BEYOND ISAAC EBEY

Tracing the Remnants of Native American Culture on Whidbey Island

By Theresa Trebon

rom the top of Perego's Bluff one can survey the wide expanse of water, farmland and woods that is Ebey's Landing National Historical Reserve. This National Park Service site was planned specifically to "preserve and protect a rural community which provides an unbroken historical record from 19th century exploration and settlement to the present time."

From Perego's Bluff the slope drops 200 feet to meet the cold, clear waters of Admiralty Inlet flowing east from the Strait of Juan de Fuca and, just beyond, the Pacific Ocean. Here came George Vancouver in 1792 as he probed this entrance on the northwest coast. Today Perego's Bluff crowns an island named for one of his officers, Joseph Whidbey. As early explorers sailed in from the strait they met this high shoulder where the island's lower half curved east toward the mainland. For those who sought access to Whidbey's interior, the tall bluffs first lowered just beyond Perego's at a beach that became known as Ebey's Landing. This was the point of entry in 1848 for Joseph Glasgow, the first white to attempt settlement. From then on, vessels of every shape and size anchored there as newcomers staked their claims to the "Garden Isle."

Above the landing stretches Ebey's Prairie, a wide expanse of rich black soil so fertile that farms set world records for astounding crop yields in the 1890s. And backing the prairie, on its far northern edge, lies Coupeville. Here retired New England sea captains made permanent residence ashore with their wives and children. They were joined by veterans of both the Oregon Trail and the Civil War, by refugees from the Franco-Prussian conflict in Europe, and the frenzied California gold rush. As this motley group of individuals established a viable community, they brought a radically different culture to those who had preceded them—the Lower Skagit Indians.

The Ebey's Landing reserve is defined not only by unsullied open spaces but by an infamous atrocity as well. Another site is visible from Perego's Bluff. Above the landing a wide ravine, now choked with vegetation, once provided access to the prairie above. In 1850, just east of that ravine, Isaac Ebey built a homestead he called "The Cabins," staked out on 640 acres. Here he proceeded to shape the future in this northern reach of the Oregon Territory. In 1857, after Ebey had become a viable alternative to Governor Isaac Stevens, an act of revenge cut short his political career. On the night of August 11 Kake Indians from Alaska's Kupreanof Island beheaded Ebey outside his home as his family escaped. The murder was in retaliation for an attack by the USS *Massachusetts* on fellow tribal members the previous November near Port Gamble. Ebey's death quickly brought armed ships aplenty to Puget Sound, ready to oust invaders from the north. The threat of attack by the northern Indians soon disappeared and white settlement of the region moved ahead unchecked.

Each year thousands of people visit Ebey's Landing National Historical Reserve to explore the somewhat unfamiliar concept of a "cultural landscape": a place where patterns of human occupation have shaped a geographical area. These patterns take many forms: false-front buildings in Coupeville, open farmlands bordered by hedgerows, gun emplacements at Fort Casey, the weathered pioneer tombstones at Sunnyside Cemetery. For many visitors Isaac Ebey's murder sums up and defines the Indian presence on Whidbey Island. But what of the resident Lower Skagit Indians after their northern counterparts headed home? Where are their traces in this historic landscape? How did Native Americans adjust to incoming white pioneers who laid claim to the land they had occupied for at least 10,000 years?

From the time of Vancouver and Whidbey's visit in 1792 until white settlement 58 years later, the Lower Skagit Indians lived with increasing uncertainty. Whidbey estimated their population at 600, a number reduced in later years by tuberculosis and venereal disease. By 1853 newly arrived settler Walter Crockett wrote that "smallpox has been amongst the Indians and has destroyed a great many of them.... I think in a few years some of the tribes will be extinct." Courtesy of Ebey's Landing National Historical Reserve

Whites like Crockett, who lived on Whidbey at the time of Isaac Ebey's murder, knew that northern Indians had perpetrated the crime. "Their Indians," the deferential Lower Skagit tribe, gave them scant reason to fear. Shortly after the incident Louise Swift wrote her mother in Massachusetts, stating, "I like it very much here. The Indians I don't feel at all afraid of." Still, the first years after Ebey's death must have been tense. Isaac Ebey was the first "pioneer" who actually stayed, claimed land, and subsequently rose to a position of prominence. His death in 1857 did not initiate conflicts between Indians and whites in the Puget Sound region-they had existed since his arrival seven years earlier, the result of whites settling the region prior to addressing Native American claims to their traditional lands. By the time the Lower Skagits' title to their homelands was extinguished in 1855, whites had already filed 51 separate land claims on Whidbey

Island, the majority clustered around Penn Cove. Yet, despite these being the Indians' richest lands, no recorded uprising occurred. This lack of hostilities probably belies a tension that existed on the island after Ebey's death, when the displacement experienced by Native Americans mixed uneasily with the outrage of whites over the death of their leading citizen.

