

The Maps of the Early Shoreline Area

By David Buerge

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THE MAPS OF THE EARLY SHORELINE AREA

THE ETHNOGRAPHIC CONTEXT

In early historic times (from 1792 to 1859) the resources of the Shoreline area were used by at least four named groups that lived in or adjacent to it. On the west lived the (**silsola'bs**), the people of Salmon Bay, whose houses were located at the site of the present Hiram M. Chittenden Locks. Village List W-2, "Number of Duwamish villages on White River," produced as evidence for "The Duwamish, et. al. Tribes of Indians vs. The United States of America" held in the Court of Claims of the United States in 1926, locates two large houses measuring 10 by 20 fathoms or about 60 by 120 feet and a large house used as potlatch house at "Dugh Shill Shull". The presence of a potlatch house here indicates the (**silsola'bs**) were a noble group.

East of them lived the (**xacua'bs**), the Lake Union People, whose houses stood primarily at the southern end of the Lake. Bass locates several houses near what is now the foot of Westlake Avenue at the southern end of the lake (Bass, 1937, p. 167), and Lake John's house at the foot of Shelby Street on the west shore of Portage Bay (Bass, 1947, p. 19). An 1875 newspaper article mentioned a large house at Jensen's Grove on the lake's southeastern shore (Bagley, 1916, p. 679). A canoe portage over the Montlake divide connected them with the (**sluwila'bs**) of Union Bay, the People of the narrow channels. Village List Y-2, "Villages of the Duwamish at Lac [sic] Washington," locates five medium houses measuring 8 by 16 fathoms or approximately 50 by 100 feet at "Thu-wahl," and three more at "Tal-Eliso" (probably (**kels**), a place name on the shore of Wolf Bay). The burial ground for the Union Bay group was on Foster Island.

North along the lake shore, near the mouth of Thornton Creek, lived the (**tuobeda'bs**), the tuxubid Creek (Thornton Creek) people. Their burial ground may have been located a short distance north of the mouth of Thornton Creek. Village List Y-2, locates one medium-sized longhouse at "Dua-hoabun" and one "Sazo-chaghin". I interpret "Sazo-chaghin" as the court clerk's attempt to render sa'cucid, the name for the mouth of McAleer Creek. Additionally, the list locates three other medium sized longhouses at a site named "Tho-chu-achel," which I interpret as the attempt to reduplicate (**cetca'l**), the name given to a creek mouth in Kenmore. (Bender writes that up until 1903 there were three or four Indian houses in the swamp between McAleer Creek and Lyons Creek; I think this community was the combination of the McAleer Creek and Kenmore villages (Bender, 1983, p. 18). These may have associated with the (**tuobeda'bs**) or with the (**scapa'bs**), the willow people, also known as the Sammamish, who lived along the Sammamish River.

The (**sluwila'bs**) and the (**tuobeda'bs**) were one of seven named groups (Harrington, 1942-43, Frame 421) living at the mouths of streams draining into Lake Washington that were known collectively as (**xa'cua'bs**), the Lake people (Ballard, 1929, p. 38), a general geographic designation similar to Saltwater people, River people and Inland prairie people. The term was applied as well to the Lake Union people, and apparently, to the Salmon Bay people, too.

The (**tuobeda'bs**) and the people living at the mouths of McAleer Creek and Kenmore were the only groups actually living within the Shoreline area. A large longhouse of the dimensions given probably sheltered no more than 20 or 30 people, and a medium-sized longhouse somewhat less than that. In all, the groups living in or near the Shoreline area probably did not number more than 600 individuals. They obtained their food primarily from fish caught on the lakes and rivers, game taken in the marshes and forests and plant products collected from wetlands and burns.

The surveyors' notes contained in the Register Books for T 26 N., R. 3 E., T 26 N., R 4 E., and T 25 N., R. 4 E., identify many areas which, along with information supplied by ethnographic sources, can be identified as important resource gathering areas.

PLANT GATHERING

In T 26 N., R 3 E., important plant gathering areas were the salmonberry thicket noted by Carlton at the mouth of Boeing Creek in section 14 and the crabapple swamp at the west end of Bitter Lake, on the township boundary between sections 24 and 18. The place name (**q'ueq'e'waidet**) identified a site where kinninnic or "Indian tobacco" was gathered (Waterman, 1916, p. 145).

In T 26 N., R 4 E., the cranberry marsh named (**sloq'qed**), "bald head" between sections 31 and 32 was an important gathering sites. Another small cranberry marsh was located between sections 8 and 17, and a larger one, Ronald Bog, between sections 7 and 8. Ronald Bog remained an important cranberry gathering site until it was mined for its peat in the early years of this century.

In 1902 there was a wild cranberry bog approximately one mile east of what is Aurora Avenue now; East 175th Street follows right along the edge of it now. It was worked over as a peat bog for many years since that time. We would get a party together in the fall of the year, take a picnic lunch and head for the bog. It was a very rough trail, over logs and winding through the forest. The bog was soft, bouncy moss. The 'wild' cranberries were small but very plentiful. My brothers and myself would pick approximately ½ of a 50 pound flour sack full. There were always bear and deer around the bog as well as blue grouse and ruffed grouse. (Taylor in Worthley, 1982, pp. 90-91).

A salmonberry thicket was identified by Carlton along the drainage of Thornton Creek in section 27, and further upstream he identified a skunk cabbage swamp between sections 20 and 21. Although skunk cabbage was gathered for medicinal purposes and food, it may also have been significant here as a place where elk grazed in the spring.

