INTRODUCTION

Long ago, Indian history was stored mentally and related orally during the long winter evenings when food gathering was finished and family members worked on making nets, clothes, mats, baskets, etc. s.capa?, (tsoppa) "Kiya" or Auntie would tell the stories of their people to the younger members. Details of the beginning of our natural world were retold through the many legends. Family honors, hunting escapades, and other noteworthy events were carefully related insuring a new generation's connection to the past.

When the white men came in significant numbers, they disrupted the entire historical scheme. Children were taken from their homes and sent to boarding school so they would learn the ways of the whites. Since many of the early settlers were missionaries, anything not strictly conforming to their interpretation of Christianity was disregarded and considered savage. They felt it was necessary to "civilize" the natives. In the summer when children did not have school, it was necessary to utilize all their time gathering the food and materials necessary to sustain their life for the winter. Thus, the ancient stories became lost or forgotten, partly because there was no time for story telling and because the children tended to pay more attention to the white schools. Some even became ashamed of their heritage and wanted to eliminate all the old ways from their life.

Children at boarding school were punished for using their native language, even though it was the only language they knew, and forced to use only English. As Leo Daniels said, " When someone is beating you for using one language, you quickly learn to use only the one they want." Thus the language became a language of elders, not of all Indians. Children took on more and more identification with the white man.

Somehow despite all the teaching and schooling by the whites, Indians could not totally fit into the white society. They were placed on reservations and encouraged to stay there. They were not given equal rights. Promises made by the government in treaties were disregarded as they prevented the progress of an emerging population. Today there are more codes, rules, laws, and court recommendations concerning Indians than any other ethnic group.

At harvest time the white or Asian farmer encouraged the Indians to leave their reservation because their cheap labor was a necessity in getting the ripe produce out of the field. Frequently, canoes filled with Canadian Indians would float down from Vancouver Island arriving in the valley

area via the White river. They would camp until the harvest season was over and then return with their families the same way. In later years, the canoes gave way to the automobile but the migration could still be counted on. Even until the 1950's farm camps were filled with Indian families harvesting the crops.

Indians have become most newsworthy of late. Not because of the white society's concern for Indian welfare, but because of the Boldt Decision giving the Indian a certain percentage of salmon. Also the rights of the reservations to sell liquor and cigarettes at a lower rate.

Today "Indian pride" is emerging. Native languages are offered in public school, personnel are hired to deal with Indian students, alternative Indian schools are available, and many committees are formed to help resolve the "problems" of the Indian. Maybe with some genuine concern and plans to let the Indian help himself his position in the United States will be equal economically, politically, and socially.

Illustration by Rich Sedillo Tachineh, Distant Visions, Vol. IV, No. III, Spring Quarter, Santa Fe, New Mexico

GEOGRAPHY

Many years ago, before the white man, the Indian lived along the Green and White River drainage areas. Geographically, the White River drainage is described by Nevan McCullough in An Interpretive Study of the White River Drainage , pg. 6-7.

> The White River begins at Emmons Glacier in the National Park, its milky waters augmented by the equally milky waters of two other glacial streams. Frying Pan Creek (from the glacier of the same name) joining in the park, and West Fork (from Winthrop Glacier) joining it three miles above Greenwater. Clearwater and Huckleberry Creek drain the country to the south of White River, Greenwater, Goat Creek and Silver Creek drain the area to the north.
>
> The headwaters of the streams are bounded by high mountain ridges. On the north, dividing the White River drainage from that of the Green River is the "Green Divide", a long ridge arising from the Enumclaw plateau and extending east to join the Cascade Crest at Windy Gap...
>
> The Cascade Summit or crest, forms the eastern boundary of the White River drainage basin from where Green Divide joins the summit to just short of Chinook Pass. The White River watershed has a common boundary with the Cowlitz drainage along the rough, drag-studded ridge inside the National Park to the very top of Mt. Rainier.

Small bands, made up primarily of family members, lived their winters in large cedar homes along the banks of these rivers. These native people, ancestors to the present day Muckleshoot, were named according to their village site. People living in the village of Ilalko were called "Ilalkoabsh" meaning, living in the village of Ilalko. Later when Governor Stevens was interested in an Indian population count, the Indians in this area were referred to by the part of the river they lived on. The largest band, Skopamish, lived on the upper Green River, the Smalhkamish lived on the upper White River and the Stkamish lived on the lower White River.

Tall forests of cedar, fir, yew, elderberry, cascara, and madrona trees covered the land. Many of the cedar trees were ten to twelve feet through.

Adding color to the landscape were cattails, skunk cabbage, trillium, dog-tooth violets, ocean spray, asters, goldenrod, dogwood, and fireweed.

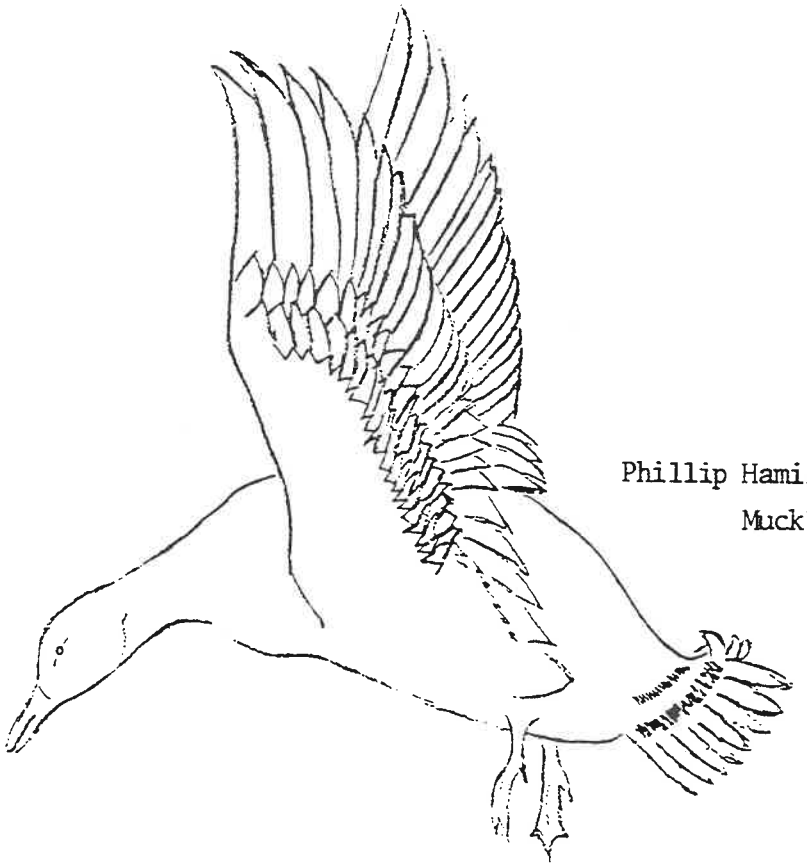
Less than two-hundred years ago, herds of elk roamed the valley and deer, bear, wild cats, cougars and wolves stalked the forests. Smaller fur-bearing animals such as beaver, otter, mink and raccoon were in great abundance and would later play an important role in changing native life.

(Pioneer notes)

Rivers were abundant with fish. At spawning time you could literally walk across their backs and pick up a few.

Charles Johnson, an early pioneer, (see Related Articles) vividly recalled bringing 1,400 salmon, seven wagon loads, from Boise Creek to his father. These fish were not used as food, however, but as fertilizer for the hop fields.

Native birds were numerous and many were used for food. T.T. Waterman tells about some Puget Sound Indians devising a clever way of duck hunting. Migratory paths of the ducks were traditionally the same. During the fall, the Indians would string aerial nets across the flight path, one being a location on the Duwamish River, and as the ducks hit the nets and dropped women sitting below the nets in canoes would club them. Ernie Barr said he doesn't remember any such location near the present day Muckleshoots, so it may have not been a hunting practice for this immediate area. None-the-less, it does demonstrate native Indian talents in food gathering.



Phillip Hamilton,
Muckleshoot

PEOPLE

Muckleshoot is a name given to the native people of the White River area because their reservation was located on Muckleshoot Prairie at the site of Fort Muckleshoot, later changed to Fort Slaughter with the death of Lt. Slaughter. The Indian version of the name is bəqəlšuɬ (Muckleshoot). The original meaning of this word has been lost but there are two theories. The one Thom Hess uses in his Muckleshoot Language Book on pages 33-34 is:

> The original meaning of bəqəlšuɬ (Muckleshoot) is not known for certain. One idea is that the name as said today is a shortened form of a longer word bəqsədalšuɬ - a nose (or point between the Green and White Rivers) where one sees. The first part, bəqsəd, means nose. The second part, al, is definitely from ʔal refering to location in a general way. And the third part, šuɬ, means 'see, look' (although today at Muckleshoot the word lab 'see, look' is used instead of šuɬ.) Such word shortening is a very common phenomenon is language history, and many places throughout the Puget Sound region are named for the activity customarily performed there. At some place in the immediate vicinity of the reservation there may have been an old look out place.

The second theory, disregarded by many, is from the notes of T.T. Waterman, that it was the name of a medicinal plant that grew on the prairie. He was never successful in obtaining specimans of this plant, however.

The name was gradually adopted by the people of the Muckleshoot Reservation only about 1870. Historically the natives were referred to as river Indians, or mountain Indians, relevant to the location of other Indians. To the coast Indians both Pacific and Puget Sound the Smalhkamish, Skopabsh, and Stkamish were mountain Indians and frequently feared as raids between bands were not uncommon. Contact between tribes was very common. People usually married outside their own village. Marriage was usually arranged by parents and the bargain sealed with exchange of goods. These arrangements were frequently useful in expanding the family food gathering areas.

Food gathering and trade was the principle purpose of travel and because of the local abundance of edibles, lengthy trips were special events. Louie Starr remembers stories about the old Indians going as far as Idaho and the Rocky Mountains to trade for bison and buffalo robes. He said, "Those old Indians, when they felt like seeing something new, just packed up and went." He did say that these were not common trips.

Maggie Barr remembers fishing on the Cowlitz River. The fish were larger than the ones caught at home but Maggie remembers her family took this trip for

social purposes as much as for the fish. She said everyone loved to meet new people and visit with other groups of Indians. Her mom was very popular with everyone and if she was anything like Maggie I'm sure provided as much enjoyable entertainment as she received. In this way travel may not have been necessary for food gathering but may have been necessary for renewal of the spirit.

Physically the river Indians were short with strong, well developed shoulders and chests. Years of canoe travel may have contributed to their physical development. Children learned to paddle at an early age by going out into the canoes with the fishermen. Muckleshoot skin is a brown shade. Virginia Cross says some eastern Washington Indians refer to the western Indians as "white Indians" because of their light skin tone. This is probably because the western side gets less sun during the year. The Indian hair is usually straight and dark and the men have little facial hair. Their eyes are dark brown.

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

Children were raised by several 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 the children. For the first months of life a child was carried by the mother in a blanket or 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 Muckleshoot, the cradleboard was used. Today, families with Yakima heritage still use the cradleboard for new babies. Leona Starr said the babies like the secure, tight feeling of the wrapping.

For the ancient Indian, a child learned his 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 ancestory. After the whites came and the Indian children were taken to government school less of the native language was taught. Maggie Barr was three-years-old when she was taken from her home, sent to Catholic school and expected to learn English. Today she says she doesn't speak either her native language nor English well. I don't know about her Indian language but her English is excellent, she is a very articulate lady.

Discipline was carefully administered. Children were taught respect for their elders and pride in themselves. The many stories and legends were used to teach about their physical world as well as their moral behavior. Both Bertha McJoe and Bernice White remember evening stories related by their father or grandfather. The stories were always so interesting the children would beg to stay up a little later to hear more but were usually sent to bed with the promise of another story the following night. Bernice said most of the stories had a moral to them and were used to show children the right kind of behavior. If a child went against this teaching he was usually reminded of what might happen to him. Bernice remembers one old man who never washed and was not welcome at many homes. Several children would run when they saw him coming. Her parents told her this might happen to her if she did not wash and take care of herself. The most severe punishment Maggie Barr recalls, she did not say this happened to her personally, was the use of stinging nettles for switches. This was only in most extreme cases of naughty behavior. Rarely was it necessary to physically punish a child. Children were raised with love and the knowledge of what was expected of them and proper behavior was the usual result.

As a child grew he learned the work role he was expected to follow. Girls at a young age helped the women gather and prepare the food, tend the fire, and play with younger children. Boys would accompany the men in their work. As the children learned about their 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 5th cousin and for the earlier Indians they discouraged marriage with anyone within the total extended family. Today, the young Indians are not as aware of family ties. Frequently they are amazed to find out someone they are interested in is actually a cousin even though they have never met each other before. This pattern seems to follow many Muckleshoot teenagers whether they go to Yakima, Tulalip, Lummi, Nisqually, or Taholah. They seem to be related to everyone.

LANGUAGE

The Muckleshoot language is a dialect of Puget Salish, whulshootseed, x^{w}ə1(ə)šucid. It belongs to the eastern Puget Sound group along with Nisqually, Puyallup, Suquamish, Duwamish, Squaxin, Stillaquamish, Snoqualmie, Skykomish, Snohomish, and Skagit. In addition, many Lummi, Nooksack, and Twana also knew the language. All of these areas now use English instead of their native languages, but some of the elders are beginning to teach the native language to the younger people. At Muckleshoot, Eva Jerry and Bertha McJoe have been conducting language classes within the public school system.

The native language is quite different from the English, containing several sounds without English equivalent letters. Also, one native word can mean an entire sentence or concept in English.

The alphabet consists of 41 sounds, the ones in parantheses never occuring initially.

a b c c̓ č c̓̌ d d^{z} ə g g^{w} h i ǰ k k̓ k^{w} $k̓^{w}$ 1 (l̓) ɬ ƛ
p p̓ q q̓ q^{w} $q̓^{w}$ s š t t̓ u w (w̓) x^{w} x̌ $x̌^{w}$ y (y̓) ʔ

English - travel by land, Muckleshoot - ʔibəš.
English - travel by water, Muckleshoot - ʔuluɬ.

Because of the many different languages 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 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. Perhaps if the ethnic balance had remained the same, with some modifications Chinook could have become the universal language of the northwest.

The native Indian 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, worked with Earnie Barr, Eva Jerry, Bertha McJoe, Bernice Tanewasha, and Ellen Williams all from Muckleshoot and succeeded in converting the oral language to a written form. Because of the efforts of this group, the Muckleshoot language will not become a forgotten language. (See Thom Hess, Dictionary of Puget Salish)

Crisca Bierwert, Bertha McJoe, Eva Jerry, and Pat Noel.

Eva Jerry working with Frances Price at Terminal Park School.

HOMES

Virtually all western Washington Indians lived in cedar plank houses. The direction of the planks, vertical or horizontal may differ or the roof tiling may have had a different slant, but the all important cedar provided the material.

