around 1845, was the father of this informant. He lived in the village of staq! [Stuck].⁴⁰⁴

Blanket Rock Legend from Local Resident

In 1972, Helen 'Nana' Lacey wrote to Weston Betts about a Native American legend told to her while she was living in the Redondo area.

Here is the legend as it was told to me in 1921:

Once upon a time many years ago there lived in the foothills of the Cascades a tribe of Indians, and in the valley lived another tribe. Most of the year they lived in peace but occasionally in the spring – usually when the deer were in the velvet – the two tribes engaged in battle. One year, while digging clams near the mouth of the stream (near what is now called Buenna) on Puget Sound – hostilities broke out over the division of clams. As the fight progressed they decided to pile the blankets of both tribes in one pile – the winner to get all. One after another the braves fell in battle and as the number diminished the

⁴⁰³ Ballard, *Mythology of Southern Puget Sound*, reprint, 84.

⁴⁰⁴ Ballard, *Mythology of Southern Puget Sound*, reprint, 39, 84.

remaining braves made the terrific effort for victory. Finally there were only two Indians left – one of the mountain tribe and one of the valley tribe. The mountain man used his last arrow to mortally wound his enemy – but not before he himself was hit with a poisoned arrow and was left for a slow death. There was no one left to claim the blankets and in time they turned to stone and can be seen to this very day petrified on the beach down near the stream.⁴⁰⁵

Nana goes on to say in this letter,

I well remember the summers the Auburn Crowd camped on the little meadow south of the stream at Redondo. Tents around the edge and a campfire in the middle. The tall tales that were told around those fires – and I believed every one. . . .⁴⁰⁶

This last comment would seem to indicate that the source of this legend was a white person and possibly only second hand from Native American sources.

David Buerge Collector of Myths and History

David Buerge was a Seattle area teacher and cultural historian, who, like Ballard, studied the Puget Sound area between Seattle and Tacoma for Native American myths. He walked the areas where myths were reported with Native American guides, both with them in person and through their written records, in attempts to find the locations of the myths.

Buerge is a well-known author and educator who has been a professional writer about Northwest history since 1975. He has several books to his credit, for example, *Renton Where the Water Took Wing*,⁴⁰⁷ and has often had popular articles on local history in *The Weekly*.

Buerge's material on Blanket Rock and Des Moines Island will be discussed here.

Buerge's Newspaper Account of Blanket Rock

In his travels he looked for Blanket Rock as well as for the associated white rock.

For some time I had been looking for an elusive being. A woman in white. My two guides indicated that she would be found somewhere on the isolated stretch of beach between the community of Redondo and Three Tree Point. But even with their help, I was not optimistic. I had looked for her at Redondo, at Woodmont [south of Salt Water State Park], and at Zenith [south of Des Moines]; having no success, I feared she was lost. Then, sitting on a log at Des Moines Beach Park, looking north at the headland, I lowered my eyes to the gravel before me.

There she was, glistening white, lying on her side, turned to stone. I did

⁴⁰⁵ Letter from Helen Lacey, San Jose, California, to Wes Betts, Redondo, Washington, January 17, 1972, 1, in the files of the Historical Society of Federal Way. The letter is signed by Nana. I assume the Helen Lacey on the return address and Nana are the same person.

⁴⁰⁶ Lacey, 1.

⁴⁰⁷ Buerge, *Renton*.

what people often do when they meet an important figure: I took her picture.

My two guides, Thomas Talbot Waterman, a linguist, and Arthur Ballard, a collector of local Indian mythology, recorded in their work in the early decades of this century that the stone called gah-weils, “glistening white,” had in the myth time been a woman who fled from her husband back to her parents. When the world was unformed, in a cataclysm that ended the myth time and ushered in the human era, she, her husband and her parents – busy loading things into a canoe – were frozen into the landscape.

Earlier I had found the husband, in the form of a large boulder at Redondo Beach called Blanket Rock and I know her parents and their canoe with three tent poles sticking up on it had become Three Tree Point. Now, I believed I had found the woman. . . .⁴⁰⁸

I [Dick Caster] have looked for the “white rock” at Des Moines Beach Park. The only one I can see that might be what Buerge is referring to is a light colored rock about 100 yards north of the public pier. It is about three feet high by three feet wide and four feet long. I am not sure if this is the rock Buerge referred to. Since the time of his writing in 1989 there has been considerable construction around the pier area so the rock he referred to may not exist anymore or possibly it is only visible at extreme low tide.

Buerge expands on the meaning of the Blanket Rock Legend by saying the Native American name *ko-OI-It-sah*, derives from *skwol-kwoi*, the name for the marmot from whose skin the blanket rock robe was made.⁴⁰⁹

Buerge narrows the myth to specific locations for the home of the participants:

Most versions of the myth describe a man of the *tai-ti-DAH-pahbsh*, a group living at the headwaters of the Cowlitz and Lewis rivers [*sic*]. He married a girl from White River and the two lived in this village near what is now Morton. One day the girl grew homesick and without telling her husband decided to return to her parents. When he discovered that she was gone, he followed her, to the beach where Des Moines is now.

The girl’s parents were leaving on a fishing trip; their boxes and baskets of gear and three poles were loaded on a plank platform borne on two canoes. This catamaran was typical of the way gear was hauled over water from camp to camp.

The girl’s parents also took with them a slave, Crow, who carried a basket of water. Already out on the sound when they heard their daughter’s cries, they went back and put the canoes on the beach. Just then the world was Transformed.

The pursuing husband became blanket rock. . . . There may have been two white rocks; one is said to stand on the beach near Woodmont, but I could find nothing there. [Because this is private beach area I have not looked there.]

The second rock, I believe, is located at Des Moines Beach Park. The name *Qah-wells*, “glistening white,” describes the micaceous glitter of its granite surface. Native brides were often wrapped in beautiful blankets during the wedding ceremony, and the white stone may have represented the girl as bride, making the transition between maid and mother.

⁴⁰⁸ David Buerge, “Indian myths inhabit suburbs,” *Federal Way News*, January 18, 1989, A-1.

⁴⁰⁹ David Buerge, “Indian myths: Celebrating man’s links to nature,” *Federal Way News*, January 25, 1989, A-3.

The beached canoes became Three Tree Point. Annie Jack, a Green River informant born about 1800, gives two names for the point: *s-he-lahb*, “a load,” and *t-as-le-yahqw*, “two canoes bound together.” The boxes and baskets loaded on the canoes became rocks on the beach and the basket of water Crow carried became a nearby spring called *kah-kah-AHL-ko*, “crow’s water.” It was said to be poisonous, and Jack’s interpreter claimed that at least 10 people, including one white child, had died drinking it. Jack’s interpreter once offered \$500 to anyone who could find it, but none could (homeowners on the point beware!)⁴¹⁰

Information Learned from Blanket Rock Legends

The mention of Crow being a slave in Ballard’s versions 1 and 5 indicates the Native Americans of our area had slaves. Also, Native Americans from somewhat far away, such as from Morton traveled into the Federal Way area on a regular basis.

The change from myth time to human time is also discussed.

The reason for the Blanket Rock legend seems to be to explain the existence of the large black rock (Blanket Rock) and the existence of the marble appearing stone further north as well as some of the trees and land around Three Tree Point. The action is spread out over several miles of beach.

Myths and legends often teach moral and social lessons, but none seems obvious here, but the people and objects, such as the canoes and cargo, have been used to explain significant natural places and objects.

The white rock, a fearful woman in trouble with her husband, may mirror her anguish the anxiety of seasonal change, as the world brings forth new life in groaning and travail. Perhaps the promise of her fertility, transformed into stone, communicates itself to the beach rich with clams in the spring and summer, season of the maid and mother.⁴¹¹

It is possible that the beach rocks marked boundaries. The interior groups traveled in the spring to camp on the beaches at Redondo where Blanket Rock commands the beach. At the same time White River people and their river kin camped at Des Moines and Three Tree Point. Between them stands the white rock, a symbol of their sometimes hostile relations, but also of ties sealed by the bonds of marriage and of the need to cooperate.⁴¹²

Since there are other large rocks, both black and white on Puget Sound beaches one might expect similar legends to be told about them. Annie Jack, the teller of Version five, indicated that there are four other similar stories known by the same name: one at Quartermaster Harbor, another on the east shore of Vashon Island, another one mile south of Gig Harbor, and a fourth on the east shore of the Narrows, three or four miles south of Day Island.⁴¹³

⁴¹⁰ Buerge, “Indian myths: Celebrating man’s links to nature,” A-3.

⁴¹¹ Buerge, “Indian myths: Celebrating man’s links to nature,” A-3.

⁴¹² Buerge, “Indian myths: Celebrating man’s links to nature,” A-3.

⁴¹³ Ballard, *Mythology of Southern Puget Sound*, reprint, p. 84, fn. 59.

Whale Legends

Legend about Whales in Steel Lake

Many Native American legends refer to animals who had human characteristics or who played an important part in the People's lives. One of this type of legend has been found which mentions Steel Lake.

The Young Man Who Blocked Up Steel's Lake

It was formerly the custom for a young man to go out to seek super-natural power. Such a young man would plant a stake in the ground that his father might see it in the morning, and thus know where his boy had been.

Once a boy from this side of the Puyallup river [sic] set out on such a journey. He said, "I am going to that lake yonder to find whales." He searched for Steel's Lake and finally found it. "There is the lake," he said. So he stayed by the lake a while and watched, and soon he saw the whales come. There seemed to be an undertow. If the youth cast a stick in the water, the undertow would carry it away.

"I shall go and close up the place," thought the youth, "and whales shall no more come up to this place."

So the youth got cedar bark and poles. With the cedar bark he tied the poles tightly together in the form of a raft. Then taking a piece of wood for a paddle he propelled the raft to the desired place. After this he took a stone from the shore and leaping with it upon the raft he went down, down till, with a sound as of a peal of thunder, the raft struck the underground gateway and closed it up forever. Thus the channel was closed and the whales came no more to that lake in the hills.

Redondo Creek (*too 'Lqobid*, underground stream), is so called because in former days it drained out of the lake through an underground channel.⁴¹⁴

Ballard states this tale was told him by Joe Bill, a Duwamish Native American, who learned it from his stepfather who had lived both on the Duwamish and White River. Joe Bill was born about 1860.⁴¹⁵

Several Federal Way area historians since the 1970s refer to the legend of whales being found in Steel Lake. It is also known that Redondo Creek comes out from underground possibly with its source in Steel Lake.

Additional Ballard Myths about Whales in Lakes and Rivers

Ballard also records five other legends about whales being present in lakes located in the Auburn and Sumner areas and how the whales were eventually prevented from returning.⁴¹⁶ Two of the

⁴¹⁴ Ballard, *Mythology of Southern Puget Sound*, reprint, 87.

⁴¹⁵ Ballard, *Mythology of Southern Puget Sound*, reprint, 39, 87.

⁴¹⁶ Ballard, *Mythology of Southern Puget Sound*, reprint, 87-89.

five are presented here as background information for the possible explanation in the following section.

How the Whales Reached the Sea – Ballard’s First Version

A long time ago the valley between what is now Sumner and Renton Junction was a vast lake; the course of the Puyallup River followed what is now known as Wapato creek. In the lake there used to be two whales; there they made their home. Upon the point of the hill, northwest of Sumner, now blasted away to give room for the Tacoma highway, there used to stand a huge boulder. To this spot the people would go to get a view of the country above the impenetrable forest. From this point they could see the whales disporting themselves in the lake. One day, however, children from the village noticed the whales acting strangely, and reported the strange actions to their elders. The whales had become tired of their restricted range in the inland lake and were thrashing about and churning the waters mightily in their effort to make their way out. Finally on the fourth day they plowed into the land and forced their way through, opening a way through the plain out to the Sound.

The water followed them down the channel, and thus a new river came into being. We call that river Stax, which means “plowed through.” The Whites call it Stuck River. Most of the water in the lake drained out through the new channel. What used to be the main river now became just a small creek, Wapato Creek (Xto’lawa’li, river channel). Where the lake used to be is now a level valley.⁴¹⁷

Ballard credits this version to John Xot of the Puyallup Tribe. Xot was born about 1845.⁴¹⁸

How the Whales Reached the Sea – Ballard’s Fifth Version

The valley was all salt water. The country dried and [the valley] became a lake. It was worthless spaLkad (swamp) and whales stayed there. It grew cold and there came a high wind. The whales kept boring until they reached the point where the town of Sumner now is. They were glad when they reached the bay. They ate seeds of trees. It rained and the river rose. Beaver came. Now White River and Green River came. The river broke through.⁴¹⁹

Ballard credits this tale to Tom Milroy, an upper Puyallup who gave the version in Chinook jargon. Milroy was born about 1845. He was a tuwa’qwabc.⁴²⁰

⁴¹⁷ Ballard, *Mythology of Southern Puget Sound*, reprint, 87, 88.

⁴¹⁸ Ballard, *Mythology of Southern Puget Sound*, reprint, 35, 87.

⁴¹⁹ Ballard, *Mythology of Southern Puget Sound*, reprint, 88, 89.

⁴²⁰ Ballard, *Mythology of Southern Puget Sound*, reprint, 36, 88.

Other Ballard Whale Legends

Ballard's other three versions of inland whales are similar, with two relating to the Stuck River.⁴²¹

Another legend describes two whales becoming rocks near Point Defiance with all the other whales leaving.⁴²² It is obvious the Puget Sound Native Americans knew of whales and felt that they had existed in some inland lakes in myth time or slightly later.

Possible Explanation of Whales in Lakes Myth – Des Moines Island

There is a myth that tells how long ago a powerful chief called North Wind dominated the land and covered it with ice and snow. This can be compared with the theory of geologists proposing that, beginning about two million years ago, great ice sheets formed in Canada expanded southward, covering the Puget Sound region. The ice, which reached nearly as far as the present town of Centralia, left behind thick deposits of sand, gravel, and clay when it retreated. This process known as glaciation, occurred repeatedly. The most recent episode that began about 18,000 years ago gouged long deep troughs out of the earlier deposits. When the melting ice retreated about 12,000 years ago, sea water filled several of the exposed troughs creating Hood Canal and Puget Sound and many of the now inland lakes.⁴²³

One of the troughs was located east of Admiralty Inlet. Today it cradles Lake Washington and the Green River Valley (the White River was diverted from the lower part of its channel in 1906, and its place was taken by the Green River), but 12,000 years ago it was an arm of the sea. (Remarkably, a Duwamish legend similarly recalls when Lake Washington was salt water.) Once the Cedar River delta, built with sediments carried out from the mountains, reached Earlington Hill [Renton], the Lake Washington basin was cut off from the sea, and streams entering the amputated arm created a freshwater lake. Sedimentation continued, meanwhile, as the Cedar River and overflow from the lake combined to reach the Black River, which built its flood plain westward until it met that of the White. How long the process took is not clear, but it may have been accelerated by a catastrophe that occurred about 5,700 years ago.

At that time an eruption similar perhaps to that which decapitated Mount Saint Helens in 1980 caused the summit of Mount Rainier to collapse, sending a tremendous avalanche roaring into the valleys of the White River and its west fork. Known as the Osceola Mudflow, the mass traveled at least 65 miles, burying more than 125 square miles of land under a blanket of rubble, and filling much of the White River valley.⁴²⁴

There is a landform that runs from the Duwamish Head in Seattle to the heights west of Sumner near Tacoma. It is bounded on the west by Puget Sound and on the east by the valleys of

⁴²¹ Ballard, *Mythology of Southern Puget Sound*, reprint, 88.

⁴²² Ballard, *Mythology of Southern Puget Sound*, reprint, 89.

⁴²³ Buerge, *Renton*, 11.

⁴²⁴ Buerge, *Renton*, 11, 12.

the Duwamish, Green and White Rivers. It is a landform that is elevated a few hundred feet above sea level and is almost 30 miles long and 2 to 8 miles wide. West Seattle, Burien, Des Moines and Federal Way are some of the larger communities on it.

Located on this landform or on its edges are at least 20 natural features that are associated with the myths and legends recorded by Ballard and others. This would seem to make this limited area one of the most concentrated areas of Pacific Northwest Native American concern and reverence.

Bailey Willis, a geologist writing in the early 1900s, was one of the first to investigate the glacial character of the Puget Sound area. He concluded that when the great ice sheets retreated from this region thousands of years ago, the highland was for a short period of time an island. Willis named this island Des Moines Island. He claimed the waters of an ancestral Puget Sound surrounded this island.⁴²⁵ Buerge summarized Willis's theories as follows:

Rivers exiting the eastern lowlands entered the channel separating their sediments, finally filling it. This process was dramatically speeded up by repeated avalanches of debris that swept down the slopes of Mount Rainier. The largest of these, called the Osceola Mudflow, rolled down the valley of the White River 5,700 years ago after the mountain's collapse, an event similar to that which decapitated Mount Saint Helens in 1980.

The mudflow inundated at least 125 square miles, filling each of the channels at once. It could be that the numerous myths set on this island [Des Moines Island] recall with their own violence and fertility, the changes spawned by this ancient cataclysm.⁴²⁶

A myth survives that describes the highland as an island, but several stories in Ballard's 1929 monograph "*Puget Sound Mythology*," hint already at its early insularity. Describing the valley of the White River, Tom Mukroy, [*sic* - Milroy] an upper-Puyallup informant narrated the following tale:

"... the valley was all salt water. The country dried and (the valley) became a lake. It was all worthless spalkad (swamp) and whales stayed there. It grew cold and there came a high wind. The whales kept boring until they reached the point where Sumner now is. They were glad when they reached the bay. They ate seeds of trees. It rained and the river rose. Beaver came. Now White River and Green River came. The river broke Through . . ."⁴²⁷

These myths recall the catastrophic events that accompanied the mainland's embrace of Des Moines Island, and serve as a prologue to all that followed. Today, much of the area is blighted with suburban sprawl, its legends all but forgotten and many of its myth sites destroyed, brutally scarred or at risk.

. . . So let us examine the ancient character of this mysterious island. Duwamish Head, the northernmost point of Des Moines Island, guards the remnant of the ancient channel – Elliott Bay. One of the region's richest food-gathering areas was located where the Duwamish River enters the bay's southern margin. Native fishermen trolled for salmon that massed in the estuary

⁴²⁵ Buerge, "Indian myths inhabit suburbs," A-1.

⁴²⁶ Buerge, "Indian myths inhabit suburbs," A-1 and A-3.

⁴²⁷ Note: This is Ballard's Fifth Version of How Whales Reached the Sea included earlier. I have included it here a second time just for the continuity of understanding the thought of Buerge's article.

prior to upstream migrations, and raked thousands of herring out of the shallows.

Ducks were so plentiful that they were literally netted out of the air. Wherever people gathered to harvest nature's bounty, myths and legends were attached to important landmarks, reciting the stories may have been a way to promote the area's fertility.

Myths were passed down through families along with the right to recite them; their association with specific landmarks may also have defined gathering rights. . . .

Further upstream, in South Park, the stone foundations of Des Moines Island are first exposed. . . . Joe Young, Puyallup informant born in 1863, identifies a small knoll on the west side of the river as SHAH-bah-teel, "little mountain," and according to Young, "that was where the Ancients lived to make the four divisions of the world." Today, the River Vista Apartments crowd its surface. . . .

