

THE SEMIAHMOO

A report for Dr. Taylor

and

Chief Bernard Charles

1978

By Aheri Decker

Tentatively, my research pertaining to the Semiahmoo Band, has been limited by the lack of information in the American sources and a good deal of contradiction relating to this subject. This paper is an attempt to reconstruct the historical and ethnographic material on the Semiahmoo from these sources.

Lelah J. Edson in the book, "Fourthe Corner," states, "While Puget Sound Indians in general, belonged to the Salishan, or Flathead family, they were divided into many tribes. The most important were the Semiahmoo near the British Boundary line... (p. 7). The author continues with, "The Semmianmas or Semiahmas, a tribe of that name which lived in the North Western part of what became Whatcom County. They too were a powerful tribe at one time, but had suffered at the hands of the same Northern Indians. They had a large prairie country back from the Coast for safety's sake; but they would rather live on the Bay, and would go there to get shell-fish and vegetables. They inter-married with the North band of Lummis, Cowegans and Quantlums and moved backward and forward with those tribes for protection." (p. 8). " This group straddled the international boundary. The Shimiahoo inhabit the coast toward Frazier's River; nothing seems to be known of them whatever. They are probably the most northern tribe on the American side of the line, the Kowailchew (cowichan) lying principally if not altogether, in British territory. In his population estimate Gibb's entry reads: "Skim-i-ah-moo: Between Lummi Point (Sandy Point?) and Fraser's river (Gibbs, in Stevens, Report of Explorations, 433, 436.) Elsewhere he states: The simiahmoo (Si-mi-a-mu), a small remant, living on the bay of that name,

North of them (the Lummi), belong likewise to this group (the Lummi-Nallam-Songish dialect group). He mentions "Pi-Kalps, the Indian Village of Camp Simiamoo, (Gibbs, Alphabetical Vocabularies of Clallum and Lummi, vi. 37.) which may have been on the peninsula opposite Blaine. Fitzhugh wrote of "a small tribe that belongs on this side of the boundary line, called the Sem-mi-an-mas....they have a large prairie country back of the coast, but prefer to live on a bay (Semiamoo Bay). whence they derive their name, and where the old homes of their parents now stand. They dare not make their general stopping place, but go there to get their shell-fish and fish and vegetables." '71 (Fitzhugh, op,cit, 328, Fitzhugh, in Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs...for the year 1857."¹

According to Lelah Edson, "the Semiahmoos have a legend that over a hundred years ago, chief Semiahmoo and his people were living peacefully on the Spit, when suddenly the Northern Canadian Indians descended upon them. The spit Indians were driven to Point Roberts. Chief Semiahmoo was one of the few to get away. Some of them swam. A few took boats, setting fire behind them. Most of the tribe were brutally slaughtered, and the few Indians who survived the massacre moved over on the Canadian side."²

Finally, Wayne Suttles states that; "Semiahmoo Territory included the shores of Boundary Bay and Birch Bay from the mouth of Campbell River to Point Whitehorn and the drainage of Dakota,

1. "Coast Salish and Western Washington Indians," Suttles, Wayne, Garland Pub. Inc., New York, 1974.

2. "The Fourth Corner," Edson, Lelah

California and Terrel Creeks. Before the middle of the last century the winter villages of the Semiahmoo were on or about Drayton Harbor and possibly at Birch Bay....

Sometime before the 1850's the Snokomish (a Halkomelem-speaking group, that intermarried with the Semiahmoo, according to Suttles.) were almost entirely wiped out by an epidemic of smallpox. A few survivors joined the Semiahmoo. The same epidemic or an enemy raid about the same time wiped out most of the Birch Bay people. By the 1850's the Semiahmoo themselves were considerably reduced in numbers by the raids of northern Indians. The U. S. Indian agents apparently expected the Semiahmoo to join the Lummi on the Lummi Reservation. A few of them did, but most of the survivors settled just north of the line at the mouth of the Campbell River, to use the former Snokomish village site and weir site. In the latter half of the last century the Semiahmoo were the heirs to Snokomish Territory as well as their own, insofar as territorial claims could be maintained in the face of white settlement."³

In May 1978, I interviewed Chief Bernard Charles, who is the present day chief of the Semiahmoo Reserve in White Rock, British Columbia, Canada. I asked Chief Charles why he felt the Semiahmoo moved over the boarder, he stated and I supplement; that he believes that the Semiahmoo are an offshoot of the Lummi. That there was a permanent village and many other villages situated around the Bay. (Semiahmoo Bay?)

3. "Coast Salish and Western Washington Indians," Suttles, Wayne P., Garland Publishing, Inc., New York, 1974.

When the boarder was established, the band was living on both sides of the boarder.

Incidents, such as the Frazier River Gold Rush and logging development, (the bay is excellent for logging purposes) resulting in the mass influx of an immigrant population, deprived the Semiahmoo of their freedom of movement necessary in food-gathering. They were slowly forced out of the area by these restrictions and moved north, or some moved on to the Lummi reservation at Fern-
dale, Washington.