The houses were always located by a stream or river. They were large, notes from the Duwamish Dig presently going on in Renton give estimates of 20 feet wide and 40 to 100 feet in length, with a roof structure similar to tiles. These roof slats could be adjusted to let out the smoke from the cooking fire and let in light. The interior of the homes were partitioned with cattail mats since several inter-related families would live within the structure. The home may be owned in common, by the family head, or each separate family may own the section he lived in. The interior walls may have also been lined with large cattail mats for insulation. One account even told of a double plank construction with moss between the two sections. This structure seems to be the exception though. Along the walls, sleeping shelves or berths were constructed and used for seating during the day. Firewood was stored under the shelves. Again, mats were piled for mattresses. Smaller mats were used for pillows or cushions, animal skins for covers. Above the sleeping berths were additional shelves used for storage of baskets, tools, foodstuffs, etc. From the ceiling dried foods and roots would be hung. The floor was dirt. In larger houses each family unit might have their own fire. They would keep the fire going night and day since they had no matches. If it did go out, they would whirl a stick in dry cedar until it began to smoke and put on cedar bark. At meal time they would all come together and sit on the floor around a common fire. Fish cooked in a basket would be passed and each would take a piece out with his fingers. (See quote from Johnny King in basket section) Generally doors were at the ends of the large house, but occasionally additional openings were made. There was usually at least one back door in case of surprise attack. (See Ballard's informant notes in related articles for information on raids) The all important cattail mats again served as door coverings. There were no windows so the roof slats were adjusted to let in light.

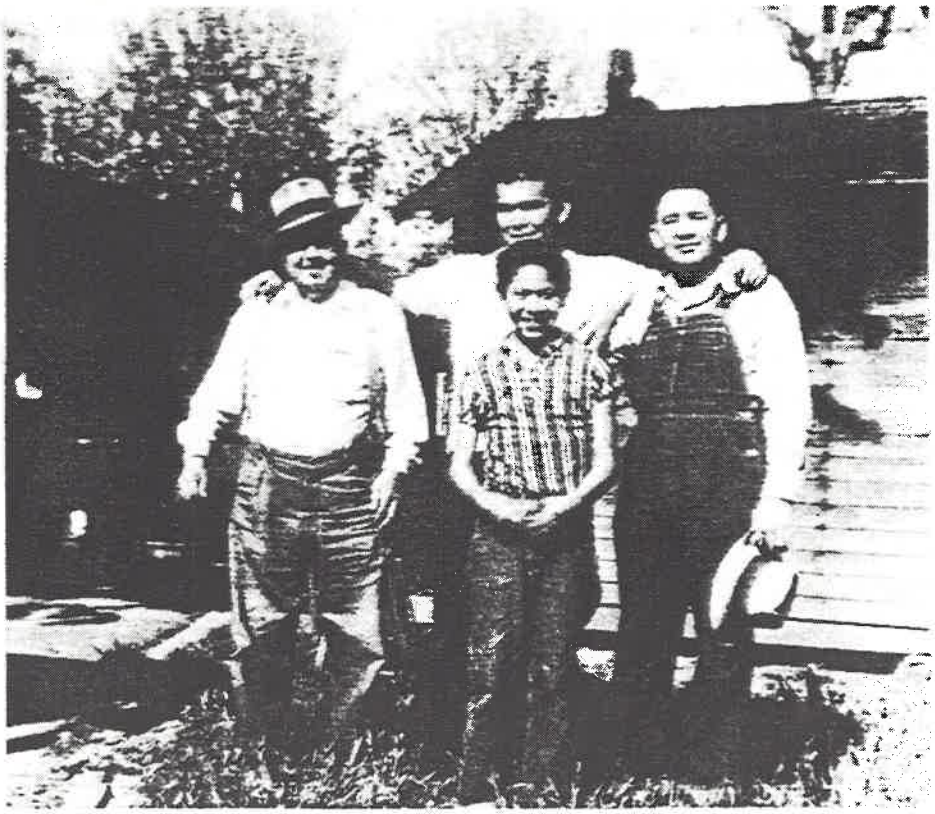
Summer homes were erected wherever they were gathering food. The large cattail mats from the interior walls of the permanent houses were carried to their destination. Poles were set up and the mats were laid over the poles and attached with strips of hide, nettle or cedar bark twine. Usually

families from several different villages camped in the same areas giving the food gathering time a special social quality.

The all important cattail mat was usually made from the leaves of the cattail and provided an excellant water resistent cover. These mats were also considered prize trade items. Earnie Barr remembers that they were highly valued because they were so well made.

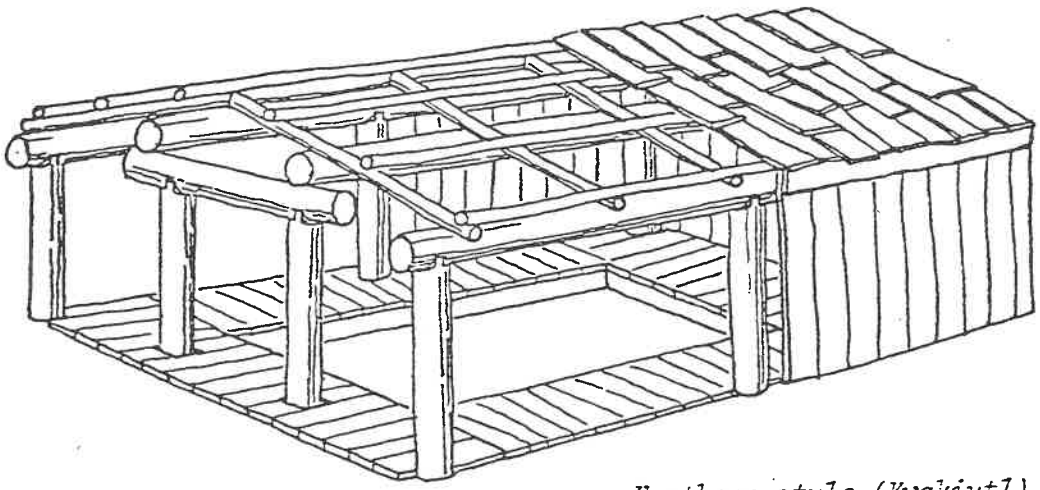
After the white man began settling in the valley, the Indian house style changed. Instead of the multi-family dwellings, several began to build homes for single family living. Eva Jerry remembers that when the white people were trying to force the Indians to leave their large homes by the Green River and move up to the reservation they would just set fire to the structure. Many Japanese farmers now have strawberry fields in what was Indian land. Eva remembers the surprise of the Japanese children when they found out the Indians had not come to this land by boat as they had. In 1938, Eleanor Newman wrote a paper for the College of Puget Sound history department describing a home owned by Mrs. Siddle and Annie Daniels:

> The home was a board frame house, unpainted. Flowers were in the yard. You entered through the kitchen where a colorful oilcloth covered the kitchen table. The dishes were neatly stacked on an open shelf. There was a nice kitchen range. There were two more rooms in the house -- a living room and a bedroom. There were curtains at the window and carpets on the floor. Everything was neat and clean.

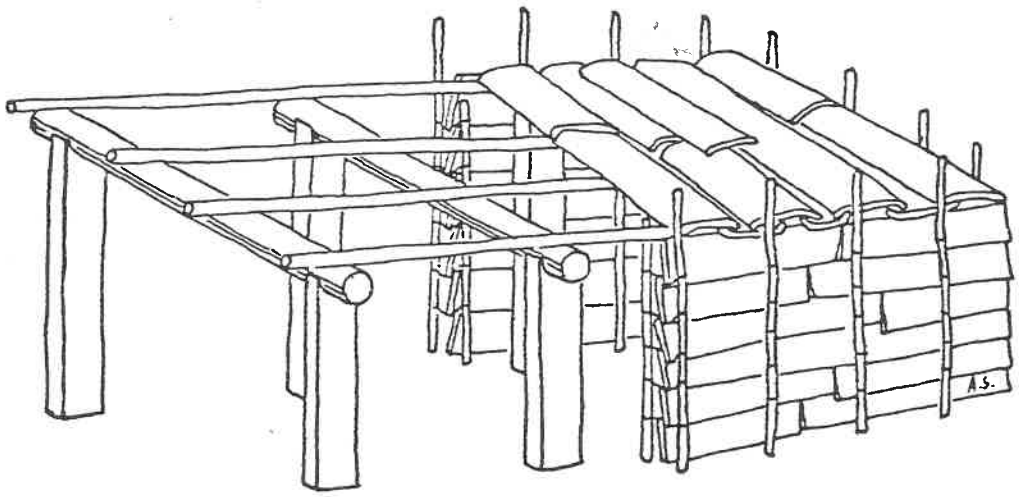


George Cross Sr.
Ron Brown
John Brown
Kenneth Cross
about 1957

Pictures from Northwest Coast Indian Life, Thomas Burke Memorial Museum, University of Washington, Seattle, 98195



a. Northern style (Kwakiutl)



b. Southern style (Salish)

Fig. 2. Typical house types illustrating both framework and external appearance

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 of little value in the rain as they easily became soaked. Ruth Underhill in her book Indians of the Pacific Northwest does say that for the up-river Indians, which would include the Muckleshoots, clothing made of hides was important to the hunters as a protection from the brush in the forest. Earnie Barr said deer skin was preferred because it is easily worked and not as heavy as elk hide or other animal fur. Moccasins tend to stretch out of shape when wet and shrink and harden as they dry so they were usually not worn. A type of moccasin was worn for non-rainy weather but these were strictly utilitarian and not ornately decorated. Bertha remembers her grandmother purchasing rubbers to wear over her moccasins in rainy weather. The stiff European shoes were not readily accepted.

Cedar bark, stripped and pounded smooth by the women was made into the perfect apparel for the climate. 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 (See picture on page15) which had a smooth edge that did not cut through the fibres but shredded them into thin soft strands. These were doubled over a cord and fastened into place with rows of twining to form knee-length skirts. Capes were made of shredded cedar bark and nettle cord twining. Clothing made from cattails was worn for wet work and in rainy weather. Since the raw materials for this clothing was so plentiful, the clothing was discarded when it became dirty or torn. Older women frequently wore a type of woven cedar bark blouse.

Men wore a breechcloth in warm weather, hide clothing for hunting including leggings and adding 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.

Blankets, woven of mountain goat hair, blended with fireweed fluff, bird down and possibly dog hair (Pioneer notes) were also used.

After the white settlers arrived, European dress became the fashion, although women did not adopt the layers of undergarments typical to the ladies of Europe. In fact rarely was anything worn under the long dresses. Sophie Courville's story about her grandmother brings this graphically to point. "When all the family were out picking huckleberries, grandmother slipped and began rolling down the hill. The more she rolled, the higher her dress worked up. Sophie took one look of amazement when she realized her grandmother was totally bare under her dress, decided not to embarass her and went back to picking berries, ignoring the tumbling grandmother entirely."

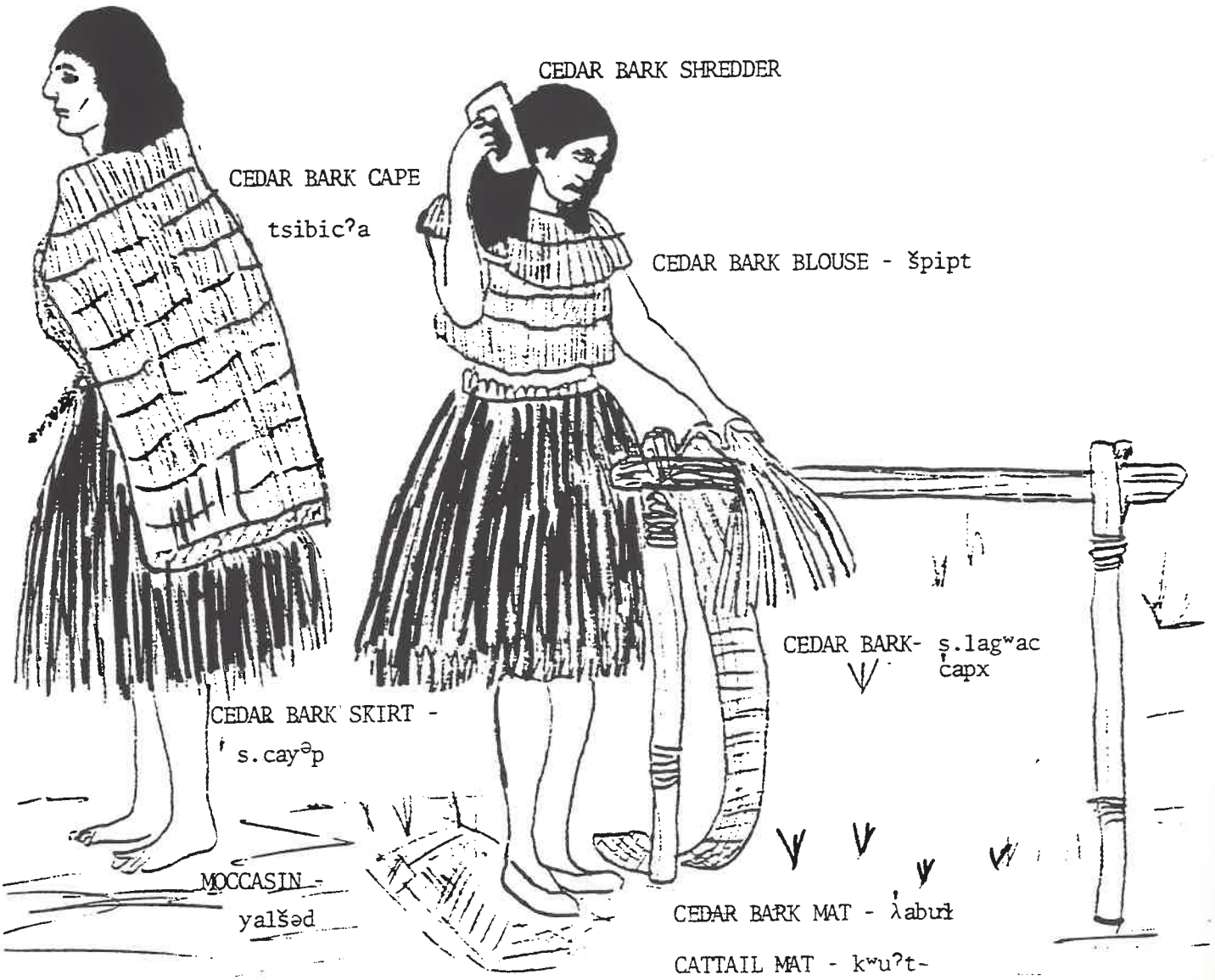
The European shoes were also not a favorite among the Indians. They preferred going barefoot or wearing only the soft moccasins which did not hurt their feet. Bertha McJoe tells about her grandmother buying one pair of shoes so she could come to the school and see a program with her grandchildren. She bought a pair of tennis type shoes and wore them only when she felt she absolutely had to.