SBAH-bah-teel was the site of the first rapids on the Duwamish River, an important fishing station, and all of the figures in the myth could be found here, turned into stone by the Great Transformation. . . .

West of the confluence (of the Black and White Rivers) rose a promontory of the island called Skah-LEELS, "bad-looking." The word is derived from the word for feces, suggesting that this place may have marked the haunt of (a) shamed progenitrix of the spring rains. . . .

Directly south of Fort Dent Park was once a broad, sandy flat within the river bend called shu-hU-du-tu-gwul, "burning each other," (the last two syllables may be the source of the name Tukwila). During the hot days of summer, garter snakes that swam across the river from the hill of the earth beings died in the hot sand, and their dehydrated bodies littered the flat. The image of burning snakes evoked a powerful response in those who believed that such destruction provoked rain and floods.

Snakes were also associated in myth with Three Tree Point directly west of Fort Dent Park, and near there a kind of serpent path crossed from the "home" of the snakes – possibly the hill of the earth beings – to the beach at Des Moines.

Supernatural presences were also attached to features on the highland itself. Angle Lake was haunted by an undescribed monster, and Bow Lake – a pond near Sea-Tac that is surrounded by hotels, motels and a trailer park – was believed to be connected to Puget Sound by a mysterious subterranean passageway that opened between Three Tree Point and Vashon Island. At the center of the lake was a presence that particularly disliked adulterers. . . .⁴²⁸

Buerge's discussion gets back into the Federal Way area with mention of Lake Fenwick just northeast of Federal Way and Lake Dolloff, which is inside the area covered by the Historical Society of Federal Way.

Farther upriver from Cottonwood Grove Park, perhaps near the outlet of Lake Fenwick, was a waterfall where rocks showed the imprint of fossilized mussel shells. These were said to be the remains of a lunch left by Mink, a legendary glutton, on the day the world was Transformed. Upstream is

⁴²⁸ Buerge, "Indian myths inhabit suburbs," A-3.

the mouth of Mills Creek, which drains Lake Dolloff in Federal Way.

Dolloff was called bis KWAH-dis, “where there are whales,” and was believed to be the place where whales could enter from Puget Sound via a subterranean passageway. In another version of the myth, the whales first entered the lake through an invisible hole in the ground.⁴²⁹

Buerge also discusses the boundary of Des Moines Island as including the area around Brown’s Point that is just outside Federal Way to the southwest.

A rock rests somewhere at the westernmost point of what was once Des Moines Island at a place called tshai-Yahl-ko, “hidden water,” at Brown’s Point near Tacoma. According to Burnt Charlie, a Puyallup informant, . . . there was once a woman who was a dirty-talker until the Changer turned her into an open-mouthed stone. The rock had a hollow believed to be the woman’s mouth, and if anyone wanted rain, that person took a stick and rattled it around the mouth, enabling the woman to “speak” and thereby call the rain.⁴³⁰

Ballard provides the details used in Buerge’s account:

XODE and the Woman who Spoke Improperities

Xode came to a woman who was a dirty talker. He said, “You are a dirty talker, are you?” While speaking thus, he took hold of her and held her mouth open. Then he said, “I will hold your mouth open from this day forever.”

The women with her mouth open, turned to stone, and thus she still remains. She can be seen at Brown’s Point, south of Jerry Meeker’s House.

Anyone who wishes to have rain, takes a stick and rattles it about in the mouth of the stone woman, and afterward there will come storm and rain.⁴³¹

Ballard indicates that the source of this legend was Burnt Charlie. Burnt Charlie was a Puyallup, born around 1835, who was used as a scout for the soldiers in the 1855-1856 Indian Wars.⁴³²

Buerge continues in his newspaper account as follows:

Young told a similar, possibly related myth about the origin of the seasons.⁴³³
[This is probably the same Joe Young mentioned earlier. He was a Puyallup born in 1863 and still alive during Ballard’s collecting of myths.]

A girl at Dash Point, one mile north, sat on the beach and let the waves lap over her body rather than go to her menstrual lodge. In this way she had

⁴²⁹ Buerge, “Indian myths inhabit suburbs,” A-3.

⁴³⁰ Buerge, “Indian myths inhabit suburbs,” A-3.

⁴³¹ Ballard, *Mythology of Southern Puget Sound*, reprint, 82.

⁴³² Ballard, *Mythology of Southern Puget Sound*, reprint, 40, 82

⁴³³ Young was a Puyallup born in 1863, and still alive during Ballard’s collecting of myths, Ballard, *Mythology of Southern Puget Sound*, reprint, 40.

intercourse with the spirit of the North Wind. This maid is not identified with any specific rock, but her proximity to Brown's Point suggests that she may be related.

Burnt Charlie claimed the rock was south of the home of a prominent Puyallup leader, Jerry Meeker, that stands today just south of the Brown's Point Improvement Club. Several years ago I searched but could not find the rock.

Among the beach boulders that had been dragged together to form the clubhouse sea wall, I did find a large rock that had a hollow at one end large enough for one to rattle a stick in. Below this was another, smaller opening surrounded by red mineral crystals. The Browns Point rock was said to be a menstruating rock; if so, this might be the stained vulva. Sadly we cannot now be sure that this is the rock, because the Brown's Point Improvement Club recently covered the sea wall with cement. . . .⁴³⁴

I [Dick Caster] have also tried to find this rock, but because of some new construction and painting of the Improvement Club's rock sea wall since Buerge looked for it about 15 years ago, I am even less sure of its present existence than Buerge was.

North of Dash Point, in the bight (bend) of Poverty Bay, is the mouth of Redondo Creek, site of another mysterious subterranean passage between the Sound and an upland lake, Steel Lake. The creek was called *TSOL-ko-bid*, "underground stream," and in myth time was believed to drain Steel Lake.

Like Lake Dolloff, Steel Lake was called *Bis Kwah-dis*, "where there are whales," and it, too, was believed to have been visited by these creatures.⁴³⁵

Today it is hard to imagine this land as a place of mystery – a haunted world rising between the settled river valley and the well-traveled beaches of Puget Sound with over 150,000 people.

Conclusions about Legend Involving Whales

Whales and cloven-headed snail women recall ancient catastrophes; a maiden taking the caress of waves recalls the teeming life of the shoreline.

Ice Age Geology

Following is a discussion concerning the ice ages that covered Puget Sound with ice several thousand feet thick and led to the formation of many of the lakes and river basins in our area. This is only a summary used to tie local geologic history together with the local whale legends. A detailed discussion of how geology and the ice ages affected the Federal Way area can be found in Dick Caster's *Natural History, Geology and Geography of the Federal Way Area*.⁴³⁶

⁴³⁴Buerge, "Indian myths: Celebrating man's links to nature," A-1

⁴³⁵ Buerge, "Indian myths: Celebrating man's links to nature," A-1 and A-3.

⁴³⁶ Dick Caster, *Natural History, Geology and Geography of the Federal Way Area*, November 27, 2004, 3-10, <http://www.federalwayhistory.org>.

Development of the crustal structure of western North America began more than 300 million years ago but the structural identity of the Puget Lowland (Puget Sound and the area between the Olympic Mountains and the Cascade Mountains) was established only within the last 20 to 30 million years.⁴³⁷

Starting around two million years ago a series of ice ages covered various parts of North America. There is no common agreement as to what caused them.

Glaciers are masses of ice that originate in areas of permanent snowfields and flow down and away from the snowfield. . . . [The] controlling factors are relatively high rate of precipitation and low temperatures. The permanent accumulation of snow results in conversion to ice and eventually high internal pressure results in deformation that causes the ice to flow away from the region of accumulation. . . .

Glaciation is one of the strongest of the surficial geologic processes that shape the surface of the earth. . . .

The process of glaciation yields characteristic features that result from erosion, transport, and deposition of materials. The combination of these features generally provides a strong contrast with adjacent non-glaciated topography.⁴³⁸

Effects of Last Ice Age on the Puget Sound Area

The northern part of the North American continent was covered at least four times in the Pleistocene by great ice sheets. The great tongue of ice that spread south from British Columbia across the Puget Lowland is known as the Puget Lobe. Ultimately the great glacier reached all the way to Olympia and slightly south. It covered all the hills of the Puget Lowland and the San Juan Islands and lay high against the flanks of the Olympics and the Cascades. The record of the earliest glaciations has been obliterated by the last so our knowledge of the earlier glacial history of the lowlands is poor.⁴³⁹

Koppel gives a brief description of the most recent ice age.

At the peak of the last glaciation of the Ice Ages – 18,000 to 20,000 years ago – great ice sheets covered much of northern Europe and Russia. In the southern hemisphere, enormous glaciers mantled the Andes. And in North America, the Laurentide ice sheet, with a central dome as much as three miles thick, extended from eastern Canada almost to the Rockies and down into the United States beyond the Great lakes. Another ice sheet, the Cordilleran, stretched over the Rockies to the coast of Alaska, British Columbia, and northern Washington State. So much water was locked

⁴³⁷ Robert Burns, *The Shape and Form of Puget Sound* (Seattle: Washington Sea Grant Program University of Washington, 1985), 24.

⁴³⁸ Burns, 35, 36.

⁴³⁹ Bates McKee, *Cascadia: The Geological Evolution of the Pacific Northwest*, (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1972), 292.

up in ice that world sea level was 350 to 400 feet lower than it is today.⁴⁴⁰

Concerning the most recent ice age in the Puget Sound area:

We can assume that the basic distribution of the major landforms was as we see it today with the Cascades and Olympic Mountains separated by a broad valley . . . Drainage was to the north and then west to the ocean via the Strait of Juan de Fuca. As the ice wall moved south across the Gulf Islands and San Juan Islands, the drainage of the Puget Lowland was probably affected very little. An entirely different situation prevailed, however as soon as the advancing glacier reached the northeast front of the Olympics. At that time, the wall of ice effectively dammed the entire lowland, for little drainage could escape past the ice to reach the ocean. The result, inevitably, was the formation of a lake. Eventually, this lake filled the entire lowland between the ice wall, the mountains, and the divide between Puget Sound and the Chehalis River drainage basins. The lake received runoff from the mountains and meltwater from the Puget Lobe. When the basin filled, it drained to the ocean via the Chehalis River. This explains why the modern Chehalis River, which is not very large, occupies a valley suggestive of a much larger river. At its largest, the river probably, had a discharge that was several times greater than of the modern Columbia River. . . .⁴⁴¹

The ice front continued to advance, ultimately covering almost all the lake basin and reaching very close to the Chehalis River itself. Evidence indicates the glacier did not occupy the maximum position for long. When it started to melt back it created a new lake, which persisted until retreat freed the natural drainage of the lowland via the Strait of Juan de Fuca. As normal drainage patterns were reestablished, the streams began eroding the sediments left in the lowland from the lake stage and from direct glacial deposition.⁴⁴²

Although geological evidence indicates that there have been several periods of major global glaciation, it was the most recent – during the last several tens of thousands of years – that was the principal agent in establishing Puget Sound as the dominant feature of the Puget Lowland.

Once the large-scale structure of the Puget Lowland was established, the detailed and surface, small scale surface topography was shaped. Primarily surface processes accomplished this. The most prominent of these was glaciation during the ice age of only a few tens of thousands of years ago.⁴⁴³

We know as little about what ended ice ages as of what started them. Radiocarbon dates leave little doubt that glaciers of the last ice age reached their maximum size approximately 15,000 years ago. Evidence of a rapid rise in sea level between then and 12,000 years ago shows that the great glaciers melted very rapidly, within a few thousand years. Sea level reached its present stand by about 10,000 years ago. This means that the ice cover in the Puget Sound area then was

⁴⁴⁰ Tom Koppel, *Lost World*, (New York: Atria Books, 2003), xiii.

⁴⁴¹ McKee, 292.

⁴⁴² McKee, 292, 295.

⁴⁴³ Burns, 24.

about the same as it is now. The climate must have changed rather quickly to melt the ice so rapidly.⁴⁴⁴

As the climate changed the ice melted. A stagnant icescape existed where the glaciers were melting on hills and valleys covered with ice.

On warm summer days, torrents of muddy water poured off the melting ice, dumping loads of mud, sand, and gravel in the stream beds and in lakes on the ice. As the meltwater poured beyond the melting ice, it dumped its sediment in broad outwash plains. When the last of the lingering ice finally melted, it left a landscape of glacial sediments in which the hills are the deposits that accumulated in low places on the stagnant icescape and the hollows mark the ice hills, where no sediment accumulated. You see the inverted icescape in the heavily glaciated parts of our region.⁴⁴⁵

In the Seattle area it is estimated the ice had a maximum thickness of 4,000 feet. This would exert a pressure of about 8,000 pounds per square inch. This depth can be estimated based on the sediments found on the Cascade and Olympic mountains.⁴⁴⁶ The height can also be measured from the height on the flanking mountains of glacial erratics (large boulders). These are rocks that are lithologically distinct from local bedrocks.⁴⁴⁷ Clearly, the ice was thick enough to bury all of the hills in the lowlands, including the Federal Way area.

The formation of a lake or lakes in the lowlands would have recurred as the ice retreated during melting. At the start of the melting, the water was flowing through the Chehalis River.

The greatly diminished Chehalis River now wanders in the oversized valley it eroded when it was flush with all that glacial meltwater. Sea level was some 300 feet lower then; the shoreline [of the Pacific Ocean] was some 30 miles west of its present position, and the Chehalis River was that much longer. The rising sea level at the end of the last ice age flooded its lower course to make Grays Harbor, an estuary.

As the ice began to melt, two curving lakes formed between the ice and the spillover point into the Chehalis River. Lake Russell was along the southward end of the ice lobe, west of Olympia. Lake Nisqually was along the south end of the lobe, in the area of small lakes about 25 miles south of Tacoma and Puyallup.

When the ice had melted back to a point opposite Seattle, about 13,500 years ago, the many fingers of Lake Russell filled the present canals and bays of the south half of Puget Sound and flooded adjacent valleys, including a long arc through Lakes Washington, Youngs, and Tapps, and the lower Puyallup River, southeast of Tacoma.

Meanwhile, ice in the Strait of Juan de Fuca still blocked the rivers flowing into Puget Sound. For example, the lower Puyallup River was

⁴⁴⁴ David Alt and Donald W. Hyndman, *Northwest Exposures: A Geologic Story of the Northwest* (Missoula: Mountain Press Publishing Company, 1995), 329.

⁴⁴⁵ Alt, 329, 330.

⁴⁴⁶ McKee, 296, 299.

⁴⁴⁷ Burns, 43.

diverted to the southwest through the site of Olympia into the Chehalis River. The ice in Puget Sound later melted back far enough north to permit drainage northwest into the Strait of Juan de Fuca which by then was also free of ice. Seawater did not immediately flood back into Puget Sound, because sea level was still well below its present stand.⁴⁴⁸

Many of these lakes still exist from the shallow dug out basins that were formed. Lake Washington and Lake Sammamish are the two largest of these lakes that occupy two prominent linear depressions in part of the lowland. Meridith Olson's book, *What's the Issaquah Delta doing up there?*, discusses how Lake Sammamish was at one time 450 feet higher than at present and how this lake would have covered much of the present Sammamish Plateau.⁴⁴⁹ Olson's book provides a good argument for how the receding ice formed one large lake and several small lakes. Color photographs are used to show former deltas, high water marks, erratics and spillways.

Much of the lowland eastward from Puget Sound, including Federal Way, displays the characteristic topography of glacial till deposits. The elevation is, with a few local exceptions, less than 500 feet above sea level. Much of the landscape consists of rolling hills with a relief of only a few hundred feet.⁴⁵⁰

Effects of Last Ice Age on the Federal Way Area

The Pleistocene geology of this general Federal Way area was originally examined and discussed by Willis in 1898,⁴⁵¹ Willis and Smith in 1899,⁴⁵² and Bretz in 1913.⁴⁵³ Between 1954 and 1958 Waldron intermediately mapped the geology of the area.⁴⁵⁴

The Federal Way area is underlain by unconsolidated surficial deposits of Pleistocene and Recent ages.⁴⁵⁵ Formations older than the middle Pleistocene are not found anywhere on the surface. Formations of early Pleistocene and Tertiary sedimentary and igneous rocks are found in adjoining areas so are thought to underlay the Federal Way area at depth.⁴⁵⁶

The Vashon drift represents the latest of the glaciations and is also the one, which most affected the Federal Way area. The Vashon glaciation and its deposits was originally discovered and discussed by Willis.⁴⁵⁷ Willis based much of his work on his exploration of exposure on Vashon Island, hence the name Vashon glaciation. He regarded the Vashon Glacier as a piedmont glacier formed by the coalescence of valley glaciers from the Canadian Coast Ranges to the north, the Olympic Mountains to the west, and the Cascade Range to the east. Subsequent investigations by Bretz,⁴⁵⁸ Mackin,⁴⁵⁹ and Crandell and Waldron,⁴⁶⁰ however have proved the

⁴⁴⁸ Alt, 363-365.

⁴⁴⁹ Meredith B Olson, *What's the Issaquah Delta doing up there?* (Seattle: Quality Books, Inc., 2003).

⁴⁵⁰ Burns, 54.

⁴⁵¹ Bailey Willis, "Drift phenomena of Puget Sound," *Geological Society of America Bulletin*, 1898, v. 9, 111 – 162.

⁴⁵² Bailey Willis and G. O. Smith, "Description of the Tacoma quadrangle," *Geological Atlas*, (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Geological Survey, 1899), Folio 54.

⁴⁵³ J. H. Bretz, "Glaciation of the Puget Sound region," *Washington Geological Survey Bulletin*, 1913.

⁴⁵⁴ Waldron, Map GQ-158.

⁴⁵⁵ Waldron, Map GQ-158.

⁴⁵⁶ Waldron, Map GQ-158.

⁴⁵⁷ Willis, 111 – 162.

⁴⁵⁸ Bretz.

Vashon glacier to be almost wholly of Canadian origin with none of the glaciers from the Cascade Range or Olympic Mountains ever extending far enough to merge with the Vashon glacier. Waldron feels the Vashon glacier ice may have been up to 4,000 feet thick on average at the Federal Way latitude and on Vancouver Island it was probably 7,500 feet thick.⁴⁶¹ At its maximum extent the Vashon glacier would have completely filled the Puget Sound area at least for 35 to 50 miles south of the Federal Way latitude.⁴⁶² The till and stratified drift left by the Vashon glacier comprise the surface deposits throughout the Federal Way area.

Deglaciation is believed to have begun some time before 14,000 radiocarbon years ago.⁴⁶³

Des Moines Island Theory

The elevated land that Federal Way sits on at 300-500 feet above sea level would seem to have been an island a few thousand years ago as the ice melted and inland lakes were formed. So, in principal it is possible that some whales from Puget Sound got trapped on the inland side leading up to the Native American myths for the area.

Unfortunately, there is also negative evidence that this did not happen. For example, could the whales have survived in the frigid ice water that would have been present? No fossil remains of whales have been found in any inland lake or former lake. Of course, no fossil remain of whales have been found in Puget Sound either although whales are known to have been present there. Also, the ice ages ended with the melting and lake formation taking place several thousand years ago. Could the tradition of the whales been orally communicated to the relatively recent myths?

The term Des Moines Island does not seem to be used by geologists since Willis.