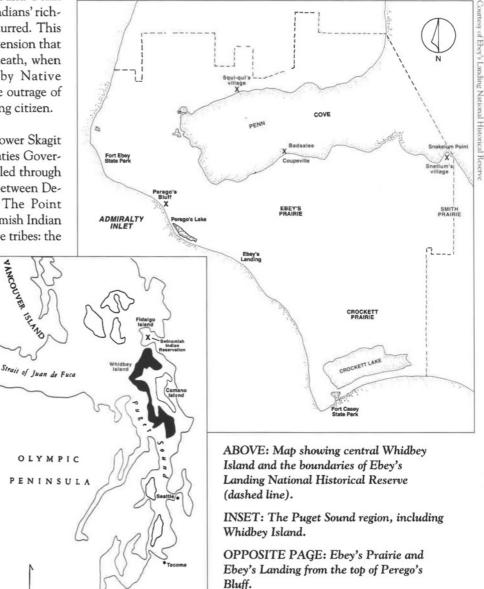
he mechanism that took Lower Skagit lands was one of three treaties Governor Isaac Stevens steamrolled through the Puget Sound country between December 1854 and January 1855. The Point Elliott Treaty established the Swinomish Indian Reservation on Fidalgo Island for five tribes: the

VANCOUVER

Lower Skagit of Whidbey, the Kikialus on northern Camano Island, the Upper Skagit on the upper Skagit River, and the Swinomish and Samish living at the Skagit River's mouth and offshore islands. Unlike its dealings with other tribes, the federal government did not force these Indians onto the reservation; while some of the Lower Skagit people chose to go, many did not. As Whidbey's white population increased, Indians remained in their traditional villages, their numbers gradually decreasing as the century closed.

Several reasons explain why coexistence between Indians and whites succeeded. The Lower Skagit population was primarily an aging one. Although young children occupied the villages, tuberculosis often claimed them by their teens. Consequently, a diminishing Indian presence did not threaten the settlers or their newly acquired property. Secondly, the Lower Skagit traditionally lived near saltwater beaches that, unlike today, had little value for incoming whites who sought the highly prized agricultural lands.

Islanders who claimed Whidbey land that included these shoreline Indian villages generally allowed the original inhabitants to continue living there unmolested. One such settler was Jacob Smith, whose donation claim included the village of Chief Squi-qui on the north side of Penn Cove. Smith and later owners of the land allowed Squi-qui and his descendants to occupy the village site until 1909, when the last member of the family died. James Swan, author of the classic, The Northwest Coast, visited Squi-qui's lodge in 1859 along with Indian Agent Robert Fay who went there to officially inform Squi-qui



and 200 other Lower Skagit Indians that Congress had ratified the Point Elliott Treaty. Contrary to the treaty's terms, however, Congress had sent no payment. Sympathetic to the Indians' plight, Fay tried to compensate as best he could, and Swan recorded the exchange:

[Squi-qui's] lodge is a large wooden building, one hundred feet long by thirty feet wide. At the sides are upright planks, placed at intervals of twenty feet apart to support the beams of the roof. These planks were painted with various hieroglyphics indicative of the Tomanawas, or secret guardian spirit of the occupants of the lodge. The whole building was occupied by five or six different families, all relatives of old Squi-qui, the chief. [Captain Fay] gave them a "cultus potlatch" consisting of blankets, calico, shirts, and a few trinkets.

Given the set of the s

Not by coincidence did Indians and whites desire the same food-producing acreage, particularly that of central Whidbey's prairies. Between Penn Cove and Admiralty Inlet lay three large natural prairies, ancient lake beds left by retreating glaciers of the last ice age. There the Indians hunted deer, elk and a wide variety of birds, as evidenced by the numerous artifacts that farmers have plowed up over the past 150 years. Indians also harvested plants and periodically set fire to the prairies to increase the yield of such edibles as bracken fern and camas. In May 1853 General A. V. Kautz visited the island and noted the "large number of Indians gathering camas bulbs" on Crockett Prairie.

