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NEXT MEETING: Seattle Chapter - April 12, 1961

MEETING PLACE: Washington State Museum
4037 15th Avenue N. E.
Seattle 5, Washington

SPEAKER: DR. ALEX D. KRIEGER

TOPIC: "Some Major Problems in American Archaeology"

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NORTHWEST ANTHROPOLOGICAL CONFERENCE

APRIL 13, 14, 15

VANCOUVER, B. C.

Washington Archaeological Society members who will give papers on
Saturday, April 15, will be:

Del Nordquist

"Site 45-SN-100"

Charles G. Nelson

"Site 45-SK-33"

Gifford Nickerson

"Antiquities Legislation"

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CAMANO ISLAND - SUCCESSION OF OCCUPATION FROM PREHISTORIC TO PRESENT TIME

John Osmundson

Camano Island is located in the northern part of Puget Sound, sandwiched in between Whidby Island and the mainland. Its shape is like that of a tadpole, with its head toward the north and its tail toward the south. On the mainland side two rivers empty into the Sound -- one, the Stillaguamish, directly opposite the northern tip of Camano, and the other, the Skagit, several miles to the north, across Skagit Bay. Camano Island is 15 miles long and from 1 to 7 miles wide. It contains 30,000 acres.

Human beings have been making use of these 30,000 acres for quite some time. This paper will discuss some of the uses which have been made. Camano Island is a hilly place. None of these hills are very high, but that does not make for any easier foot travel. The island is a mass of ravines and hills, with here and there a small pond or lake.

There are few or no sheltered bays or harbors on Camano. Triangle Bay and Elger Bay, which may appear to be sheltered coves on the map, are actually covered with water only when the tide is in. At low tide, they are mudflats. At any rate, in the case of Elger Bay, the "harbor" is fully exposed to the prevailing winds, which come from the south. The only fairly sheltered anchorage is Utsaladdy Bay, on the north end of the Island.

Camano Island does not rise gradually from the Sound. In general there are steep cliffs, rising above shingle beaches. Only in a few places is the interior of the Island readily accessible from the beach. Some of these spots are Madrona, Camano City, Elger Bay, Triangle Bay, and Livingston Bay.

The Island was glaciated during the last glacial period. Consequently, much glacial detritus can be found there. The soil ranges from rich, organic peat soil through light sandy or gravelly loam (with patches of almost pure gravel in places) to a light colored, very hard, impermeable clay, known locally as "hardpan".

Prior to about 100 years ago, the Island was heavily wooded. Its uneven surface was covered with large fir, hemlock and cedar trees. In places, around the small lakes and near the beach, the woods were somewhat more open, and here there were thickets of salmon berry bushes. Although the Island is in the "rain shadow" of the Olympic Mountains, and thus does not receive as much rain as the southern part of Puget Sound, still there is considerable moisture. There are many small streams on the Island, flowing through deep ravines, and breaking down the cliffs where they empty into the Sound. There are numerous fresh water springs as well.

The animals which inhabited this wet, forested, hilly Island included Elk, deer, bear, cougar, rabbit, squirrel, chipmunk, beaver, skunk and porcupine. There were ducks and other aquatic birds along the shore, and seal in the water offshore. Also in the water were salmon, halibut, cod and many other kinds of fish. Smelt ran onto the beaches here and there. There were clams, mussels, crabs and other shellfish on the beach.

It is believed that the earliest people in the Puget Sound area had an economy oriented toward land hunting, and made considerable use of chipped stone tools.

Chipped stone artifacts have been found at various places on Camano, but none of the known archaeological sites seem to have an "archaic" component. Chipped stone projectile points have been picked up at Triangle Bay and Camano City. The point from Camano City was a laurel-leaf shaped point of banded chert.

The archaeological sites on Camano are all shell middens which would make them Early Maritime at the oldest. There are some sixteen of these sites, and they each have been assigned a number by the UW survey. Beginning at farthest east, and working around the Island, they are:

Site 45-IS-12 - Consisting of some 8-10 burials found on a sidehill above the beach. There were no contact goods reported from this site.