Unfortunately most of these sources excluding Chief Charles account are not factualized.(i.e. they do not state their source of information). Chief Charles stated that he recieved most of his information from his own personal research, and stories passed down in the band.

ETHNOGRAPHIC DATA

"The following information is from Wayne Suttles, "Coast Salish and Western Washington Indians." Most of Suttles ethnographic material pertaining to the Semiahmoo is from informants who lived "at Semiahmoo" as children. They are:

Julius Charles. Father Semiahmoo, Mother Lummi. He was born about 1865 either at Lummi or on San Juan Island. Both parents died when he was a child. He grew up at the Semiahmoo settlement at Campbell River, raised by his older half-brothers and grandmother, from whom he learned much of what he knows about the past. As a young man he worked on the Fraser River. His contacts have been with Lower Fraser and Cowichan people to some extent, but primarily with the Lummi. He was married about 1895 and has lived since on his wife's allotment on the Lumme Reservation. His interest in the old culture is great and his knowledge of some aspects of it is good; his interest is especially in technology. This interest has partly been stimulated by white collectors urging him to make artifacts. He was a spirit dancer but says little about power. He seems somewhat compelled to talk about class and the behavior of upper-class men. I believe he is a reliable informant though perhaps inclined to glorify the past."

"Lucy Celestin. Father Sahewamish-Skagit, mother Semiahmoo. She was born about 1875 at Semiahmoo and was raised there. She married John Celestin, a Songish. She has lived most of her life, I believe, at Lummi. She is interested in spirit-dancing and in technology. Her memory is good..."

"Patrick S. George. Father Lummi, mother Semiahmoo. Born 1875 or 1877. PG's contacts have been rather broad. As a child he lived at Semiahmoo, at Lummi, and later with an older married sister at Cowichan. His first wife was a daughter of a Cowichan who lived in the Samish village on Guemes Island. PG lived on Guemes one year. After his wife's death he returned to Lummi and then went to the Saanich settlement at Patricia Bay where he married again. This was about 1895. He lived on Vancouver Island for a few years, I believe, then returned to Lummi where he had an allotment. His wife and all his children but his daughter Martha died about 1918-20. From 1930 to 1939 he lived with Martha on Orcas Island. He died January 11, 1951...."

VILLAGES AND HOUSES

Village Locations:

A. "Tongue Spit. The chief Semiahmoo village was on Tongue Spit, which separates Drayton Harbor from Semiahmoo Bay. Two rows of houses belonging to upper class people stood on the west side of the butt of the spit facing Semiahmoo Bay, and extending to the little point to the southwest. This part of the village was called S'i'l'ic. On the inside of the butt of the spit, facing Drayton harbor, was a row of houses belonging to lower-class people. This part of the village was called Yow'awawale'c'. The two settlements met, forming an inverted V with the apex at the point where the spit narrows. At this point was a burial ground."⁴ Chief Charles stated that to the right of the butt of the spit, facing Drayton Harbor, there was a house that was used for years, as a place for the Seoin(SP?) dances. Julius Charles said, "people chose for a house a place where there were mussel shells and dirt that could be packed down to make a good floor....He also said that the floor was swept daily with a broom of hemlock boughs and was sometimes sprinkled with water."⁵ He also stated that, temporary shacks were also made of large pieces of cedar bark on a pole frame. Four upright poles were used to make a shed-roofed structure. The bark was taken from a living tree in the spring or from a dead tree in winter."⁶ "The Semiahmoo village at the mouth of Campbell Creek actually consisted of three named settlements, two

4. Ibid. p.30

5 Ibid. p. 257

6. Ibid. p.261

with one house at each and the third with two houses and another that was not completed. I do not believe any of these at Campbell creek had more than two families as permanent residents." ⁷ Carpenters. "The Semiahmoo informant Julius Charles said that a "carpenter" was called lat. t'ay'wan, from notay'og, ""to make fancy woodwork." The only Semiahmoo he knew of who was in this class was Y'le'ugw, who died in the 1860's. This man made coffins as well as canoes and other things. His power was a pileated woodpecker, and evidently under its guidance he built the "fort" at Blaine. He sang his power song holding his stone maul in his hand." "Its words were, ona sl'et'ay'ka t'oo sl'ay, "It was given to me, this day(light)." "The informant said it means Xe'v gave him the power to build the fort to protect the tribe."⁸ This later became a war song to give people courage. "A Semiahmoo who died when Julius Charles was a boy, tal'e'ing'ay, was a "kind of lumber carpenter." He did not qualify for the same term as X'le'ugw; people would merely say of him "he makes house-planks."⁹

7. Ibid, p. 286
 8. " ", p. 228 and 424
 9. " ", p. 229

FOOD, FOODGATHERING, PROCESS ETC.