Red elderberries were also gathered and while the large bushes are common on the moist floors of mixed forests, certain spots were noted for their abundance. One of these was a level flat at the mouth of Swamp creek called (**cebta'ltu**), "elderberry's house," (Waterman, 1922, p. 190, #62). Waterman describes the simple tool used to gather the berries.

This device is made by taking a short wide piece of cedar wood, and splitting it down from one end, into thin strips. Cedar-bark fiber is found [sic] tightly around the other end to keep the whole together. The sections or splints are then separated by driving wedges in, so that they spread apart like the fingers of the hand. Their points are then sharpened. In this condition the instrument, which can be manufactured in five minutes, is ready for use.

In berrying, the Indian breaks the elderberry bushes down, pulls the branches off bodily, and piles them on a mat. Then he picks up one branch at a time and "whips" it with the implement. The operation detaches the berries, but not the twigs and the leaves. In this way he strips the "bush" of its fruit, which latter [sic] falls on the mat. When the mat is covered, the berries are poured into a pack basket (Waterman, 1973, pp. 53-54).

In Waterman's description, the generic pronoun 'he' should be replaced by 'she', since Indian women primarily were the ones who gathered berries.

Other important food plants found scattered throughout the townships were salal and ferns. Fern rhizomes, an important source of carbohydrate, were cultivated on prairies, one of which may have been located near Sand Point. The "very thick" growth of salal between sections 5 and 8 in T 26 N., R 4 E., suggest this was a site where the berries of that plant were gathered specifically.

Berries were most plentiful in open areas, and native people traditionally kept areas in the dense coniferous forest of the region open by burning. The practice of burning fields and the forest itself was

described by native informants. The first example comes from the testimony of Charles **Sneatlum**, a member of the lower Skagit Tribe, born in the 1840s, who lived near Coupeville, on Whidbey Island.

Question. You told about ferns and number of other bulbs and roots that were grown in these cleared places. They grew wild, didn't they?

Answer. No; because they used to worked at it all the time just like the way the white people do now.

Question. What did they do?

Answer. They go along and they cultivate it with a stick, and they take out the big ones and they plant these little ones back.

Question. In this patch of 30 acres where the nettles grew that you used for cord and twine, what did they do in that to cultivate it?

Answer. They go along and they harvest this here [indicating claimant's Exhibit N], and they take that outside and clear their fields as they go, and gather all what they don't use out of this, take them out of the field and burn them out of the field.

(Duwamish et. al., vs. U.S.A., 1927, Testimony of Charley **Sneatlum**, p. 319)

Corroborating testimony was given by Sam Currier, another Lower Skagit informant, a resident of the Swinomish Reservation born in the 1850s. The emphasis upon the preservation of big timber appears to have been part of the effort on the Claimants' attorney, Arthur E. Griffen, to show that the tribes were not given due compensation by the government for their lands acquired as a result of the Treaty of Point Elliott. It is interesting to note the specific answers of the witnesses who did not want their traditional practices misinterpreted, even by their own lawyers.

Question. Did they clear the land and keep it clear from trees and bushes for raising roots?

Answer. Yes, they worked at it and burn them and they watch these young ones grow and they pull it out.

(Duwamish et. al., vs. U.S.A., 1927, Testimony of Sam Currier, p. 332)

In the Duwamish River watershed, the practice of burning to create open land in the forest was described in testimony given by Joe Bill, a member of the Muckleshoot Indian Tribe and resident of the Muckleshoot Reservation born around 1856.

Question. Ask him if the Indians used to hunt all over, in all parts of the country?

Answer. They hunted all over their country.

Question. Did they use all parts of it?

Answer. Yes.

Question. Ask him if they did anything to keep the underbrush from growing in their country.

Answer. It was customary among our people that about every three years they set fire to the underbrush.

Question. Ask him what effect that had in regard to producing the timber that was in their country.

Answer. They set these fires in order that they might have a clear view of game when they were out hunting and they had a ruling to set these fires every three years in order that they might not destroy the big timber.

Question. Ask him whether the setting of the fires as they did, did preserve the big timber.

Answer. Yes; it did keep the big timber from burning.

Question. What season of the year did the Indians set these fires to preserve the timber?

Answer. In the fall of the year.

(Duwamish et. al., vs. U.S.A., 1927, Testimony of Joe Bill, p. 160)

A description of the practice of burning as it was carried out in the Seattle area comes from the testimony of Alex Kittle, a member of the Duwamish tribe born in the 1860s.

Question. When you were a boy did the Indians use to burn the underbrush in the timber so as to preserve the timber?

Answer. What I understood from the older people, that they used to burn the underbrush and have some good hunting grounds.

(Duwamish et. al., vs. U.S.A., 1927, Testimony of Alex Kittle, p. 691)

Alex Kittle's testimony was corroborated by that of Major Hamilton, a member of the Duwamish Tribe, born in the 1860s.

Question. Did the people make use of all parts of your country, including the rocky places up in the mountains?

Answer. Yes.

Question. Did they burn the underbrush to promote a good growth of timber?

Answer. Yes, they used to set fire.

(Duwamish et. al., vs. U.S.A., 1927, Testimony of Major Hamilton, p. 696)

In Carlton's Register Book notes, there is mention of several areas in the townships that showed evidence of burning. Along the southern boundaries of sections 35 and 36, at the southern boundary of T 26 N., R 3 E., he passed through more than a mile of burned timber. The forest between sections 5 and 6 in T 26 N., R 4 E., was "damaged with fire", and his descriptions of the forests along the northern and western borders of section 6 as "Principally dead and fallen" suggest much of that section had been burned. The forest between sections 3 and 10 in T 25 N., R 4 E., was also burned.