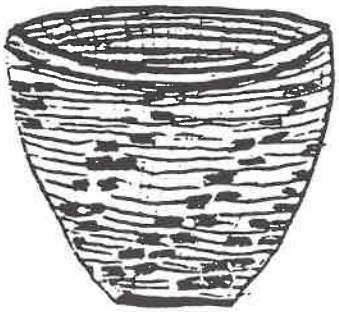
Maggie Barr remembers trading potatoes for goods at the white stores. The Indian women would make baskets and other items or take produce and trade for some things. I'm sure the advent of woven material for clothing was appreciated by the women as pounding the cedar bark necessary for clothes must have been laborious.

Spinning was an accomplished art by the Muckleshoot women. 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. (See related articles May 30, 1928) 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, handknitted Indian clothing is still considered a treasured item. Maggie Barr in her eighties and almost blind can still make very nice socks and hats for the fishermen. She also still uses a handmade spindle. Maggie 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.

ʔacittalbixʷ[15] stadəy ʔ

INDIAN LADY





BASKET - syiqib
CEDAR BARK OR ROOT BASKET - s.yalt
LIGHT GRASS - čətulbixʷ
HORSETAIL - bubxəd
AWL - yiqibad

TOOLS AND UTENSILS

The early Indians had to make all of their tools and utensils. Again the all important cedar was used for many necessities. Cedar grew in great abundance making it accessible, but it also has the qualities of being easily worked and splits into straight planks. The Muckleshoots did not do the intricate carving of their western neighbors. Their tools were utilitarian.

Deer 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 the arrowheads was obtained in the mountains.

Captain Vancouver described a sinew-backed bow in 1792,

> Their bows were of superior construction, these in general, were from two and one-half to three feet in length; the broadest part in the middle was about one and one-half inches and three-fourths of an inch thick, neatly made, gradually tapering to each end, which terminated in a shoulder and hook for the security of the bow-string. They were all made of yew, and chosen with a naturally inverted curve suited to the method of using them. From end to end of the concave side, which when strung became the convex part, a very strong strip of an elastic hide is attached to some and the shapes of serpents to others, exactly the shape and length of the bow, neatly and firmly affixed to the wood by means of a cement, (dog salmon glue?) the adhesive property of which I never saw or heard of being equaled. It is not to be affected by either dry or damp weather, and forms so strong a connection with the wood as to prevent a separation without destroying the componant parts of both. Gibb, 1877, pg. 229.

Cutting, scraping and chipping stones were made 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 handle 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 skin. Earnie Barr said they also used a coarse, green rush for sandpaper.

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.

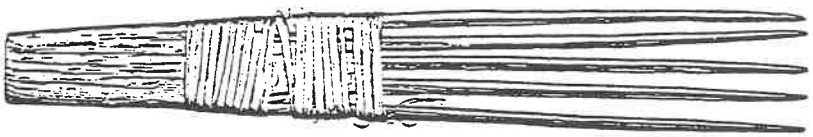
Salmon clubs were made with rock attached to a wooden handle by strips of skin. Anchors or sinkers were fashioned of rock. Sometimes they were drilled and attached to the net through the hole, but more frequently they were indented at the ends, wrapped with twine and attached to the net.

T.T. Waterman described a glue made from the skin of dog salmon which he said was used in the manufacturing of 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 pitch was also used as glue.

One tool unique to the Puget Sound area was the berry picker. These were carved to look like wide-toothed combs, some 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.

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

Pictures from Indian Notes and Monographs
by T.T. Waterman. Plate XXXIV.



9/7295

a. CEDAR WOOD BERRY PICKER.

9/7672

b. BLUEBERRY PICKER.

FISHING

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

Nets were made by the women. Nettle stems were gathered, peeled and dryed then rubbed on the bare thigh to separate into fibres. 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.

Pictures from Indian Fishing Early Methods of the Northwest Coast by Hilary Stewart. Pg. 83.

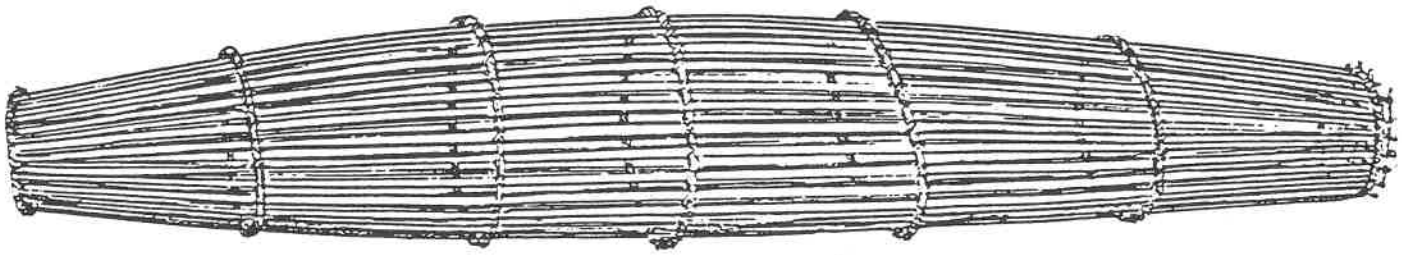
Spears were made with a wooden shaft and two pieces of antler attached with twine from bark and sealed with pitch. Frequently the spear had a double head. A good fisherman could get a fish with each thrust of the spear.

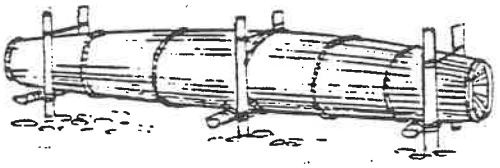
Traps and weirs, fences through which water flowed, allowed large quantities of fish to be taken at a time when the salmon runs were at their peak. Weirs were built in the river to block the upstream passage of salmon or to guide them into a trap. The lattice was put up for the fishing season and removed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

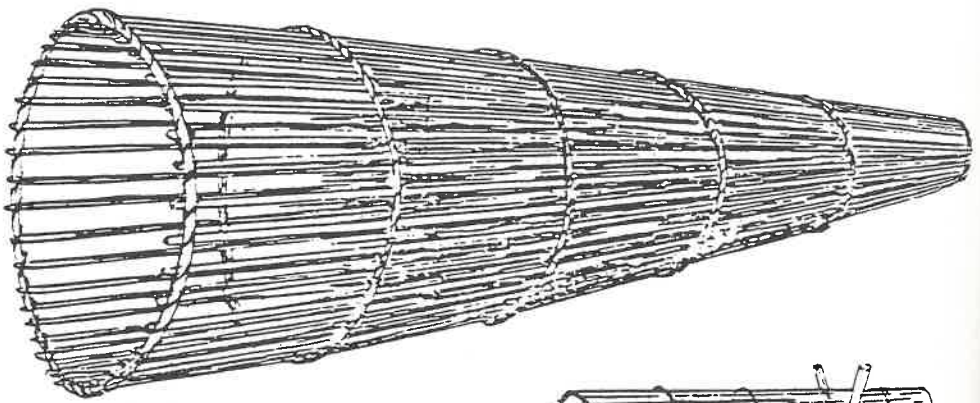
Examples of basket traps





Pictures from Indian Fishing, Early Methods on the Northwest Coast by Hilary Stewart. Pg. 114.

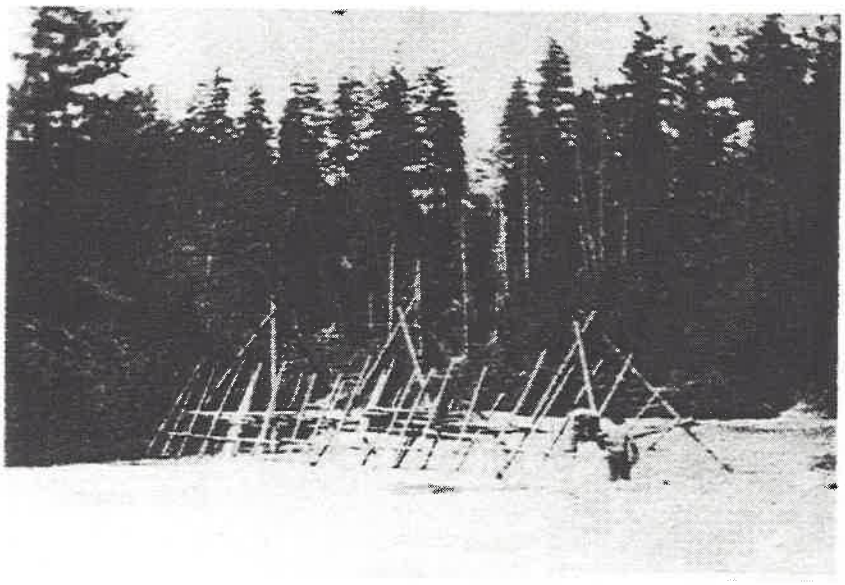
Type of trap used with fence weirs or part of larger trap complex.



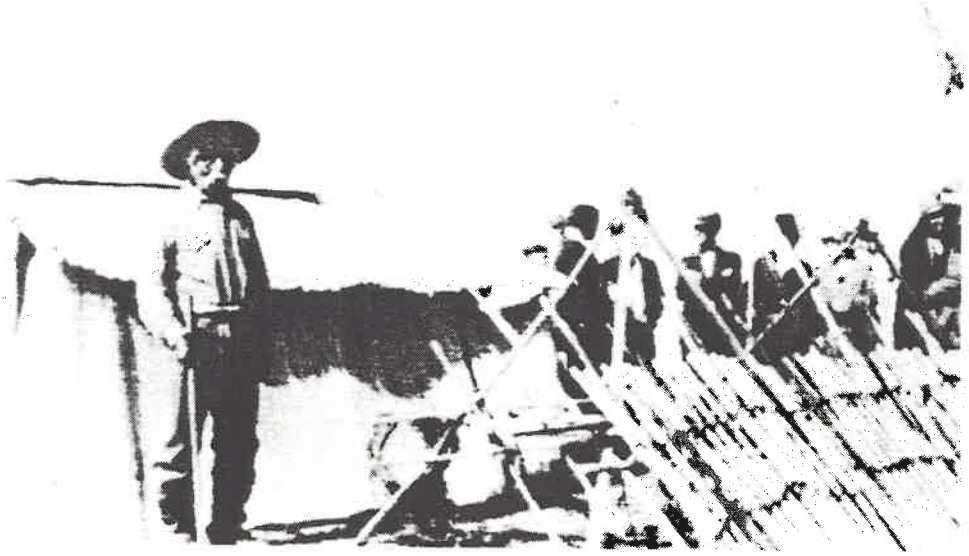
Example of trap used in shallow fast flowing stream.

ACTUAL PHOTOS OF MUCKLESHOOT FISHING WEIRS

Obtained through courtesy of White River Historical Museum, Auburn



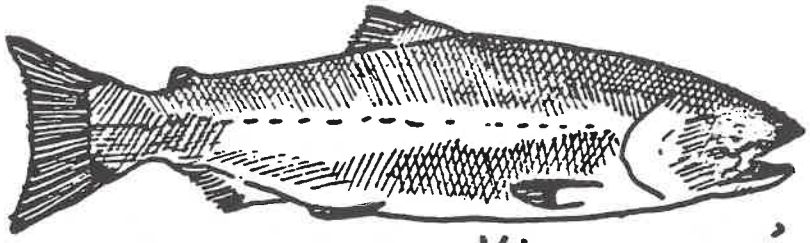
Salmon weir under construction in White River near the S.W. corner of the Muckleshoot reservation about 4 miles S.E. of Auburn. This structure seems to be complete except for the wattled screen. Apparently the horizontal pole against which the wattles rest is now hung in place by builders.
Snapshot taken by Elmer E. Patten on a hike in 1903.



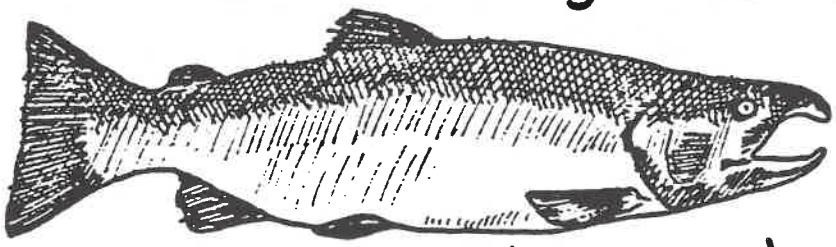
Jerry Dominick, builder of model salmon weir. Everett, Wa.