"Blackberry Cakes were stored in "little crates" made of dry alder bark. To use, you cut a piece off the cake, put it in hot water, and, in recent times, added sugar. They tasted better than canned berries of their flavor. This description was given by Julius Charles."(p.63)

"The Semiahmoo came as far as the north end of Waldron Island for Camas and often steamed the bulbs right there."(p.61)

"During the summer they also went into Boundary Bay to dig clams and harpoon sturgeon. In the fall they gaffed salmon in Dakota and California Creeks. In the fall and winter they hunted beaver and bear at the heads of the Serpentine and Nicomekl Rivers and Beaver at Lake Terrell." (pp.27 and 28.)

"In the spring Semiahmoo went to the northend of Waldron Island for camus, and hunted deer and elk inland at Caster or Lake Terrell. In the summer they moved across to Cannery Point or Point Roberts where they shared the extensive, reefnetting grounds with Sannich, Lummi, and members of other groups."(p.27)

"The Semiahmoo informant Julius Charles said that the sockeye first showed up at a place beyond Victoria where they Klallam.... (Beeher Bay). When they came there the word was sent to Point Roberts,That was the signal for all the reef nets to get ready." (p.169).

"At Point Roberts before the fish arrived, the Semiahmoo ritualist...chanted the names of all of the locations from

"The Semiahmoo used trawl nets, in addition to harpoons and gaffs and may even have built weirs."(p.142) (Archaeological evidence shows a weir at the mouth of Dakota Creek. Who it belongs to is not known.)

Cod locations: " One informant, Julius Charles, spoke of cod locations on Waldron Island and near Peavine pass. These were not privately owned; anyone could fish there. This was, added, because there is no season for cod, one could go there anytime he wished." (p.126)

"....The same informant, Julius Charles, said the Semiahmoo got "sardines" at Tongue Spit with herring rakes, but did not say when...the Semiahmoo 'sardine' may be the silver smelt, which Clemmens and Wilby say is especially common in Boundary Bay.

Whales. The Semiahmoo informant Julius Charles said that stranded whales were used; one washed ashore near White Rock once.

Halibut. "Semiahmoo and Sooke informants said only one hook was used to a line, making the spreader bar unnecessary; the other groups used it...Kilp was the only material used for the line by all but the Saanich and Semiahmoo; the Semiahmoo informant said the line was of nettle fiber.(p.116)

Sturgeon. "Of the straits groups only the Lummi and Semiahmoo took sturgeon, the Lummi in Lummi Bay, and the Semiahmoo in Boundary Bay. They were probably not very important to the Lummi but to the Semiahmoo they seem to have ranked next to salmon in importance. The Semiahmoo harpooned Sturgeon with the same harpoon which they used for seals and porpoises. It had a 12-foot fir shaft with a trident butt and two foreshafts of iron wood, each fitted into a three-piece female head, . . .

They harpooned sturgeon from April through spring and summer, but especially in may. They went out in the daytime at low tide or at night in the dark of the moon at any tide. At night the harpooner needed no light; sturgeon swim about 7 or 8 feet deep, but can be seen 30 feet deep, ahead because of the phosphorescence in the water. The harpooner went out in a hunting canoe, about 24 feet long and 3 to 4 feet wide. Usually he had a "captain" paddling in the stern, while he stood in the bow. But sometimes a man went out alone; in this case he put a rock in the stern for proper balance to allow him to stand in the bow, where he paddled with a long-handled paddle.

The harpooner watched at night for phosphorescence in the water. When a fish was sighted, the paddler tried to approach it so that the harpooner had it on his right side. As they went along side, the harpooner let about a third of his shaft into the water; then with the fingers of his right hand fitted into the trident butt, he thrust, aiming behind the head. The trident butt allowed him to let go as soon as he felt the harpoon strike the fish. If he hung on he might break the foreshaft or go over board. The barbed point on the head caught in light wounds, but usually the whole head peirced completely, left the foreshaft, and turned at right angles to the line, holding as a toggle. As he struck, the harpooner quickly put his hand into the water so that the line running through it would not burn him. When the shaft came up, held to the line by the ring, he pulled at a knot that held the ring to it. This separated the shaft and ring

so that he could put the shaft into the canoe and leave the ring on the line. He gave the fish enough line, then hung on; floats were not used for sturgeon.

The sturgeon towed the canoe around until it became tired, when the line went straight down, the harpoon knew it was time. He pulled the fish up and hit it with a knobbed yew club about a foot and a half long. He hit it at just the right place on the side of the head; to hit it on the back of the head had no effect. A strong man could kill a sturgeon with one blow. To lift the fish into the canoe, the harpooner grabbed it with both hands by the front fins, hoisted straight up several times, then up and twisting at the same time, bringing it into the canoe. Not everyone could do this. If the sturgeon was very big the harpooner might construct a temporary outrigger with an 8 or 10 foot pole and a block of wood which he carried along for that purpose. He tied the block to one end of the pole, thrust it out into the water at right angles to the canoe, and tied the other end to a thwart. This kept the canoe from tipping while he got the fish aboard.