Surrounding these burns were areas where he noted trees were "mostly fallen," "generally small" and principally small and dead." I interpret these to have been older burns. In the western part of Shoreline, several of these older burns were located on the level highlands above and back from the beach. If these were accidental burns produced by run-away beach fires, one would expect charred swaths extending from the beach to the highlands, but Carlton does not mention this. Instead I think the patter of repeated burns on the highlands here and also in T 25 N., R 3 E., suggests the people were setting them to promote growth of berries and improve hunting grounds. I interpret the clear area in section 24, T 26 N., R 3 E., identified as "cut areas not restocking" on the U.S.G.S. Land Classification Sheet, Washington Seattle Quadrangle (1900), as a logged-off area burned sometime before 1897 (the year the map was surveyed), and possibly the last expression of the traditional practice of burning in the Shoreline area.

As elsewhere in the Puget Sound region, the burned-over lands in the Shoreline area attracted some of its first Euroamerican settlers. In her account, Winona Johnson Walston tells how her father's friend, the Norwegian immigrant Mikel Lund chose his property in Richmond Beach.

On the shores of Puget Sound, Mikel Lund stopped at a shallow beach into which a stream flowed. He followed the stream up the hill until he came to a large open area, a fine spot for establishing a homestead. He cut a trail to the beach for carrying supplies and herding livestock. His first log cabin was build on a site across the street from what today is the bowling alley at Richmond Beach.

(Worthley, 1975, p. 73)

FISHING

Early descriptions of the Shoreline area emphasize its environmental richness, from the abundance of shellfish on its beaches, the runs of fish in its streams and lakes and the game animals in its marshes and forests. The settlers' memories of Native Americans in the area are primarily of them camping on the beach and gathering food.

Someone has asked if there were Indians were here at that time [early 1900s]. I think I am safe in saying there were not other than an occasional family or two camping on the beach for a few days as they passed up and down the Sound, hunting, clam digging or on their way to or from a big potlatch with each other (Robert F. St. John in Worthley, 1975, p. 84).

Taylor recalled seeing a great number of Indian canoes, including large sailing canoes from Alaska and British Columbia, camped near his family's home at Richmond Beach on their way to and from the hop fields.

Sometime as night approached, they would land near where we lived. They would start a big beach fire and cook a salmon they had caught while they were sailing along. Afterward they would pile grass mats on the beach above high water to make their beds and prepare for a night's stay (Taylor in Worthley, 1982, p. 81).

The area's rich shellfish and fish resources were recalled by Charles Taylor.

Salmon fishing off of Richmond Beach was good. We smoked and canned our fish. The beaches were full of clams, and crab were plentiful, too. Many sole, flounder and Rock Cod were caught (Taylor in Worthley, 1982, pp. 116-117; see also Hitchcock, p. 32).

The number of salmon schooling near the shore was large enough for pioneers to erect two large fish traps, one at the Billie Potts farm and another four to five miles south of Richmond Beach (Taylor in Worthley, 1982, pp. 89-90). Taylor also had fond memories of fishing at nearby Hidden Lake.

Hidden Lake was alive with trout and the creek that ran from the lake to the Sound was a fisherman's dream come true (Taylor in Worthley, p. 116; see also Bibby in Worthley, 1982, p. 13).

Fish were also plentiful in Lake Washington and the streams running into it.

In the early fall of each year there was a large spawning of both trout and salmon up the small creeks from Lake Washington. The trout, known to us as "red fish," were about twelve inches long and would fill the creek solid from shore to shore. It was easy to catch a hundred or more within an hour by "gaffing." Although the large salmon were not quite so plentiful, it was normal to gaff five or six in a hour's fishing. The fish were old and not good eating, but they made excellent fish fertilizer for gardens and fruit trees (Myhre in Worthley, 1982, p. 55).

We know of several native fishing sites along the northwestern Lake shore. Although little is known about the methods Lake people caught fish, they probably involved the use of lines, nets and fishing spears on open waters and weirs on streams. On the north shore of Lake Union people struck the water with sticks, driving fish into shallow stream mouths where logs directed them into tubular basket weird woven out of withes (Waterman, 1922, p. 189, #33; 1973 pp. 14-15). Devices like this were used in Green Lake and may have been used at Wolf Bay on Lake Washington.

Gillnets may have been used to catch fish schooling near the shore. The name Waterman recorded for a place on the shore between Pontiac Cove and the mouth of Thornton Creek, (**xwexei'yaq ais**), which was said to mean "pulling on a line which is made fast to something," contains within it the world (**huyeq**), 'gillnet' (Waterman, 1922, p. 190, #50; Bates, 1994, p. 333).

More elaborate weirs were used to catch fish moving upstream to spawn. The remains of a large fish trap used to catch fish going up Ravenna Creek to spawn in Green Lake was exposed when the lake was lowered during the construction of the Lake Washington Ship Canal (Waterman, 1922, p. 189, #38). Another fish trap was identified by Carlton when he surveyed the line between sections 27 and 34 on T 26 N., R 4 E. Doubtless other weirs were constructed on other streams, especially on McAleer and Lyons Creeks, to take advantage of the large runs there.