Jerry Dominick born 1854

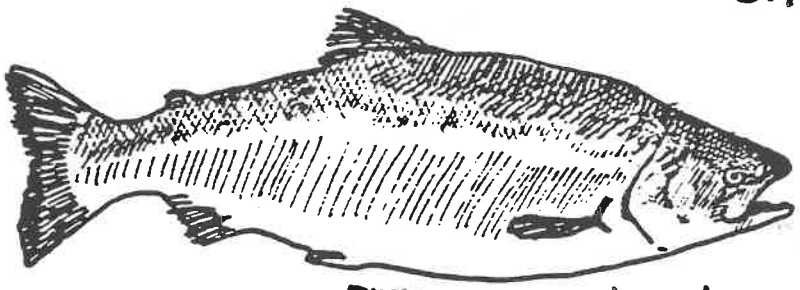
SALMON TYPES s.čədadxʷ



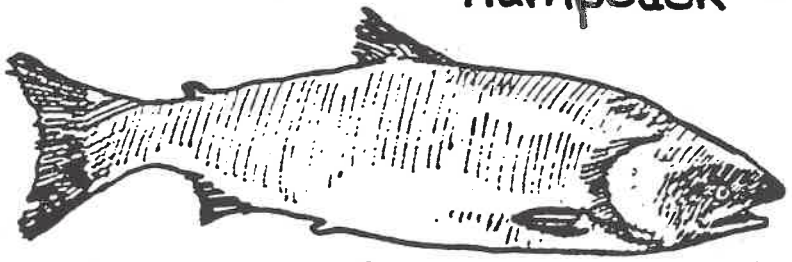
CHINOOK King- saćəb



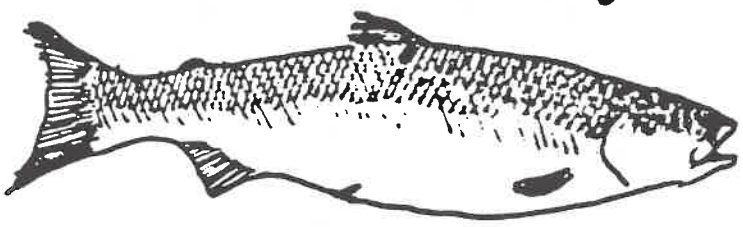
COHO Silver- s.kʷəxʷic



PINK Humpback - hədu

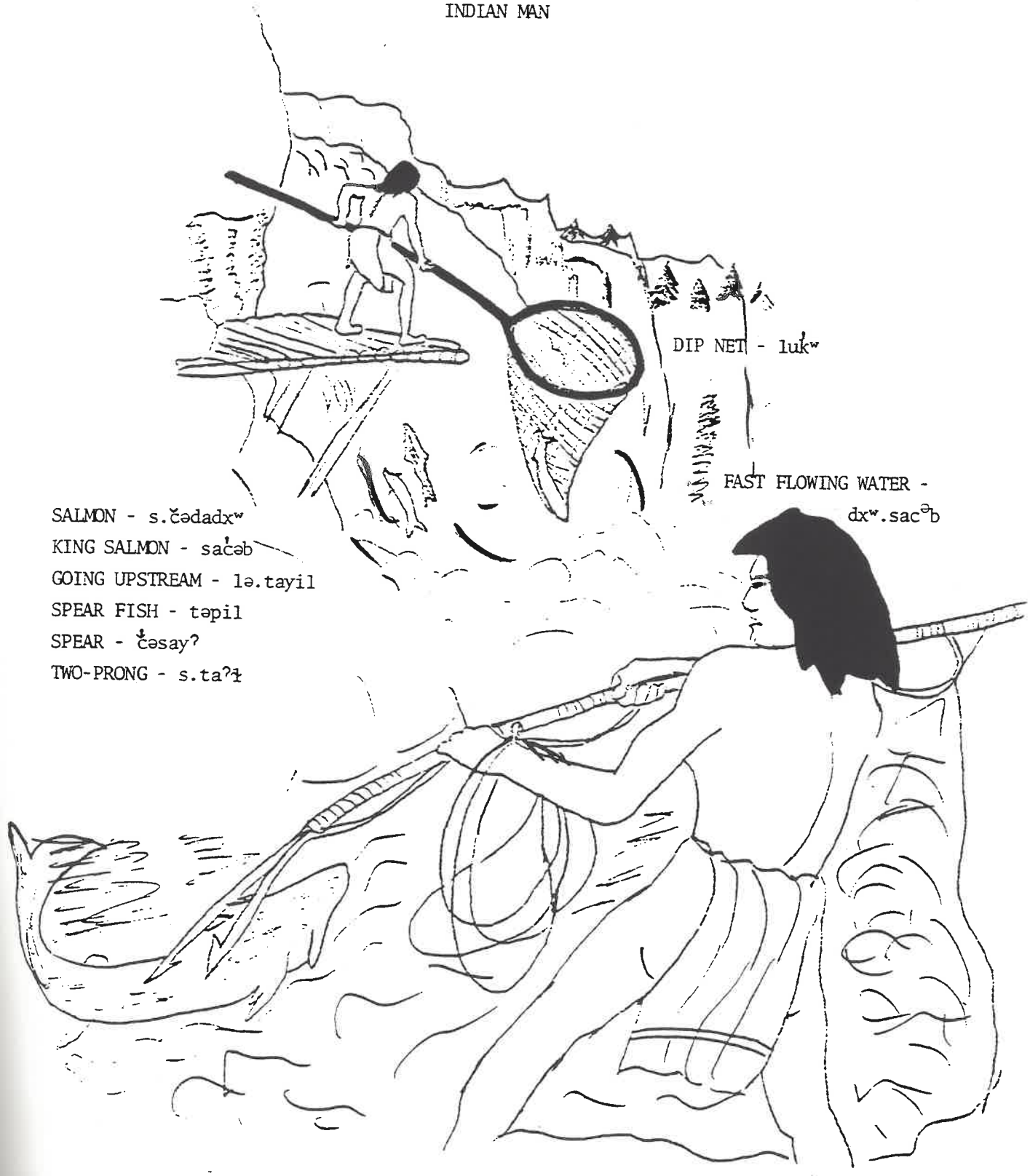


CHUM - Dog - ƛ̓xʷəy?



SOCKEYE ć̓əwadxʷ

ʔacitɬalbixʷ s.tubš



FOOD GATHERING AND PROCESSING

From early spring until well into the fall season, food gathering dictated the entire living routine. The type of food eaten was limited to what nature provided as the Muckleshoots of ancient time did not practice farming nor raise animals.

VEGETABLES

Salmonberry sprouts gave a welcome relief to the winter food stores. Frequently these were eaten on site by peeling the stringy outer skin and eating the sweet crunchy interior. These were also eaten with salmon eggs and fish and served cooked. The taste is similar to celery without the strings.

In ancient times, the roots were gathered by the women using digging sticks. After the 1800's, the digging stick was rarely seen as the Indians readily adapted to the tools of the whiteman.

Bitter-roots were dug in May, dried and made into a flour for biscuits. This root grows in eastern Washington and for the Yakima's the digging is proceeded by the Root Feast. The purpose of this ceremony is religious; a time to thank the Great Spirit for all the blessings he has bestowed on the Indian people, a time for regaining spiritual strength; and a time of learning the ancient customs and songs for the children. Food preparation, serving and the entire ceremony is steeped in years of tradition.

Other vegetable roots or bulbs eaten were camas, wapato, tiger lily and fern. These were boiled and eaten for immediate use or baked in pits and stored in baskets for later use.

FRUITS

The Puget Sound area is a berry-picker's haven. From early summer elder berries to fall blackberries and salal berries, some kind of berry is growing. Huckleberry time was a major social event. Families would load up horses and later wagons and move to the mountains. Everyone picked and as baskets were filled the men would build a fire for drying the berries. Screens were laid across logs near the fire's edge and the berries were poured out onto the screen. As the berries dried they were turned with a long wooden spoon made especially for this purpose. When the berries were sufficiently dried they were transferred to another screen, cooled and finally stored in baskets. The huckleberry leaves were also collected and dried for tea. This berry-picking event would last several weeks.

Salal berries, not used anymore, were dried and made into cakes with animal grease as a base substance. Prairie berries, a type of blueberry,

Bitter Roots
by
Lillian Williams
(Edited from a Muckleshoot Elders Cookbook)

THE FESTIVAL OF BITTER ROOTS

The Bitter Root Festival takes place each year about the last part of April of early in May. There is a pow-wow for three days. The Roots Feast takes place on a Sunday. The digging is done on a Saturday.

A lead woman is chosen to go to the bitter root digging area. She has six helpers. The seven women go up in the hills to dig the bitter roots for the dinner. They leave very early in the morning and when they reach the place where they will dig, they sing a root song. They dig all day.

In the evening a supper is prepared for all the people who are waiting for the diggers to return. The people at the long house are singing the "Waw-Shut" songs with the "Seven Drums".

The seven women who went digging go into the long house and go around the room shaking hands with those waiting. Their bags of roots are carried on their backs. Some of the diggers have large bags and others have small bags. The bags are made of yarn or corn husks. When they are through shaking hands they bring the roots to the kitchen. Then the women take their places at the table. Everyone eats.

After supper the ladies in the kitchen start peeling the roots so they will be ready for the feast. Anyone can help with the peeling. Then the roots are soaked until ready to use.

COOKING THE ROOTS

Soak the roots over night in a pot. In the morning pour out the water. Put more water into the pot, just enough to cover the bitter roots. Boil until the roots are soft and clear in color, about 1/2 hour.

SERVING DINNER

Everyone takes their place at the table. Seven men and seven women are chosen to serve and sing "Waw-Shut" accompanied by the "Seven Drums". Seven women, dressed in their regalia and wearing their traditional hats, serve the dinner. First water is poured into all the cups on the table. Then the men are served first and then the women are served. The menu includes fish and meat; two or three kinds of roots; berries and choke cherries. When the serving is done, the singing stops. Everyone is quiet. They wait for the leader of the singers. He has a bell. The leader then calls the names each food served. The people take a spoonful of the named food as it is called and eat only the spoonful. They continue until each food has been named and tasted. Then the leader says "Choosh!" Everyone drinks the water. The ceremony is finished so now everyone can eat.

RECIPES FROM ELDERS

DRIED BERRIES

by
Ollie Wilber

Pick berries
Build a rack
Lay sword ferns across the rack
Spread berries over the ferns
Build a small fire under the rack
Smoke from the fire will keep the berries from getting wormy
The sun dries the berries.

BEAR MEAT

by
Ollie Wilber

Dig a hole in the ground
Put stones in the hole
Build a fire on the stones
Lay cedar boughs on the stones
Cut meat into strips then lay the strips on top of the boughs
Lay more cedar over the top of the meat
Cover everything with canvas
Leave it to cook until done

This will also work for steaming clams.

INDIAN BREAD

by
Agnes Moses

Mix bread dough, kneading very hard
Build a real hot fire
Scoop aside ashes beside the fire
Lay in smoothed out bread dough
Cover with hot sand and cook for about 1 hour

Potatoes can also be cooked this way
Indian's did not use recipes. Recipes were learned by watching moms and grandmas cook to learn amounts.

were gathered in the Orting area, cranberries in the Enumclaw area and saltwater huckleberries (Eva Jerry) in the Gig Harbor area.

Other berries were gathered and preserved or eaten fresh as they came into season. This included wild strawberries, red and blue elderberries, salmonberries, thimbleberries, blackcaps and blackberries.

Hazelnuts were gathered in the fall.

After the white man the Indians planted potatoes. Four to ten acre tracts of cleared land were planted and the harvest provided a food source as well as a trade item.

SEAFOOD

As soon as the blossoms of the dogwood tree were their whitest, the Muckleshoots knew the clams were the best. Again, families would pack up all their living necessities and move to the beach. The areas near what is now Saltwater State Park and Three Tree Point were common clam digging areas for the Muckleshoots. A special clam digging stick was used in getting the clams and 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 smoked hard, they kept indefinitely and the more strips of smoked clams a man possessed, the wealthier he was considered. Earnie Barr said the Yakima's particularly favored the smoked clams as trade items.

In the Johnny King notes in the White River Historical Museum, the following reference is made to cooking clams:

> Big Dan and Julia had clam baskets made out of willow branches. For a clam bake they dug a small hollow place in the hot ashes -- where the fire was the hottest- put in a layer of rocks - then the clams, covering them with a layer of dirt and leaves and then left them to steam.

Four species of salmon plus steelhead were taken from the waters. Salmon was not the only fish eaten but it was the favored. The sockeye from Lake Washington was among the most favored. All fish were eaten both fresh and smoked as were the eggs. The preserved eggs did not store well, however, as they tended to become wormy. Salmon eggs were eaten as an accompaniment to

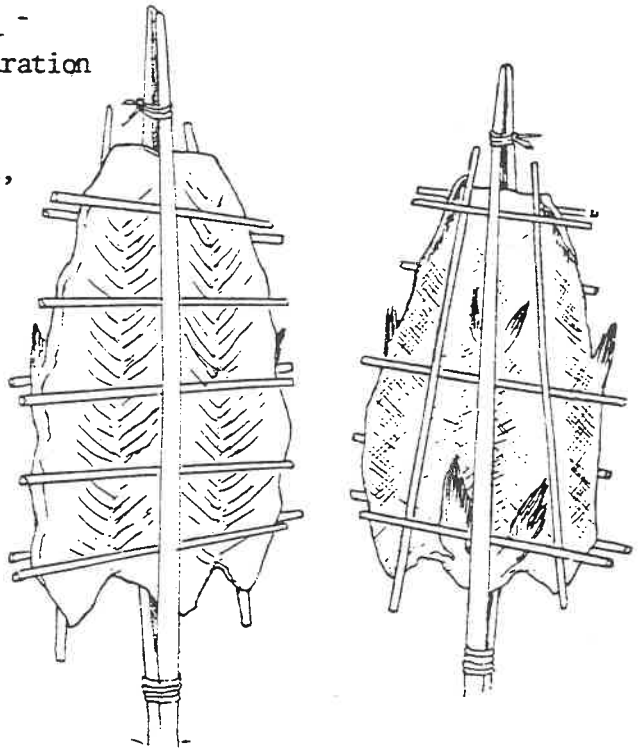
other foods as well as used in a soup similar to chowder. This salmon egg soup is quite rich especially if salmon has also been added. Cooked, the eggs resemble small canned shrimp, pink in color and taste quite delicious. Sophie Courville fixed both clam chowder and salmon egg soup for a teacher workshop held at Muckleshoot and all who tasted the salmon egg soup were pleasantly surprised at how delicious it was. Of course Sophie is well known for being a super cook.

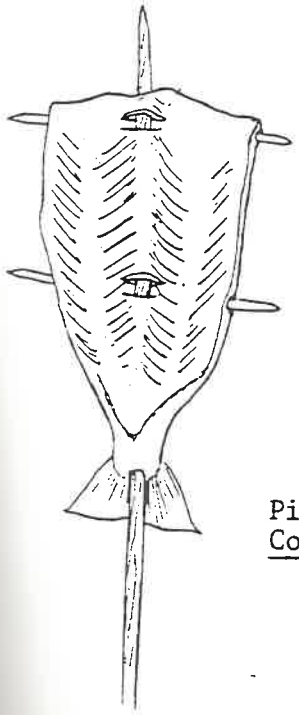
Dried salmon was for fairly immediate use, while hard smoked salmon was saved for storage and trade.

In M.W. Smith's book, The Puyallup - Nisqually, she talks about salmon preparation in pages 236-242.

Fresh salmon was either boned, braced open and cooked before the fire or roasted whole after cleaning on a cooking stick. (It was also frequently boiled in baskets.)

Cured salmon was prepared by wiping the outside of the fresh fish carefully with moss. Great piles of vine-maple moss were used for this purpose, the other moss was too fine and dirty to be dfficient. The fish were cut and cleaned upon the ground on thick layers of ferns. New ferns replaced dirty ones until the job was completed.





Dried salmon was done outside in summer and early fall and eaten before winter. It was cured on racks built under a mat or bough shelter with open sides. The drying process depended upon free circulation of air and warmth from a slight smudge built beneath the racks. Very little smoke reached the fish. This style of preserving was common to both eastern and western tribes.

Pictures from Indian Fishing, Early Methods on the Northwest Coast, by Hilary Stewart. Pg. 134.