Site 45-IS-83 - Is a midden on top of a 20 foot bluff above the beach. This midden is 120 feet long, 30 feet wide (maximum) and 1 foot deep. "Many burials" are reported from this site. A stream flows near this site. No contact material has been reported.

Sites 45-IS-7 & 8 are actually one large site, some 2 miles long. Several burials have been found here, and some contact material is also present. One of these burials was evidently made after the spread of Shakerism among the Indians since it included a bell of the type used by the Shakers in their ceremonies. The midden is eight feet deep at its maximum, on the west side of Utsaladdy Bay. Artifacts recovered from this site include a polished stone adze with the antler sleeve still attached, said to come from a depth of 6 feet. Another celt was some 8 inches long and made from jadeite. A stone bowl with incised lines radiating from the bottom, and a number of antler wedges have been found, as well as a ground jadeite blade.

Site 45-IS-84 is a midden which was exposed by a road cut. It is 75 ft. long, 15 ft. wide (maximum) and 1 ft. deep. No burials and no contact material have been found here.

Sites 45-IS-9, 10, and 85 are really one site. It extends for about a mile along the beach. At the northern end of the site, there are two concentric, semi-circular trenches, with their ends on a 20 ft. high bluff. These trenches are 230 ft. long, and the distance from the bluff to the outermost trench is 120 ft. The outer trench is 15 ft. wide and 3 ft. deep and the inner 9 ft. wide and 2½ ft. deep. There is a lip on either side of the outer trench which is 1½ ft. high. Originally, there were two or three low mounds, containing burials just outside the outer trench. Burials have been found inside the area enclosed by the trenches as well. No contact material has been reported from these trenches, and there are decayed stumps 3 to 4 ft. in diameter on the edge of the trenches. There is a midden in which many burials have been found immediately to the south of these earthworks. This midden is about 200 ft. wide--the length and depth are unknown. Artifacts from this midden include a chipped grey stone object, hand hammers, adze blades, ulna awls and antler wedges. One of the burials from this area was associated with the remains of a woolen blanket and an iron object. This burial was fully extended. Across

what was once a lagoon, to the south of this site, there is more midden. This midden is located on what was once a point, but this point has been eroded away at the rate of about one foot per year for the last 30 years at least. The remaining midden is 65 yards long, 30 yards wide (maximum), and about six feet deep. At least one burial has been found in this midden.

Site 45-IS-86 consists of thick middens at the mouths of streams fronting on the beach, and thinner midden on the low cliffs above the shore. The midden in the northernmost of these stream-cut gaps in the cliff was 69 feet long, 21 feet wide (maximum) and 4 feet deep. It was composed of stratified clam, mussel and barnacle shell. The artifacts found here included an antler net gauge, antler wedges, and rock oyster shell pendants. A burial of a small child was found in this midden, associated with glass trade beads. Another burial, associated with glass beads, was found in this area, as well as several other burials with no associated contact goods. Adzes and ground stone knife blades have come from this site. Scattered patches of shell extend south along the top of the cliff almost all the way to

Site 45-IS-3 which is a midden on a sandspit, fronting on an old lagoon. This midden is 600 feet long and 100 feet wide. As the midden is badly disturbed by wave action, the depth is not known. Two burials (one under a cairn) were found on the steep slope to the east of the lagoon.