My chum, Leonard Patterson, and I would take off through the woods and head for McAleer Creek for a day of trout fishing. McAleer Creek was the outlet for McAleer Lake, now called Lake Ballinger. We would find the creek in the woods, east [sic] of the lake and fish the creek to Lake Washington. It emptied into Lake Washington, near what is Lake Forest Park now. We didn't have fancy fish baskets then so we carried a water pail with us and we usually had approximately 100 trout each when we reached Lake Washington.

... When Leonard and I were at the Lake Washington end of McAleer Creek, there was another smaller creek that ran through what is now known as Lake Forest Park. It was called Lyons Creek and we always picked up a few nice trout in this stream (Taylor in Worthley, pp. 87-88).

BIRD HUNTING

The most common method used to catch the large waterfowl that frequented lake marshes in huge numbers was by means of multi-pronged duck hunting spears. The function of the long notched prongs was not to skewer the bird, but to lodge in its feathers and hold it.

A platform of earth was arranged in the stern of a boat on which a fire was kindled. A mat was stretched across in front of it, and in the darkness in front of this mat the hunter stood with his spear. His helper then paddled out into the open water. Ducks were attracted and confused by this light, toward which they swam. The hunter would then jab at them with the spear or throw it at them. I am told that the duck spear had to be thrown with an underhand motion, along the surface of the water. If the hunter gave it a toss, so that the spear became up-ended, he never got the quarry. If it were done that way, "the duck," the Indians would say, "would dive every time." ... In foggy weather two men could sometimes load a canoe with ducks in a couple of hours (Waterman, 1973, p. 62).

Smaller birds were caught with snares, with arrows tipped with wood or bone plugs that stunned the birds, and later, with rifles and shotguns. The environmental change that occurred after the land was logged, when berry plants became prolific and the numbers of birds feeding on them increased, also occurred as a result of Indian burning. The plenitude described by Charles Taylor doubtless was known earlier.

Blue Grouse, Ruffed Grouse, native pheasants and quail were plentiful. I had a small single shot .22 caliber rifle. Many times I would bring home 10 blue grouse. Where King's Garden is now, Leonard Patterson and I would scare up approximately 100 Blue Grouse at one time. A flock that big would consist of perhaps fifteen smaller flocks that contained five to eight birds in each group. They were feeding on salal berries and when we came into the feeding grounds, they would scatter up into the second growth fir trees. We would sneak up on them and shoot a grouse out of each tree. There might be ten in one tree and they seldom flew away on the first or second shot. We would shoot ones on lower branches as they did not scare higher ones away when they fell (Taylor in Worthley, 1982, p. 116).

GAME

Game mammals were caught for meat, sinew and their fur. In wetlands, beaver, muskrat, marten, mink, and otter were hunted and trapped. In the uplands, deer and elk were primary sources of protein.

Animals were caught with snares, traps, bows and arrows and later, guns and rifles. Marian Smith describes how fire was sometimes used to catch deer.

In night hunting and fishing, fire was often used to attract and blind game. Large fires were sometimes built in clearings and when deer were seen moving on the outer edge of the circle of light they could be easily killed. (Smith, 1940, p. 253)

Early residents recall how rich wild game was in the Shoreline area, doubtless enhanced as the bird population was, by the effect of logging. Certain animals, such as the elk, were seasonal, coming into the lowlands in mid-winter to feed on skunk cabbage in the swamps.

One could not go far in the woods without finding elk horns, but no elk. They seemed to have increased to the starvation point and moved to a new territory... The deer did better (Hunter in Worthley, 1975, p. 44).

The woods around Hidden Lake were well populated with deer. On one occasion, I was going bird hunting and I came across two hunters cleaning four deer they had just shot. Their horse and buggy was nearby on a logging road (Taylor in Worthley, 1982, p. 116).

On page 89 Charles Taylor describes this same event, dating it to 1904 and adding that the hunters' wagon was about $\frac{3}{4}$ miles away.

Deer and Bear were plentiful all the way across to Lake Washington. Anyone picking wild blackberries nearly always saw a black bear along the way (Taylor in Worthley, 1982, p. 116).

Bears appear to have been fairly common, attracted to the berry crop in open areas, and the large animal population supported a considerable number of predators.

They [Ray and Hanna Smith] lived pretty much in the wilds—so they saw many wild animals. Hanna related many stories of her encounters with Black Bears. Once she attempted to lock a Mama Bear in her chicken yard—but the bear promptly made a lunge right through the fence. She lumbered off into the woods, having devoured several chickens. Another time a Mama Bear and two cubs paraded on a log near the chicken yard. There were cougars and wild cats in the surrounding woods, so one was always on the alert (Smith in Worthley, 1982, p. 68).

Ernest Firth and Morton Clark had many encounters with cougars along the roads at this time of 1902 to 1908. The woods were full of deer, grouse and native pheasant. The creeks and lakes were full of trout and it was a paradise that today the young fellows don't have (Taylor in Worthley, 1982, p. 83).

TRAIL SYSTEM

Outside of a few cultivated meadows and burned-over areas, the native people depended upon the natural largess of the environment for their resources. Consequently, the human population needed to travel widely over the land to secure food supplies, and this imperative formed the basis of their semi-migratory way of life. Related families spent the rainiest, coldest months of the years, generally from November to early March, in longhouses at village sites. As the weather grew more clement, however, the house group began to break up and families followed their customary itineraries that took them to various resource areas to gather foods as they appeared or ripened. They returned to the village from time to time to prepare and store what they had gathered and for various social and ceremonial events.