If a man needed help at night in loading a fish, he could call for help, "mo-mo-mo-mo'ot tan," in imitation of a young seal. If a fish were too large to raise, a man might tip his canoe to slip it in and then bail out, or merely tow the fish behind."(119-121).

"According to Julius Charles the harpooner cut a sturgeon in two at a point about at the posterior end of the egg sac

(before the pelvic fins?) and gave the tail portion to his paddler. Sometimes he invited others to feast and gave them each a piece. . .

Women butchered a sturgeon; men could if women were not available. They skinned it first and cooked the skin fresh. They sliced the flesh length wise into fillets two or three feet long and the thickness of one's hand. They cured these by hanging them over the poles of the drying rack to dry in the sun, covering the rack if rain came, building a little fire for smudge if flies came. When sturgeon was fully dry, it could be eaten without cooking although it was usually cut into six-inch strips and boiled about ten minutes. It was stored in cattail bags, which were hung or shelved in the house. It kept indefinitely. Dried sturgeon, Julius Charles said, is as good as dried salmon, if not better.

The mature female has two egg sacs each about three feet long which together would fill a wash-tub with dark blue roe the size of number 6 shot. The sacs were cut up and given away. The eggs are loose so they cannot be dried like salmon eggs. They were boiled into a soup and eaten fresh; the milt was used in the same way. The head was also used. Julius Charles said it was cooked fresh for a long time; this took the plates off. Then it was sliced thin like bread and eaten. Jim Morris (Lucy Celestins' brother) said the head was dried until hard, then boiled to soften before using. At the time of butchering, the spinal cord, a jelly-like string inside the back-bone, was pulled out from the tail end and eaten raw. Some of the guts were also cooked and eaten.

After removing the guts and eggs they took out a peice of tissue that sticks to the back bone from the gills on back. This was dried like a mink skin and saved for glue."(p.119-123)

REEF-NETTING

"Reef-netting was of paramount importance in the aboriginal economy of the Straits peoples. Unlike other native subsistence activities, it retained its importance for many groups throughout the first few decades of white settlement." (p.152)

"The reef-net location, the place where a single gear was anchored, was usually a short distance from shore on a kelp-covered reef that lay in the path of the migrating sockeye. Frequently it was opposite a headland that caused a backward sweep of the tidal current. The fish came with the current; therefore the gear was set to face it. (p. 155)

The net itself was a rectangle about 30 to 40 feet long and 20 to 30 feet wide. Its meshes were not large enough to gill the fish; it merely held them in. It was held between the canoes by net side lines to its long ends. Its forward end, that is, the end that faces the current, was held down by two net weights, one at each corner. Its after margin was held taut near the surface but so as to let a part of it billow out in the current as a bunt.

The canoes were of a special type, large and with a wide bow and a flat stern. They were anchored with their sterns facing the current, therefore the directional terms 'ahead' and 'behind' refer to the gear as a whole and not to the canoes. The two canoes were kept parallel by four anchors, two ahead and one at each side. The two ahead were head anchors and the two at the sides breast anchors.

The head anchor lines held buoys called head buoys. These are, on a modern gear, 100 to 200 feet from the net and about 200 feet apart. A lead line ran from each head buoy to the stern of the canoe on that side of the net. A net line ran from a point some distance beneath the surface on each head anchor line to the net weight on that side of the net. These four lines, the two lead lines and the two net lines, defined the path of the

fish. If the location was in a kelp bed, the kelp was cleared away to make a channel for this lead and the net. If there was no kelp, a number of vertical side lines were run between the lead line and net line on each side to create a channel. If the water was deep a number of horizontal floor lines were run across between the net lines to create an artificial bottom. Usually a single piece of line ran down, across, and up to become a side, floor, and side line. As many as 30 of these might be used. If side lines were used, the lead lines might require additional buoys tied along them at intervals to keep them on the surface. Adjusting the length of the side lines enabled the fisherman to control the depth of the horizontal floor. Usually this floor was made to rise gradually toward the forward edge of the net.

The two breast anchors were farther apart than the two canoes and behind them. The breast lines were tied amidships with enough slack to allow the canoes to lie gunwale to gunwale. However, when the net was set the slack was taken up so that the canoes were held the proper distance apart, that is, a little less than the width to the net. The slack was held by a pin thrust through a loop brought around a thwart. One could release the line simply by pulling the pin. This allowed the canoes to swing together from the weight of the net. (p. 159-160)

The Season:

The net had to be made new each year. Every man was responsible for making one section of the net. It was made of willow-bark twine. "The Semiahmoo informant said it was used only for the reef-net." (p. 235) "The women of crew members' families gathered the bark and made the twine; then the men each made their own sections. When they had them finished they brought them to the captain (usually the hereditary owner of a reef location.) and he put them together." (p. 162)

"The ritualism which appeared now and again throughout the whole season began with the assembling to the net. At Semiahmoo the ritualist...went from net to net, helping each crew out its net together. The crucial point in the procedure evidently came when the person sewing the pieces together left in the net a hole which was identified as the vulva. The Semiahmoo informant Julius Charles said the hole was a foot to a foot and a half across, but,

When you lift the salmon they never go through this hole; it's forbidden for them to go through.The Transformer/showed the first people how to make this. The reef net's a lady, that's why that hole.