Smoked salmon was typical to the western tribes only. Dog salmon was a frequent choice for this kind of preservation as it is less fat and has a better keeping quality. (Barbara Lane)

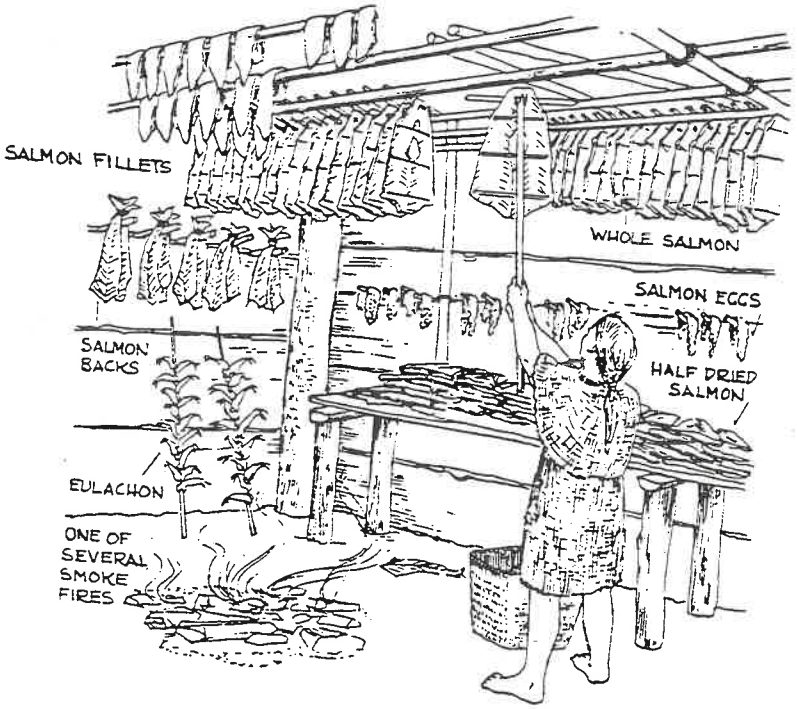
This hard smoked salmon, like the clams, was not only a food source but an economic unit. Salmon preserved in this method would keep indefinately.

Wooden or bark smoke houses were constructed as to be almost air tight. Large fires were built usually of alder wood and all waste parts of the fish were burned to reduce the heat and increase smoke. The picture below is an example of a smokehouse from Hilary Stewart's book, Indian Fishing, Pg. 140. This picture is more representative of one from the coastal tribes of Washington as the sticks of eulachon fish were not typical of this area. Most Muckleshoot smokehouses are small wooden structures about the size of a small shed. They do have ceiling racks for hanging the fish or game as in this picture.

Salmon was traded for meat with the eastern tribes as well as for other food, medical or personal items.

Devil fish, squid, was obtained near Redondo Beach. It was eaten raw or partially boiled as fully cooked it became dry and tasteless.

STICKS HOLD SALMON OPEN FOR DRYING, TOP BAR RESTS BETWEEN TWO POLES. 40· KW



GAME

Deer and elk were the preferred game meats but occasionally beaver, mountain goat, bear, wildcat and cougar were also eaten. Ducks, grouse and pheasant were sometimes speared. Deer was usually hunted in the same area and at the same time of the year that huckleberries were picked.

When eaten fresh, large game meats were boiled, steam baked or roasted before the fire. These meats could also be smoked for later use.

Conservation was important in food gathering. Only large roots were dug, the best berries picked, adult game killed and only enough fish and shellfish taken as was necessary for daily consumption or winter storage.

I have not included all areas used for fishing and food gathering. Within a village these areas may have differed and perhaps the weather of the preceding winter would determine how many things could be gathered close to their winter homes. The areas I have mentioned are ones that seemed to be mentioned in all the personal interviews. The ancient Indian, without the stores of modern time to suppliment gathered food supplies had to travel far greater distances procuring food and trading for desired goods.

Illustration by
Phillip Hamilton

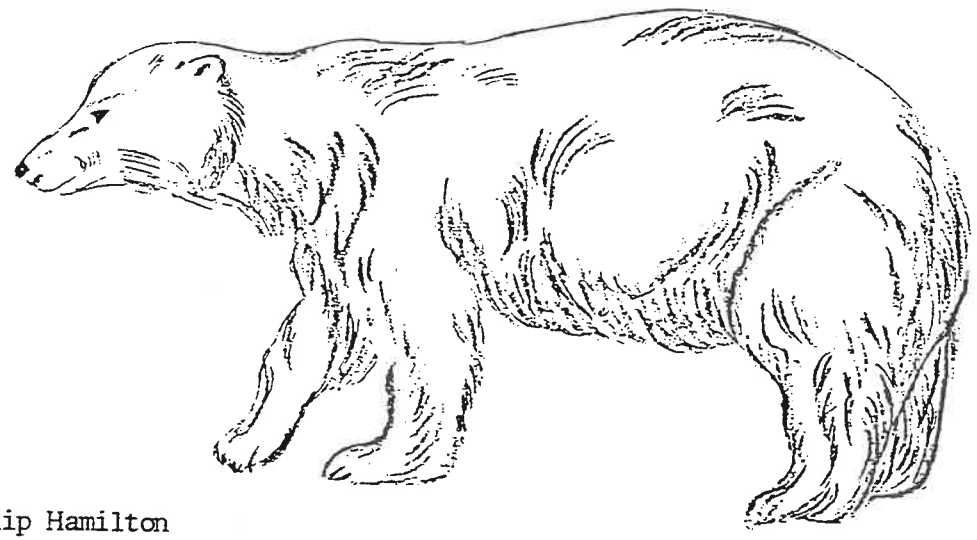
BEAR HUNTING

Helen Gildersleeve Reynolds, wife of the last Farmer-in-Charge, on the Muckleshoot Reservation, left many of her notes to the White River Historical Museum in Auburn. In her file was the following story and information.

To catch a bear, the Indians built dead-falls. They dug a deep hole in the ground and then covered it over with long slender cedar boughs. One of the elderly men on the reservation told her the following story.

SYIL AP
TAKE IT ALL

The Indians want to be sure to fool Mr. Bear so they work very carefully to make a trap. They drive strong stakes in the ground all slanting at a forty-five degree angle. This is back of the trap. They build two sides but leave the other end open. For the top they take heavy poles and bind them together with cedar boughs. Mr. Bear is very fond of salmon, so the Indians take several large ones and lay them at the back of the trap near the stakes, but not so near that the bear can reach through and drag them out. Now the Indians go away and when it starts to get dark, Mr. Bear thinks he will go out and look for something to eat. As he is walking along he thinks he smells fish so he investigates. He finds the trap and walks all around it trying to get the fish without going into the trap. Finally his appetite gets the better of him, so he walks in and starts to enjoy the feed. As he pulls on the fish, a catch is released and the heavy trap falls on Mr. Bear, pinning him there.



Phillip Hamilton

BASKETS AND MATS

Basket making was not only a necessary skill but a beautiful art form. Baskets were used for cooking, storing, packing, and gathering. The basket style determined the use. Tightly woven coiled baskets were used for cooking by filling the basket with water and then taking hot stones from the fire, rinsing them off and dropping them in the water until it boiled.

Materials for making baskets were gathered by the women. When the rivers were high, small cedars would wash out from along side the bank. Then when the rivers subsided, the women would go to the river beds with their knives and cut the roots of these trees for baskets. If they split easily as they were gathered they were split into smaller sections, coiled and tied. While being stored, the roots were hung from the roof gables in bunches. When it was time for basket making, the bunches were taken down and soaked for easier working. The outer bark was removed with the fingernail or by pulling the root through a split stick. Then the next shiney layer was removed and this material was rolled and saved for sewing material. The split inner-bark was used for the coil frame material and the saved sewing material was wrapped around it. Holes were punched through with a bone awl. The decorative exterior material was added on top of the actual basket through a process called imbrication. The colored strips such as grass dyed yellow with Oregon grape root, or plain white grass, wild potato roots or black maidenhair fern stems, red cherry or cedar bark, were laid on top of the coil and caught with a passing stitch. Before another stitch was taken, the colored piece was bent forward to cover the last stitch and doubled backward on itself so that it was under the next stitch. Thus the color showed, but the stitches did not.

Other baskets were woven of strips of cedar bark or twined of cattail leaves. These were not as durable as the cedar root baskets.

Some baskets were very loosely woven of willow branches to allow for clams to drain.

Baskets were made in all sizes. Small berry picking baskets used with the larger berry carrying baskets were mainstays for the fall gathering. Frequently the larger basket would have a strap woven from wool, yarn, or cedar bark called a ɬ(ə)q̓ʷalšəd. This held the basket around the head and down the back. When the smaller baskets were filled, they were enptied into the larger baskets lined with leaves. As the large baskets, in which the berries were carried, were filled they were covered with leaves

and tied across the top to hold them in place. Some Indians believed that if sword ferns were used to line or cover the baskets, you would not have many berries left as Sword Fern was a great joker and would eat up the berries. (Pioneer notes White River Historical Museum)

Today, old Indian baskets, when you can find them, sell for a great deal of money. In the early 1900's, Indian women would travel to Seattle and Tacoma, set up their baskets in front of Frederick and Nelsons or Rhodes and sell their wares for only a few cents.

Johnny King in an early letter to Mrs. Reynolds, told the following narrative about Indian life and it shows the importance of mats and baskets.

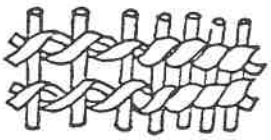
> Sammy James lived in a long house with logs vertical and a large opening in the top for the smoke to go out. Rooms were made along one side with cattail mats between. He slept on a shelf a little off the ground and stored fire wood under the bed. There were no chairs, tables or cupboards. The fire was kept in the middle of the floor and at meal time all sat around the fire on the ground. Fish was cooked in a basket and passed around. They all ate out of the same basket using their fingers.

Cattail rush mats were made in basically three sizes. The largest mats were used along the walls as insulation and as room dividers. These mats were about five feet by twenty feet. Medium sized ones were used as mattresses, table coverings, rain capes and umbrellas, and folded for pillows. The smaller mats, about three to four feet long were used as cushions for seating in the house and the canoe. The rushes were sewen together with a string also from the cattails.

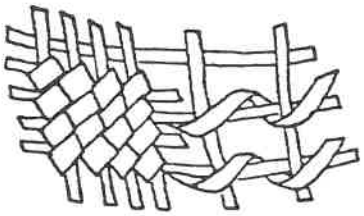
Cattails were a highly prized trade item with northern tribes as they felt these mats were superior to the cedar bark kind.

Virginia Cross says cattail leaves sell for about one dollar a bunch in the winter even today because the leaves for making baskets must be gathered in the late summer and then allowed to dry before using.

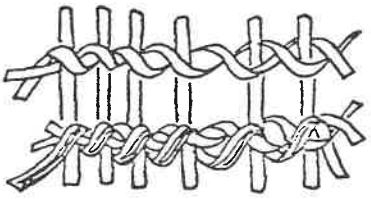
Pictures from Northwest Coast Indian Life, Thomas Burke Memorial Museum, University of Washington, Seattle, 98195



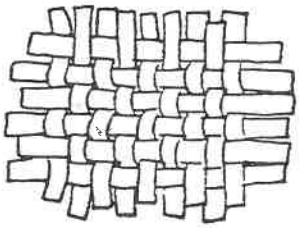
a. Twining



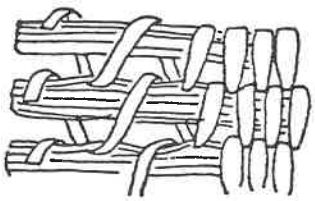
b. Wrapped twining



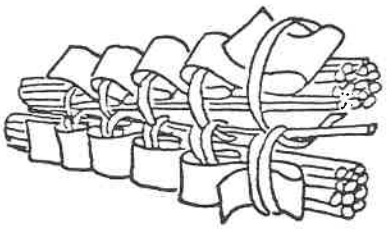
c. False embroidery



d. Plaiting



e. Coiling



f. Imbrication

Basketry techniques

EXAMPLES OF INDIAN BASKETS

The purpose of these pictures is to show examples of cedar bark, cedar root, and the various medium used for imbrication. None of these are Muckleshoot baskets, but the weaving style is similar.

The pictures on the next page are from the book Indian Baskets of the Northwest Coast, Allan Lobb, Photography by Art Wolfe, Graphic Arts Center Publishing Co., Portland, Ore.

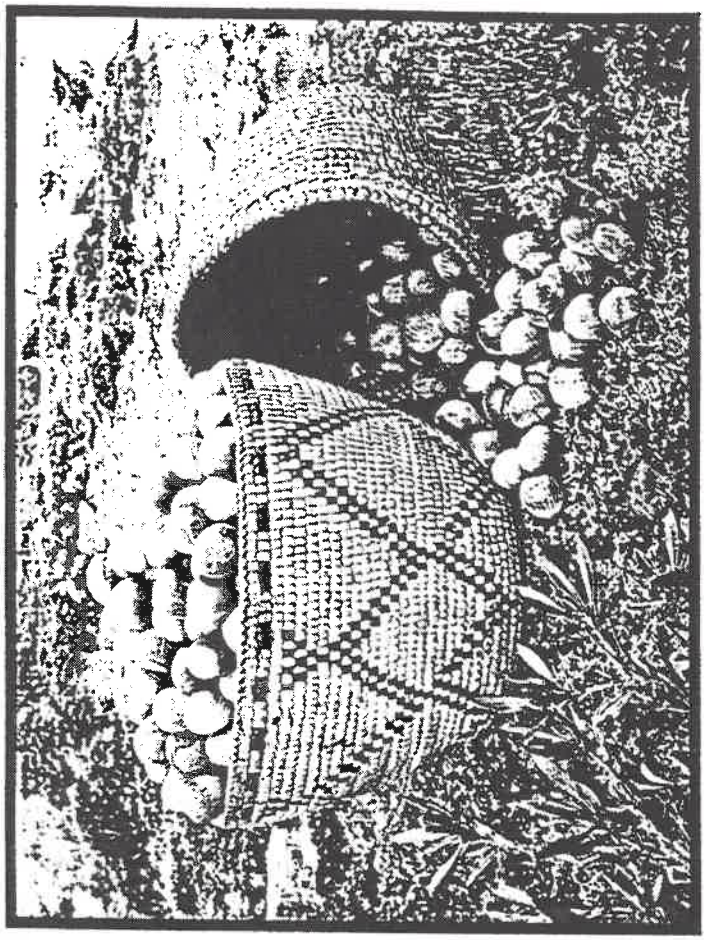
Mr. Wolfe provided his own negatives for our use.