Travel between villages and resource areas in the Shoreline area was carried out primarily by canoe. Mats for temporary shelters and all the gear necessary to collect and prepare resources and live in security and comfort were freighted from the villages to various camp sites along the shore of the Sound, Lake Union and Lake Washington. Probably most places named along those shores were campsites.

From these trails led inland to other gathering sites. At this point it will be useful to review what other ethnographers have said about trails, beginning with George Gibbs who wrote the first detailed ethnography of the Puget Sound peoples in the 1850s.

In former times, before the diminution of the tribes and the diversion of trade to the posts, there were numerous trails across the Cascades by which the Indians of the interior obtained access to the western district. Of late, many of these have fallen into disuse, becoming obstructed with timber and underbrush which they have not industry enough to clear out. In fact all their trails through the forest, though originally well selected, have become excessively tortuous, and Indian riding around the fallen trunks of tree after tree sooner than clear out a road which he seldom uses (Gibbs, 1877, p. 169).

The next comes from Marian Weseley Smith, who researched her ethnography of the Puyallup-Nisqually in the mid-1930s.

In such a country the rivers not only furnished the all-important salmon but also formed the only continuous lanes of communication. Canoe travel naturally followed water courses but, more than that, trails likewise could best be maintained on beaches and along the shores of streams where annual floods swept a clear path. It was almost physically impossible to cut directly across country. Only at the headwaters of the large rivers in the foothills of the Cascades could cross-country communication be carried on with any degree of comfort (Smith, 1940, p. 2).

As a matter of convenience expeditions kept fairly close to the village site. Since travel was along the waterways, they had a choice of two directions, up-stream along the smaller water course, and down-stream or along the shore of the Sound. Even locations not bordering upon a beach were reached by following the water to a point opposite them and then cutting inland to save as much cross country travel as possible (Smith, 1940, p. 5).

Finally, we have June McCormick Collins, whose ethnography of the Upper Skagit Indians was carried out in the early 1940s.

Horses, which did not do well on the native vegetation, never became as important as a means of transportation as they were on the Plateau and on the Plains. The heavy underbrush and the difficulty of keeping trails open also discouraged their use. Still each family owned one or two. After trails along the river had been cut and maintained, the Upper Skagit did some inland travel on horseback. As these trails became widened into roads, some families owned and used buggies. The canoe, however, remained the main means of getting about until the automobile replaced it in the 1920s (Collins, 1974, pp. 39-40).

Although separated by time and focus, these observations make important points about trails. First, their use and maintenance declined as the population decreased. Second, the trails not used by equestrians tended to be short and direct, and third, some trails evolved into roads. The same things appear to be true in the Shoreline area.

Only one Indian trail is identified as such in the township Platt maps produced by Carlton that cover the Shoreline area. It should be noted that further south, along the portages between Salmon Bay and Lake Union, Lake Union and Elliott Bay and Lake Union and Union Bay, more Indian trails are identified and plotted. This suggests to me that the trail between the Lake shore and Thornton Creek in T 25 N., R 4 E., was a portage trail that enabled the people to transport canoes and freight from the lake to the weir site, probably bypassing a tangle of drift and marsh vegetation at the creek mouth. During periods of high water, from mid-to late winter, hunters may have used portaged canoes to reach camps higher up on the creek. I believe, however, that there were other trails in the area, despite the fact that Carlton did not identify any. They were probably indistinguishable from trails produced by larger game animals like elk.

The elk extends throughout the mountainous timbered districts of Washington and Oregon Territories and all the way down the Coast to San Francisco. Elk are found in the Rocky, Cascade, and Coast Ranges of mountains.

They run in large droves following well-beaten trails, and at that season are an easy prey to the hunter (Suckely, 1860, pp. 133-134).

Early residents in the Shoreline Area used the trails they found when they arrived.

Mrs. Nance Bibby came to the Ronald district in 1908. ... Deer and bear were commonly seen on the trails near her home when she first moved here. Nance would often hike over to McAleer Creek and come home with a beautiful catch of trout. She would do the same at Hidden Lake, down the valley near Innis Arden. She would hike through the woods to the cranberry marsh, now Ronald Bog, and pick the wild cranberries (Bibby in Worthley, 1982, p. 13).

The Patterson family was a wonderful family. Their word was always good. Leonard was my best friend as well as my hunting and fishing partner. Game was plentiful and we knew every trail through the dense woods of those days (Taylor in Worthley, 1975, p. 76).

What follows is my explanation of why I have plotted the trails where I have. The lines I have mapped are highly conjectural and should be thought of more as routes than clearly-defined paths through the woods. Nevertheless, I believe there is enough data to substantiate the network I have devised. I believe there were three main trail routes through the Shoreline area. The first connected Green Lake and Lake Union with the cranberry marsh between sections 31 and 32 in T 25 N., R 4 E., and with the fish weir at Thornton Creek. The second connected Spring Beach with Bitter Lake and Haller Lake with spurs going to the previously mentioned cranberry marsh and to Lake Washington. The third left the Sound near Richmond Beach, reached Ronald Bog and continued on to McAleer Creek, possibly branching to Lake Ballinger. There were other trails, for example to Hidden Lake, but I would not speculate where these were located.