In addition to the net, some new lines might be needed. The lines were twisted cedar-withe rope. They lasted about three years, but there was some loss each year so more were usually required. The captain took his crew into the woods where trees of the proper size stood and he and the crew made rope enough for the season." (p.162-163) In later chapters, Suttles states, that, below this bluff(cannery point) was a place where the fishermen left their cedar-withe lines for the following year. Those who need new lines went across to what is now Ocean Park for Cedar limbs." (p.204)

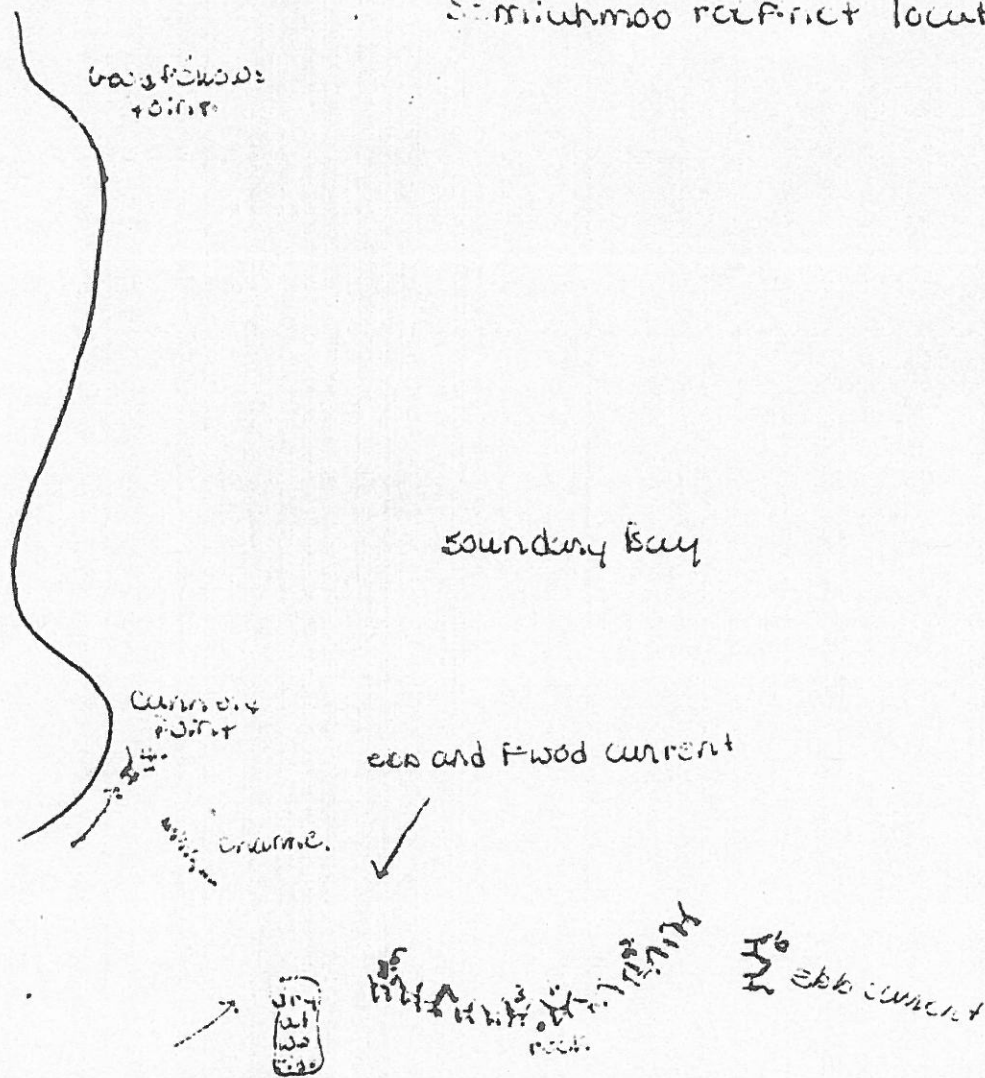
REEF-NET LOCATIONS AND OWNERSHIP

"Where reef-net locations were set in kelp beds, channels had to be cut through the kelp beds, channels had to be cut through the kelp....