Miscellaneous Legends

Legend about the Origin of the Red Cedar Tree

To all things there had to be a beginning, so the Native American people had a need to rationalize, understand and record these origins. As one might expect, for a material as important to the Northwest Native Americans, there is a legend about the origin of the Cedar tree.

There was a real good man who was always helping others. Whenever they needed, he gave; when they wanted, he gave them food and clothing. When the great Spirit saw this, he said, "That man has done his work; when he dies and where he is buried, a cedar tree will grow and be useful to the people – the roots for baskets, the bark for clothing, the wood for shelter."⁴⁶⁴

I assume the story means that a Cedar grows where all good men are buried.

⁴⁵⁹ J. H. Mackin, "Glacial geology of the Snoqualmie-Cedar area," *Journal of Geology*, v. 49, 449 – 481.

⁴⁶⁰ D. R. Crandell and H. H. Waldron, "A recent volcanic mudflow of exceptional dimensions from Mt. Rainier," *American Journal of Science*, 1956, v. 254, 349 – 362.

⁴⁶¹ Waldren, Map GQ-158.

⁴⁶² Bretz and also Mackin, 449- 481.

⁴⁶³ H. H. Waldron, D. R. Mullineaux and D. R. Crandell, "Age of the Vashon glaciation in the southern and central parts of the Puget Sound basin, *Geological Society of America Bulletin*, 1957, v. 68, no. 12, pt. 2, 1849 – 1850.

⁴⁶⁴ Stewart, *Cedar*, 27. Stewart indicates this was a Salish story told by Bertha Peters to Wally Henry.

Legend about Why the Tides do not Prevent Gathering Clams

Underhill refers to a legend which discusses how Raven helped reduce the tides so the beaches would be clear to collect clams. “The tale is that Raven, when he was a slave, stole the South Wind’s daughter and thus made him stop sending storms, for these drove the tide too far up the beach and the clams would not be uncovered.”⁴⁶⁵

Legend about Volcano on Mt Rainier

Underhill summarizes a legend about a past volcano on Mt. Rainier as follows:

He [the Changer] piled up the mountains. When the one which the Whites now call St. Helens grew jealous of Tacoma [the Native American name for Mt. Rainier] and burnt her head, he punished her. (Tacoma, it seems really did have a burning head at one time, for it was a volcano.)⁴⁶⁶

Story Tellers as Dramatists

Traditional Lushootseed storytellers are also dramatists and the emotion expressed and the physical movements are a part of the story that cannot be expressed in just the typed words. The enactment by the storyteller makes the story very meaningful to the audience. This has been a problem in communicating these stories effectively to modern audiences. Non-Native people have obscured the artistry of Native American oral literature for many generations of English translation. Translators have replaced the rhetorical and poetic devices of the Native languages with English and American rhetorical equivalents of the time. The original language introduces nuances that are often lost when translated.⁴⁶⁷

Ballard, while his work was excellent, tended to lose the nuances. Some of the translating work now being done, for example, by Hilbert, Hess and Bierwert are correcting this and reintroducing some of the lost subtleties although the visual aspects of the narrator are still missing.

Sources of Legends, Myths and Stories

Following is a list of books that have representative Salish, Northwest and general legends, myths and stories.⁴⁶⁸

1. Arthur Ballard, *Mythology of Southern Puget Sound*. This book contains 125 myths and legends. Several are different versions of the same legend or myth. All relate to the southern Puget Sound area and many are directly related to the Muckleshoot or Puyallup. This is the best single source for Muckleshoot legends and myths.

⁴⁶⁵ Underhill, 28.

⁴⁶⁶ Underhill, 184.

⁴⁶⁷ Bierwert, ed., *Lushootseed Texts*, 24.

⁴⁶⁸ See the Bibliography Section for publishing details.

2. Crista Bierwert, ed., *Lushootseed Texts*. This book provides seven long stories told by Lushootseed storytellers. Parallel pages give the text in Lushootseed and English. The original Lushootseed word order and flavor is retained in the English version. Bierwert also provides a discussion on writing and reading a Lushootseed text as well as a Lushootseed grammar.
3. Vi Hilbert, transcriber, *g^wəq^wulčə?*, *Aunt Susie Sampson Peter; The Wisdom of a Skagit Elder*. This book provides a short biography of Aunt Susie Sampson Peter, 1863 – 1961, and discusses how she passed on many Lushootseed myths and legends through tape recording in the 1950s. Included are some of her memories of her life and several long myths and legends. Both the Lushootseed language version she used and the translated English version by Vi Hilbert and Jay Miller are included in parallel columns.
4. Jessica Amanda Salmonson, *Phantom Waters: Northwest Legends of Rivers, Lakes, and Shores*. This book contains 23 legends from Washington, Oregon and British Columbia, but none is Lushootseed. One, *The Phantom Ship*,⁴⁶⁹ is a modern legend that takes place on the Seattle Waterfront.
5. Vi Hilbert, Trans. and ed., *Haboo: Native American Stories from Puget Sound*. This book contains 33 authentic stories told by Lushootseed speakers and translated into English by Vi Hilbert.
6. Ella E. Clark, *Indian Legends of the Pacific Northwest*. This book contains 111 legends from Washington, Oregon, southern British Columbia, and northern California.
7. Katherine Berry Judson, *Myths and legends of the Pacific Northwest*, with a new introduction by Jay Miller. Judson collected her stories in the early 1900s. This book presents 53 myths and legends from Washington and Oregon and a few from northern California. None is specifically related to the Muckleshoot or even Lushootseed. Judson indicates she tried to use only legends that precede the coming of the white man so he would not influence them in some way.
8. Clarence B. Bagley, *Indian Myths of the Northwest*. Clarence Bagley was a well-known historian of Seattle, King County and western Washington. His material in these areas is usually excellent. This book contains myths he collected from the written sources of several late nineteenth and early twentieth century white authors, such as A. J. Splawn, Francis Boas, Myron Ellis, Theodore Winthrop. The book seems to be misguided by today's understanding of myths and legends. The stories are much abbreviated and show the biases of the white viewpoint.
9. Brian Swann, ed., *Voices from Four Directions: Contemporary Translations of the Native Literature of North America*. As the title suggests, this book has material representing thirty-one people groups from the entirety of the United States and Canada. Crisca Brierwert has a chapter pertaining to the Lushootseed story of Coyote and His Son on pages 171-194.
10. Nels, Bruseth, *Indian Stories and Legends of the Stillaguamish, Sauks and Allied Tribes*. This 35 page booklet provides several legends from around Stanwood collected by a white person who grew up with the storytellers.

⁴⁶⁹ Jessica Amanda Salmonson, *Phantom Waters: Northwest Legends of Rivers, Lakes and Shores*, (Seattle: Sasquatch Books, 1995), 17 – 22.

Arrival of the White Explorers and Settlers

First Contact with White Explorers and Settlers

There are stories of Whites and Orientals visiting the Washington area prior to the 1700s, but these are generally discounted as unproven. Quimby, however, has suggested that among the flotsam and jetsam along the coast were the remnants of hundreds, if not thousands, of ships that had drifted in from the shores of Asia over the last 1,700 years or so. There is a tradition among the Clatsop and Tillamook, on the Oregon coast, of a shipwreck, thought by some to preserve an account of the wreck of a Spanish galleon in the 15th or 16th centuries.⁴⁷⁰ Even if these early haphazard contacts are true, they did not have much effect on the course of history on the coast.⁴⁷¹

The earliest verified European expedition to make contact with the Native people in Washington was that of Capt. Bruno Heceta sailing on the Spanish exploring ship, *Santiago* in July 1775. Heceta was accompanied on the voyage by Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra on the schooner *Sonora*. They made contact with the Natives on the Pacific Coast. Their records, kept by Father Benito de la Sierra, a Franciscan chaplain with the voyage, indicates a peaceful contact with the natives at Point Grenville and an attack by the locals during a landing at the mouth of the Quinault River.⁴⁷² The Spanish were also active explorers shortly after this in the Strait of Juan de Fuca and the Georgia Strait, allowing for Native Americans in these areas to be exposed to Whites.⁴⁷³ By the time Lewis and Clark spent the winter of 1805 – 1806 at the mouth of the Columbia River, about a dozen American ships had already reached the mouth of the Columbia and explored some of the Pacific Coast.⁴⁷⁴ Probably over 100 ships of various nationalities had touched the shores of Washington and Oregon, mostly around the mouth of the Columbia River by this time. This introduced trade with the Pacific Coast Native Americans who probably traded European items with Natives as far as Puget Sound and they would also have told of the white people.

⁴⁷⁰ G. I. Quimby, Jr., “Japanese Wrecks, Iron Tools, and Prehistoric Indians of the Northwest Coast,” *Artic Anthropology*, 22(2), 247-255.

⁴⁷¹ Ames, 10.

⁴⁷² Robin Wright, *A Collection History: Washington Native Art*, in Robin K Wright, ed, *A Time of Gathering: Native heritage in Washington State*, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1991), 29, 30. The details of Heceta’s voyage to the Washington coast can be found in Fray Benito de la Sierra, *An Account of the Heceta expedition to the Northwest Coast in 1775*, A. J. Baker, trans, ed., *California Historical Society Quarterly*, 3rd quarter, 1930.

⁴⁷³ Forsman, in Wright, ed, *A Time of Gathering: Native heritage in Washington State*, 205.

⁴⁷⁴ Nathaniel Philbrick, *Sea of Glory: America’s Voyage of Discovery, the U. S. Exploring Expedition, 1838 – 1842*, (New York: Viking, 2003), 260.

Captain George Vancouver

The first white party into the Puget Sound area was under the command of Captain George Vancouver. He entered Puget Sound in the spring of 1792. On May 19, 1792, the ship *Discovery* anchored off the south shore of Bainbridge Island. The *Chatham* joined it on May 25.⁴⁷⁵

Late on the sunny afternoon of Saturday, May 19, 1792, His Britannic Majesty's sloop-of-war *Discovery* dropped anchor in 210 feet of water over sandy bottom in mid-channel between Blake and Bainbridge islands three miles to the west of Alki Point. Three hundred years after the European discovery of America, white men had reached the area [that was to become] Seattle and Tacoma.⁴⁷⁶

On May 26, Vancouver and a crew used a yawl and cutter from the two ships to explore the area. Captain Vancouver led a crew across to the east side of the sound while Lieutenant Peter Puget took a crew down the west side of Puget Sound. Vancouver, with about sixteen men in two small boats explored the eastern main channel running between Vashon Island and the east side of Puget Sound. He records that he stopped for lunch on the eastern shore at latitude 47 degrees and 21 minutes and apparently Mt. Rainier was visible.⁴⁷⁷ One spot that meets both the latitude requirement and the view of Mt. Rainier is Piner Point on the southeast corner of Maury Island. The latitude is right and there is an excellent view of Mt Rainier from the point. Reading Vancouver's log seems to indicate that the eastern shore referred to is the eastern shore of Vashon and Maury Islands and not the eastern shore of Puget Sound. Some other clues are available which would make Piner Point the correct location. It would appear that Vancouver sailed along the eastern shore of Vashon Island and Maury Island and had lunch at Piner Point. Rereading Vancouver's log of the morning's sailings makes this clear.

Vancouver only stayed a short time before leaving Puget Sound. This probably had been the actual first white contact with Native Americans near the Federal Way area. A detailed article is being prepared documenting all the different options and information on first contact with Native Americans and whites for the area.⁴⁷⁸

Other Early Explorers and Settlers

Other explorers started coming through the Puget Sound area in the early 1800s. The earliest Euro-American immigrants to travel into the Puget Sound area were the fur trappers and traders and a handful of idealistic missionaries. In 1832, full-scale trade on Puget Sound was initiated with the building of Fort Nisqually. The fort's *Journal of Occurrences*, kept by company clerks, often makes mention of the Duwamish trading furs for kettles, hatchets, clothing, guns, and a

⁴⁷⁵ Edmund S. Meany, *Vancouver's Discovery of Puget Sound* (1907, reprint, Portland, Oregon: Binfords & Mort, 1957) 127-137.

⁴⁷⁶ Murray Morgan, *Puget's Sound: A Narrative of Early Tacoma and the Southern Sound* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1979, Columbia Northwest Classics edition, 2003), 3. The ' in Puget's is correct as it is referring to Lieutenant Peter Puget.

⁴⁷⁷ Meany, *Vancouver's Discovery of Puget Sound*, 138-143.

⁴⁷⁸ Dick Caster, "Early Exploration in the Federal Way Area," www.FederalWayHistory.org in preparation.

host of other goods.⁴⁷⁹ (Since the Muckleshoot did not receive this name until the late 1800s they may have been included here as Duwamish. The Duwamish would have been further north and quite a distance from Fort Nisqually.) All of these activities led to increased violence.⁴⁸⁰

Horses and guns entered the area sometime in the early 1800s (maybe the late 1700s.)

As part of his 1838–1842 around the world voyage of exploration, Charles Wilkes was the first United States Navy explorer in Puget Sound in 1841. He entered Puget Sound On May 2, 1841 with two ships, the *Vincennes* and the *Porpoise*. He thoroughly explored most of Puget Sound (and the Columbia River, as well as land exploration between Ft. Nisqually and Vancouver and Walla Walla.)⁴⁸¹ By this time the Natives were quite familiar with Whites and would ask him if he was a *Boston*, their name for Americans based on the days when ships from Boston dominated the fur trade, or a *King George*, a person from England.⁴⁸² Almost three hundred place names are attributed to Wilkes' voyage of exploration in Puget Sound. He named Elliot Bay to the north of Federal Way after one of his crew members, Midshipmen Samuel Elliot, and Commencement Bay to the south after the starting point for part of his explorations, but nothing in between was named on the west side of Puget Sound.⁴⁸³ In fact, Wilkes did not explore or come close to the area in between, i.e. the present Federal Way area, sailing by in both directions on the west side of Puget Sound.⁴⁸⁴

Beginning in 1840, a huge influx of white settlers began moving into the northwest. In 1845, Tumwater was established. In 1849, Fort Steilacoom was established. Starting in 1851, the Seattle area began to have settlers. In 1852, the Tacoma area began to have settlers. Next to Seattle, the White River Valley and Green River Valley are the sections of King County most rich in early white settlement activity. By moving into this area there would be intimate contact with the Muckleshoot. In 1853, Military Road was opened between Seattle and Fort Steilacoom. In the fall of 1853, Dominick Corcoran and James Riley located claims on Muckleshoot Prairie. By 1854, at least 21 land claims were filed in the Auburn area.⁴⁸⁵ Bagley provides information on many of the early settlers' activities in what are now Kent, Auburn and the Muckleshoot Reservation.⁴⁸⁶

This white contact fairly rapidly introduced new technologies and economic opportunities that significantly altered the economics and cultures of the tribes.

Negative Opinions by Whites

Not all of the early explorer's opinions agree with Ruth Underhill's opinion, quoted in the **Pacific Northwest and Northwest Coast Native Americans Section** that the Northwest Native Americans were well off.

Captain George Vancouver reports that in his exploration of the Pacific Coast and Puget Sound he found the Native Americans to generally be living in miserable conditions.⁴⁸⁷

⁴⁷⁹ Buerge, *Renton*, 20.

⁴⁸⁰ Buerge, *Renton*, 20.

⁴⁸¹ Francis B. Barkan, ed., *The Wilkes Expedition: Puget Sound and the Oregon Country* (Olympia WA: Washington State Capital Museum, 1987), 5 – 95 and Philbrick, 265 – 276.

⁴⁸² Philbrick, 265.

⁴⁸³ Barkan, ed., *The Wilkes Expedition*, 102, 103.

⁴⁸⁴ Philbrick, pp. 265 – 276 and Barkan, ed., *The Wilkes Expedition*: 5 – 95.

⁴⁸⁵ Noel, *Muckleshoot Indian History*, 66, 67.

⁴⁸⁶ Bagley, 692-764.

⁴⁸⁷ Meany, *Vancouver's Discovery of Puget Sound*.

Wilkes thought little of the Native Americans, “They [the Indians] occupy a few miserable lodges . . . and are a most filthy race, so much so indeed that to enter their lodges is absolutely disgusting.”⁴⁸⁸ In discussing meeting some Natives of the Clallam tribe, he wrote, “The two sexes of all who visited us were dressed almost alike . . . both are equally dirty. . . .”⁴⁸⁹ Wilkes was impressed with the Natives’ horsemanship, but saw little else to praise about the Native Americans he encountered.⁴⁹⁰ While praising the Natives’ way with riding horses, he also noted that, by his standards:

[T]hey were cruel to the beasts. . . . The horses appear to me to have a knowledge of an Indian and his cruelties to them. . . . They practice great cruelty in using their animals & a horse is seldom found that has not a raw back.

The Indians of this country are so much with their horses that one ought in giving their character to separate the two. On his horse he is a man but dismount him, and all his qualities vanish & he becomes the lazy, lounging lout insensible to anything but his own low gambling habits.⁴⁹¹

The Indians around Nisqually are few in numbers & a lazy vicious set exceedingly dirty. They for the most part sleep all day & sit up all night gambling with visitors or among them and in this way like all tribes of this coast they will after parting with all their useful articles dispose of their wife & children and finally of themselves to years of Slavery. . . . They are addicted to stealing and will run some risk to effect their object. . . .⁴⁹²

In 1855 George Gibbs prepared a railroad survey report for the United States War Department. Included in this was an evaluation of the Indian situation in Washington Territory. Gibbs’ evaluation was similar to that made by Wilkes:

Concerning the influence of the existing missions, there can be no doubt that it is, to a certain extent, beneficial in preserving peace among the tribes, as well as in settling private quarrels. Beyond a very small number, however, their control over individuals is limited. They have unquestionably inculcated principles of honesty and morality, which in some cases perhaps have taken root, but have essentially failed in accomplishing any great and lasting improvement.⁴⁹³

⁴⁸⁸ Robert Silverberg, *Stormy Voyager: the History of Charles Wilkes*, (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1968), 151.

⁴⁸⁹ Francis Barkan, “*Though Far From Our Homes, Yet Still in Our Land*,” quoting from Charles Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition During the Years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842*, (Philadelphia, Lea and Blanchard, 1845) in Barkan, ed., *The Wilkes Expedition*, 41.

⁴⁹⁰ Barkan, “*Though Far From Our Homes*,” quoting from Edmond Meany, ed., “Diary of Wilkes in the Northwest,” *Washington Historical Quarterly*, 1925, 1926, in Barkan, ed., *The Wilkes Expedition*, 49. Barkan on 129 in footnote 17 points out that Wilkes also exhibited a lack of understanding and empathy with his own crewman and officers.

⁴⁹¹ Barkan, “*Though Far From Our Homes*,” quoting from Edmond Meany, ed., “Diary of Wilkes in the Northwest,” *Washington Historical Quarterly*, 1925, 1926, in Barkan, ed., *The Wilkes Expedition*, 49.

⁴⁹² Barkan, “*Though Far From Our Homes*,” quoting from Edmond Meany, ed., “Diary of Wilkes in the Northwest,” *Washington Historical Quarterly*, 1925, 1926, in Barkan, ed., *The Wilkes Expedition*, 74.

Gibbs does indirectly blame some of the situation on the whites:

They [the Indians] are all intemperate, and get liquor whenever they choose. They are, besides, diseased beyond remedy, syphilis being with them hereditary as well as acquired. The speedy extinction of the race seems rather to be hoped for than regretted and they look forward to it themselves with a sort of indifference.⁴⁹⁴

Clarence Bagley in his *History of King County*, also interpreted the writings of the early explorers as indicating negative opinions of the Puget Sound Natives.