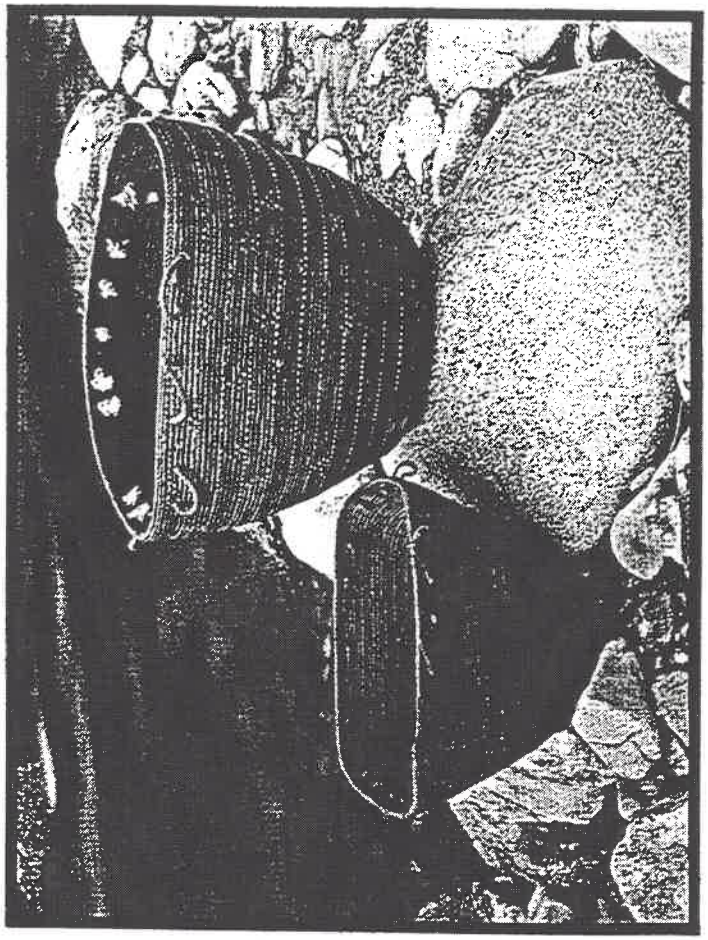
1. Coiled basket given to James Wickersham in 1899 by Puyallup Indians Tom Tom Milroy and a little girl. Woven with cedar root and bark, bear grass and horsetail root. (Top left)

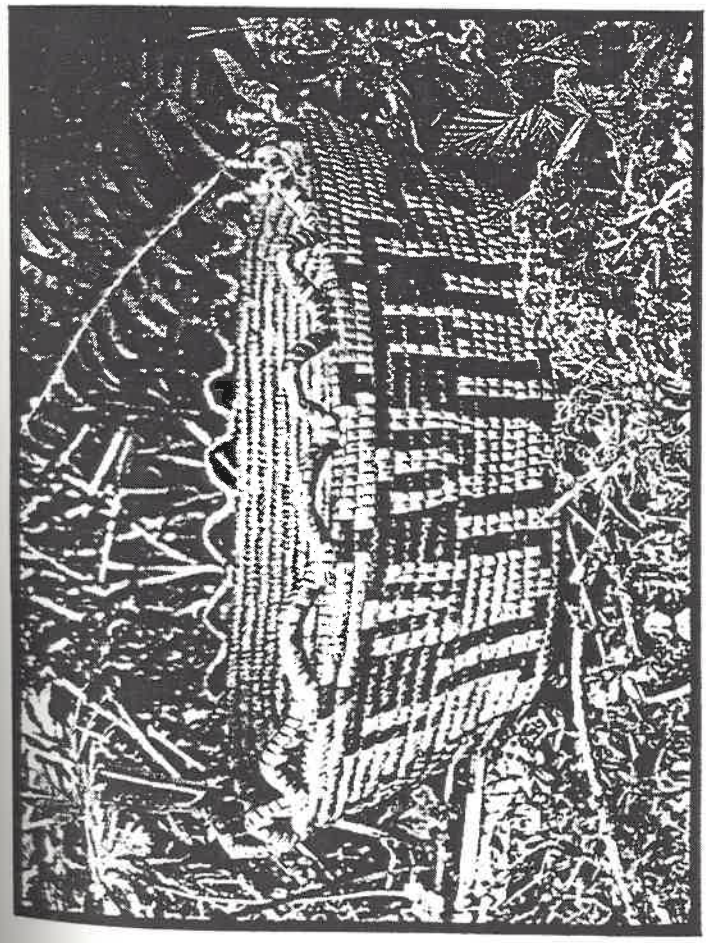
2. Coiled baskets woven with cedar root, bear grass and horsetail root, by Salish Indians in Nisqually-Puyallup region. (Top right)

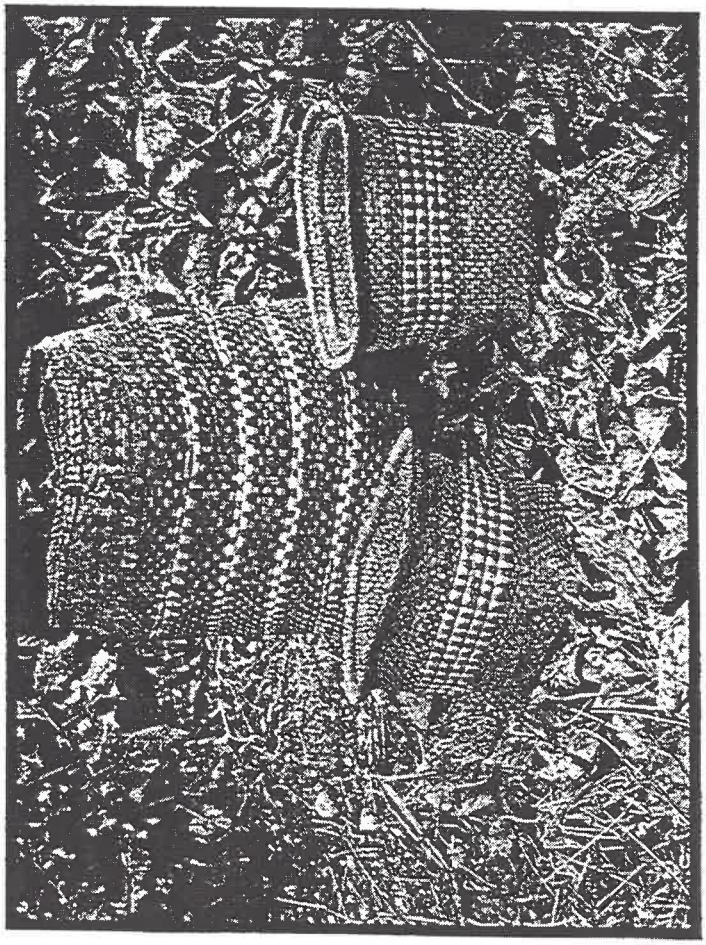
3. Trio of plaited storage baskets by members of the Tsimshian tribe using their favorite fiber cedar bark. They are now included in the permanent display at Burke Memorial Museum in Seattle. (Bottom left)

4. Very old Salish storage and cooking baskets, coiled with cedar root and bark, bear grass, cherry bark and rush. Food was boiled by throwing hot stones into water-containing baskets. (Bottom right)









CANOES

Indians made canoes in a variety of shapes and sizes depending upon use. Muckleshoot canoes were the shovel-nosed type well adapted to river travel. Trees selected for a canoe were always cedar. If a tree recently felled by lightning or wind could not be found, a tree was felled by chopping and firing. Tall straight trees with no branches in the lower part were chosen. They were found where the trees grew the thickest causing them to grow straight to reach the sun. First the tree was covered with wet mud above the roots, or covered with wet mats. A fire was set against the base and frequently extinguished while the burned wood was adzed away. The fire was then reset on a different side and controlled so that the tree fell in the desired direction.

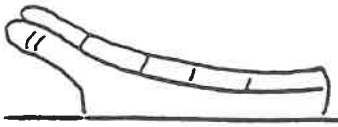
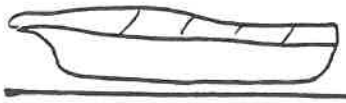
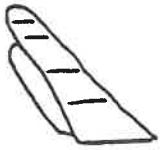
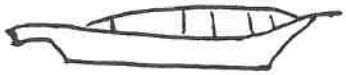
After the tree was felled, mauls, wedges, adzes and fire were used on the interior until it was dug out and shaped - hence the term "dug-out canoe." The outside bark was chipped off and then the wood was shaped with adzes and polished with special canoe sanding stones described in the tool section. Sometimes the wood was charred and rubbed with fish oil for a smoother finish. (See related articles May 6, 1968)

All men did not build canoes. Earnie Barr told a story about Phillip Starr, it seems Phillip was ready to launch a new canoe with his son-in-law Dave Siddle. To prove to the younger man that he did have the proper Tomanamus, or spirit, he told him that while the canoe was in the water a salmon would jump out of the water and into his canoe. Sure enough, it happened just as Phillip Starr said. Needless to say, his son-in-law was in awe of the man after that.

In the eighteenth century, horses were introduced and became an object of trade or raid. Muckleshoots were among the first Indians west of the mountains to have horses. Because of this some coastal tribes referred to them as "horse Indians."

Wagons were used after the white man's influence and became the chief source of carrying goods when used with the horse. Before the white man began clearing forest areas for homesteading, the woods were not used for travel as much as the rivers. Because the White and Green Rivers were connected the local native could travel easily throughout their hunting and fishing areas and eventually reach the Duwamish and on to Seattle and Puget Sound. The Indians called Seattle d̲ᶻidᶻəlalič meaning "little portage' and

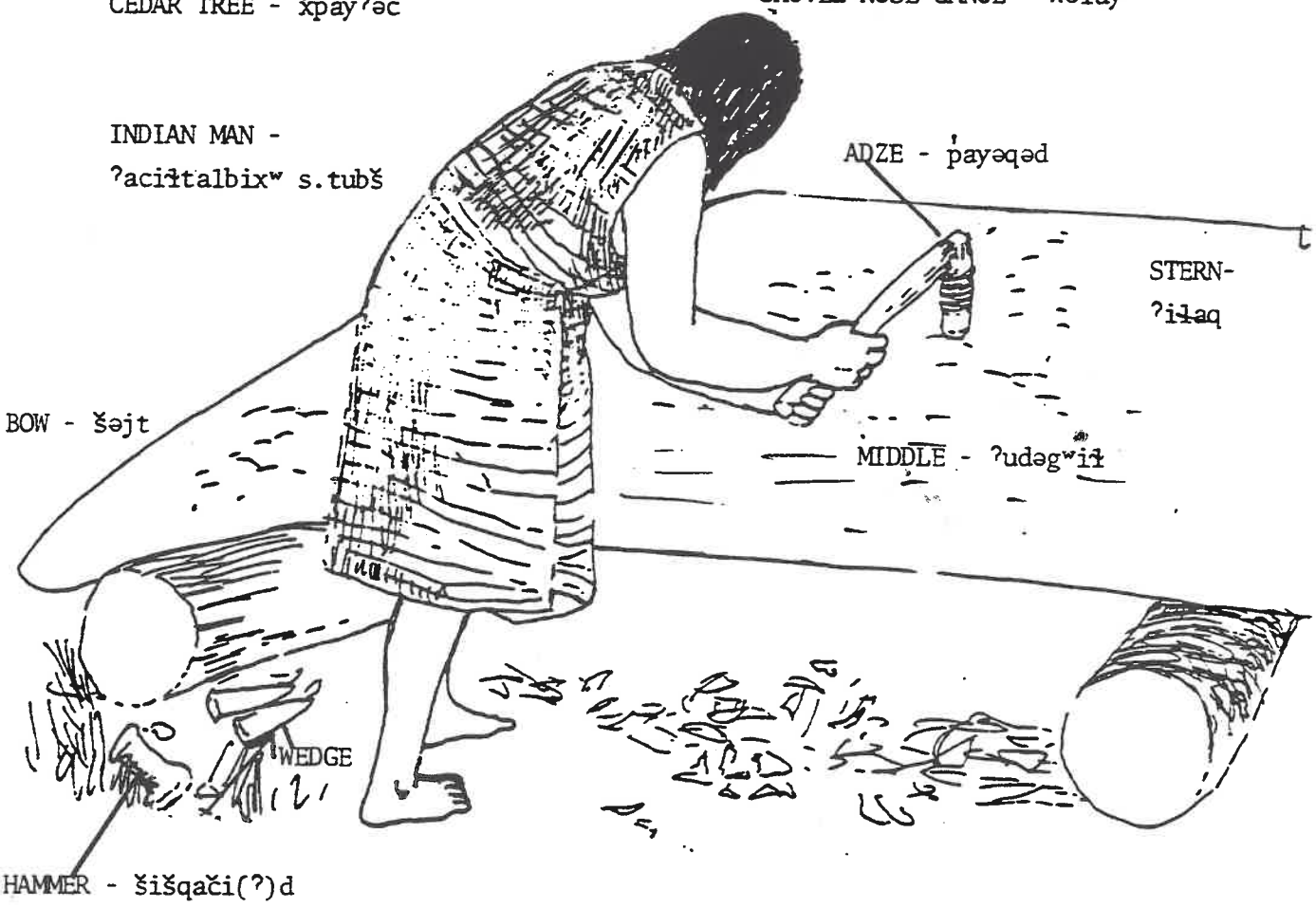
Pictures taken from Indian Life Around Puget Sound by Pauline Woodward, Highline Public Schools, Seattle, 1968.

Kind and Illustration	Purpose	Shape	Held
"War Canoe" rare here 	"Ocean-going"	Prominent, lofty bow and stern	50-60
"Freight Canoe" 	On journeys with household possessions	Square bow, tip of prow resembles open mouth	6-15
"Fishing or trolling canoe" 	Hunting, trolling for fish, harpooning porpoises and otters	Narrow hull	2-3
"Shovel-nose canoe" Oldest and simplest model 	Useful up rivers or only in quiet waters. Man stands in prow to spear fish, particularly salmon. Paddler in stern.	Hull scoops forward like a shovel. Cuts off square at bow and stern. These were the kind used by the Muckleshoots.	2
"One-man canoe" Light, fast, capsizes easily 	Used for fishing	Slender, diminutive	1
"Children's Canoe" Heavy 	Used for commonest purposes. Practice boat for children	Ends shaped the same. End like stern of war canoe	

(Based on description of models as given by: Waterman, T. T.; and Coffin, Geraldine. "Types of Canoes on Puget Sound")

MAKING A CANOE

ƛ̓payəq - ʔuƛ̓payəq



TRAVEL OVER WATER - ʔuluɬ

CANOE RACE - x̌ix̌q̓algʷiɬ

A PADDLE - x̌ʷubt

TO PADDLE - ʔišt

BAILER - k̓ʷadgʷild

Picture from Pacific Science Center publication P.A.S.T.

RELIGION

Perhaps the Indian was among the most religious of people. Certainly the practices of the supposedly Christian teachers at the boarding schools the children were sent to could hardly be considered Christian. Joe Washington, Lummi, in a workshop for the Auburn School District teachers, told about having his tongue burned with matches, the tips of his ears cut with scissors, being left outside fourteen days and nights with only bread and water, and having his tongue placed against a frozen pipe by the nuns in the school. What did he do to deserve this punishment? He spoke his Indian language at school. Joe was not the exception, Bertha McJoe, Louis Starr and others also have tales concerning their punishments at school for the same crime. This was the way "Christians" chose to deal with the people they called "savages."

The ancient religion was based upon having a personal spirit. 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 a costume, dance and song. A wood carving by Ron Hilbert, resident artist at the United Indians of All Tribes in Seattle, depicts the Smokehouse dance. His work can also be seen in the book by Pamela Amoss, Coast Salish Spirit Dancing.

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 power.