Setting the anchors was called "dropping rocks". It was a strenuous undertaking that required the cooperation of the whole crew and perhaps of several crews. It also required a careful study of the tides, because it was easiest and most economically done at the lowest tide before the run.

The anchors were large beach rocks that each took two to four men to lift. The crew tied cedar-withe ropes around each rock and made them into a ring. They put planks across two canoes and loaded the rocks onto them.

Samiuhmoo reef-riek locations at Point Roberts



Location name

Owner name

- 1. Given only as Charley George's original location
- 2. ("hole") A receipt pit
- 3. ("lump") A rock
- 4. ("Peeceemut")
- 5. no name
- 6. " "

- 1. Samiuhmoo Teemoo
- 2. Charley George and Andrew T.
- 3. Tom x'w'at'q'mastaw
- 4. P'oh'z'ol'oh'no' and Z'ee'p'ee'el
- 5. Captain Jack
- 6. Joe Manie

The captain stood off and supervised the setting of the anchors. They dropped the line with only one rock on it first; then when the captain gave the word that the position was right, they slipped the line through the rings of other rocks and slid them down the line until it held. It took 10 or 12 rocks for each anchor." (p.166-167)

"It is likely that originally only Semiahmoo and Saanich owned locations at Point Roberts and that the ownership of locations has been passed up to members of other groups through marriages. Genealogies show marriages between Semiahmoo and Active Pass people early in the last century. It maybe that locations were originally transmitted from the Semiahmoo to the Saanich through the Active Pass peoples. (p.213)

"All of the locations at Point Roberts were said to have been named. It is my understanding that this meant that each space where a gear was anchored had its own name. Only a few of the names, however, were remembered. These seem mainly to have been descriptive of the spot they designated. They are: (authors note: the following list differs numerically, because I have put the Semiahmoo location owners first.)

Kwiyamas----- Julius Charles gave this only as Charley George's original location.

Sxw'xwal----- ('hole?') A deeper spot.

maqse'e----- ('lump?') A rock.

K'ax'alyan----- ('feces-net') This location was near a beach that was used as a latrine.

X'lx'ax'ax'----- ('crossing' or 'crosswise'). This name probably refers to a bank that was exposed at low tide.

S'elag's
~~S'elag's~~----- ('point of the reef?') The end of the main arc of location.

tamtum'ax----- ('edge of the current?') An area beyond of scattered

U.S. Attorney General filed suit for the U.S. Indians on the grounds that their treaty rights had been violated, but in 1897 the court decided in favor of the trapmen. In 1934 the traps were outlawed and at presents a few whites are operating reefnets at Point Roberts." (p.215.)

FISHING AND HUNTING EQUIPMENT:

Canoes: "The informant, Julius Charles, believed that two types were made, one 'like a little boat', that is, with vertical ends, and one like a shovel-nose. The ends, were sewed with cherry bark (?) and cedar-withe rope was sattached to the bow for mooring." (p. 253) "...t he Semiahmoo informant said that on the woman's paddle the handle broadened out at the end for space enough for two thumbs holes." (p. 253.)

Outriggers: "Semiahmoo and Lummi hunters and fishermen constructed a temporary outrigger with a pole and a block of wood in order to keep a canoe upright when bringing aboard a large seas or sturgeon." (p.255.)

Weirs: "Before the middle of the last century the only straits groups who undoubtly built weirs were the Samish and the Lummi." (p. 145.)

"In the latter part of the last century the Semiahmoo built weirs at one or two sites, both of which were in former Snokomish territory. One was at the mouth of Campbell river, where the Semiahmoo settled probably in the late 1860's . According to Julius Charles this had once been the site of a Snokomish village and weir. The Semiahmoo had intermarried with the Snokomish and had fished at their weir in the past.....The other weir was on the Nicomekl River; Lucy Celestin simply said that her grandfather....used to go there in the fall to build a 'trap'. (p. 150.)

According to Garland F. Grabert, Archaeologist, there is a weir located at the mouth of Dakota creek also, but ownership is not known.

Trawl Nets: "The Lummi and the Semiahmoo used trawl nets in mainland streams, the Semiahmoo in California and Dakota Creeks...." (p. 144.)

Gill Nets: "Straits fishermen used gill nets primarily in salt water; the Semiahmoo and Lummi used them in bays along the mainland or out in the islands where ever they saw salmon near shore. They took springs, silvers, and humpbacks.

The Semiahmoo net was of nettle fiber twine or imported grass. Its floats were cedar sticks about 3 feet apart along the upper margin of the net. They stood upright in the water, with half their lengths exposed, 'looking like a picket fence.' They bobbed up and down when a salmon got caught in the net. The sinkers were small longish rocks wrapped with cattails and tied to the lower margin. The mesh was $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches (For Silvers? The informant may have given this figure because it was the legal minimum a few years ago. Suttles.) and the net was 20 to 25 meshes deep and 40 to 50 fathoms long." (p.137-138.)