The first trail connects Green Lake with the cranberry marsh named (**sloq'qed**), "bald head". I believe that inland sites important enough to have been named were those of fairly substantial camps where people stayed for several days. The route between Green Lake and the bog covers the least distance and follows the stream that left Licton Springs, another named site and a place where red pigment was collected from a spring for use as a paint base. Mrs. Betty Oberg related that Louisa Boren Denny, the wife of David Denny, said that Indians came to the spring to get the pigment for war paint (Oberg in Worthley, 1982, p. 60). A more likely use was as a paint base for ceremonial paraphernalia.

In Muck-muckum (Belltown) there was a permanent camp, where the medicine man lived. Here they had many totem poles, carved from cedar and painted black and red. The red paint was made from a red clay obtained at Licton Springs, north of Green Lake (Denny-Lindsley, 1906).

That shamans from several locales traveled to the springs to obtain the red pigment is suggested in information given by the late Ed Davis, a Snoqualmie elder who was born on the Cedar River around 1900, and one of the last people to witness the spirit-canoe ceremony, a soul-recovery ceremony carried out during the winter solstice by several Puget Sound groups. For use in this spectacular ceremony, large, white-painted boards were painted with red and black pigments in a long process.

As a small boy living in the longhouse, Ed was available to help out and run errands during this process. He recalled that the white base paint was occasionally stirred to thicken it up. As a boy, he helped stir it during the long day of preparation that began early in the morning and finished late in the afternoon.

After the coating of white, designs were applied in black and red. Black was made from charcoal mixed with a fixative. The red, he remembers, was made from a yellow crust, probably a mineral precipitate, found at the edges of some springs, gathered, baked, ground up, and mixed with a binder. (Miller, 1988, p. 49)

The totem poles Denny-Lindsley mentions were probably these boards or the smaller spirit figures also used in the ceremonial.

The main camp here may have been located northwest of the cranberry bog on a rise that is now the site of North Seattle Park, also known as Frisbee park. In the late 1970s, a stone projectile point was discovered near here. Possibly a trail connected this camp with the fish weir site, a route that would have skirted the swamp further east on Thornton Creek and entered the burn beyond that. Another trail may have led up from Union Bay to the weir site and the portage trail. This trail would have passed near the Wedgewood Boulder, a large glacial erratic some believe marked a rendezvous point.

Long ago, the red man used it as a landmark. In its position, standing on a flattened knoll on a gentle rise halfway between Green Lake and Lake Washington, this silent sentinel of many tons served as a rendezvous and camping grounds for generations of Indians. Many forest trails converged on it from all directions. To the Indian, it was known as "Big Rock" (Krenmayr, 1961, p. 36).

Although neither Waterman nor Harrington list it as a place name, the discovery of a stone projectile point a short distance away from it in the 1950s supports Krenmayr's description. The route of these trails may also be preserved in the early road system in this area plotted on the first topographic quadrangle map of Seattle, printed in 1894 and reprinted in 1903.

The existence of the western half of the second trail system is based upon the following excerpt from an article written in 1896 by Abbey Denny-Lindsley, one of pioneer David Denny's and Louisa Boren Denny's children.

The northern Indians would torment the Sound Indians until they would hide in the dense woods back of Haller and Oak [Bitter] lakes, where the land buyer of today will be surprised to find clam shells left by them. The Indians in hiding would creep out of the dusk of evening or faint light of early morning to dig clams and gather mussels (Denny-Lindsley, 1906).

The route from Spring Beach ascends the easiest grade and connects with the burns adjacent to the crabapple swamp next to Bitter Lake. The fact that both Bitter Lake and Haller Lake were named, suggests to me they were significant campsites. Because of that, a route connecting Haller Lake to North Seattle Park seems probable. The trail leaving Haller Lake and heading east to the Lake Washington shore would have skirted the skunk cabbage swamp on Thornton Creek, a possible elk hunting area. I believe it ended at the site named (**bs ce'xa**), "rock," a huge boulder that, like the Wedgewood boulder, marked a camp site and the beginning of a trail.

The third trail system is the most conjectural. No point on it is named, which suggests to me that campsites along it were day camps only. The trail from the Puget Sound shore to Ronald Bog is the one described by Charles Taylor, and its general route would appear to have evolved into the road system plotted on the 1896 map. Mrs. Robert F. St. John described how the process worked in Richmond Beach.

Trails were widened out into wood roads and the street from Andrews to the Sound was laid and made usable. This is the first street of Richmond Beach and at present is the only street having no name. Some of the old trails developed into roads running over the townsite in all directions resulting in bits of bad ground showing up even yet in our yards and gardens, pieces of old puncheon and patches of roadbed like hardpan (St. John in Worthley, 1975, p. 84).

From Ronald Bog a trail may have led to the thick salal Carlton noted between sections 5 and 2 and thence, to the limit of canoe travel on McAleer Creek, if not all the way to the mouth. The name of Lake Ballinger, (**sa'cu**), referred to a prominent bank on the shore, probably the site of a major camp. A trail to the lake probably branched at some point off the route from Ronald Bog to McAleer Creek.

There may have been more trails than these, especially in the burned areas where game was more plentiful. But it is also likely that the people were quite adept at passing through forested land without benefit of trails by simply keeping track of land marks and general direction. This is how my friends and I

managed to hike over large tracts of country covered by dense second growth timber during our childhood in south Snohomish County. We followed routes rather than paths, and constant rambling made us familiar with the lay of the land. We rarely got lost even though we traveled miles from home. I would expect native people to have been at least as familiar with the land as we were, in which case a vision of native trails as well-worn paths may be more a reflection of our unfamiliarity with the wild and our dependence upon well-maintained forest service paths in unfamiliar territory than any real understanding of native practice.