Vancouver, Wilkes and about all the early visitants to this region emphasized the lazy, filthy and immoral habits of the Indians inhabiting the Puget Sound region. This has been truthfully said of all primitive people who always had an abundance of food which required little personal effort to obtain it.⁴⁹⁵

Like many of the time, Vancouver, Wilkes and Gibbs, and even Bagley in 1929, had negligible understanding and no empathy with the native cultures of the places they visited. These attitudes were common among educated Americans and Europeans who held the ethnocentric view that their own culture represented a higher state of development than those of non-whites. This prejudice extended not only to material artifacts and achievements, but also to the realm of thought, the arts, religion, and language. Wilkes found it not particularly regrettable that some tribes had vanished or were on the verge of disappearing, due to disease, war, or other causes.⁴⁹⁶

This cultural blindness had a terrible effect on both the conquered and unconquered. It resulted in the decimation and destruction of native cultures and peoples by Europeans and Americans because it was assumed that these societies had no value in themselves. What is more, those who held the view that native cultures had no significance were diminished by their inhumanity and indifference. Ironically, they missed the opportunity to learn from native inhabitants much of practical importance.

However, even some Native American writers admit life was not always an Eden. An example is Bill Reid from British Columbia who usually writes very favorably of the Native culture prior to the white man.

I'd like to try to assess the effect of the arrival of the Europeans on the people . . . Not the people as a whole, or the tribal groups or the culture as such, but on the lives of the individuals.

It is hard to get a clear picture of life before the invasions, but we can safely say that it was not an Eden. Most communities were governed by a strongly entrenched hierarchy with a complicated criss-cross of hereditary village chiefs, clan chiefs, house chiefs and probably many more, each infringing to some extent

⁴⁹³ Gibbs, 28.

⁴⁹⁴ Gibbs, 35.

⁴⁹⁵ Bagley, *History of King County*, 132.

⁴⁹⁶ Barkan, "Though Far From Our Homes," in Barkan, ed., *The Wilkes Expedition*, 49.

on another's territory, and in turn being infringed upon by somebody else.

The universal custom of taking slaves must have made life very uncertain. Apparently anyone caught too far from help was fair game, and unless you were a very important aristocrat whose family could [remove] the stigma, there was no point in trying to escape. The disgrace of being enslaved could never be overcome, and an escaped slave's life would be lived in solitary exile.

Warfare was not a particularly important activity, being largely restricted to fast raids. But it was a more or less constant occurrence and must have had a disruptive effect on the communities.

As in all tribal societies, the way of life was very conservative, with little room for innovation or creativity. Marriage and other conventions were dictated by custom and arranged by elders.

It may sound like a pretty reactionary society, and in many ways it was. But it had one big advantage over the larger, more complex systems which replaced tribalism [referring here to the white culture]. It accommodated each of its members according to his abilities, not just permitting but requiring all citizens to contribute to the community to the best of their powers. . . .⁴⁹⁷

Positive Opinions by Whites

Generally, however, most whites had good impressions of the Natives. Many local pioneers appreciated the help and examples of hard work and loyalty provided by the King County and southern Puget Sound Native Americans.

The officers of the Hudson's Bay Co. employed a small army of them on their several farms and in herding cattle and sheep and they did not hesitate to say they found the Indian laborers much superior as workmen to the kind of white labor obtainable at that period. They made capital plowmen, and cared for their horses much better than did the others. Several of them became good rough carpenters and first rate axmen.

All the large sawmills hire them for outdoor work, I [Bagley] remember personally, that Yesler had several of them handling rough lumber and heavy slabs, and many were faithful and industrious.

For many years practically all the help about the housework the pioneer women could obtain was supplied by Indian women and it did not take long for these "Kloutchmen" to become neat and cleanly [*sic*] in person and efficient workers. Angeline, the daughter of [Chief] Seattle was my mother's washerwoman for a year or more and always arrived promptly on washday and did first class work. . . .

In the early days, after hop raising had become a big industry most of the picking was done by local Indians, but in time it attracted Indians [from further away]. . .

In one of his many books [Ezra Meeker] says:

"Our Indian neighbors did not steal from us . . . for taking articles of considerable value, never once did the settlers suffer by their hands. The cabins

⁴⁹⁷ Bringhurst, 220, 221.

remained unlocked night and day, the tools of the farmer left in open sheds or in the fields; the stock allowed to range at will, and yet no losses occurred.⁴⁹⁸

Nels Bruseth provides interesting positive opinions based on growing up in the late 1800s and early 1900s in a community of mixed whites and Stillaguamish and Quadsak groups around Stanwood.⁴⁹⁹

. . . of the many I saw these women were neat housekeepers and raised some very respectful children.

Many such children were our schoolmates. They were apt at lessons, and as cleanly [*sic*] as any of us.⁵⁰⁰

Disease

The ancient local Native American was really quite healthy. His diet consisted mainly of fish, some game, roots, berries, nuts, greens and water. The pre white diet had no added sugar, salt and no alcohol. The environment was free of European diseases until the advent of the whites into his society. Robert Boyd's, *The Coming of the Spirit of Pestilence*, covers in detail the introduction of infectious diseases and the resulting population decline among Northwest Coast Indians between 1774-1874.⁵⁰¹ In 1774, the Pacific Northwest was "virgin soil" for a long list of infectious diseases that had evolved in other parts of the world. Boyd shows that foreign introduced disease was the major cause of massive Native depopulation. The most destructive disease was smallpox with malaria also being occasionally present. Measles, tuberculosis, influenza, dysentery, and syphilis also had significant impacts.⁵⁰² After the coming of the whites, dental caries became a problem. Alcohol became a trade item many males sought after.⁵⁰³

Boyd estimates that the pre white contact population of all Native Americans on the Northwest Coast was 180,000. By 1874 this was reduced to 35,000-40,000. Boyd defines the area covered by Pacific Northwest Native Americans as all of present day Oregon and Washington west of the Cascade Mountains, British Columbia west of the Coast Range, and southeast Alaska.⁵⁰⁴ By 1874 this once vigorous and strong self-sustaining culture was only a shadow of its former self with not only the loss in population but the basic of its culture also gone.

The first and by far the most devastating effect of Euro-American contact on the Northwest Coast Indians was the introduction in the late 1700s of smallpox. Acting upon a 'virgin-soil' (Boyd's term for a people never exposed to the disease), the disease produced a high mortality, certainly well in excess of 30 percent. The possibility of smallpox penetration to the northwest Coast before the 1700s cannot be ruled out. Pandemic smallpox was present in other parts of the Americas as early as the 1520s. Direct, documented contact with Europeans on the Northwest

⁴⁹⁸ Bagley, *King County History*, 132, 134.

⁴⁹⁹ Nels Bruseth, *Indian Stories and Legends of the Stillaguamish, Sauks and Allied Tribes*, (Arlington WA: Publisher unknown, ca 1926, reprinted expanded edition, Fairfield WA, Ye Galleon Press, 1977), 5-13.

⁵⁰⁰ Bruseth, 9.

⁵⁰¹ Robert Boyd, *The Coming of the Spirit of Pestilence*, (Seattle: University of Washington Press: 1999).

⁵⁰² Boyd, xiv, 3, 5.

⁵⁰³ Noel, *Muckleshoot Indian History*, 51.

⁵⁰⁴ Boyd, 3.

Coast did not begin until 1774, however, and it is from this time period that the first recorded reference to smallpox in the region appears.⁵⁰⁵

Following initial introduction, smallpox epidemics reappeared with some regularity on the Northwest Coast. The disease appears to have occurred among the Northwest Native peoples in the late 1700s; subsequent epidemics were more restricted in scope. In 1910, ethnologist James Mooney recorded four major epidemics in the Northwest, in 1781-82, 1836-37, 1852-53, and 1862. . . . My research has uncovered evidence of a fifth epidemic, in 1801-2, as well as a possible sixth outbreak in the winter of 1824-25.⁵⁰⁶

Much of the evidence for the smallpox epidemics is based on whites reporting the presence of pockmarked natives during exploring and trading expeditions. Also, the natives would tell stories of the dying and moving of villages and leaving the dead and sick as the only way to try to escape the effects. By the early 1800s smallpox could be introduced by whites from inland exploration and trading as well as by ships. Also, there is evidence that in the early 1800s infected Native Americans from well inland brought it to the coast and infected the coast Natives.⁵⁰⁷

Noel states that in 1829 a “smallpox epidemic killed thousands of Indians.”⁵⁰⁸ This would appear to be the 1824-1825 high mortality smallpox epidemic referred to by Boyd. Entire families were wiped out and some villages lost up to 80 percent of their population.⁵⁰⁹ Boyd estimates that the 1838-1837 epidemic killed between 25,000 and 30,000 Indians on the west coast.⁵¹⁰

Boyd also discusses how myths record the coming and disaster of smallpox. He discusses how many myths discuss the “Pestilence spirit, clearly recalling epidemic conditions.”⁵¹¹ He takes the name of his book, *The Coming of the Spirit of Pestilence*, from this usage.

Next to smallpox, measles was probably the most destructive.⁵¹²

Measles, like smallpox, is a classic crowd disease. In many of its clinical and epidemiological characteristics measles is very similar to smallpox; it differs in the less severe nature of the rash, a predilection for children, and a lower average mortality (10%). The epidemiological similarity of the two diseases has created some uncertainty about the identity of some early epidemics . . .⁵¹³

Generally, the disease [measles] was transmitted from one location to another by means of transportation introduced by Euro-Americans and by individuals who were infected with the virus but did not yet show symptoms of the disease.⁵¹⁴

⁵⁰⁵ Boyd, 22.

⁵⁰⁶ Boyd, 22.

⁵⁰⁷ Boyd, 23-60.

⁵⁰⁸ Noel, *Muckleshoot Indian History*, 66.

⁵⁰⁹ Boyd, 49-53.

⁵¹⁰ Boyd, 136.

⁵¹¹ Boyd, 53-60.

⁵¹² Boyd, 145-160.

⁵¹³ Boyd, 145-146.

⁵¹⁴ Boyd, 159.

As with smallpox in our area, the best source for local Natives coming down with measles were records from Fort Nisqually in the 1840s reporting cases of measles with some deaths.⁵¹⁵ Boyd indicates the most severe measles epidemic, that of 1847-1848, 500 Natives from various northwest Coast groups died, but other records would imply some villages lost 50 percent of their population.⁵¹⁶

Boyd also discusses whites introducing chronic diseases such as syphilis and tuberculosis,⁵¹⁷ as well as malaria,⁵¹⁸ influenza,⁵¹⁹ and dysentery.⁵²⁰

Most of the maps and discussion presented by Boyd do not show or discuss disease in the area occupied by the Muckleshoot and their immediate neighbors. This could be they were not on main trade routes and were somewhat isolated and protected or it could simply mean there was no one in these areas documenting the evidence. Very little is known about these areas for the late 1700s and early 1800s. One of the rare documentations of smallpox near present day Federal Way was a report in 1836 that an outbreak at Nisqually caused only five Indian deaths.⁵²¹

By the 1840s, Native population numbers were only one-tenth what they had been when the white newcomers first came. It was during the rapid period of Native depopulation that white settlers began claiming the choicest spots among the lands of the Puget Sound area for themselves.⁵²²

Boyd estimates that during the first century of white contact, the Pacific Northwest Coast Native population declined a minimum of 80 percent, or nearly 150,000 people, largely the result of mortality from introduced diseases. He feels the Inland waters area, which would include the Muckleshoot and adjoining tribes suffered a 63 percent reduction in this time period.⁵²³ Using an average of the three population surveys discussed by Boyd (Money 1928, Boyd 1996 and Anchor Number) a pre-contact Puget Sound Salish population of 7,371 can be estimated. Boyd indicates by the post epidemic era, approximately 1874, the population of the Puget Sound Salish was 4,872. This would represent a 34 percent loss in population.⁵²⁴

Treaties and Councils

At first, the Muckleshoot and other nearby Native Americans helped the new settlers to survive and there are many stories of friendship between the two peoples as each considered the other a valued neighbor with something to offer. Before long, however, the newcomers wanted the Muckleshoot and other Native Americans in the territory removed so they could have the soon to be prosperous region all to themselves.⁵²⁵

⁵¹⁵ Boyd, 155.

⁵¹⁶ Boyd, 159.

⁵¹⁷ Boyd, 61-83.

⁵¹⁸ Boyd, 84-115.

⁵¹⁹ Boyd, 136-138, 143.

⁵²⁰ Boyd, 138-144.

⁵²¹ Boyd, 136.

⁵²² "Muckleshoot Indian Tribe, The Newcomers," 2, <http://www.muckleshoot.nsn.us/history.htm> (accessed July 30, 2004).

⁵²³ Boyd, 262, 263,

⁵²⁴ Boyd, 264, Table 3.

⁵²⁵ "Muckleshoot Indian Tribe, The Newcomers," 2, <http://www.muckleshoot.nsn.us/history.htm> (accessed July 30, 2004).

Governor Isaac Stevens

Washington became a territory of the United States on March 2, 1853. This was done without any consultation with the Native Americans who still were in possession of most of the land. Isaac Stevens was appointed to serve both as governor and the superintendent of Indian Affairs. When Stevens reached Washington in 1853, he acted vigorously to extinguish Native American ownership. An estimated 6,000 Puget Sound Native Americans were involved in just a few months.⁵²⁶ In less than a year “Governor Stevens had made treaties with more than seventeen thousand Indians and in doing so had distinguished the Indian title to more than one hundred thousand square miles [64 million acres] of land now making up much of the territory of Washington, Idaho, and Montana.”⁵²⁷

A few months before Stevens had taken office he outlined the goals he sought in treaties.

In order to prepare the Indians to become citizens, they should have relocation areas of good land, enough to allow each family head a homestead; they should be supplied with farmers to instruct them in agriculture, although they should not be excluded from their fisheries; many bands should be concentrated on one reservation in order that control over them might be more effective; and the authority of the chiefs should be strengthened so they could be held responsible to the government for the conduct of their people. The policy was based on the assumption that the homestead farming pattern would encourage Indians to disappear into the American melting pot within the course of a generation of federal assistance.⁵²⁸

At the opening of the second Washington territorial legislative session in December 1854, Governor Isaac Stevens informed the assembly, “treaties with the Indians would be his primary activity for the near future.” This was a popular view with the legislators and their constituents. In the popular mind of the settlement mode, “Indian title to the land had to be extinguished before title by the white settlers could be gained, even for land claimed under the Land Donation Act of 1850 in the Territory of Washington.”⁵²⁹ As is now well known the treaties turned out to favor the whites and did not prove beneficial to the Native Americans. William Brown was one of the first to write “haste, high pressure and no little chicanery on the parts of the whites was predominant throughout the meetings from start to finish.” The minutes of the treaty conferences show that Stevens intended in one way or the other to get signatures on his treaties as he dictated them. He met any reluctance to give up cherished homeland for reservation areas by reminding the Native Americans of trouble with “bad white man who came to harm them. He pointed out that only with several tribes together on a small area of land could the Great Father offer them protection.”⁵³⁰

Stevens discovered that the Indians,

⁵²⁶ American Friends Service Committee, 18.

⁵²⁷ Herbert Hunt and Floyd Kaylor, *Washington, West of the Cascades* (Chicago: S. J. Clarke), Vol. 1, 143.

⁵²⁸ American Friends Service Committee, 20.

⁵²⁹ Hemphill, 28.

⁵³⁰ William Compton Brown, *The Indian Side of the Story* (Spokane: C. W. Hill, 1961), 64.

though recognizing the necessity for selling much of their country, were adamant against being moved away from it so they refused to accept centralized reservations. A basic misunderstanding during the treaty making lay in the differing concepts about land. White culture regarded it as a commodity to be owned, fenced, bought, and sold. To the Indian land was part of a religious heritage, not a chattel and not an article of trade. Stevens acceded to the reserving by tribes of a portions of their homeland. He did not achieve the degree of concentration he had desired, though it was more than the Indians wished.

The importance of the fish to the Indians seems to have impressed Stevens. He did not intentionally reserve to the Indians any more rights than he thought necessary, but he understood that the one indispensable requirement for securing agreement of and kind from Pacific Northwest Indians was to assure their continued right to fish.⁵³¹

Swidell quotes Stevens as saying at a council recorded at an evening session following the signing of the Treaty of Medicine Creek and before any treaty negotiations with other tribes, “It is also thought necessary to allow them to fish at all accustomed places, since this would not in any manner interfere with the rights of citizens, and was necessary for the Indians to obtain a subsistence.”⁵³²

Treaties of Medicine Creek and Point Elliot

Late 1854 and 1855 were periods when Governor Stevens negotiated several treaties with the Native Americans. The treaty, which most affected the Muckleshoot and Puyallup, was the Treaty of Medicine Creek that covered the areas of Thurston and Pierce Counties (with slightly different boundaries than today.) Technically, the area that is now Federal Way in south King County was covered by the Point Elliot Treaty negotiated from January 12 – 22, 1855, but the Native Americans using the Federal Way area, as mentioned previously lived not only in southern King County but in northern Pierce County so were covered by the Medicine Creek Treaty.⁵³³

People from White River were designated in the Point Elliot Treaty as Smahl-Ka-mish and those from the Green River as Skop-ah-mish.⁵³⁴ A summary of the Point Elliot Treaty is included in Noel’s, *Muckleshoot Indian History*.⁵³⁵ The Point Elliot Treaty was signed on January 22, 1855 and ratified on April 11, 1859.⁵³⁶

⁵³¹ American Friends Service Committee, 21.

⁵³² Edward G. Swidell, *Report on Source, Nature, and Extent of the Fishing, Hunting and Misc. Related Rights of Certain Indian Tribes in Washington and Oregon Together with Affidavits Showing Locations of a Number of Usual and Accustomed Fishing Grounds and Stations*, Division of Forestry and Grazing, Office of Indian Affairs, U. S. Department of Interior, Los Angeles, 1942, 330.

⁵³³ Hemphill, 31.

⁵³⁴ Ballard, “Indian Place Names,” p. not known, in Noel, *Muckleshoot Indian History*, 91.

⁵³⁵ Noel, *Muckleshoot Indian History*, 154-156.

⁵³⁶ “TREATY BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE DWAMISH, SUQUAMISH, AND OTHER ALLIED AND SUBORDINATE TRIBES OF INDIANS IN WASHINGTON TERRITORY, January 22, 1855, Ratified April 11, 1859, University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections.