Raised Duck Nets: "Informants have mentioned only about a dozen in the whole area. At some there were several pairs of poles, as at Tongue Spit each pair of poles was owned by one of the families in the Semiahmoo village." (p.72)

Spears: "The spear described as either Semiahmoo or Lummi by the Semiahmoo informant Julius Charles, had a fir shaft about 11 feet long, 4 ironwood fore-shafts, two about $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet long and two about 4 inches shorter and 4 whale - bone points. The points were set radially so that tips were 8 to 10 inches apart. A bone point in the possession of the informant measured $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches long and an inch wide at the base. It had 5 barbs on one side and a small notch on the other, evidently for fastening. The edge of the base was

beveled so that it could be 'spliced onto' the foreshaft, probably bound with cherry bark. The informant said that whale bone was preferable to deer bone because it is elastic, while deer bone is brittle." (p. 76.)

Hand Nets: " The handnet which Julius Charles described, used by th Lummi and probably the Semiahmoo, was not thrown but was held in the hand and therefore lacked the trident butt and line. The net itself was of nettle fiber twine, had about a 6 inch mesh, and was about 8 feet square. It was mounted on a shaft about 10 feet long, making a shorter handle than on the Samish instrument." (p. 77.) "...but the Semiahmoo informant Julius Charles said that the Lummi and presumably the Semiahmoo did not. (throw hand nets.)" (p. 78.)

Deer Nets: According to the Semiahmoo informant these (deer nets) 'locations' belonged to the community; anyone could use one. But there were only two or three nets in the community, and these of course belonged to individual hunters. These men organized the hunt, waited at the net, and divided the game. The owner divided it fresh, giving equal portions to all who had participated in the drive. There was no special division of the meat except that the heart and lungs might be given to old people. The owner of the net might not take his share on the first drive but might wait until the next time." (p.88.)

Bow, Arrows and Quiver: " The Semiahmoo quiver was made of a whole mink or fisher skin, with the tail left on. If a hunter was using the arrows with detachable forshafts, he carried the shafts only in the ouiver and carried the heads in his belt, arming the shafts as he needed them.

The bow was held horizontally in the left hand with the palm up and the thumb and little finger hind the stave. The arrows passed over the stave between the index and middle fingers, and was held at the constriction in front of the nock, between the thumb and the side of the crooked index finger, the thumb up." (p.84.)

"The Semiahmoo and possibly other mainland groups backed some of their bows by gluing on elk back sinew. The glue was made from the substance under the back bone of a sturgeon." (p. 83.)

"Semiahmoo hunters shot bears with bow and arrows, using the arrow with the stone head on a detachable foreshaft. One method which they used was to ambush a bear at a stream during the salmon run." (p.93.)

CLOTHING

Very little little about clothing is discussed by Suttles; the follow is all that is available at the moment, and I hope to remedy this with further research.

Hunting Clothes: "The Semiahmoo informant Julius Charles described what was worn by a man hunting in the winter. Over a sown and nettle-fiber 'under-shirt' he wore a buckskin shirt. It had sleeves which came half-way down the forearm and it overlapped in front, where it was tied together by short cords. Over his head he wore a hood of hide with hair on the inside. It came to a point on top, extended down to the eyebrows in front and to the middle of the back behind. On his legs he wore buckskin leggings which were attached to his belt. On his hands he wore buckskin mittens and on his feet elk-hide moccasins which came up and wrapped around his ankles.

Jenness mentions both sleeved and sleeveless buckskin shirts worn in cold weather by both sexes among the Saanich, and also moccasins and leggings worn by hunters. These garments came into use, he believes, only in the first half of the 19th century." (p. 265-266.)

"According to Julius Charles a woman plucked the feathers of white geese and swans, the plucked (or sheared?) the down into a basket. From this basket she took the down and on her thigh twisted it around a thread of nettle fiber, putting the resulting yarn into a second basket. She wove this yarn on a loom to make small rectangular pieces which were used primarily as garments. If this material got wet the nettle-fiber thread could be seen, but when it dried, the down fluffed out again." (p. 245-246.) He (Julius Charles) insisted that because of the greater number of water fowl along the mainland shore, the people here had more down, made more fabric of this sort, and were better dressed than people else-where, some of whom, so he has heard, was nothing at all." (263-264)

Skin Dressing: "The Semiahmoo informant said that to dehair a skin a man soaked it in a trough-like vessel near the fire with a mat over it. He kept testing it and when the hair could be pulled out by hand he put it over a block and scraped it with a knife which he held with both hands. To cure it he rubbed on a spongy, white, rotten wood, which cleaned and softened it. Then hung it up in the house to dry. He did not use smoke in curing it. (p.230.)

Hair: "The Semiahmoo informant said that male slaves had to wear their hair short; it was cut with a stone knife...Julius Charles described a comb as made of a single piece of wood shaved thin with teeth at both ends and a narrow handle in the middle. (p.267)

Julius Charles believed that in the old days very few men had chin whiskers.....The Semiahmoo informant said some people pierced their noses as well for haliotis ornaments....." (p. 268.)