FOLKLORE RELATING TO THE LAND

Several sites in the Shoreline area were associated with supernatural beings or with myths. Two on the shore of Lake Washington were identified by place names. Waterman gives the following for (**xwiyawa'dialtu**), "thunderbird's house":

A place on the lake shore, at the edge of a bluff. The mythical fowls which are supposed to cause thunderstorms by clapping their wings and winking their eyes were believed to nest here in the trees (Waterman, 1922, p. 190, #54).

I believe this was actually the nesting site for condors (*Gymnogyps californianus*), which are known in Puget Salish folklore and ethnozoology (Turner, 1976, p. 52). This is near a site I suggest may have been the burial ground used by the (**tuobeda'bs**) (Kuo, 1979. P. A-14).

Another place name with supernatural significance was (**sxepqs**), "deep promontory". Waterman provides the following explanation.

A very "dangerous" place at the edge of the lake. People swimming here were formerly "taken away" by something supernatural (Waterman, 1922, p. 190, #55).

One place with mythic significance was a channel that once connected Mud Lake at Sand Point with Lake Washington. Waterman records the name for this place as (**c'aa'lqo**), "channel," "watercourse," and writes: "There is a myth which refers to this channel, but I could not obtain the details (Waterman, 1922, p. 190, #45)." Elsewhere in the region the same name refers to supernaturally hidden channels, and a story told by Chodups [flea] John, also known as Lake John, a resident of Portage Bay, recorded by Sophie Frye Bass, may preserve the myth describing this feature.

The story ran like this: One of Chodups John's tillicums wounded an elk on the shore of Lake Washington. The elk leaped into the water and the Indian rushed after it and tried to climb up on its back—a common thing for Indians to do when hunting big game. During a struggle the dying elk in some way caught his antlers in the Indian's shirt, thus holding him under water. A month or so later the bodies of the Indian and the elk were found together on the shore of the Sound where Richmond Beach is now (Bass, 1947, p. 48).

This is similar to other myths in the Puget Sound region that describe underground supernatural passageways connecting lakes with the waters of the Sound.

Before leaving the subject I should mention the native attitude toward the forest itself, which folklore habited with all manner of strange and fearful supernatural beings. I end with a brief excerpt from one of my own writings on the subject.

Puget Sound mythology populated the landscape with a host of strange beings: giants with trees growing on their heads, swamp things, heart-devouring shadow monsters and soul thieves who haunted trees bearded with moss. Legendary accounts of the forest dwelling steth and tsiatkwu, the so-called 'Stick Indians' that inspired both fear and fascination, may preserve hazy memories of peoples migrating into the region, driven by changes occurring elsewhere on the continent (Buerge, 1996, p. 25).

The forest was a dark and awesome realm the source of both plenitude and danger and, therefore, worthy of respect. Like no other change, the forest's disappearance at the hand of the Americans was regarded by native peoples as part of the cataclysm marking an end of their world and the birth of a new and less hospitable dispensation.

David M. Buerge

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LUSHOOTSEED NAMES USED IN THIS REPORT

A. Names of groups.

1. (**silso'la'bs**) (shil-shol-AHBSH). The Salmon Bay people. Their name derives from the verb (**silsol**), "threading a bead," which was descriptive of the way the narrow opening of salmon bay penetrated the land, as well as, perhaps, the way canoes appeared passing up and down the channel.

2. (**xacua'bs**) (ha-ah-chu-AHBSH). The Lake Union people. The name for Lake Union, (**xa'cu**) (ha-AH-chu) meaning "littlest lake," referred to the perception of Lake Sammamish, Lake Washington and Lake Union as parts of a concatenated watercourse extending from the Issaquah Alps to Shilshole Bay. Lake Sammamish was (**xatxacu**) (haht-hah-chu), "lesser lake"; Lake Washington was (**xa'cu**) (HAH-chu), *The lake*, and Lake Union was (**xa'cu**), the "littlest lake".

3. (**sluwila'bs**) (s-hlu-weel-AHBSH). The Union Bay people. The name comes from the word (**sluwi'l**), "narrow hole," that canoe makers bored into the dugout hulls of their craft during the final hollowing-out process to measure the thickness of the hull. In this case, the word was used to describe the network of narrow passages criss-crossing the marsh at the margin of Union Bay that native women followed when they gathered reeds and edible plants.
4. (**tuobeda'bs**) (tuo-beh-DAHBSH). The Thornton Creek people. Their name derives from (**tuxu'bid**) (tu-HU-beed), the name for Thornton Creek.
5. (**scapa'bs**) (s-tsah-PAHBSH). The Sammamish River people. Their name actually means 'willow people,' referring to the willow trees that grew along the natural levees of the intensely convoluted Sammamish River channel.
6. tabtabiux (tahb-tah-biukh). The Juanita Bay people. Their name may mean 'loamy banks people,' referring to the banks of Juanita Creek, or 'Grizzly Bear people'.
7. (**sacakala'bs**) (sah-tsah-kah-LAHBSH). The Mercer Slough people. The name means "head of the slough people," referring, I believe, to the location of their village at the head of Mercer Slough.
8. (**xacua'bs**) (hah-chu-AHBSH). The Lake people. The people living alongside Lake Washington and more generally, those who had adapted their societies and technologies to a lake environment.

B. Names of Places used on the Maps.

The following list starts at the northern shore of T 26 N., R 3 E, and continues in a counter-clockwise motion, with various detours to identify features inland, and ends up at the northwest shore of Lake Washington on T 26 N., R 4 E. Most of the translations are taken from Waterman. The transliterations of the sounds are mine.