For newly arrived white settlers the open prairies on central Whidbey were one vast natural farmland awaiting cultivation-no forest to clear, no stumps to remove, no uneven terrain to struggle with. Consequently, these areas were the first to be claimed under the Donation Land Law of 1850. Walter Crockett, namesake of the aforementioned prairie, also witnessed the Indians' 1853 camas harvest, but he saw another use for the plant: "The camas ... affords very fine hog range and the earth is full of it. The Indians dig it to live on. We have a fine stock of hogs coming on and the camas is their principal subsistence." The dual use of Whidbey's prairie lands did not last long. Within a few short decades after the whites' arrival the only prairie crops harvested by Indians were those of the new settlers. Local writer Flora Engle recalled that Indians became hired hands who "shocked grain in the harvest field [and] formed a part of the threshing and hay baling crews."

Farmers continued to depend on the Lower Skagit workers for the next 90 years. Retired farmer Charles Arnold recalled this relationship: "A lot of people had sheep and they used to have Indians come do the shearing. They'd take a fleece or two for their own as partial payment. I remember the ladies would sit there, cleaning and carding it, while the men did the shearing. They made their sweaters and blankets out of



OPPOSITE PAGE: Lower Skagit canoes in front of Billy Barlow's potlatch house, c. 1904.

LEFT: Few of the Lower Skagit people remained on Whidbey Island past the turn of the century. Pictured, left to right: Charlie and Mary Snakelum, Mary Jim and son August, c. 1920.

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esy of Ebey's Landing NHR, E. J. Hancock Collection



it." Gerald Darst remembered the 1920s and 1930s when his father "got well acquainted with some of the Indians because he was hiring [them as] workers in hoeing potatoes." When Gerald took charge of the family farm in the 1950s he found that, because of the demanding physical labor involved, "it was very difficult to get the white boys to come and pick potatoes. I had to end up going to La Conner and signing up some Indian workers to come over to Whidbey to pick potatoes for me, which I did for quite a few years."

s territorial settlement progressed, the Lower Skagit people adapted. They bartered for goods at Coupeville's sole store, "bringing skins of various animals, the greater part being deer skins. Also dogfish oil, feathers, buckskin gloves, [and] wool socks, the knitting of the 'kloochmen' [women] being very expert." They also operated a rapid transit system for the island. Pioneers seeking access to neighboring towns relied heavily on the Indians and their sleek, shovelnose canoes. When Louise Swift wanted to visit friends in 1863, her husband "went for the Indians to come with a canoe and take us to Utsalady. We went and sat down flat on the bottom with our limbs horizontal. We were two hours going." Louise and the other Whidbey Island women also attended social events in Port Townsend, Victoria and Port Gamble, wrapping their ball gowns in sheets of sailcloth for the crossings of the strait. Not only did Indians facilitate these welcome social gatherings, they often provided the only access to medical assistance. Hobart Race remembered his uncle's illness in 1893: "William got appendicitis and they loaded him in a wagon and took him over to Ebey's Landing. They hired [an] Indian canoe, put him in the bottom, and took him to Victoria. By the time they got there, peritonitis had set in and he died."

The Lower Skagit people interacted with whites on a wide variety of other fronts. In 1864 Louise Swift wrote her sister Annie, "We have hanging in our store one whole deer and one quarter of another. For this we pay about three cents per pound at the kitchen door. Fifty cents for a goose, twenty-five cents for a partridge. We pay the Indians in food, goods, or money." Indian women assisted white women with housework, child care, and laundry, charging "tkt dollar" [one dollar] for the wash and "klone quarter" [75 cents] for ironing. When white women gave birth, Indian neighbors often stepped in to keep the household running or look after older children. Francis Pfeiffer praised the care given by Mary Squi-qui in the 1870s:

My memory of her is entwined with the earliest recollections of childhood when she came to "chee house," scouring till wood paled under her faithful hands. She acted as a sort of nurse to us children, trying to keep us out of mischief, making us presentable after a hard day of play, and giving us, when we rushed into her cabin and made demands, unforgettable pieces of wild berry pie.

Indian women interacted with whites in yet another way. At least eight mated with white men and had children by them. But when white women arrived, most of these men kept their mixed-race children and sent the Indian mothers away. Where the women went and what happened to them was not passed down through the various family histories. This was true of Captain Edward Barrington who, following his marriage to Christine McCrohan, banished his "Indian squaw" but kept their daughter Olivia. In 1871 he sent her to the sisters of Saint Ann in Victoria, whose academy accepted outcast and "illicit" children from Washington Territory and educated them in the ways of Christian white society. Other children of white and Indian unions grew up in Whidbey's communities, forever branded as half-breeds. According to one island resident today, that designation kept her motherin-law from being buried in the family plot.