Sunburn: "The Semiahmoo informant said that if a person became sunburned he applied melted hemlock pitch to his face and put a coat of paint over it. After a few days it peeled off, leaving a new layer of skin. Then the person washed his face with blue clay, then greased it, then washed it again." (p. 270)

SOCIAL CLASSES, WAR AND SPECIAL POWERS

SOCIAL CLASSES: "The Semiahmoo informant Julius Charles identified three classes: 'high-class people,' 'second-class people', and 'low-class people.' According to this informant, high-class people were people with 'advice', that is, people who knew how to behave properly and who knew 'their history,' Second-class people were low-class people who had become rich. Second-class people made canoes and down and fiber robes. Low-class people were people without 'advice', and therefore they did not know how to behave properly. They were people who had lost their histories." (p.302.)

"At Tongue Spit the Semiahmoo village consisted of an upper-class section facing the Gulf and a lower-class section facing Drayton Harbor." (p.306)

WARS: "According to the Semiahmoo informant, when Northern raiders approached the Semiahmoo village, the fastest runner was sent to warn the Lummi. The women and children were sent to the woods and the men lines up just inside the woods at the beach. At one time there was a women with strong spells who stood behind the men, urging them on and using her spells to give them strength and to dull the senses of the enemy. The approach of an enemy raiding party was sometimes made known to a seeress by her power." (p.332.)

"The....(seeress) usually a woman, had a power which enabled her to see distant objects and persons. She could find lost objects, tell if a person were living or dead, and see the approach of distant enemy raiders. She held up her hands and sang in a half-crying voice, and shook.

A Semiahmoo woman, Julius Charles' grandmother was a seeress: She got her power when her children and her husband passed a way. She cried a lot and wished she were dead. It was on Orcas Island. She had one baby with her and she went into the woods. She walked through the woods. It was summer and it was a nice day but she was tired from crying for her lost children so she lay down and slept. It was the sun that she got her power from,

The sun was not the only source for this power. Semiahmoo girls used to be sent to seek it at a little pond at the west end of Langley prairie. They were told to keep washing their faces there. Even young men went there!" (p. 353.) "The approach of enemies at night was made known by the noise of heron's, which were regarded as allies. Sometimes while camping, a man tied his dogs some distance from camp so they might warn him of anyone's approach." (p. 322) "In the end of the bluff west of the camp (at cannery point) there was a tunnel where the women and children hid when they feared an attack from Northern Indians." (p. 204.)

"Sometime in the early part of the last century the three mainland groups built forts....The Semiahmoo fort was at Blaine. The Semiahmoo Fort was described as consisting of a stockade around two plank houses, with tunnels leading from inside to loopholes in the plank in front of the Stockade. Inside were two poles upon which baskets of flaming pitch were hoisted to light the surrounding area at night.....All of these fortifications (Semiahmoo, Saanich, Samish and Lummi) were probably built around 1820-30. It may be that they were built because of an increase in the frequency of raids from the north and may have been stimulated by the forts built in the area by the Hudson Bay Company." (p. 322)

DOCTORS: "The snake was the most important source of Doctor power. 'Julius Charles described it as having a snake like body but with a big lump in the middle and a head at each end. It swam back and forth across a pond or walked by doubling itself like a measuring worm. It left a slimy trail. It could smell a person a long ways off and when it did it made a frightful noise. It had three calls: the first was like the 'hoot' of a hound dog or a beaver, the second like a flock of tame geese, and the third like the hissing of a mallard drake, only loud enough to be heard for two or three hundred yards." (p. 333-334.)

"The most famous doctors were credited with this power (snake). At Semiahmoo, Andrew Tom had it;....Julius Charle's uncle Andrew Tom had power from (snake). He was up all the time at California Creek. There he came to a small creek at the turn of the old road. (this was before the whites came.) He saw that something was following the creek up. He could see the track and the slime where it had dragged over logs. He followed it up , then nearly at the head of the creek, ready to give up, he stood on top of a log and there was (snake) looking at him. He went to sleep. When he woke it was gone. That's how he got his power. He was a good doctor." (by Julius Charles.) (p. 334.)

"The Semiahmoo doctor Andrew Tom was a sucking doctor. According to his nephew Julius Charles, he removed bad blood from a sick person. "Using his power he looked into the patients body and located the sickness. Then he sucked with his mouth, getting black blood and stringy slime and spitting it on a plate. If a cure was possible he continued to suck untill he got clean blood, but if he saw that patient was too far gone he told him so and merely sucked to show the patient his condition." (p. 345.)

In conclusion, I want to stress that this paper is far from completed. Again this is merely a reconstruction from the materials that were immediately available to me. Much more research is planned in the future and hopefully the Semiahmoo record will be completed.