The sweat lodge was used to cleanse the body for religious and medical purposes. Earnie remembers a small sweat house on the Muckleshoot Reservation being used until about 1920 or 1930. The sweat house 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 the 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.

Illustration by Phillip Hamilton

ADDITIONAL BELIEFS

One of the Indian beliefs that should be of interest to the non-Indian world is that Indians do not believe they migrated from anywhere; they were always in what is now called the United States, it just took longer for the rest of the world to find them.

Pamela Amoss in her book Coast Salish Spirit Dancing, pg. 48, says,

> Young people are not encouraged to ask questions when they do not understand. This pattern seems to be traditional, since older people report being ridiculed as children for asking questions or seeking information. A young person was supposed to learn by observing and listening carefully whenever instructions were volunteered by an older relative.

Parents frequently threatened their misbehaving children with the ʼci?atkʷu - wild Indians or "stick Indians." They live in the woods around the reservation and are sometimes heard by a high pitched yell, whistling or knocking on house walls, but are rarely seen. Eva Jerry as a young mother living on the lower reservation, was frequently bothered by these Indians throwing rocks at her house. Finally she'd had enough and with all the courage of an irate women stood in front of her house and speaking in Indian told them she was Indian just as they were and to leave her and her babies alone. They apparently understood as she was no longer bothered. Other families leave cigarettes or tobacco out for them as they seem to like these and in return leave those families alone.

Children were discouraged from talking about the wild Indians as it would cause them to come to their house. Bertha McJoe remembers being very frightened by their yells one night after she and her sisters had talked about them inspite of their father's warning.

Potlatches were held when babies were named or when they honored their spirit power. Today after funerals, mourners receive blankets or other gifts. Leo Daniels remembers his mother frequently giving everything away. She was blessed with a very powerful spirit. Each winter she had to give a potlatch for her spirit or she would become physically ill. When this happened she called in all her friends, from as far away as Yakima. They spent many days and nights dancing and singing. Her spirit dictated the length of these gatherings. She would give everything away and within two weeks have received all new things from other people. Leo remembers hiding a blanket upstairs so he would not have to freeze during the winter. When this was discovered he was teased for years. Maggie Barr, Leo's sister, said the family never did without but Leo was the baby and perhaps he was too young to know everything always worked out to their advantage.

DEATH

Death was a time of entering the Land of the Spirits, (Nard Jones) located just under the earth. If the soul of the deceased became lonely for his family he would come back and steal a soul of a living person. For this reason the name of a recently deceased person was not used. Also if the person died in the house, the house was most frequently 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. Should he leave through the door, the soul would remember the way back.

To insure 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 the canoe, constructed a platform in a tree and the body was wrapped and placed on this platform. (Pioneer notes)

Young people were not permitted in the burial area but older people went there to mourn. Anyone handling a corpse had to bathe frequently and observe certain taboos to break association with the dead.

Nard Jones in his radio talks of the early 1960's later printed in book form by Puget Power, said,

> 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 they 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 had been 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. Pg. 70.

After the 1800's, the buriel method changed. The Indians would dig a shallow grave, wrap the body in the blanket, include personal items in the grave with the body, and then construct a small hut over the entire grave. See related articles, Auburn Globe, Nov. 18, 1927.

Virginia Cross said it was most common to either bury or burn personal belongings when someone died and for this reason there are not many ancient artifacts left, even within the family.

BONE GAME

Bone game, stick game or "Sla-Hal" is actually a game of chance similar to "Whose got the button?" The "bones" in the game are four cylindrical pieces of deer or elk bone or antler. Each set of two contains one plain bone and one with a stripe around the center.

The game is played by two sides or teams, or in ancient times bands or tribes, each having one set of bones and a set of five sticks. A sixth stick called the "kickstick" goes to the side winning the first correct guess.

Each side chooses a guesser who tries to guess which hand of the opposing guesser contains the plain bone. The person holding the bones switches them around behind his back or in a scarf. When he is ready he places his hands holding the bones on his knees. Whoever wins the first guess takes the kickstick and this signals the drums and singing to start as the game has officially begun.

The winning guesser distributes both sets of bones to two people on his side. The opposing side then guesses for the plain bone forfeiting a stick for each wrong guess. If both sets are guessed correctly the winning side sings their bone game song and the two pair of bones are given to two people on the winning side.

During the guessing, the opposing side tries to distract the guesser by waving their hands and making other motions.

Stakes in the ancient times could include blankets, shawls, horses, buckskin, shell money and food items. Today, stakes at large celebrations may run into the thousands of dollars. The winning team ending up with all eleven sticks divides the pot among the entire team's contributors.

Side bets may take place in addition to the regular pot. These bets will just be between individuals rather than teams.

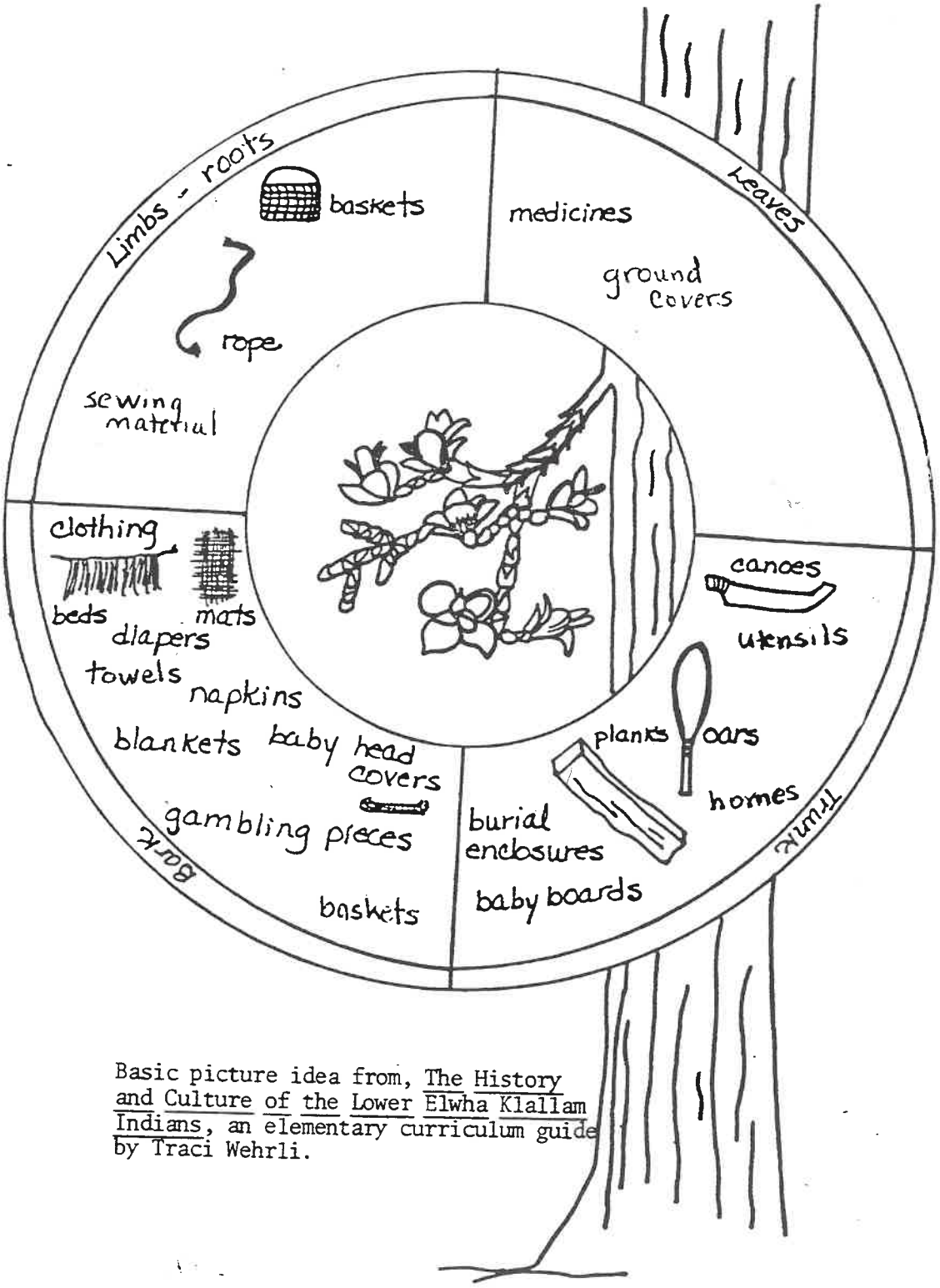
Sometimes these games will last all night with the enthusiasm building with the size of the stakes. At a pow wow the area of the bone games is usually the noisiest with large groups of spectators and participants.

At Muckleshoot, the bone game shed is located just east of the ballfield behind the Tribal Center.

Information contributed by Charlie Sneatlum, Muckleshoot

Cedar — ancient uses

x̌pay?əc



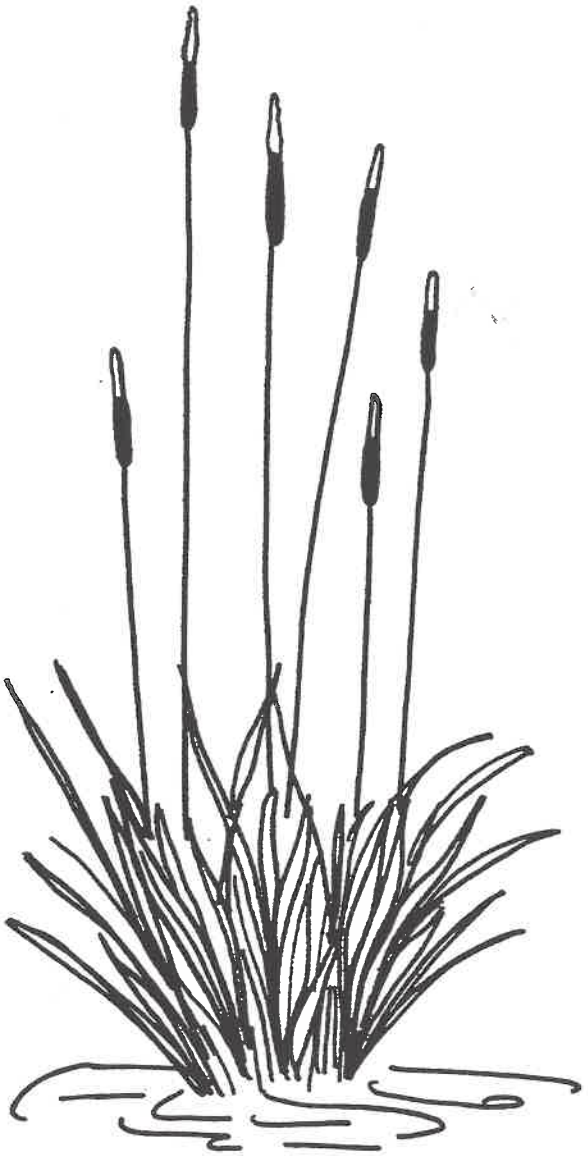
Basic picture idea from, The History and Culture of the Lower Elwha Klallam Indians, an elementary curriculum guide by Traci Wehrli.

Cattail

ʔulal

Blades: **Baskets, mats, string, rope.**

Head: **Used to make blankets and as food.**
Root: **Food**



Picture source same as cedar.

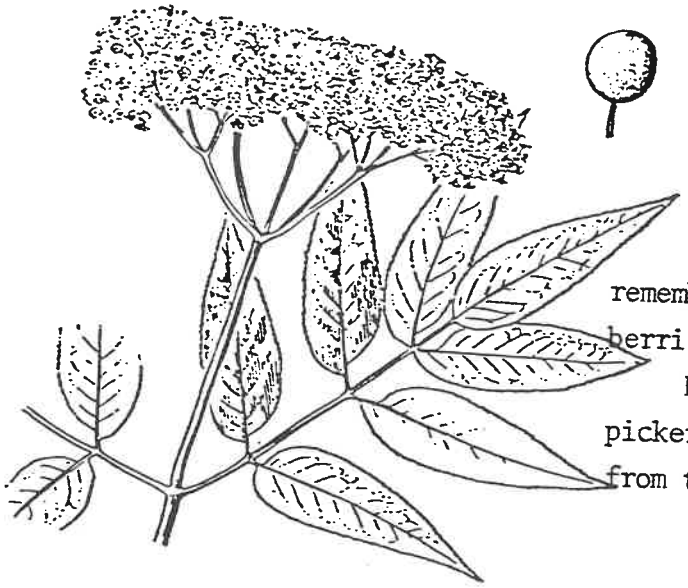
THE PICTURES IN THIS SECTION WERE TAKEN FROM ETHNOBOTANY OF WESTERN WASHINGTON, THE KNOWLEDGE AND USE OF INDIGENOUS PLANTS BY NATIVE AMERICANS. ERNA GUNTHER, UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON PRESS, SEATTLE, WA. 1977.

AND

THE INDIAN HISTORIAN, VOLUME 12, NUMBER 3, AMERICAN INDIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA, 1979.

THIS IS BY NO MEANS A COMPLETE SET OF ALL BOTANICAL MATERIAL USED BUT MERELY A REPRESENTATION OF SOME OF THE MORE COMMON PLANTS.

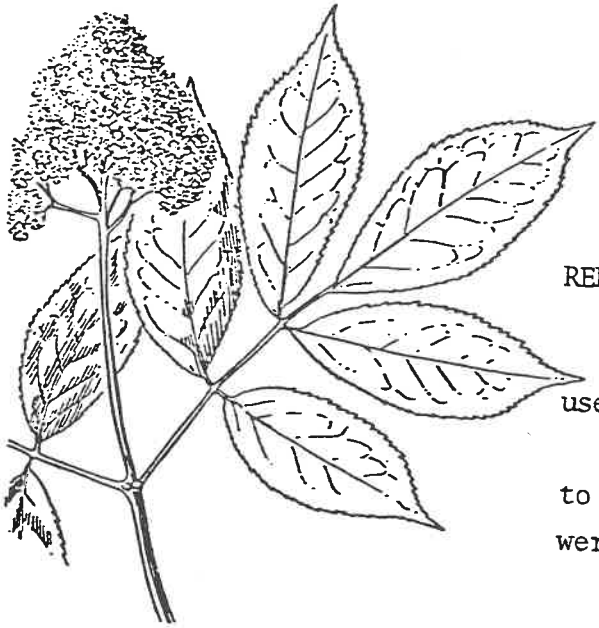
THE INFORMATION ABOUT USE WAS OBTAINED FROM THE PEOPLE I INTERVIEWED.



BLUE ELDERBERRY - cikʷikʷ

A great local favorite. Maggie Barr remembers her mom making jelly with the berries.