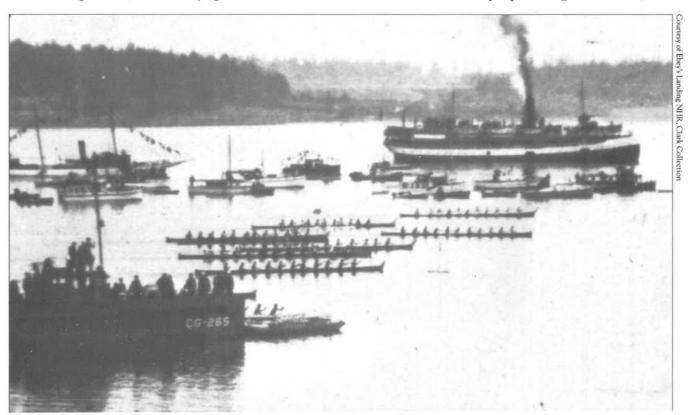
As the 19th century drew to a close relations between whites and the Lower Skagit Indians assumed an easy familiarity. Aging homesteaders who penned their memoirs usually devoted a few paragraphs to the Indians, primarily in the context of Ebey's "savage death" or problems the settlers had with alcoholic or "stealing" Indians. Rarely did they mention white neighbors with similar behaviors, and—as the Island County court records can attest—there were more than a few.

Some whites took a broader view of the native inhabitants. Coupeville pharmacist Puget Race grew up in close proximity to the Indians near Snakelum Point and spoke the Chinook jargon; he regularly hunted with his Indian neighbors and encouraged friendships between his sons and the few remaining Indian children. Race's wife, Hattie, grew up near Chief Squi-qui's village; as an adult she documented the Indians' family histories and their use of indigenous plants for medicinal purposes. Her sister Maude welcomed Indian women into her home and encouraged their traditional handcrafts, afterwards selling the goods on their behalf. A few other locals, such as Mickey Clark, remembered close friendships with Indian children: "I used to play with them. They were good kids, maybe better than a lot of whites."

More often than not, however, white islanders regarded the local Indian population as an antique curiosity. They gathered artifacts on beaches or the prairies south of town, souvenirs of a culture they viewed as quaint and largely extinct. On the rare instance when the *Island County Times* mentioned local Indians, it did so in patronizing tones, as in 1913 when "four braves invaded" the newspaper office. The editor, noting that "the white man's firewater has made good Indians out of our Siwash brethren," soon learned the Indians' purpose: they wanted to publicly request that whites refrain from "molesting Indian graves" and removing parts of skeletons. As cameras became available, photographers captured scenes of a people and a way of life that were fast disappearing: a man carving a canoe, a woman drying clams in front of her home, rows of canoes beached on the shore of Penn Cove.

Those whites who speculated on the Indians' fate usually did so with a certainty that modern civilization doomed their existence. Few questioned the justice of, or alternatives to, such extinction. Shortly before his death in 1903 Walter Crockett wrote: "I think we would make a more vigorous kick than the Skagits did if some outside people should try to take our homes. It looks sad to see a whole continent of natives perish, but it is in obedience to the law of the survival of the fittest." As Lower Skagit Indians relocated to the Swinomish or Tulalip reservations, their disappearance seemed to confirm white expectations, as if their change of address meant that they no longer existed as a people or had ties to their homeland. Each new federal and county census confirmed a rapidly shrinking Indian population on Whidbey Island: 90 in 1887, 46 in 1889, 15 in 1900. In 1904 Chief Billy Barlow, son of Squi-qui, built a new potlatch house, 50 feet wide by 100 feet long, on the site of his ancestral village. That April he welcomed over 300 Indians from the Swinomish, Lummi and Tulalip reservations. But, as the Island County Times reported, "The affair was more ... a memorial than a potlatch." Barlow's was the last potlatch on central Whidbey, and his death in 1909 signaled the end of the Lower Skagit chiefs. Only three Indian families remained on Penn Cove in subsequent decades: Charlie and Katie Snakelum, Aleck and Susie Kettle, Charlie and Mary Jim.