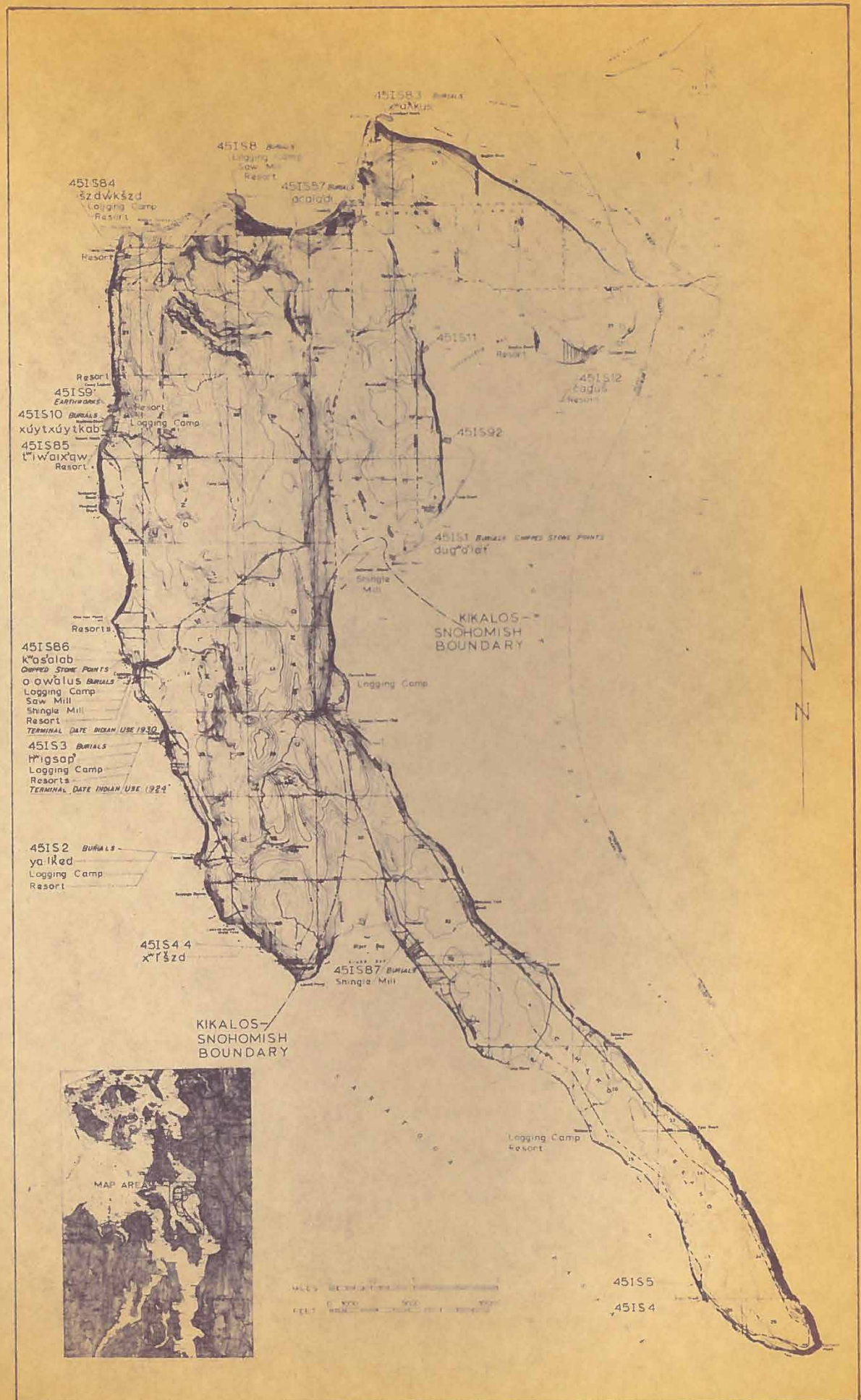
Site 45-IS-2 is another water-redeposited midden on a sandspit near an old lagoon. The midden is 225 feet long and 60 feet wide (maximum). The depth is unknown. Several burials were reported from this site, but no contact material.

Site 45-IS-44 is located on a narrow flat at the base of a steep slope. It has been almost completely eroded away by wave action. The midden is at present some 27 yards long. It is composed of fragmented mussel and butter clam shell, with some unbroken butter clam and whelk. Large madrona trees are growing on top of the site. There are no burials and no artifacts of any kind.

Site 45-IS-87 is a midden located on a level bench of land at the base of a fairly steep bank. Its dimensions (approximately) are 300 feet long, 45 feet wide (maximum) and 1 foot deep. The midden is composed of dark soil, shell and pea gravel. Five burials were found here, with deformed skulls. No artifacts of any kind have been reported from this site.

Sites 45-IS-4 and 5 are two small middens, located on a small spit below steep cliffs. Site 4 is some 6 feet square. The depth is unknown. There are no burials and no artifacts from this site. Site 5 is some 20 feet square, and 4 feet thick. There are no burials or artifacts.