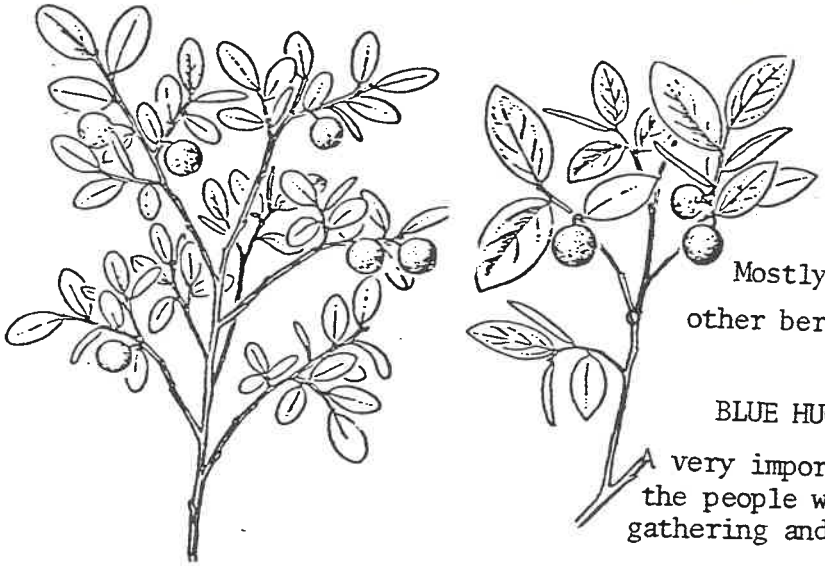
Historically a wooden, carved berry-picker was used to easily remove the berries from the foliage.



RED ELDERBERRY - s.čabt

Berries eaten fresh or dried for winter use.

Leaves, pounded fresh, were applied to reduce swelling. The bark and roots were made into a tea as a general tonic.



RED HUCKLEBERRY - stitix̌ʷ

Not an important food source. Mostly just eaten fresh while picking other berries.

BLUE HUCKLEBERRY - s.čəbay?us

A very important food source. Years ago the people would camp for weeks while gathering and drying the berries

IRONWOOD - qcəgʷac

Used in connecting the salmon hook to the main shaft of the spear.

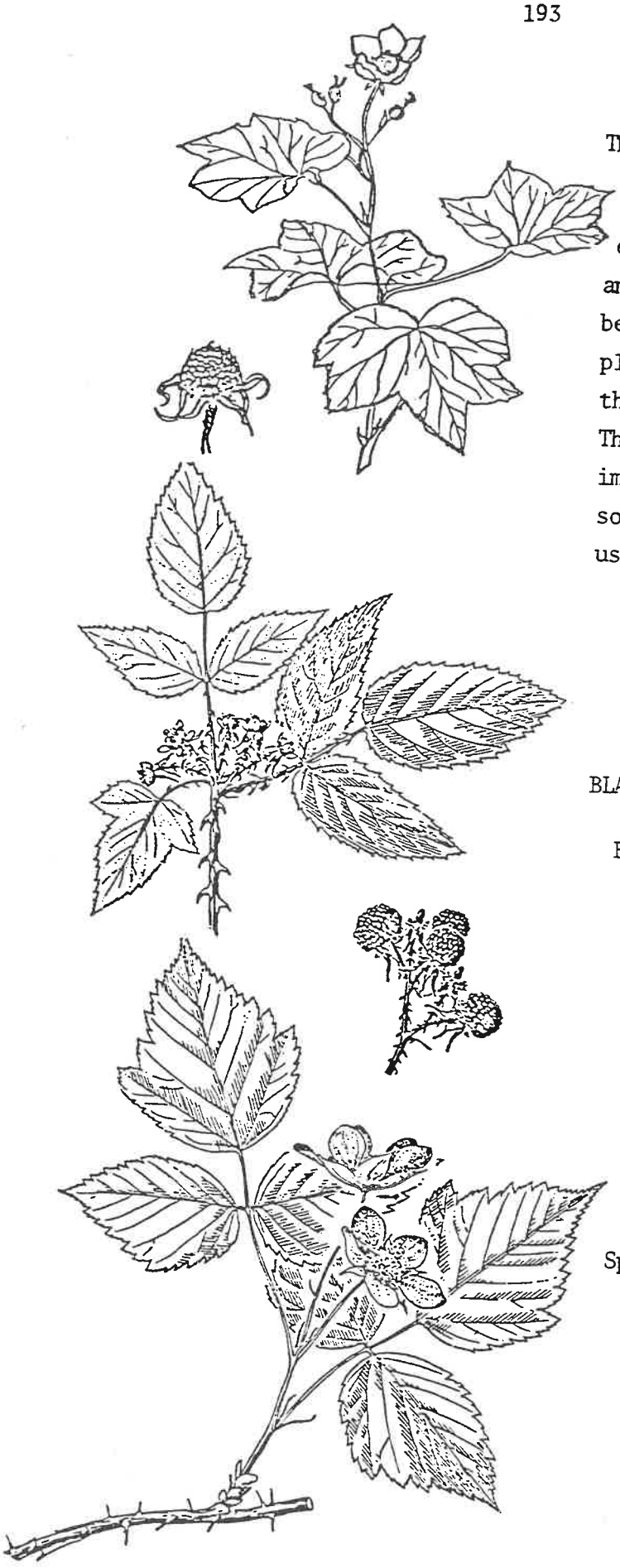
Also used for needles, sewing knitting, etc.

Small ornamental paddles were carved out of the wood and attached to the bottom of a dress for dancing. They would make a small clicking noise.

SALAL- taqa

Leaves made into a tea for coughs.

Berries eaten fresh or mashed and formed into cakes and dried.



THIMBLEBERRY - ɬaqə?

Both the sprouts and berries are eaten fresh. The use of these berries and sprouts can be likened to the salmonberry bush also. Many children while playing at the river would peel and eat the sprouts raw as they got hungry. These berries were all considered an immediate food source rather than something gathered and saved for future use.

BLACKCAP - čəlqʷubə?

Berries eaten fresh.

SALMONBERRY - s.təgʷad

Sprouts and berries eaten fresh.

OREGON GRAPE - qʷəbqʷəbč

The roots of this plant were boiled to make a beautiful yellow dye. White grasses used in basket making were then boiled in the dye to add color and design to the baskets.

SKUNK CABBAGE - ƛ̓cauk̓ʷ

The roots are dried, powdered and made into a tea for whooping cough.

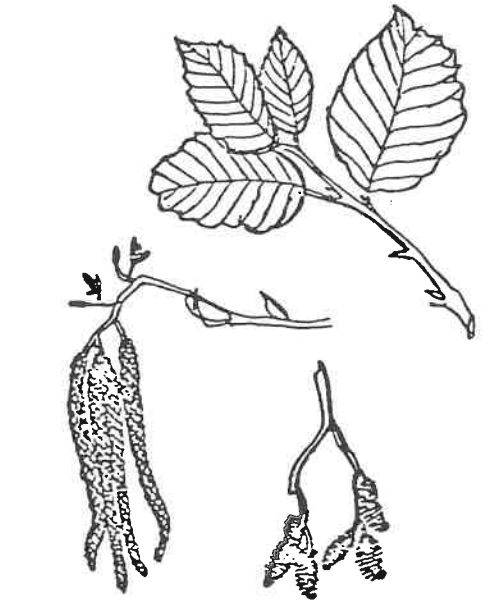
It is also mixed with other plant material as a general tonic.

NETTLES - s.c̓əjx̌

This plant was used by almost all Indian people of this area for string or twine. The nettle is peeled, dried, and rolled on the thigh by the women. This twine was then frequently made into fish nets.

Medicinally the leaves were used to make tea for a general tonic. The fresh leaves were rubbed directly on the body as a cure or aide for arthritis.

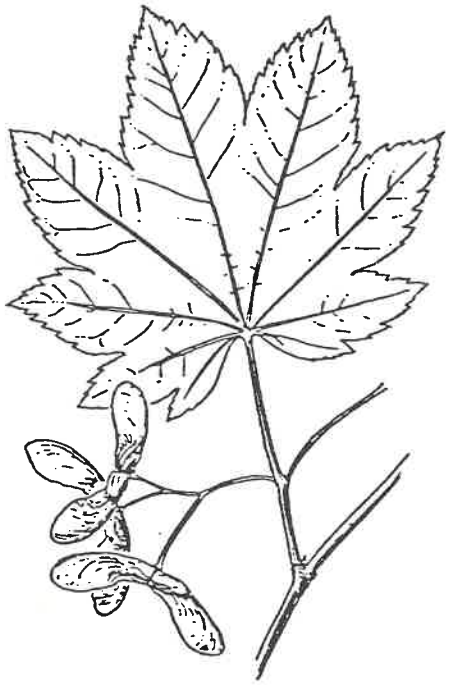
Women in labor were given the tea to help speed up the birth.



ALDER - sək̓ʷəbac.

Alder bark, when boiled, makes a dye also used to decorate basket grass. The color ranges from red to a red-brown.

Alder wood was used to make dishes, spoons and other utensils. The wood was highly prized for smoking fish and meat. It is a good firewood because it does not spark.



VINE MAPLE - sčuc̓u?ɬəc

This wood was used to carve children's toys as well as for firewood, openwork baskets, salmon tongs, and anyplace a bent piece of wood was needed.

WILLOW - s.c̓apac

The bark was scraped and made into a tea as an emetic and general tonic.

WILD CHERRY - plila?ac

The bark was boiled and made into a tea for a laxative.

CASCARA - ƛ̓ladəc

Peel the bark and use the inner bark with water as a laxative.

WILD ROSE -

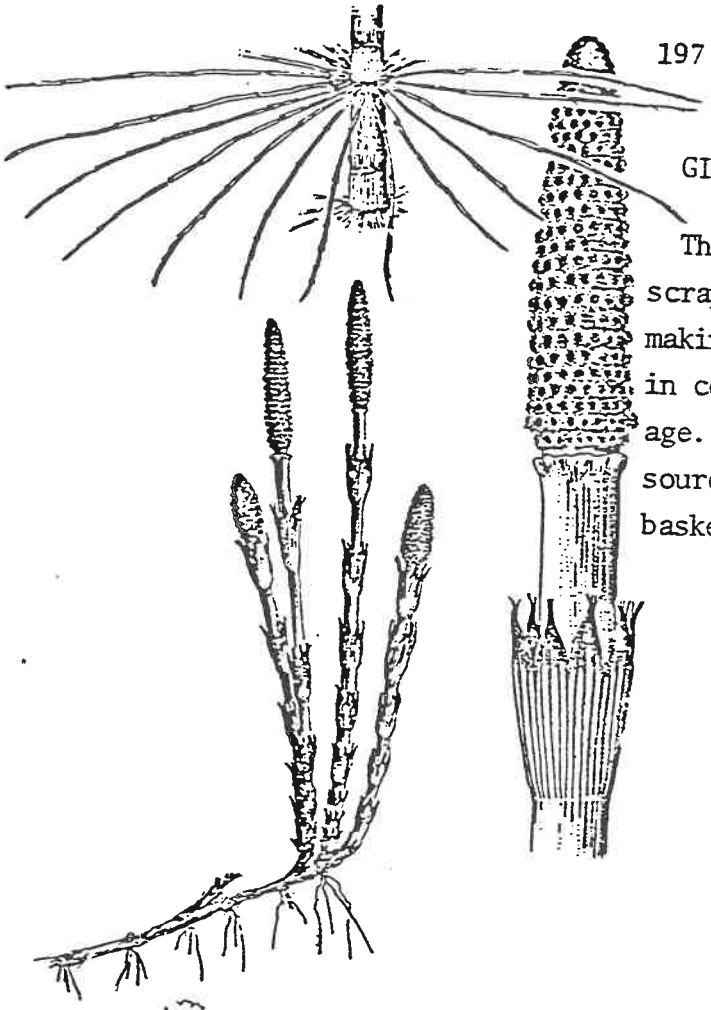
Leona Starr uses a branch from this tree as a part of a cradleboard to tie the leather thongs to. She says it dries to a hardwood.

FLOWERING DOGWOOD - kudabət

The wood was used to make gambling discs.

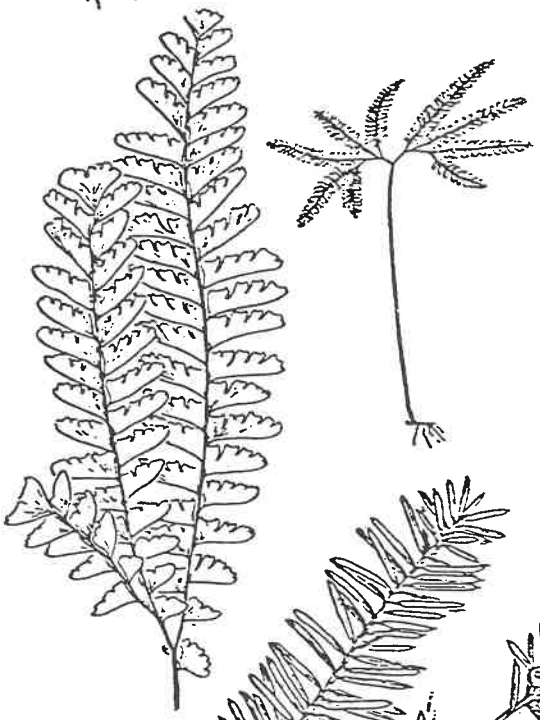
The bark is made into a tea as an emetic and general tonic.

Legend has it that clamming is best when blossoms are their whitest.



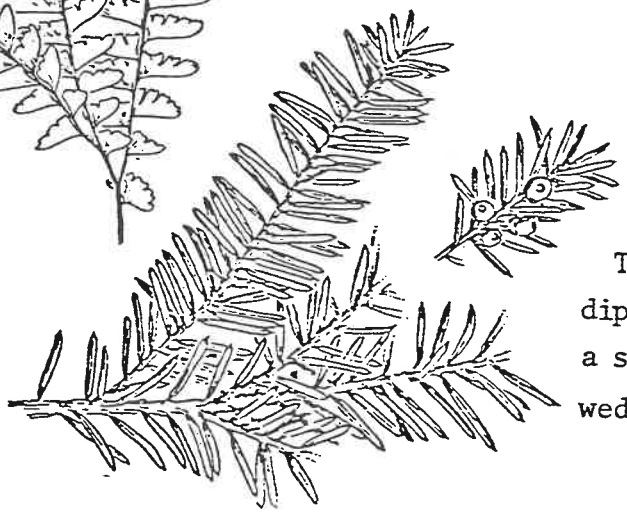
GIANT HORSETAIL - bubx̌əd

The roots of this plant were dug, scrapéd and dried for use in basket making. They are a very dark purple in color fading to a lighter shade with age. They were an important material source in the imbrecation process of basket making.



MAIDENHAIR FERN - cabcəb

The shiney dark stem and midrib was also used to add color in basket making through the imbrecation process.



YEW - c̓əx̌bidac

The wood was used for digging sticks, dip net frames, bows and arrows, as a spacer in canoe building, for splitting wedges and other small carved items.