As the Indian population dwindled, change accelerated on Whidbey. Southeast of Ebey's Prairie the United States Army constructed Fort Casey, one of three forts built on Admiralty Inlet to guard America's northwest corner. Telephone service and steam-powered threshing machines arrived, and regular boat service connected Coupeville, Bellingham, Everett and Seattle. Along with these innovations came a born promoter and land speculator extraordinaire—Judge Lester Still. Not far from where Chief Squi-qui's village once stood, Still



Coupeville High School Baseball Team, c. 1930. Front row, far right: Elson Aleck, grandson of Aleck Kettle. Back row, second, third and fifth from left: Chuck Arnold, Mickey Clark and Hobart Race.

OPPOSITE PAGE: International War Canoe Race on Penn Cove, 1933 Coupeville Water Festival.



purchased Barstow's Point in 1901. There he created Stills Park, a rustic lodge with an assortment of cabins and paths, and a giant pavilion that he called the "Wigwam."

Forty-seven years after the death of Isaac Ebey, Lester Still romanticized the "passing Indian" to promote his new business. On July 29, 1904, just three months after the Lower Skagit's final potlatch, he announced via the local paper: "Chah-co Ko-pa Wigwam, Ko-Pa...First Annual Potlatch at the Wigwam." To publicize his resort on "the former meeting ground of all the allied Indian tribes of the Puget Sound country," he traveled throughout the Puget Sound area and spoke at endless public functions, including Seattle's Alaska-Yukon Exposition. He also wrote countless articles about Whidbey in magazines such as The Coast, Opportunity and The Westerner. Yet, while invoking Indian themes in his promotions, Still cautiously avoided the island's "Ebey Massacre," as it was then called. He reassured magazine readers that "the Indian of today is unlike his bold untamable progenitors. He has adopted to a great degree, the customs of the 'Pale Face.' At no time in the last forty years has there been any trouble with the Indians on Puget Sound." But, despite his nostalgic advertising campaign Still failed to transform Whidbey Island into the "Hub of the Puget Sound Country," and he sold the park in 1911.

s the 20th century progressed, the last Lower Skagit families remained near Coupeville. The Kettles' grandchildren attended the local school, and Charlie and Katie Snakelum regularly crossed Penn Cove in search of farm work, food or supplies. People living on Whidbey Island today recall their "canoe rides with Charlie," his sheep-shearing abilities, or visiting him on Snakelum Point where he regularly told the story of seeing Isaac Ebey's headless body. Another Indian family lived not far from Charlie's home. Sixty years later, Hobart Race recalled Charlie and Mary Jim:

When I was real young there was an Indian family that lived right in front of our yard. Their name was Jim. They had a little one-room shack and kids, but you couldn't keep track of them because they lost them as soon as they'd get into their teens. Tuberculosis. They had one boy about my age, August. He lasted till he was about 14. I can remember the canoes coming across from La Conner when I was real young. When we had low tides, especially in the summer, you could hear them hollering and joking.

Susie [Teloleta] and Aleck Kettle and children lived in Coupeville with her mother Walatela. Only one of nine Kettle children reached adulthood, the others dying from accidents or tuberculosis by their teens. In an effort to eliminate the disease, townspeople built a new home for the Kettles, afterwards burning their old one to the ground, an act later remembered by most locals as an "accidental fire." Walatela, the daughter of Chief General Warren [Sakdeakeet], who signed the Point Elliott Treaty, supported herself selling clams until shortly before her death in 1916. Carl Jenne remembered Walatela, whom whites called "Squinty" because of her poor eyesight: "She sold clams at a very low price, going from house to house, carrying them on her back, a small bucket full for 25 cents." Aleck Kettle, a Duwamish Indian and second cousin to Chief Leschi, whom Isaac Stevens had hanged near Steilacoom in 1858, could be seen on his "smelt stand," a ladder-type platform on the beach from which he spotted incoming runs. Known for his expertise in carving canoes, Kettle worked near the town dock, often interrupting his work to teach woodworking skills to white youngsters or tell Indian creation stories recalled from his youth.

Whidbey Island became something of an isolated backwater from 1910 until 1935, the year the Deception Pass Bridge was completed. Railroads and automobiles shifted transportation from small steamers on the sound to the mainland. Consequently, growth slowed considerably for towns like Coupeville and Oak Harbor, whose economies were oriented toward their docks. Coupeville's newspaper from this era reflects a sleepy, tightly woven rural community, one centered on itself to the detriment of island business owners. Lacking a chamber of commerce, Coupeville brainstormed the Indian Water Festival in 1929, complete with an "International War Canoe Race," to attract visitors and fresh dollars to the town. The irrepressible Lester Still took charge of promoting it via radio:

This is the biggest show of its kind in the Western Hemisphere and it is fitting that it should take place on . . . the shores of that beautiful land of the sunset, Whidbey Island, a spot rich in the prehistoric legends of the Red men, as well as the early history of this state. Here on the very battle grounds of the past, the Indian found a Haven of Peace, at the end of his long and tragic retreat toward the setting sun.