The original plan of governor Stevens was to remove the various tribes and bands of the Northwest to one or two large relocation areas. These were not to be reservations in the sense that they reserved or preserved the Native Americans own land, but rather other land to which they would be relocated. Stevens is quoted as saying in negotiating the treaties, “If we gave you all the little spots you want, the great Father could not be your Father, though he desires to be so, for he could not take care of you. . . . The representative of the Great Father in Washington would pick a spot and there he would protect the Indians; if they stayed where they were they would be swept away.”⁵³⁷

Charles Howze and John Hemphill summarize the setting for the Medicine Creek treaty as follows:

It was a rainy, blowing day on the banks of Medicine Creek, not far from where the Nisqually River flows into Puget Sound, when the Medicine Creek Treaty Council began on December 24, 1854. Lieutenant Slaughter attended and is recorded in the Treaty as a “witness.” Arriving to get activities started by addressing the assembled Indians, Governor Stevens came well armed with a draft treaty complete with maps ready for finalization. Local settlers had assured the Indians in the days before that the Government would pay them very well for their lands. Governor Stevens paid no heed to the absences of the Lower Puyallups, a band of around 250, who were held up by high winds and did not arrive until after the council was over.⁵³⁸

The site where the Medicine Creek treaty of 1855 was signed by the tribes of southern Puget Sound is in the Nisqually Delta area. The location where the treaty was presented and signed was near a large Douglas fir. This tree became known as the Medicine Creek Treaty Tree (Treaty Tree.) The site is now located in a closed, no access area of the Nisqually Wildlife Refuge.⁵³⁹ Noel provides a map showing the land covered by the Medicine Creek Treaty and the Point Elliot treaty.⁵⁴⁰

The Medicine Creek Treaty was signed on December 25, 1854, but since that time there has been much argumentation by the Native Americans that their proper representatives were not present or did not sign it. Leschi, a prominent Nisqually, for example claimed he did not initial the treaty.⁵⁴¹

Governor Stevens wanted this treaty to be a model for the many that were to follow in other areas. His plan was to send it immediately to Washington D.C. as a test for ratification by the United States Senate. The ratification did occur in March 1855. (Other treaties completed in 1855 were not ratified until 1859.) The Treaty specified that the “Indian ‘title’ to Nisqually and Puyallup lands *was* extinguished to allow the settlers to obtain title to their claims.” The Native Americans ended up being greatly dissatisfied with the terms of the Treaty and many claimed they had signed it without knowing its true meaning and many claimed they had not signed it at all. This is one of the causes of the wars that broke out in mid 1855.⁵⁴²

⁵³⁷ Swindell, 354-374.

⁵³⁸ Hemphill. 30.

⁵³⁹ Halladay and Chehak, 89.

⁵⁴⁰ Noel, *Muckleshoot Indian History*, 162.

⁵⁴¹ Hemphill. 32.

⁵⁴² Hemphill, 32.

Medicine Creek Treaty Tree

During the latter part of the 1900s and into the early 2000s the Medicine Creek Treaty Tree was visible from the trails in the Nisqually Wildlife Refuge. A Kiosk at the wildlife refuge displays information about the Medicine Creek Treaty. The tree was near Medicine Creek (now known as McAllister Creek.)⁵⁴³ During recent years there was no plaque or sign at the actual site to indicate the location of the site of the Medicine Creek Treaty signing. Bob Barnes, landscape architect for the Washington State Department of Transportation, said the agency was careful to avoid the tree when I-5 was constructed through the area in the 1960s. Fill placed in the right of way for I-5 got into the root system and affected the tree's health. The tree was considered dead by the winter of 1979. By the 1980s all that remained of the Treaty Tree was a snag about 30 feet high that was allowed to weather. In December 2006 a strong winter windstorm blew the remainder of the tree down. The weathered Douglas fir snag that was once visible from I-5 now lies in pieces. At times of high tide, the gnarled top bobs in McAllister Creek (originally known as Medicine Creek.) Another chunk rests alongside the water. A last chunk of the trunk still spears about 20 feet in the air. What to do with the remaining pieces of the Treaty Tree has been under discussion since the storm. Ideas include collecting the wood and putting it in a museum and carving some of it into a bench or plaque to display at the Nisqually tribal center. In 1975, Bill Melton of the DOT, noting that the tree was dying, gathered seeds from the tree and planted a grove of descendants that today stand some 40 feet tall around where the Treaty Tree once stood.⁵⁴⁴

Results of Treaties

All told, throughout the six treaties negotiated by Stevens in 1854 and 1855 the Native Americans ceded 64,000,000 acres. On the surface the treaties provided a compromise. Tribal peoples were to be safe from encroachment and attack on the lands reserved to them. They had rights to education, health care, fishing and hunting. The whites would have access to enough land that they would leave the Native Americans alone. However, the treaties' many assurances to the tribes were mostly ignored and even additional land was taken.⁵⁴⁵

George Gibbs, in his 1855 railroad survey report to the United States War Department, writing at the time the treaties were being negotiated said:

The great primary source of evil in Oregon and the western part of this [Washington] Territory is the donation act, in which, contrary to established usage and to natural right, the United States assumed to grant, absolutely, the land of the Indians without previous purchase from them. It followed, as a necessary consequence that as settlers poured in, the Indians were unceremoniously thrust from their homes and driven forth to shift for themselves. No provision was made to support them after their former means were taken away; and finally the treaties negotiated by authorized agents of the government, in which small patches of their own territories were secured to them, were either rejected or

⁵⁴³ Halladay and Chehak, 89.

⁵⁴⁴ Lynda Mapes, "After 153 years, Treaty Tree lost to winter storm," *The Seattle Times*, February 2, 2007, A1.

⁵⁴⁵ Wright, 23.

passed over in silence. A consequence of this has been that a natural distrust has sprung up in their minds as to the good faith of the government or its agents in making treaties at all. The policy has indeed one merit, that of economy. But a few years will elapse before a universal escheat [confiscation] will preclude the necessity of economy.⁵⁴⁶

The treaties entered into by the United States Government with many tribes at different times and places, were probably never considered as permanent settlements, but rather as makeshift temporary measures to avoid trouble. The average white citizen paid little heed to them and never seriously believed that the Indian had any rights which he was bound to respect. When the land the Indian lived on was wanted for white settlement and progress the Indian could still be pushed aside.

War between the Native Americans and White Settlers

It is very difficult to present a fair picture of the Indian Wars. My natural tendency is to defend the whites, but if your way of life were being changed and prevented, your food gathering areas forbidden for use and your land taken away from you and treaty benefits not being granted, the only recourse would be war. The Indian land actually became more threatened after the treaties than before, as Governor Stevens was unable to enforce the land deals he had made.

In 1855-1856 the Indian Wars were fought in the State of Washington. These wars were fought partially because the Puyallup and Nisqually Tribes just south of the Muckleshoot refused to move onto the assigned reservation lands. The White and Green River Tribes were not willing to go onto reservations where they would have to live with other tribes.⁵⁴⁷ Battles involved Native American warriors from both sides of the Cascades. Volunteers recruited by Governor Stevens and the regular army stationed at Fort Steilacoom provided the force for the whites in the Puget Sound area. Since none of the battles occurred in the Federal Way area and since the Muckleshoot were not involved in a major way the Indian Wars will not be discussed in detail here. Several battles of the Indian Wars were fought in the White and Green River Valleys and one of the most famous, involving the death of Lieutenant William Slaughter, was fought in what is now Auburn. Koch's book on Lieutenant Slaughter provides an excellent description of life for a young military officer and his duties both before and during the Indian War that cost him his life in the Auburn area in 1855.⁵⁴⁸

Two excellent sources that discuss the reasons and details of the Indian Wars as they affected the area between Seattle and South Puget Sound are by Hemphill⁵⁴⁹ and Meany.⁵⁵⁰ Hemphill and his chapter writers provide an excellent overview of the background leading up to the Indian Wars, the strategy used to defeat the Indians and the involvement of various individuals. Meany, a history professor at the University of Washington and a state legislator, writing in 1910, was

⁵⁴⁶ Gibbs, 28.

⁵⁴⁷ Bagley, *History of King County*, 176.

⁵⁴⁸ Joseph Koch, *Lieut. W. A. Slaughter, Frontier Soldier* (Orting, WA: Heritage Quest, 1991).

⁵⁴⁹ Hemphill, 27 – 70 (overview), 101 – 120 (details of Isaac Stevens' participation), 126 – 130 (details of Lt. William Slaughter's participation), 131 – 180 (details of August Kautz', Silas Casey's, George Wright's, and Edward Steptoe's participation.)

⁵⁵⁰ Edmund S. Meany, *History of the State of Washington*, (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1910), 165 – 219.

much closer to the time period and was able to interview many participants on both sides. He provides more details and names than Hemphill.

Trading with White Settlers

Noel provides comments from Maggie Barr telling of her trading potatoes for goods at the white stores. The Muckleshoot women would make baskets and other items and take produce and trade for items available in the stores.⁵⁵¹

After learning about weaving, spinning became an accomplished art by many Muckleshoot women. The advent of woven material for clothing must have been appreciated by the women as pounding the cedar bark necessary for clothes must have been laborious.

Earnie Barr remembers many of the women making yarn by rubbing the raw wool on their thigh and spinning it onto a long hand-spindle and whorl. Some of the women later adapted old sewing machines for use as spinning wheels. . . . Most of the Indians did not raise their own sheep but purchased or traded for the raw wool from shops in White Center, Ballard, Georgetown or local farmers. Today, hand knitted Indian clothing is still considered a treasured item. . . . Maggie [Barr in her eighties in 1980 when this comment was made] remembers working through the long winters with her mother knitting a large collection of sweaters, hats, socks, etc. and then taking them to the Roachdale store to trade for staples including 50 pound barrels of flour.⁵⁵²

End of the Old Way

The moving in of the white settlers in great numbers starting in 1840, followed by trading with these same white settlers for European style goods, followed by treaties and councils and finally the Indian Wars of 1855-1856, meant an end to the Native American aboriginal culture before the Muckleshoot themselves knew what was happening. Because of the white settlers' demand for land the Muckleshoot were soon forced to consolidate on a reservation.

The impact on Native American life by the newcomers was so profound that some elders referred to the white settlers as "changers" or "transformers".⁵⁵³

Many of the early European American settlers in the Puget Sound country managed to look past the people who were already living here, to misunderstand their complex though light handed use of the land, and tell themselves that they had found an untouched wilderness, unused but ready to be used. In words and deeds the new people and their government made it clear that the culture of the first people of this land had no value except as a curiosity, and that the people themselves were expected to subordinate themselves to the new culture or "vanish." It mattered little which.⁵⁵⁴

⁵⁵¹ Noel, *Muckleshoot Indian History*, 14.

⁵⁵² Noel, *Muckleshoot Indian History*, 14.

⁵⁵³ Watson, iv.

⁵⁵⁴ Watson, iv.

Whites wrote the history written during this time so it was not always objective and was often biased against the Native Americans. Many features of the Muckleshoot way of life disappeared before trained anthropologists and historians came on the scene to study them. Trade items such as steel for tools had replaced much native material. Even houses and clothes changed to European style. No consistent attempt was made to record all phases of Muckleshoot life. Therefore there is no complete history or ethnography of this area. Often no striking or exotic features were passed on. A difficulty of studying the Muckleshoot is that most of the books and articles written cover the whole Northwest Coast people. In some cases this is narrowed to the Puget Sound area. Noel's work is the outstanding exception for Muckleshoot history. Smith is the best source for the Puyallup but it is outdated.

Reservation Life

Land Ownership

The white settlers wanted to own the land. They believed that land was property to be owned by individuals. A man's worth and wealth could be counted by the acres he controlled. This European concept was strange to all the Native Americans concept of land ownership. The land was there, they said, and that was all that mattered. Each tribe or village knew the boundaries of its village, fields and hunting territories. The boundaries were based on the areas they themselves used.

The point of conflict between these two concepts was that the whites wanted individual possession of the land beyond just the joint use of it. The group in power decided to settle the issue by placing the Native Americans on reservations and claiming their land based on the treaties.

Reservation Land

After the 1854-55 treaties, Washington Territory Native Americans were expected to live on crowded reservations established by the treaties. Most of the payments and material benefits promised by the treaties never appeared. The Muckleshoot were still not citizens and were unable to vote or own their own land at first. Tribal way of life had been under attack for decades. The multiple family longhouse communities had been broken up by appropriation of the ancient village sites and by assignment of nuclear family allotments on the reservation. Even the meager land base held as reservation land was being lost by immanent domain proceedings and sale of allotments under a series of loose regulations.

Between the Green River Valley town of Auburn and the Enumclaw Plateau town of Enumclaw is a five-mile stretch of land known as the Muckleshoot Indian Reservation. Running east and west, State Highway 164 divides the land into north and south sections. A marking sign on Auburn Way South announces the beginning of the reservation and a similar sign five miles down the highway announces the end.⁵⁵⁵ Noel provides a map showing the checkerboard pattern of the reservation.⁵⁵⁶

⁵⁵⁵ Fleming and Cross, 5.

⁵⁵⁶ Noel, *Muckleshoot Indian History*, 161.

The Muckleshoot tribe generally contends that the people who settled on the Muckleshoot reservation were the Smalk-kamish, the Skope-ahmish, and the ST-Kah-mish. These were the three bands of the White and Green Rivers occupying the inland tributaries of the Duwamish Basin. All three groups are mentioned in the Treaty of Point Elliot. Anthropological research and other documentation from the time of the treaties further substantiate the Muckleshoot claim to having been descended from these three groups named in the treaty. Reports of Indian agents after the establishment of the reservation show that people from the Whiter and Green Rivers were settled on the Muckleshoot Reservation. By 1870 these people were referred to as the Muckleshoot.⁵⁵⁷

Noel and Cross indicate the Muckleshoot Reservation currently occupies 3,367 acres.⁵⁵⁸ However the Washington State Governor's Office of Indian Affairs indicates the reservation has 1,201.26 acres of trust land.⁵⁵⁹ Adding either of these figures to the acreage shown in the table provided by Noel for reservation land sold to non-Indians it appears that the original planned maximum size of the reservation was over 100,000 acres.⁵⁶⁰

The history of land being set aside for the Muckleshoot reservation began in the 1850s. On August 4, 1856, at the Fox Island Conference, Governor Stevens agreed to a reservation between the White and Green Rivers for the Muckleshoot. On December 6, 1856, Governor Stevens formally requested, through the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, the establishment of the Muckleshoot Indian reservation.⁵⁶¹ On January 17, 1857, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs requested to the Department of the Interior the formation of the Muckleshoot Reservation. The Department of the Interior made the request to the President on January 20, 1857.⁵⁶²

By 1859, 2,101 acres of proposed reservation land had been sold to whites (2.1 percent of the total.) On July 1, 1860, Agent Simons recommended the Muckleshoot Reservation include all land from the Fort Muckleshoot reserve (300 acres) to the junction of the White and Green Rivers. Simons also recommended the reservation be placed under the Treaty of Point Elliot. In 1862, the Homestead Act was signed by President Abraham Lincoln. White settlers were interested in being able to homestead land allotted to the Indians. A letter from S. D. Howe, Indian Agent, to the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, recommended abandoning the Muckleshoot Reservation and relocating the Indians to Port Madison to satisfy the white settlers. Between 1860-1869, 410 additional acres of Muckleshoot reservation land were sold to whites (0.4 percent.) In July of 1864, Congress and President Lincoln complicated matters more for the Native American land by granting 45,000,000 acres across the northern portion of the country to the Northern Pacific Railroad and thereby limiting what could be used for homestead land.⁵⁶³

On July 28, 1867, Indian Agent Elder, in a report to Superintendent McKenny, recommended selling the Muckleshoot Reservation and using the money to relocate 150 reservation Indians onto the Puyallup Reservation to the south. On December 27, 1867, Superintendent of Indian

⁵⁵⁷ American Friends Service Committee, 40.

⁵⁵⁸ Fleming and Cross, 4.

⁵⁵⁹ Washington State Governor's Office of Indian Affairs, "Muckleshoot Tribe," 1, www.goia.wa.gov/tribalinfo/muckleshoot.html (accessed August 1, 2004).

⁵⁶⁰ This figure was obtained by adding the current 3,367 acres or 1,201.26 to the 101,620 acreage shown in the table provided by Noel for reservation land sold to non-Indians, Noel, *Muckleshoot Indian History*, 84.

⁵⁶¹ Noel, *Muckleshoot Indian History*, 68 provides the December 6, 1856 date. The Washington State Governor's Office of Indian Affairs web site, www.goia.wa.gov/tribalinfo/muckleshoot.html (accessed August 1, 2004) states the date was December 5, 1856 in Washington State Governor's Office of Indian Affairs, 1.

⁵⁶² Noel, *Muckleshoot Indian History*, 68.

⁵⁶³ Noel, *Muckleshoot Indian History*, 68, 69.

Affairs McKenny requested to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington Territory, that all land between the forks of the Green and White Rivers be added to the Muckleshoot reservation. McKenny was assured this would be done. On February 5, 1868, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs recommended to the Secretary of the Interior that the Muckleshoot Reservation be enlarged to take in all the land lying between the forks of the White and Green Rivers in Townships 20 and 21 North, Range 5 East. The Secretary of the interior forwarded the recommendation to the President for his approval.⁵⁶⁴

In 1868, 12,000 acres of reservation land was being used by whites to raise cattle. In 1868, the first non-native residents started to move onto reservation land. On August 14, 1869, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Washington Territory, wrote to the Commissioner of Indian affairs repeating the request for enlarging the Muckleshoot Reservation. No reply was ever received.⁵⁶⁵

Between 1870 and 1879, 5,333 acres of reservation land were sold (5.2 percent of the original proposed total.) In 1871, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Washington Territory, again wrote to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs stating that no response had been given to his previous request and again he was requesting an expansion of reservation land. This was the year that congress passed a law stating that no more treaties could be made with the Indians. On January 20, 1873, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Washington Territory, sent a special report on the Muckleshoot Reservation and requested its enlargement as originally requested in 1859.⁵⁶⁶

In May of 1873, a telegram was received from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to Superintendent Milroy, stating that the reservation could not now be legalized as Simons set it up in 1860. Milroy wrote back requesting reconsideration saying that both Indians and whites had believed the Muckleshoot Reservation included all land lying between the forks of the White and Green Rivers as discussed at the Fox Island Conference led by Isaac Stevens.

On April 9, 1874, an Executive Order finally enlarged the Muckleshoot Reservation by 3,367 acres making the reservation into basically what Simons had proposed.⁵⁶⁷ The Washington State Governor's Office of Indian Affairs states that on April 9, 1874, the Reservation boundaries were set at 3,532.72 acres.⁵⁶⁸

The status of the Muckleshoot Reservation was still not finalized, however, as outside influences caused the Indian Agent, in 1875, to recommend the Muckleshoot Reservation be abandoned and the Indians relocated to Lummi near Bellingham. This was not done but between 1880 and 1889, 26,600 acres of the reservation were sold (26.2 percent of the original total.)⁵⁶⁹

In 1887, the Northern Pacific Railroad was completed to Puget Sound by going through Indian land in the White River Valley.⁵⁷⁰

In 1887, the Dawes Act, also known as the General Allotment Act, provided for the allotment of reservation lands to individual Indians. Each family head could claim 160 acres, 80 acres to single persons over 18 and each orphan under 18, and 40 acres for each single person under 18. In 1921, the Board of Indian Commissions issued a report showing failure of this plan. By 1971, only 51 acres on the reservation were owned in common ownership.⁵⁷¹

⁵⁶⁴ Noel, *Muckleshoot Indian History*, 69.

⁵⁶⁵ Noel, *Muckleshoot Indian History*, 69.

⁵⁶⁶ Noel, *Muckleshoot Indian History*, 70.

⁵⁶⁷ Noel, *Muckleshoot Indian History*, 70.

⁵⁶⁸ Washington State Governor's Office of Indian Affairs, 1.