Site 45-IS-1 consists of two middens--a small, badly wave-eroded one on a point, and a larger one inside the bay. The smaller midden is some 15 feet long, 5 feet wide (maximum) and 1 foot deep. No burials and no artifacts were found here. The midden inside the bay is 300 feet long, 60 feet wide (maximum) and from one to 5 feet deep. It is composed of highly fragmented clam and mussel shell, black earth, fire cracked rock and mammal bone fragments. Some human bone is reported from this midden, but there are no artifacts. This midden is covered with trees and brush and a small stream runs through it.



Site 45-IS-92 is 120 feet long, 15 feet wide (maximum) and 5 feet deep. It is composed of highly disintegrated mussel and clam shell. There are several hearths at the bottom of the midden, which is badly wave cut, and covered with brush and madrona trees. There are no burials and no artifacts.

Site 45-IS-11 is a small midden on a bench at the bottom of a cliff. It is hard to say just how large it is, since it is partly covered by a slide. It seems to be about 10 feet wide. There are no burials and no artifacts.

The only indication of aboriginal use of the interior of the Island is an occasional adze blade or hand maul, probably the relics of wood-cutting expeditions.

Historically the story of Camano Island can be divided into five periods.

Period I can be called the Kikialos period (?-1855). During this period, the population was entirely Indian. The northern part of the Island was occupied by the Kikialos, while the southern part was Snohomish territory. The culture of both these groups was similar--it was the historic culture of the Puget Sound Indians, with the emphasis on fishing and sea-hunting. The Kikialos, however, made much more intensive use of Camano than did the Snohomish. All but two of the above-listed sites are in Kikialos territory.

The Snohomish seem to have used their part of the Island primarily as a land hunting territory, although they undoubtedly did some clam digging and fishing there as well. They do not seem to have exploited their share of the Island to anything like capacity, and this seems true of the prehistoric period as well. The entire southeastern shore of Camano, from Camano Head to Triangle Bay (all of which was in Snohomish territory) shows no evidence whatsoever of any aboriginal occupation. Along this shore there are springs, streams of fresh water, easy access to the interior, and good clam digging, but for some reason the Indians never used it. It cannot be argued that there were once sites along this shore which have since eroded away. Erosion has been much more severe along the north and west shores, where most of the sites are to be found. On the east side, there seems to have been little or no erosion--in fact, the water there has been silting up.

The Kikialos were a group which occupied part of the Skagit Delta and Whidby Island, as well as the northern part of Camano. They were oriented towards the Skagit River, and their ties were mostly with the lower Skagit. All travel during this period was by boat, the Puget Sound dugout being used for long hauls, and the shovel-nose dugout for shorter expeditions. There seem to have been few or no trails inland on Camano during this period. All habitation was along the shore.

The Kikialos (and their Lower Skagit relatives) dug clams and collected mussels along the beaches, caught smelt in nets, fished and hunted seal in Saratoga Passage and Skagit Bay and picked salmon berries and gathered wood and cedar bark inland. Occasionally they cut down a cedar tree to split into planks or to hollow into a boat. They hunted those land animals that could provide them with meat, skins, or both.

Their sites are as follows (archaeological site numbers in parenthesis), again from the farthest east, working around the Island --

ČAGUŠ (45-IS-21) spoken of as a "village," but probably only a summer camp site, at least in the latter part of the Kikialos period.

X^uAX KUS "no water" (45-IS-83) evidently a permanent winter village earlier in the period, but probably only a summer site later on. There was a cemetery here, and it was the home (or was owned by) PA-ČQE¹, DAB a Kikialos chief who was one of the signers of the Mukilteo treaty.

ACALA' DI (45-IS-7) Evidently an important winter village from the earliest part of the period until the latest part. In fact, during the latter part of the period it was probably the only permanent settlement on Camano. Smelt were netted here with a little round net on the end of a pole (Lo'Q^w). Smelt rakes evidently were not used. The village was located on the eastern shore of Utsaladdy Bay. Fish were caught and dried here, clams were dug and dried for storage, as was the smelt. Land animals were hunted by the people of this village and ducks were caught and dried.