1. (**itlél stubus**) (eet-hlul stoo-bus). Point Wells "This side of stubus [stubus was Point Edwards]".
2. (**qeuge'waidet**) (q-eu-q-EW-ai-det). "Kinnikinnic".
3. (**qaa'deb**) (QAAH-dub). Mouth of Boeing Creek.
4. (**xe'axwedzils**) (HWEH-uh-hwed-zils). Sheer cliffs near Spring Beach. "Something sharp at the top."
5. (**qwa'teb**) (QWAH-tub). Mouth of Piper Creek.
6. (**qe'lebed**) (QEH-hluh-bud). Meadow Point, "canoe[?]"
7. (**duxe'c**) (du-TLHECH). Green Lake.
8. (**xa'cu**) (h-AH-chu). Lake Union, "littlest lake".
9. sq itsqs (sqwits-qs). East shore of Portage Bay, "little promontory".
10. (**sluwi'l**) (s-hlu-WEELH). Union Bay marsh, "narrow passages".
11. (**slo'qqed**) (SLOQ-qed). Denny Marsh, "bald head".
12. (**liqtid**) (LEEK-teed). Licton Springs, "red, colored".
13. (**sisal'teb**) (see-SAHLH-tub). Haller Lake.

14. (**ca'lkwadi**) (CHAHL-kwah-dee). Bitter Lake.
15. **a'did** (AH-deed). Inlet on eastern shore of Union Bay, "Dear me!"
16. (**cebu'ltu**) (chub-UL-tu). Webster Point, "drying house".
17. (**xa'cu**) (HAH-chu). Lake Washington "*The lake*".
18. **tuca'x ub** (tu-TSAH-hwub). Shoreline north of Webster Point, "beating".
19. (**xels**) (tlels). Wolf Bay, "shiners" [peamouth?]
20. (**bebqwa'beks**) (bub-QWAH-buks). A timberless area south of Sand Point, "prairies".
21. (**caa'lqo**) (ch-AAHLH-qo). A short channel connecting Mud Lake with Lake Washington, "channel" [possibly 'subterranean channel'].
22. (**wisa'lpebs**) (wis-AHL-pubsh). Mud Lake.
23. (**sqwseb**) (sqws-ub). Sand Point.
24. (**tuda'xede**) (t-oo-DAH-hud-eh). North shore of Sand Point, "a plant with small inedible white berries".
25. (**sla'gwelagec**) (SLAH-gwul-ah-gwuts). Pontiac Bay, "where cedar bark can be found".
26. (**xwexwi'yaqwais**) (hwuh-HWEE-yah-qwais). The shore north of Pontiac Bay, "pulling on a line which is made fast to something".
27. **tuxu'bid** (tu-HU-beed). Thornton Creek.
28. **cixicixa'ltu** (tsikh-tsikh-AHL-tu). Little promontory north of Thornton Creek mouth, "eagles' [ospreys?]' house [nest]".
29. (**xwiyagwa'dia'ltu**) (hwee-yah-QWAH-dee-AHL-tu). Place on the shore north of the proceeding, "Thunderbird's house [possibly an old condor nesting area]".
30. (**sxepqs**) (stlh-up-qs). Promontory at Lake City, near the foot of N.E. 125th, "deep promontory".
31. (**bsce'ka**) (bs-CHEH-tlah). Large boulder on the lake shore located at 15008 Beach Drive N.E., "where there is a boulder".
32. (**sa'cucid**) (s-AH-tsu-tsid). Mouth of McAleer Creek, "mouth of the (**sa'cu**) creek".
33. (**sa'cu**) (s-AH-tsu). Lake Ballinger, "face".

LEGEND

Abbreviations used on these maps

A, alder: probably Red Alder (*Alnus rubra*)

As, ash: probably Oregon Ash (*Fraxinus latifolia*)

BG, Balm of Gilead: possibly Grand Fir (*Abies grandis*)

C, cedar: probably Western Redcedar (*Thuja plicata*)

Ca, crab apple: probably Oregon Crab Apple (*Malus fusca*)

Ch, cherry: probably Common Chokecherry (*Prunus virginiana*) or Bitter Cherry (*Prunus emarginata*)

Ct, cottonwood: probably Black Cottonwood (*Populus trichocarpa*)

F, fir: probably Douglas-Fir (*Pseudotsuga menziesii*)

Frn., fern: probably swordfern (*Polystichum munitum*)

H, hemlock: probably Western Hemlock (*Tsuga heterophylla*)

M, Maple: probably Bigleaf Maple (*Acer macrophyllum*)

P, see White P., below

Sal.: Salal (*Gaultheria shallon*)

Sp, spruce: probably Sitka Spruce (*Picea sitchensis*)

VM: Vine Maple (*Acer circinatum*)

W, Willow: probably Pacific Willow (*Salix lasiandra*) or Scouler Willow (*Salix scoulerliandra*)

White P., white pine: probably Western White Pine (*Pinus monticola*)

Y, yew: probably Pacific (Western) Yew (*Taxus brevifolia*)

+: the cross above an abbreviation indicates the tree is dead.

COLORS

LAKE 

SWAMP AND MARSH 

WETLAND 

SWALE 

RECENT BURN 

OLDER BURN 

POSSIBLE TRAIL ROUTE 

BOUNDARY OF SHORELINE AREA 