⁵⁶⁹ Noel, *Muckleshoot Indian History*, 71.

⁵⁷⁰ Noel, *Muckleshoot Indian History*, 71.

⁵⁷¹ Noel, *Muckleshoot Indian History*, 70, 71. 74.

Between 1890 and 1899, 49,890 acres of reservation land were sold (49.1 percent of the total.) In a survey conducted in 1907, 780 White River and Green River Indians were counted (It is not stated if this is the reservation population only or included others.)⁵⁷²

All told, between 1850 and 1980, 101,620 acres of proposed or actual Muckleshoot Reservation land were transferred from U. S. government ownership to private ownership.⁵⁷³ All the land sales were outright sales, not long term leases as was the case on several other Washington Indian reservations.⁵⁷⁴ The Muckleshoot tried to get back, or get paid for some of the 100,000 plus acres of land they had lost over the years in court action in the Court of Claims in a joint suit *Duwamish Indians vs. U. S.* The claim was denied on the basis that the U. S. had no basis on which to award judgment because they had no specific treaty with the Duwamish. However, on March 8, 1959, the Indian Claims Commission found that the Muckleshoot tribe had 101,620 acres of aboriginal land valued at \$86,377 and paid this amount. As of 1975, there were 1,201.26 acres of trust land on the reservation.⁵⁷⁵ (I am not sure what the terms aboriginal land and trust land actually mean although the aboriginal land would seem to be the land the Muckleshoot once owned that has been sold over the years and the trust land would seem to be the current size of the reservation.) Wright indicates the Muckleshoot Reservation occupies 3,600 acres.⁵⁷⁶

As time passed a number of people from other local tribes, such as the Duwamish and Snoqualmie were absorbed into the Muckleshoot Tribe⁵⁷⁷

Reservation Life

Agents and Sub-Agents of the Bureau of Indian Affairs were stationed on the reservation to oversee the Muckleshoot, who were now seen as wards of the federal government. They were given broad powers to regulate the daily life of the Muckleshoot. Among the major duties of these appointed officials was encouragement of civilization, which was usually taken to mean abandonment of all traditional life.

On May 13, 1936 the Muckleshoot constitution was approved under the Indian Reorganization Act.⁵⁷⁸ Today's Muckleshoot tribal population, those that live on the reservation or near it, is about 3,300. In 1998, the Muckleshoot Tribal Health Center had a user population of 2,852.⁵⁷⁹

By 1890 in the Federal Way Area

By 1890, the Federal Way area was becoming increasingly influenced by white settlers. The Native Americans had almost disappeared from the scene. A Mrs. Shaughnessy (also called Alice Reed) recalled that ever so often an Indian named "Big John," who claimed some

⁵⁷² Noel, *Muckleshoot Indian History*, 71.

⁵⁷³ Noel, *Muckleshoot Indian History*, 84, Table, Summary of Muckleshoot reservation Land from Federal to Private Ownership.

⁵⁷⁴ Noel and Cross, 4.

⁵⁷⁵ Washington State Governor's Office of Indian Affairs, 1.

⁵⁷⁶ Wright, 26.

⁵⁷⁷ "Muckleshoot Indian Tribe, Relocation to the Muckleshoot Indian Reservation," 3, <http://www.muckleshoot.nsn.us> (accessed July 21, 2010).

⁵⁷⁸ Washington State Governor's Office of Indian Affairs, 1.

⁵⁷⁹ Indian Health Service, U. S. Department of Health and Human Services, Portland Area Office, "Muckleshoot Indian Tribe," 1, <http://www.ihs.gov/FacilitiesServices/AreaOffices/Portland> (accessed July 21, 2010).

relationship to Chief Seattle, would stop by for a short visit. He would say to Mrs. Reed, “Mama you make me cup coffee [*sic*]”. On one occasion he brought “Little John” with him.⁵⁸⁰

By 1890, the white settlers in this area were still few in number. They were mostly scattered along old Military Road, at one or two places around Star Lake, and on higher elevations above the lake. Pioneer residents had settled on 160-acre homesteads or on timber claims.⁵⁸¹ Timber claims could be as large as 640 acres.

Native American Education

Boarding Schools

In 1893, the education of Native Americans became a federal requirement. Prior to that, however, the government and private religious institutes had begun boarding schools. From the 1880s through the 1920s many young people in Washington were separated from their families and sent to boarding school to learn English and wear white mans’ clothes and adopt his hairstyles.⁵⁸²

Beginning in 1879, tens of thousand of Native Americans [throughout the United States] left or were taken from their tribal homes to attend Indian Boarding Schools, often long distances away. Some struggled bitterly, some struggled in silence. Some succumbed to tuberculosis or influenza and lost their lives. Others flourished and built a new sense of self within a wider world, while preserving Indianness in their hearts.⁵⁸³

Two books provide differing views of Indian Boarding Schools. Edwin L. Chalcraft’s, *Assimilations Agent My Life as a Superintendent in the Indian Boarding School System*⁵⁸⁴ and Margaret L. Archuleta, et al., editors, *Away From Home: American Indian Boarding School Experiences*.⁵⁸⁵ Chalcraft worked for the Bureau of Indian Affairs from 1883 until 1920, mostly as a superintendent and supervisor of Indian boarding schools throughout the west. From 1889 until 1894 he served as Superintendent of the Tacoma Indian School (later known as the Cushman School.) He gives a mostly positive view of Indian Schools. He covers all aspects; including politics, school living conditions and treatment of the students but also details many problems. Archuleta, et al., Provides an overview of Indian boarding school life by those who lived it. These authors present a very negative view of Indian Boarding Schools although they do discuss the fact that many did benefit from them.

Beginning in the third quarter of the nineteenth century, many Muckleshoot and Puyallup young people were taken to boarding schools, both government ones on the reservation and private ones off the reservation. They lived at the boarding schools and were released to see their

⁵⁸⁰ Shaughnessy, 3. Mrs. Alice Reed Shaughnessy is listed as one of the nine major contributors to *Your Community*.

⁵⁸¹ Shaughnessy, 3.

⁵⁸² Wright, 24.

⁵⁸³ Margaret L. Archuleta, Brenda J. Child, and K. Tsianina Lomawaima, eds. *Away from Home: American Indian Boarding School Experiences, 1879 – 2000* (Phoenix: The Heard Museum, 2000), 5.

⁵⁸⁴ Edwin L. Chalcraft, *Assimilation’s Agent My Life as a Superintendent in the Indian Boarding School System*, Gary c. Collins, ed. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004.)

⁵⁸⁵ Archuleta, et al.

families for only a short time each year. At the schools, students were forbidden to express traditional culture through dress or action. Any use of native language was punished and native religion was forbidden and derided as superstition or devil worship. Students were taught manual labor skills, though few jobs of any kind were available to Native Americans, and long absences from family life kept young people from learning life skills as fishers, hunters, basket makers, and gatherers and users of natural resources.⁵⁸⁶

Prior to the coming of the white settlers, a child learned the language through his mother's songs and stories or his grandmother's teachings. He learned to give thanks each day for the life available to him. Through the elders, a child learned pride in his ancestry. After the white settlers came, the Native American children were taken to government schools and less of the native language was taught.⁵⁸⁷

Maggie Barr, an elderly Muckleshoot woman said, in 1980, that when she was three years old she was taken from her home, sent to Catholic school and expected to learn English. She states that this led her to not being able to speak either her Indian language or English very well.⁵⁸⁸ The government schools also required that only English be spoken.

The first school on the Muckleshoot Reservation was organized in 1879 by Thomas Plorg and had 12 students.⁵⁸⁹ Chemawa Indian School, established in 1880 as the Indian Training School, now located near Salem Oregon, enrolled students from all over the Northwest.⁵⁹⁰ Muckleshoot and Puyallup are shown to be students at that school.⁵⁹¹

There was also an Indian School located on the Puyallup Reservation at about East 27th Street near Portland Avenue in Tacoma. This institution operated by the United States government, opened in 1860, was expanded in 1873 and again in 1898. Because Francis W. Cushman, a Republican congressman from Tacoma, fought to prevent closure when plans were made several times to close the school, this school was known as the Cushman School after 1927.⁵⁹²

Father Hylebos and Indian Education

Father Peter Hylebos was quite active in both church and secular affairs in the Tacoma and Federal Way areas from 1880 until his death in 1918.⁵⁹³

Indians played a major role in the life of Father Hylebos and he took a great interest in their welfare. So popular was he with them that in 1883 the Catholic Church put him on the Indian Commission of the Catholic Indian Bureau, Washington, D.C. A dispute was going on between the United States government and the Catholic bishops over the running of Indian schools. Father Hylebos went to Washington, D.C. and was able to help secure an amicable settlement of differences between the U.S. government and the Catholic bishops in charge of Indian schools

⁵⁸⁶ Watson, v.

⁵⁸⁷ Noel, *Muckleshoot Indian History*, 6.

⁵⁸⁸ Noel, *Muckleshoot Indian History*, 6.

⁵⁸⁹ Noel, *Muckleshoot Indian History*, 70.

⁵⁹⁰ Archuleta, et al., 18.

⁵⁹¹ Chalcraft, 203, 221.

⁵⁹² Cary C. Collins, "Hard Lessons in America: Henry Sicade's History of Puyallup Indian School, 1860 to 1920," *Columbia, The Magazine of Northwest History*, Winter 2000-01, 6, 7. Collins indicates he is summarizing Henry Sicade's original manuscript, which is housed in the Eells Collection, Special Collections Division, at the Washington State Historical Society Research Center.

⁵⁹³ For a detailed discussion of Father Peter Hylebos see *Father Hylebos, St. George's Indian School and Cemetery*, Dick Caster, www.federalwayhistory.org, (accessed July 9, 2009).

around the country.⁵⁹⁴ Under President Cleveland, Father Hylebos was named a commissioner to Washington, D.C., going there to represent the Indians and their claims.⁵⁹⁵ Father Hylebos even took the time to become a master of the Indian languages of the area.⁵⁹⁶

In 1888, the Catholics felt there was a great need for a school in addition to the government school which was located on the Puyallup Reservation. The reservation school provided facilities for only 80 Indian school age children. The Catholics felt that training of a more religious nature was needed.⁵⁹⁷ Collins gives an excellent discussion, summarizing Sicade's manuscript, on the inefficiency under which the Puyallup Reservation School operated. Depending on the constantly changing representative of the Bureau of Indian Affairs the students got a good education or a poor one.⁵⁹⁸

Part of the differences between the Catholic Church and the United States government concerning schools mentioned above, was based on the violent resistance of Plains Tribes in the 1870s. This resistance had motivated President Grant to establish a "Peace Policy" which served to quarantine Indians to the reservations. This policy had also put most of the Indian Schools on the reservations under the control of Protestants.⁵⁹⁹ The Puyallup tribe had come under Roman Catholic influence in the 1840's, but under the Puyallup Agency organized by the United States government they were supervised by Protestants.⁶⁰⁰

Yet school training had become just at that time, more necessary than ever before to the Indian, for it was in that very year that the Indians were first given the right to vote. The temptations and responsibilities involved in the exercise of this right were increased by the fact that the country was rapidly filling up, and the Indians were being more and more brought into contact with the white settlers, most frequently, unfortunately, with those of the lowest type. Many people felt that training more religious in nature than the government school could possibly give was needed to help the Indian overcome these increasing temptations.⁶⁰¹

⁵⁹⁴ Peter Hunt, *Tacoma Its History and Its Builders, A Half Century of Activity*, v. 3 (Chicago: The S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1916) 487.

⁵⁹⁵ "Biography of the Rt. Rev. Father Hylebos V. G.," *The Tacoma Catholic Citizen*, February 11, 1911, 1. It is mentioned in the article that much of the material is taken from *the Morning Ledger*, a Tacoma paper of the time. Much of the material was later used in Hunt, v. 3, 483 – 487. V. G. stands for Vicar General, an assistant to a Bishop.

⁵⁹⁶ "Biography of the Rt. Rev. Father Hylebos V. G.," 1.

⁵⁹⁷ Elizabeth Shackleford, "The History of the Puyallup Indian Reservation," (Bachelor's Thesis, College of Puget Sound, June, 1918), 26. I have seen two slightly different versions of this thesis, both contain the same words, but the pages are numbered differently. Both versions are on the shelves of the Tacoma Public Library Northwest Room. I have used the version that is bound with Sicade's, *the Cushman Indian School* as this appears to be the original formatting. The other is in a folder by itself and appears to be retyped from the original and uses a newer paragraph formatting with spaces between paragraphs, hence the page numbers come out differently. Shackleford indicates she received much information from discussions with Henry Sicade.

⁵⁹⁸ Collins, 7 – 11.

⁵⁹⁹ Alexandra Harmon, *Indians in the Making* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998) 112.

⁶⁰⁰ Robert H. Ruby and John A. Brown, *A Guide to the Indian Tribes of the Pacific Northwest* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1986) 168.

⁶⁰¹ Shackleford, 26.

St. George's Indian School Construction

Father Hylebos was one of those feeling the need for more Indian schools. He was so convinced of the urgency of the need that in the summer of 1888, he made a trip east to seek help and money for such an undertaking. By a fortunate chance he met Miss Katherine Drexel, a wealthy Catholic woman of Torresdale, Pennsylvania, who offered to finance an Indian school. He also secured a promise of government help.⁶⁰² The Drexel's made their money as furniture manufacturers.⁶⁰³ Father Hylebos scored a victory by obtaining a total appropriation of \$319,000 for support of Catholic Indian schools around the country, some of which was used for St. George's School.⁶⁰⁴ Miss Katherine Drexel later became a nun and as Mother Katherine Drexel continued to raise money for St. George's Indian School and other Indian causes. Pope John Paul II canonized her in 2000.⁶⁰⁵

Upon his return, Father Hylebos at once set about making preparations for St. George's School. One hundred forty two acres of land, only five or six of which had previously been cleared, were purchased from a family of Catholics named O'Lally. The land was deeded to the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions.⁶⁰⁶ (Another source states that 42 acres of land was purchased.)⁶⁰⁷ This land was just outside the northern border of the Puyallup Reservation. It was just north of the Pierce County–King County boundary and due east of what is now Highway 99. It generally can be considered the same area as the present Gethsemane Cemetery and the plateau just east of the present cemetery.

The original entrance was located on the east side where Interstate 5 now adjoins the property. The road was known as the upper road thru Milton.⁶⁰⁸

During August of 1888 a three-story frame structure was built on



Figure 1 - Side View of the three-story St. George's School, probably around 1890. It appears that a work crew made up of students and staff is cleaning up the grounds. Father Hylebos is the second from left in the back. (Courtesy Special Collections, Washington State Historical Society.)

⁶⁰² Shackleford, 26.

⁶⁰³ Erna Bence, "Time, Wreckers Vanquish Old Indian School," *The Tacoma News Tribune*, April 18, 1971, p. not known.

⁶⁰⁴ Erna Bence, "Why Named Hylebos?" *Tacoma News Tribune*, September 18, 1949, p. not known.

⁶⁰⁵ Archives of the Archdiocese of Seattle. Record Group 1040. 1888. St. Georges Indian School. Historical, <http://www.seattlearch.org/ArchdioceseWorking/ArchivesandRecords/History/stgeorge.htm>, 1, (accessed January 10, 2009, when I attempted to access this URL on July 24, 2010, I was told the search service was not currently in operation.).

⁶⁰⁶ Shackleford, 26, 27.

⁶⁰⁷ Erna Bence, "Time, Wreckers Vanquish Old Indian School," p. not known. Possibly Bence got the 42 acre figure from p. 26 of Shackleford where 42 acres is given for Cushman Indian School and 142 acres for St. George's Indian School. Based on Noel's reference included elsewhere in this monograph it appears the 142 acre figure is correct.

⁶⁰⁸ Bence, "Time, Wreckers Vanquish Old Indian School," p. not known.

the property.⁶⁰⁹ In addition to the one large building, several smaller buildings were erected on the elevated plateau on the land. The lumber for these buildings had to be brought from Tacoma. Over much of the way, there was no road.⁶¹⁰

Opening of St. George's Indian School

The official name for the school was St. George's Industrial School, but it was normally just referred to as St. George's Indian School.⁶¹¹

The first occupation was October 19, 1888 when the first teachers arrived. At this time the buildings were complete except that the doors and windows were not in place and since winter was coming on, blankets were hung over the openings. The school officially opened on October 26, 1888.⁶¹² With the start of school, "the first children were brought to the school to receive the rudiments of a secular education and the germs of true Christianity."⁶¹³

There were six teachers available when the school opened.⁶¹⁴ Of these, four were sisters of the Order of St. Francis. They arrived directly from the Mother House of their order, Glen Riddle, near Philadelphia. The first superior was Sister Jerome.⁶¹⁵ Two of these died later at the school and were buried on the grounds (see the section relating to St. George's Cemetery). The other two after serving for a few years were transferred to other schools of their order. One of the lay teachers was Miss Esther Stevenson. Miss Drexel as part of her contribution sent Miss Stevensen. She taught up into the 1920s.⁶¹⁶

The first superintendent of the school was the Reverend



Figure 2 – Shown in front of the school in this c. 1895 photograph are Father DeDecker (back left) the school superintendent, and Father Hylebos. Also shown are about 55 Native American children in their uniforms along with staff and helpers, both Native American and white. (Courtesy Archives of the Catholic

⁶⁰⁹ Wilfred P. Schoenberg, S. J., *A History of the Catholic Church in the Pacific Northwest*, (Washington, DC: The Pastoral Press, 1987) 343.

⁶¹⁰ Shackleford, 27.

⁶¹¹ Schoenberg, *A History of the Catholic Church in the Pacific Northwest*, 343.

⁶¹² Shackleford, 27.

⁶¹³ *Reminiscences and Current Topics of the Ecclesiastical Province of Oregon, II*, 2 (February, 1898), 23 as quoted in Schoenberg, *A History of the Catholic Church in the Pacific Northwest*, 344.

⁶¹⁴ Shackleford, 27.

⁶¹⁵ Schoenberg, 343.

⁶¹⁶ Shackleford, 27.

Charles DeDecker,⁶¹⁷ a young Belgian priest. Charles DeDecker was born in St. Nicolas, Belgium. He started his studies in St. Nicolas and finished his studies at the American College of Louvain. He was ordained a priest in Ghent on June 19, 1886.⁶¹⁸ Father Hylebos had met Father DeDecker two to three years previously on a visit to the American College at Louvain Belgium where Father DeDecker was being educated. Father DeDecker promised to request he would be sent to Washington when he received his final ordination.⁶¹⁹ Father DeDecker came to the Nisqually Diocese in 1886 and remained at Vancouver attending to missions in the area and helping in the Cathedral until being appointed to St. George's.