Water Festival promoters invited tribes from Alaska to Washington to compete in the three-day event. At the 1931 festival 5,000 people lined the shores of Penn Cove to watch the *Telegraph* take first place; later both Paramount and Universal Studios sent crews to cover the event. Newsreel footage of the 50-foot canoes, each carved from a single cedar tree and powered by 11 men, ran in theaters throughout the United States. Besides racing, the eclectic festival included a concert by the Indian Band, a Fat Men's Race, and "Prettiest Baby" contests—with separate categories for Indian and white children. Twenty-one Northwest tribes attended in 1933, including the Yakamas who, lacking a saltwater heritage, cheered the others on.

Despite the rhetoric of Lester Still, and townspeople posing Charlie Snakelum in front of a plains teepee while wearing a feathered Lakota headdress, the Water Festival provided an opportunity for the tribe to reconnect. For some the 1932 festival became the last chance to renew old bonds. Shortly after the event, Charlie Snakelum died at the age of 90. Chief William Shelton of the Tulalip Tribe provided a eulogy for the "pillar of the Skagit Tribe":

Today friends of whatever color gather to pay last respects to the remains of a common friend. To him to whom the color line was no barrier, we give all due respect. To the members of his own race . . . we beg you, as these lives that connect you with the old days pass on one by one, that you hold to and preserve their history and traditions. May not the swing of modern times take from you the inherent value of your own race history. No people with a system of social life and religious customs is without value to future generations.

In 1937 Susie [Teloleta] Kettle, the "last full blooded Indian woman on the Island," died. Her husband Aleck enlisted the help of Hattie Race to compile a history of the Lower Skagit Indians on Whidbey Island. Kettle told Race, "I am anxious to know the dates and the names of these people because I believe it would help in establishing dates to the stories that are told by our old people...it would be good to preserve it." Whether he ever completed this work is unknown. Aleck moved to Swinomish because of ill health and, in January 1947, the Coupeville paper reported, "Coupeville's ties with its historical Indian past were severed last week when their last Indian, Aleck Kettle, died at the La Conner Reservation."

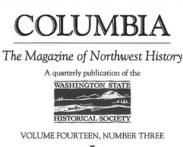
he Indian Water Festival ended as World War II began, and with it vanished any discernible connections between central Whidbey and the Lower Skagit Indians at Swinomish. Although Coupeville renewed the celebration as a one-day event in 1992, it lacks the immediate cultural richness that earlier festivals possessed. In 1946 the Lummi tribe began the Stommish Water Festival. Over 50 years later it still provides Native Americans with the common meeting ground they once found at Coupeville.

Today the landscape of Ebey's Landing National Historical Reserve reflects the former presence of the Lower Skagit Indians in subtle ways. Outside the Island County Museum in Coupeville stands a collection of Indian canoes, including Charlie Snakelum's black dugout, the *Telegraph*—winner of the 1931 Water Festival—and the *Elson*, carved by Aleck Kettle as a permanent memorial to his teenage grandson who died in 1935.

For other traces of native life on Whidbey Island it is best to return to Perego's Bluff. From there the prairie stretches east, unencumbered by development. The Lower Skagit people once worked here, performing elemental tasks, gathering the raw materials of everyday life: bracken fern and camas, birds and deer. The prairie wraps around pockets of deep green forest that once provided cedar for native homes, canoes, baskets and tools. And in front, a buffer between land and water, are the same beaches where the Indians dug clams, dried their catches of salmon, and launched their canoes. Regrettably, there remain few visible traces of the Lower Skagit culture, but signs of Native American life on Whidbey Island—a land, water and human relationship thousands of years old—are there today if you know where to look.

Theresa Trebon, an independent historian and lecturer, began directing the Oral History Project for Ebey's Landing National Historical Reserve in 1995. Her first book is A Common Need: Whidbey General Hospital and the History of Medical Care on Whidbey Island, 1850-2000 (July 2000).

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FRONT COVER: In 1942 a young man from Cle Elum, Washington, became a Coast Guard legend when he led a detail of landing craft to rescue a marine unit trapped on the beach at Guadalcanal. Signalman First Class Douglas Munro is pictured here in the foreground, firing on the Japanese during the rescue effort. (Painting by T. Andrea, courtesy of United States Coast Guard)