The Right Reverend Bishop Junger appointed Father De Decker as Superintendent of St George's on September 28, 1888.⁶²⁰ Father DeDecker supervised the school up until the 1920s. Father DeDecker also assumed responsibility for fourteen churches including those on the Muckleshoot and Nisqually Reservations.⁶²¹

As was the general pattern half of each day was used for school and the other half for chores.⁶²² The instruction given at St. George's School was modeled on that given in the government school so that students could transfer from one to the other. Industrial training was an important feature. The girls got domestic science training by doing the necessary cleaning and housework around the school. In the early days the boys helped with clearing of land, erecting new buildings and making roads and bridges. This was the type of work that both the boys and girls would need once they left school. Later there was a small farm established in connection with the school where the boys were trained in farming procedures. Father DeDecker emphasized academic work such as writing and copying drawings. Religious instruction was also emphasized. Protestant students were accepted as well as Catholics.⁶²³ The School accommodated both boarding students and day students.⁶²⁴

In its early years the school was mainly financed by Miss Drexel (later Mother Drexel.) Father DeDecker was also able to provide financial assistance using the money from the estate his wealthy parents in Belgium had left him. Father DeDecker also arranged support for the school from the members of the various church congregations he supervised. Once a year the ladies of the St. Leo's Altar Society from Tacoma visited the school and made gifts of such things as linens, carpets and clothes.⁶²⁵

Costs of Operating St. George's Indian School

The students were not required to pay anything although some did provide funds for their own support. The government paid for a part of the expense as part of their treaties with the

⁶¹⁷ The spelling of DeDecker is found both as DeDecker and De Decker in different sources. The spelling DeDecker is used in this monograph.

⁶¹⁸ *Reminiscences and Current Topics of the Ecclesiastical Province of Oregon*, 23.

⁶¹⁹ Shackleford, 27.

⁶²⁰ *Reminiscences and Current Topics of the Ecclesiastical Province of Oregon*, 23. This source spells the name Junger as Yunger. Junger was the longtime bishop of the Nisqually Diocese.

⁶²¹ Shackleford, 27.

⁶²² Archives of the Archdiocese of Seattle, 1.

⁶²³ Shackleford, 27.

⁶²⁴ "Notes on Father Hylebos," from Ilene Marckx Archives, undated, in the files of the Historical Society of Federal Way, 2.

⁶²⁵ Shackleford, 27.

Indians.⁶²⁶ The first government subsidies were to be granted for only three years for 50 students but the subsidies were continued and sometimes expanded on an ongoing basis during most of the schools operation.⁶²⁷ Initially the government paid \$27 per pupil per quarter if the school was teaching fifty Washington Indians.⁶²⁸ On June 30, 1889 a second contract with the government reduced the number of students they would pay for to 25. A little later, it was required that all these twenty-five come from the Puyallup Consolidated Agency. During the first two years, the expenses of the school amounted to \$6,325, not including the cost of the land. The government paid \$4,099 of that amount.⁶²⁹

In 1891, however, the government Indian Office cancelled this contract, owing to agitation against the Catholics and the school received no government money after that time.⁶³⁰ It was claimed by the government that the Agency school on the Puyallup Reservation had ample accommodations for all the Indians⁶³¹.

The current web site for the Puyallup Tribe indicates that here are still some elders alive who remember attending this school.⁶³²

Controversy over St. George's Indian School

When the school first opened there was bitter rivalry between it and the reservation boarding school. The first year St. George's Indian School had opened a few months after the reservation school. Some of the Indians who had already entered the reservation school were withdrawn by their parents and sent to St. George's Indian School. One Indian, Louis LeClair, was only allowed to transfer after an appeal was made to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.⁶³³ Some Puyallup parents pleaded with the reservation schools to allow their children to attend non-reservation schools. In 1892, 104 Puyallup Reservation residents declared, "We are citizens of the United States . . . and we demand our rights as citizens" in this case to send their children to the school of their choice.⁶³⁴

For most of the life of the school, the capacity was eighty and it was always full.⁶³⁵ In addition to Indians, a few whites and blacks were from time to time admitted. The age for initial admission was six to sixteen. Once admitted a student could stay as long as he or she desired. As a rule they would leave at about nineteen when the boys went to work and the girls got married. The school was in operation long enough that many pupils were the children of former students.⁶³⁶

At the turn of the century many Indian children attended school, but almost as many did not.⁶³⁷ This was not that different from whites.

⁶²⁶ Shackleford, 27.

⁶²⁷ Schoenberg, 343.

⁶²⁸ Shackleford, 27.

⁶²⁹ *Reminiscences and Current Topics of the Ecclesiastical Province of Oregon*, 23 and Sicade, 27.

⁶³⁰ Shackleford, 27. *Reminiscences and Current Topics of the Ecclesiastical Province of Oregon*, 23, states that the contract was ended in late 1889.

⁶³¹ *Reminiscences and Current Topics of the Ecclesiastical Province of Oregon*, 23

⁶³² <http://www.puyalluptribe.com/index.php?nav=history&id=5>, 1 (accessed March 25, 2009).

⁶³³ Shackleford, 28 and Alexandra Harmon, *Indians in the Making* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 152.

⁶³⁴ Alexandra Harmon, *Indians in the Making* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998) 152.

⁶³⁵ Shackleford, 28

⁶³⁶ Shackleford, 28.

⁶³⁷ Harmon, 153.

Clearing Bee Work Parties

Another interesting series of event in the history of the school were the “Clearing Bees” that were held in the summers of 1894 and 1895. The general feeling against Catholics in the Tacoma area was bitter and many Catholic men were out of work. At the suggestion of the rector of St. Leo’s Church, some of the out of work men donated their time to St George’s School to help clear the land. They received board and lodging at the school. Every Monday morning, at 7:30, a hired wagon left from in front of St. Leo’s for the school. Normally the men would remain until Saturday. Some worked in this manner throughout the entire summer. Between twelve and twenty-four men would do this each week. Because they were dedicated to the cause as well as getting room and board it was felt they accomplished more then if they were just hired workers.⁶³⁸

Additional Construction at St. George’s Indian School

Even though the government was no longer helping with the costs by 1890 new construction was undertaken. In 1890 a laundry and play hall were added for the girls. These buildings were financed with some of the estate money inherited by Father DeDecker.⁶³⁹

Toward the end of September 1890, a new building 62 x 16 feet, one story high was erected. It contains a laundry, a small room for strangers and a bakery with an additional shed containing the bake oven. In August 1892, a woodshed 60 x 18 feet was built. In September 1893, a 400 pound steel bell was placed in the little belfry which ornaments the top of the roof. Gradually the land is cleared of the heavy timber, about 20 acres being now under cultivation and two acres in orchard.⁶⁴⁰

According to Shackleford a church was added in 1905.⁶⁴¹ Bence reported in a newspaper article that she checked with the chancery records at St. James Cathedral in Seattle, were records were kept and the date for the chapel addition was 1904. This church became the area Catholic Church until one was built in Fife.⁶⁴²

In 1924, the several units of the growing institution acquired a central heating system.⁶⁴³ Even though the depression was on some other



Figure 3- This photograph is of the new 1935 construction. (Courtesy Special Collections, Washington State Historical Society.) This photo is also used on the Puyallup Tribe web site but the actual building use or date is not described

⁶³⁸ Shackleford, 28.

⁶³⁹ Shackleford, 28.

⁶⁴⁰ *Reminiscences and Current Topics of the Ecclesiastical Province of Oregon*, 23

⁶⁴¹ Shackleford, 28

⁶⁴² Bence, “Time, Wreckers Vanquish Old Indian School,” p. not known.

⁶⁴³ Bence, “Time, Wreckers Vanquish Old Indian School,” p. not known.

improvements were made between 1930 and 1935.⁶⁴⁴

In 1935 the original 1888 unit was torn down and a dozen separate buildings including the chapel were connected together in one large 30 foot by 230 foot main structure consisting of two stories with three wings. Girls occupied the north wing, boys the south wing, and the chapel and sisters quarters were in the central wing.⁶⁴⁵

Closing of St. George's Indian School

St. George's Indian School was closed in 1936 and the 142 acres fell into disuse and deterioration. Apparently, in the middle of the depression, the school found it hard to raise money for support. Beginning in 1915, local Indian children were allowed to attend regular public schools, but not many did.⁶⁴⁶ Also in the late 1920's, the Federal reservation schools around the country were being closed with the states taking over the education of all Indian children.⁶⁴⁷ The Cushman Government School had been closed in June 1920.⁶⁴⁸ The last Indian Bureau School in Washington State was closed in 1932 with the students being put into public schools.⁶⁴⁹

During the Second World War, the land and buildings were used to build St. George's Apartments, which were intended to ease the housing shortage.⁶⁵⁰ For a short period of time the apartments were full. Then after the war ended other apartments and homes became available and the stalwart remains of St. George's Indian School stood empty, abandoned and the buildings deteriorated. For over twenty years a fading "For Rent" sign stood at the entrance off Highway 99. The remainders of the school buildings and apartments building were razed in 1971.⁶⁵¹ The Seattle Catholic Archdiocese in 1971 plotted the acreage for a cemetery.⁶⁵² Today nothing remains of the school facilities. Only several small signs on the grounds of the present Gethsemane Cemetery mark the site of the former school.

The existence of the school demonstrated what the Catholic Church felt was a need to educate the Indians both in a secular way and into the Catholic faith. Similar schools had existed in other parts of Washington as well as Idaho and Montana. "It bore witness to the concern of the church for Indian children at a time and in a place where no one seemed to care."⁶⁵³

But there was something anachronistic about St. George's: it was too little too late. The Indians along the coast by this time had little or no tribal identity. With rare exceptions, there collective existence in or near

⁶⁴⁴ Archives of the Archdiocese of Seattle. Record Group 1040. 1888. St. Georges Indian School. Historical, <http://www.seattlearch.org/ArchdioceseWorking/ArchivesandRecords/History/stgeorge.htm.htm>, 1, (accessed January 10, 2009, when I attempted to access this URL on July 24, 2010 I was told the search service was not currently in operation.).

⁶⁴⁵ Bence, "Time, Wreckers Vanquish Old Indian School," p. not known.

⁶⁴⁶ Noel, 72.

⁶⁴⁷ Harmon, 318n53.

⁶⁴⁸ Collins, 11.

⁶⁴⁹ Patricia Slettvet Noel, *Muckleshoot Indian History* (Auburn: Auburn School District No. 408, 1980, revised 1985), 72.

⁶⁵⁰ Ernie Olson, who died in 2009, was a long time member of the Historical Society of Federal Way, lived in these apartments for a short time at the end of World War II.

⁶⁵¹ Erna Bence, "Time, Wreckers Vanquish Old Indian School," p. not known.

⁶⁵² Nathalie Weber, "A century of history," *Federal Way News*, October 10, 1979, A-3

⁶⁵³ Schoenberg, 345.

population centers of the West had ceased to be, at least temporarily. During this very decade, in fact, the Indian population of the United States reached its lowest point in history.⁶⁵⁴

Bence reported that more than 3,000 had attended the school during its 48 years of operation.⁶⁵⁵ Overall the school had a very successful existence. It had been filled to capacity most of the time and those in attendance received more than a superficial education.

St. George's Cemetery

Adjoining St. George's school there had been a cemetery. Today there is some evidence to indicate that a cemetery existed in connection with St. George's School. It is estimated that at one time about 250 persons were buried there. Records indicate that Indians, nuns and pioneers were buried in the cemetery until the early 1920s.⁶⁵⁶ The exact burial plot and the identity of many of those interred is sketchy at best. Often Indians assumed European surnames because the Indian names were too difficult for the white man to pronounce. Those European surnames frequently were inscribed on the gravestones shading the true identity of the person buried.

Most of the graves were moved to a Tacoma Cemetery many years ago. Vandals heavily damaged those that remain.

Today the small hillside is marred by gaping holes – the calling card of trashers who excavated the graves in search of Indian treasures- and the mostly broken and toppled headstones.⁶⁵⁷

In 1971, after the final school buildings were razed, the Catholic Church began constructing the present Gethsemane Cemetery.⁶⁵⁸ St George's Cemetery is on land just a few hundred feet east of the present cemetery space.

By 1979, the St. George's Cemetery site, "was overgrown by ferns and blackberry vines, only a few headstones remain, most of them toppled by vandals. . . . The oldest grave identified in the mission cemetery is marked 1889, the year after Catholic Missionary Peter Hylebos opened St. Georges Indian mission. . . ."⁶⁵⁹

In June of 1980, the Catholic Church donated the land that they owned, which covered the original St. George's Cemetery, to the Puyallup Tribe.

I am delighted to be able to offer to you and your Indian brothers and sisters on behalf of the Church of Western Washington, a gift of property of approximately 17 acres abutting your original reservation, including a portion of Hylebos Creek and all of St George's Cemetery.⁶⁶⁰

⁶⁵⁴ Schoenberg, 343.

⁶⁵⁵ Erna Bence, "Time, Wreckers Vanquish Old Indian School," p. not known.

⁶⁵⁶ Nathalie Weber, "A century of history," *Federal Way News*, October 10, 1979, A-3

⁶⁵⁷ Weber, A-3.

⁶⁵⁸ Weber, A-3.

⁶⁵⁹ Weber, A-3.

⁶⁶⁰ Raymond G. Hunthausen, Archbishop of Seattle, letter to Puyallup Indian Nation, June 24, 1980, 1, in the files of the Historical Society of Federal Way.

It appears that the Catholic Church had been concerned about keeping the creek area in a pristine condition and in keeping St. George's Cemetery maintained.

Being able to make a gift, knowing the deep historical significance of the property to your tribe, gives all of us in the Catholic Church a special pleasure. We, too, have much of our history associated with this land. We will welcome you as neighbors knowing your plans to pursue projects utilizing the land in an environmentally sensitive and meaningful manner. . . . [It] is our intention to encourage your use of the portion of Hylebos Creek located on the other part of our Gethsemane property. The Catholic Church is totally in accord with your desire to maintain the creek in its natural state and to establish fishery enhancement projects wherever possible.⁶⁶¹

The original St. George's Cemetery area was unfortunately not cleaned up from the earlier vandalism and is not currently being maintained by either the Gethsemane Cemetery staff or the Puyallup Indian Nation. Access is almost impossible as the area is overgrown in spring and summer and very muddy in fall and winter.

Current Native American Presence in Federal Way Schools

Many areas of the country have places, parks, buildings, etc. named after Native American people or words associated with their area.

Naming of Junior High Schools and Middle Schools

The Federal Way School District currently has a policy to name Middle Schools (previously called Junior High Schools)⁶⁶² after people, places or events from Native American literature.⁶⁶³ While the current policy was adopted February 8, 1999, the source of the policy must go back to at least 1960 as the first such school, *Lakota*, was built and named then.

Currently, seven schools are named for Native American related terminology. These are Lakota Middle School (1960), Totem Middle School (1963), Sacajawea Middle School (1968), Kilo Middle School (1970), Illahee Middle School (1971), Saghahie Middle School (1994) and Sequoyah Middle School (2005).

Lakota Middle School is named after the Lakota tribes who were the western-most of the three Sioux-language groups, occupying lands in both North and South Dakota. Notable persons include Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse.⁶⁶⁴

Totem Middle School preserves the native American use of the word "totem" that means any supposed entity that watches over or assists a group of people, such as a family, clan, or tribe.⁶⁶⁵

⁶⁶¹ Hunthausen, 1.

⁶⁶² The older junior high schools covered grades 7-9 while the current middle schools cover grades 6-8.

⁶⁶³ "Naming of Facilities – 6970," www.fwps.org/info/policies/6000/6970.html (accessed August 10, 2004).

⁶⁶⁴ "Lakota," http://en.wikipedia.org/Lakota_people (accessed July 2, 2010).

⁶⁶⁵ "Totem," <http://en.wikipedia.org/Totem> (accessed July 2, 2010).

Totem is the emblem or symbol of a clan or family, usually an animal or plant that the family claims as its mythical ancestor.⁶⁶⁶

Illahee Middle School preserves the Native American word for “place of rest.”⁶⁶⁷

Sacajawea Middle School is named after the Shoshone woman who helped guide Lewis and Clark.

Saghalie Middle School is named for a Chinook word meaning “uppermost.”⁶⁶⁸ The school is located near the highest spot of land in its immediate surrounding area.

Sequoyah Middle School is named for a Cherokee silversmith who in 1821 completed his independent creation of a Cherokee syllabary, making reading and writing in Cherokee possible. This was the only time in recorded history that a member of an illiterate people independently created an effective writing system.⁶⁶⁹

I have not been able to determine why Kilo Middle School was so named.

Project Pride

In 1977, a program called Project Pride was introduced into the Federal Way schools. Project Pride was directed by Jean Evans and was intended to answer the needs of Native American students in public schools with an emphasis on their heritage. Evans operated out of the district Educational Service Center. Project Pride was funded through Title 4 Part A of the Indian Education Act.⁶⁷⁰

Project Pride had a parent committee. To be eligible for the committee a parent had to be an Indian, have adopted an Indian child or be the foster parent of an Indian child. Jean Evans stated the four main goals of Project Pride were to:

1. Develop pride in students for their heritage
2. Provide counseling on a limited basis, have a referral service and a tutoring program
3. Provide resource people in such areas as Indian education and crafts
4. Participate in career awareness programs like the one sponsored at the University of Washington for Indian High Schools students.⁶⁷¹

One of the initial projects was to hold a writing contest in the area’s junior and senior high schools. Two hundred and sixty-five students were enrolled in the Project Pride Program at the time. A student did not have to be an Indian to participate. (Five of the eight winners were Indian.⁶⁷²) Two of the Indian winners were selected to represent the Federal Way School District at the Ninth Annual Indian Youth leadership Conference held at the University of Montana.⁶⁷³

Apparently the funding and interest in this project did not last as no record can be found since this one mention and one current school board member I asked is unaware of this program or similar programs.

⁶⁶⁶ Frank W. Porter III, *The Coast Salish Peoples* (New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1989), 98.

⁶⁶⁷ www.illaheepreserve.org (accessed July 2, 2010).

⁶⁶⁸ Federal Way School District, “Saghalie Jr. High School, School Profile: 1999-2000,” 1995, Rev. April 2000, 1.

⁶⁶⁹ “Sequoyah,” <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sequoyah> (accessed July 2, 2010).

⁶⁷⁰ “Indian Heritage winners announced,” *Federal Way News*, May 4, 1977, B-8.

⁶⁷¹ “Indian Heritage winners announced,” B-8.

⁶⁷² My estimate based on the names and pictures of the eight winners.

⁶⁷³ “Indian Heritage winners announced,” B-8.

Current Attendance Level

Currently, in the Federal Way School District, the Native American student population is 1.4 percent of the total (308 of 22,000).⁶⁷⁴

St. Claire's Mission Church

St. Claire's Mission Church Background

This church is included as part of Federal Way's history, not because it was built here or because it is now located here, but because, for a time, it was on display here.

In the 1860s, Catholic priests brought organized Christian religion to the Muckleshoot area and most of the Indians were converted to the Roman Catholic faith.⁶⁷⁵ St. Claire's Mission Church was built on the Muckleshoot Reservation in 1874 by Father Boulet to provide services for the Indians who lived southeast of present day Auburn. Father Boulet had the help of several Indians and two settlers, Gilbert and Edward Courville.⁶⁷⁶

During the first years, missionary priests from the Tulalip Reservation visited St. Claire's to conduct services for the Indians and a few white pioneers who lived in the area.⁶⁷⁷ Because it was used infrequently (or perhaps it was used infrequently because there was no regular priest available) the church had a mission status and no resident priest. At first, Father Pelieske would come from the Tulalip Reservation to say Mass, perform weddings and baptisms.⁶⁷⁸ Over the years Fathers Pelishe,⁶⁷⁹ Schmidt, Govaert, Mead, and De Decker served the Muckleshoots.⁶⁸⁰ The original location on the reservation was six miles east of Auburn, one-quarter mile north of the Auburn-Enumclaw highway, about 500 feet west of the reservation community hall.⁶⁸¹ This seems to be the second oldest church building in western Washington still in existence; the oldest, being the Church of the Immaculate Conception, was built in Steilacoom in the 1850s.⁶⁸²

The church is a one-story building with a central tower, horizontal clapboard siding and a medium pitch gable shake roof. There is a room attached to the backside of the church with a shake roof. The building dimensions are 39 feet x 10 feet. The church has double hung windows with mullions. The original door has been replaced with a modern door.⁶⁸³ The rafters and beams

⁶⁷⁴ Mirror staff, "First lesson of the year; Did you know?," *Federal Way Mirror*, 4 September 2004, A2. The source of this information used by the *Federal Way Mirror* is given as the Federal Way Public Schools and the superintendent of public instruction for the 2003-2004 school year.

⁶⁷⁵ Noel, *Muckleshoot Indian History*, 45. Noel indicates all the information concerning the history of the Catholic Church on the Muckleshoot reservation was obtained from photocopies of church records on file in the Muckleshoot Archives.

⁶⁷⁶ Esther Pearson, *Early Churches of Washington State*, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1980) 28.

⁶⁷⁷ Pearson, 28.

⁶⁷⁸ Noel, *Muckleshoot Indian History*, 45.

⁶⁷⁹ Note that Noel spells this name Pelieske and Nikulla spells it Pelishe

⁶⁸⁰ Dwayne F Nikulla, "Muckleshoot Indian Mission Church," *King County Historic Sites Survey*, October 12, 1977, File No. 0004, Field No. DN-4, 2.

⁶⁸¹ Rev. John Govaert, letter to the Most Rev. Gerald Shaughnessy, S. M., 18 October 1936, 2., in the files of the Historical Society of Federal Way.

⁶⁸² "Muckleshoot Indian Reservation Catholic Church Given by Council to Federal Shopping Way," *Auburn Globe-News*, June 7, 1961. p. not known.

⁶⁸³ Nikulla, 1.

of this small mission church are poles and hand-hewn timbers and the siding is hand-split cedar boards smoothed with a drawknife and secured with square-headed nails.⁶⁸⁴

High winds damaged the building in 1934. It was partially repaired by local Indians but it fell into disuse.⁶⁸⁵ Noel indicates the interior was renovated in 1940 under Father Schmidt. The Bishop from Seattle, the Most Reverend Gerald Shaugnessy, donated an altar, pews were donated from St. Anthony's Church in Kent and Holy Family Church in Auburn donated the Stations-of-the-Cross. When the Church came under Holy Family in Auburn fewer and fewer Native Americans attended mass but most still had their babies baptized and their children still received First Communion.⁶⁸⁶ Duffy indicates that his review of annual reports indicates the last mass in the church was held in 1946.⁶⁸⁷ By the mid 1950s any use of the church was completely discontinued and the church rapidly deteriorated.⁶⁸⁸ The roof developed leaks and the floor was quite rotted.⁶⁸⁹

In the past, numerous attempts to solicit help from the state's historical societies, from Auburn's historically minded groups and efforts of the Indians themselves have come to naught.

The building is listing badly to one side and the floor planks have popped up from the settling of the building. The original altar still stands, but the benches, which were once used for pews, have long since disappeared.

Vandals have from time to time ripped off boards for firewood, and the windows are pane less. The bell is still in the belfry, though numerous attempts have been made over the years to purchase it. . . .

The Indians had their weddings in the old building, and buried their dead from it, as well as bringing infants to the baptismal ceremonies. Songs and prayers in the old days were in the Indian language, and Christmas services were celebrated there.

"We figured that if we had it fixed up our younger generation wouldn't care about it." Said Mrs. William Garrison, former reservation judge and longtime member of the council. "Even if we spent thousands of dollars on it, they wouldn't take care of it after the older folks were gone. We tried to get help, but nobody was interested in saving it."⁶⁹⁰

St. Claire's Mission Church Moved to Federal Way

The church was moved, in 1961, to the Federal Shopping Way Mall in Federal Way. A group of Federal Way businessmen planned to use this and other historic buildings, which were moved to the site to create an "historic western village." Tribal officials approved the move after being

⁶⁸⁴ Pearson, 28.

⁶⁸⁵ Pearson, 28.

⁶⁸⁶ Noel, *Muckleshoot Indian History*, 45.

⁶⁸⁷ John J. Duffy, letter to the Most Rev. Thomas A Connolly, June 29, 1961, 1, in the files of the Historical Society of Federal Way.

⁶⁸⁸ Bruce Rommel, "Grant to give church a lift," *Auburn Globe News, Federal Way Edition*, March 25, 1979, A-2.

⁶⁸⁹ Mary Bresnahan, letter to Archbishop Connolly, June 27, 1961, in the files of the Historical Society of Federal Way.

⁶⁹⁰ "Muckleshoot Indian Reservation Catholic Church Given by Council to Federal Shopping Way." p. not known.

assured the church would be restored and maintained and a film would be made depicting the tribe and its history. The film was never made.⁶⁹¹

Apparently, there was some controversy over the move of the church from the Muckleshoot Reservation to Federal Way. The Muckleshoot Tribal Council had authorized the move as the church was not being used in any way and had suffered severe deterioration. After the move, some in the Catholic Church, who had not been consulted or advised of the move, felt the St. Claire's Mission Church really belonged to the Catholic Church and therefore the Seattle Archdiocese should have made the disposition of it.⁶⁹²

Mrs. William Garrison was the Tribal Council spokesman who authorized the move. She apparently felt that since the church was on reservation property, had been built and used by them they had the right to dispose of it. Duffy also had some misgivings about the non-Catholic belief of those handling the move.

She [Mrs. Garrison] is a nominal Catholic, but not practicing. . . . Mr. J. R. Cissna (a non-Catholic) the Board chairman of Federal Shopping Way was contacted about the authority to move it [the church] and he said, "In the very beginning I thought we should have contacted the Archbishop since it was a Catholic Church but somehow it was not done." He was given to understand that the Indians were the sole owners and had complete authority to dispose of it as they wished. Certainly he had no bad intent.⁶⁹³

Duffy reported that the altar had been moved along with the church. He felt, for religious reasons, the church should request it back and because of its bad state of repair it should be burned.⁶⁹⁴

The church was never really restored while in Federal Way.⁶⁹⁵ The only restoration was some roof repair.⁶⁹⁶ Thieves stole the bell and altar (apparently the archdiocese had not gotten the altar back as Duffy had recommended); vandals ripped a hole in the wall and caused other damage. The corporation owning the shopping center had financial problems, the county placed a lien on the land, and the State Insurance Commissioner who held the mortgage as the statutory receiver for Federal Old Line Insurance Company sought a mortgage foreclosure. The Muckleshoot tribe filed suit in federal court claiming the corporation failed to restore and maintain the church as promised. They sought damages and the return of the church to the reservation.⁶⁹⁷

St. Claire's Mission Church Returned to Muckleshoot Reservation

In March 1979, the King County Planning and Community Development Department provided a \$12,090 grant to help move the church back to the reservation. The grant was part of federal block grant monies designated for historic preservation projects. Tribal authorities hoped to restore the church as a museum.⁶⁹⁸ In the spring of 1979, the attorneys for the tribe managed to

⁶⁹¹ Rommel, "Grant to give church a lift," A-2.

⁶⁹² Duffy, 1.

⁶⁹³ Duffy, 1, 2.

⁶⁹⁴ Duffy, 2.

⁶⁹⁵ Rommel, "Grant to give church a lift," A-2.

⁶⁹⁶ Bresnahan.

⁶⁹⁷ Rommel, "Grant to give church a lift," A-2.

⁶⁹⁸ Rommel, "Grant to give church a lift," A-2.

remove the church building from the legal mire of lawsuits against the Federal Shopping Way owners. In November 1979, an additional \$8,000 was added to the grant for site preparation and restoration work. Floyd Zimmerman, housing rehabilitation coordinator and inspector for the Muckleshoot Tribe announced;

We will, in time, have this building restored as closely as possible to the original. And we want it to help instill some pride in the children of the Muckleshoot Tribe, and help them realize they have a heritage to be proud of.⁶⁹⁹

The plan was to move the church in three pieces, the same way it had originally been moved to the Federal Shopping Way Mall. It would be taken apart and the main body of the church would be one piece, the roof would be a piece and the 32-foot steeple would be the third piece.⁷⁰⁰ The church was returned to the reservation near the end of 1979.⁷⁰¹

The church now sits on the grounds of the Muckleshoot Reservation's tribal offices, between the health center and the elders building. The work to restore the cross, altar and communicant's rail has not been done. The church has been repainted and apart from the missing cross looks restored from the outside. The plan to put the church on the federal register of historic landmarks has not been accomplished.

In June 2004, Donna Hogerhuis, Cultural Resource Manager for the Muckleshoot Tribe, told me that she thought the church was being used some Sundays for worship services.

Conclusions

1. While no Native Americans made their permanent home in the Federal Way area prior to the coming of white settlers, the Muckleshoot often traveled through the area, primarily to gain access to Puget Sound to dig clams. Because they traveled through the area, an overview of Muckleshoot culture and living habits is helpful in understanding Native American activity in the Federal Way area.
2. Possibly the Duwamish and Puyallup as well as some others Native Americans traveled through the area prior to the mid 1800s. The Puyallup were located directly south of the Federal Way area and would have used the Federal Way area to some extent.
3. The Muckleshoot, in the mid 1850s, probably numbered a few hundred living around the White and Green Rivers.
4. The first historically documented presence of Native Americans in the Federal Way area did not take place until the 1880s with the opening of St. George's Indian School. Primarily Puyallup and Muckleshoot students attended this school.
5. Most of the historic Muckleshoot and Puyallup culture described in this monograph is long gone. The people now, even on the reservation, own their homes and live and work among rural and urban non Native Americans. Much of the present life style cannot be distinguished from those around them.

⁶⁹⁹ Bruce Rommel, "Indian mission to be returned to tribe," *Auburn Daily Globe News, Federal Way Edition*, November 14, 1979, A-1.

⁷⁰⁰ Rommel, "Indian mission to be returned to tribe," A-1.

⁷⁰¹ Pearson, 28.

Future Research

Since the mention of a Hudson's Bay trading post in the Federal Way area keeps coming up, an investigation should be made to determine the source of this story and to determine what the early cabin(s) actually were.

There are many photographs available for the material in this paper. Permission needs to be obtained to use them before including them in this monograph and posting them on the www.federalwayhistory.org web site. I have not taken the time to do this. Many are referenced in the body of the paper as to where they can be found in source material if one desires to see them.

Several contacts should be interviewed for additional information. These include:

1. Patricia Noel Fleming, author of *Muckleshoot Indian History*. I have been told she now teaches at Chinook School in the Auburn School District.
2. The Muckleshoot Preservation Department, Melissa Calvert, ATOM and Donna Hogerhuis, the Collections Specialist.
3. The Puyallup Historic Preservation Office, Judy Wright, Tribal Historian; Ed Curran Outreach Specialist; and Amber Santiago, Research Assistant.

Acknowledgment

Appreciation is given for the source material provided by Patricia Noel Fleming (Patricia Slettvet Noel). As can be seen from the footnotes, her *Muckleshoot Indian History* was used extensively. Anyone desiring more details on the Muckleshoot should obtain a copy of this 219-page book. She provides much information not used in this paper on religion, games played, names and much more. The book can be obtained through the King County Library System and the entire book is posted on the Muckleshoot Indian Tribe web site, <http://www.muckleshoot.nsn.us>. Most of the books referenced in the bibliography were obtained through the King County Library System. Most of the miscellaneous correspondence and short brochures were obtained from the files of the Historical Society of Federal Way.

I would also like to thank Shirley Opstad for proof reading the original January 5, 2005 version of this article and making editorial comments. Her helpful suggestions and corrections are most appreciated. Any remaining form or content errors are of course mine.

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Shackleford, Elizabeth. *The History of the Puyallup Indian Reservation*. (Bachelor's Thesis, College of Puget Sound, June, 1918). I have seen two slightly different versions of this thesis, both contain the same words, but the pages are numbered differently. Both versions are on the shelves of the Tacoma Public Library Northwest Room. I have used the version that is bound with Sicade's, *the Cushman Indian School* as this appears to be the original formatting. The other is in a folder by itself and appears to be retyped from the original and uses a newer paragraph formatting with spaces between paragraphs, hence the page numbers come out differently. Shackleford indicates she received much information from discussions with Henry Sicade. This is a valuable source for the history of the Cushman Indian School.

Shaughnessy, Alice Reed, Joseph L Reith, Helen Faulkner, Veva Churchill Archer, Bess Phillips Cruse, Arthur Cruse, Oscar Cruse, Hattie and Charley Hanemann, and Andrew Danielson. *Your Community*, (Star Lake, WA: Star Lake Community Club, 1955). This 22-page publication is the best of the early community publications providing community history for the Federal Way area. A copy is available in the files of the Historical Society of Federal Way.

Silverberg, Robert. *Stormy Voyager: the History of Charles Wilkes*. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1968. This book provides a discussion of Charles Wilkes' 1838 – 1842 round the world voyage of exploration with material discussing his 1841 voyage and exploration in Puget Sound.

Slauson, Morda C. *One Hundred Years Along the Cedar River*. Maple Valley, WA: Maple Valley Historical Society, 1971, sixth reprint, 1996. This book has brief mention of Native American activities around Renton that are felt to be similar to what may have transpired with the Muckleshoot on Puget Sound beaches.

Smith, Marian W. *The Puyallup-Nisqually*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1940. Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology, Volume XXXII. Reprint, New York: AMS Press, 1969. The book is based on a field study done by the author in 1935-1936 for Columbia University. This book provides an excellent, if outdated, discussion of the history, culture and language of the Puyallup Tribe as it originally existed.

Spencer, Robert F. and Jesse D. Jennings. *The Native Americans: Ethnology and Backgrounds of the North American Indians*. New York: Harper & Row, 1977.

Spenser, Robert B. prod./dir., *Stories from the Muckleshoot*, (King County Library System—Media Services, 1988), video, 25 min. this short video has three Muckleshoot elders telling eight short mythological stories.

Stein, Julie K. and Laura S. Phillips, eds. *Vashon Island Archaeology, A View from Burton Acres Shell Middon*. Burke Museum of Natural History and Culture Research Report No. 8. Seattle: Burke Museum, 2002. This book provides some historical information about the Puyallup Tribe but is mostly about organizing an archaeological project on Vashon Island and the findings.

Stewart, Hilary. *Cedar: Tree of Life to the Northwest Coast Indians*, Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1984. This book provides in 192 pages all the uses the Northwest Native Americans made of cedar and how they did it.

Stewart, Hilary. *Indian Fishing, Early Methods of the Northwest Coast*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1977. This book tells and shows the Northwest Native American fishing methods and the tools they used.

Stewart, Hilary. *Stone, Bone, Antler & Shell Artifacts of the Northwest Coast*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1973, 1981, 1996. This books provides both a written and pictorial history of the artifacts found for First Nation People (the Canadian version of Native American) living in British Columbia.

Suttles, Wayne. *Coast Salish Essays*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1987. This book consists of sixteen essays written between 1950 and the early 1980s. Most of the material relates to the tribes north of the Muckleshoot and out on the Pacific Coast, but it does reflect some of the common heritage of all Salish people.

Swann, Brian, ed. *Voices from Four Directions: Contemporary Translations of the Native Literature of North America*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004. As the title suggests, this book has material from the entirety of the United States and Canada. Crisca Brierwert has a chapter pertaining to the Lushootseed story of Coyote and His Son, pp. 171-194.

Swindell, Edward G. *Report on Source, Nature, and Extent of the Fishing, Hunting and Misc. Related Rights of Certain Indian Tribes in Washington and Oregon Together with Affidavits Showing Locations of a Number of Usual and Accustomed Fishing Grounds and Stations*. Division of Forestry and Grazing, Office of Indian Affairs, U. S. Department of Interior, Los Angeles, 1942. This highly technical document was one of the first developed to use in litigation of the fishing rights of Washington and Oregon Native Americans.

Underhill, Ruth. *Indians of the Pacific Northwest*. Washington D.C.: United States Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs Branch of Education, 1944. This book, although somewhat outdated, is still an excellent source for material about the Native Americans of the Pacific Northwest.

Walkinshaw, Robert. *On Puget Sound*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1929. This book discusses Walkinshaw's travels around the Puget Sound area in the 1920s. Indirectly he mentions much useful information about how the Native Americans were then living and how they had lived in the previous century. His discussion about how the present prairies, prior to the coming of the whites, were much more prairie like with fewer trees is informative.

Washington State Governor's Office of Indian Affairs, <http://www.goia.wa.gov/Tribal-Information/Map.htm> (accessed July 20, 2010). This official Washington State web site provides brief historical information on all the Washington State Indian tribes.

Washington State Museum Staff. *The Indians of Puget Sound*. Seattle: Washington State Museum, no date. The latest reference used is to a 1955 publication so the publication date is probably in the late 1950s. The introduction indicates the study was prepared by the Washington State Museum for use in the schools of the state to provide an overview of Puget Sound Native Americans.

Waterman, Thomas Talbot. *Notes on the Ethnology of the Indians of Puget Sound*. New York: Museum of the American Indian, Hyde Foundation, 1973. This book discusses Talbot's fieldwork with Puget Sound Native Americans. Talbot was the first anthropologist hired by the University of Washington.

Waterman, Thomas Talbot. *Notes on the Ethnology of the Indians of Puget Sound*, Indian Notes and Monographs, Miscellaneous Series No. 59. New York: Museum of the American Indian, Hyde Foundation, 1973. Thomas Waterman worked for the University of Washington. He conducted an ethnographic survey during the summers of 1918 and 1919. He worked for the Museum of the American Indian from 1919 – 1922. He published a number of monographs relating to Puget Sound Native American cultures.

Watkins, Joe E. "Beyond the Margin: American Indians, First Nations, and Archaeology in North America." *American Antiquity* 68. April 2003. This is an article I used as an example of how difficult it is to be politically correct with the terms Native American, Indian and American Indian.

Watson, Kenneth Greg. Forward to Arthur Ballard, Recorder, Translator and Editor, *Mythology of Southern Puget Sound*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1929, reprint North Bend WA: Snoqualmie Valley Historical Museum, 1999. Watson discusses the purpose of legend and myth and how it was passed on. He also gives Author Ballard's background and his work in recording the legends of the Puget Sound area.

Watson, Kenneth Greg. "Native Americans of Puget Sound – A Snapshot History of the First People and Their Cultures," 28 June, 1999. http://www.historylink.org/output.CFM?file_ID=1506 (Accessed August 4, 2004). This web site provides a short history of the Native Americans of the Puget Sound area and includes several photographs.

Weber, Nathalie. "A century of history." *Federal Way News*. 10 October 1979.

Wolf, Eric. *Europe and the People Without History*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982. This book discusses the difficulty of knowing the history of a people who did not have a written language yet had a culture based on a long development, particularly when the culture was being interpreted by another culture that had strong bias based on their own culture.

Wright, Robin K., ed. *A Time of Gathering: Native Heritage in Washington State*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1991. This museum catalog shows one hundred Northwest Native American items in color.