ŠZDWKSZD (45-IS-84) Spoken of as a "village" but was probably never more than a summer camp site. Fish were caught and dried here and land hunting was carried on at this site. Mussels were collected and clams were dug. The Upper Skagit came here to get clams. In the woods behind this site there were salmon berries.

XU'YTXU'YTKAB (45-IS-10) Evidently a considerable winter village at one time, but it is uncertain whether it remained a permanent village throughout the Kikialos period. It was an important clam digging and drying site. Fishing was carried on here. The Upper Skagit came here for clams. There were graves "white man's fashion" here. The people who lived here went up the Skagit in the summer to fish.

T^wI-WA' I QW (45-IS-85) The site just south of 45-IS-10 across the lagoon. Spoken of as a "village". It was almost certainly not a permanent site during the latter part of the Kikialos period, but was permanent earlier.

K^wAS'ALAB (45-IS-86) A campsite where smelt and clams were collected, land hunting was carried on, and ducks were hunted. All of these were dried here for winter use.

O-OW'ALUS (45-IS-86) A "big house" is mentioned for this site at the mouth of the creek immediately to the south of the site mentioned above. The Upper Skagit came to dig and dry clams in the fall. Smelt and other fish were caught here.

H^wIGSAP' (45-IS-3) A summer camp located "right on the beach".

YA-LKED (45-IS-2) Spoken of as a "village" but probably means a summer camp. Clams were dug and dried here.

X^wE' S[?]D (45-IS-44) Summer camp for digging and drying clams and catching smelt and herring. The Upper Skagit came here after clams. This was the last Kikialos site on the western side of Camano. The three sites south of this 45-IS-87, 45-IS-4 and 45-IS-5 are in Snohomish territory, and their names are not known.

The next and last Kikialos site was DUG^wA' LA[?] "inside the bay. (45-IS-1). This was probably the larger of the two middens at Triangle Bay, and was probably a summer campsite.

The two middens in Livingston Bay (45-IS-92 and 45-IS-11) evidently had no names, and thus it is unlikely that they were used by the Kikialos. They are probably entirely prehistoric.

At the peak period of Kikialos settlement, then, the situation was probably something like this:

There were large permanent villages at ACALA' DI (45-IS-7) & XUYTXUYTKAB (45-IS-10). Smaller permanent settlements were located at ČAGUŠ (45-IS-12), X^wA' KUS (45-IS-83), T^wI-WAIQW (45-IS-85) and O-OW'ALUS (45-IS-86). S[?]DWKS[?]D (45-IS-84), K^wAS'ALAB (45-IS-86), H^wIGSAP' (45-IS-3), YA-LKED (45-IS-2), X^wE' S[?]D (45-IS-44) and DUG^wA' LA[?] (45-IS-1) were summer camps.

There was probably population decline in the latter part of the period, which led to the abandonment of all the permanent settlements except ACALA' DI and, possibly, XUYTXUYTKAB. The abandoned winter sites were then used as summer camps, while the original summer sites continued as such.

The second period can be called the Early Logging or "Utsaladdy" period (1855-1895). During this period, the first permanent non-Indian residents established themselves on Camano. The first of these was a man named Chisholm, who came to ACALA' DI in 1855, and built a small house there, between two of the Indian houses. Chisholm was evidently what was known as a "hand logger". These hand loggers were men who traveled by boat on Puget Sound and the rivers which run into it. They generally worked alone, or with one assistant. Their boats contained their camping equipment and their tools. These tools were saws, axes, hand spikes, peavys and jackscrews. A hand logger's operations were simple. When he saw a tree, growing near the water, that looked good he set up his camp beside it, cut it down and floated it to the nearest market. He might also pry logs loose from log jams in rivers.

Chisholm seems to have been more ambitious than the average "hand logger", however. After coming to ACALA' DI he organized the Kikialos there into a spar-cutting crew. Spars were used in ship construction, and they were not easy to cut. The average spar was about 100 feet long, and had to be felled in such a way that they would not break. If the tree was some distance from the beach, a road must be built for it to be skidded out on. In 1855, the bark, "Anadyr" took the first cargo of spars cut near ACALA' DI. This cargo went to France. In 1856 a Dutch ship, the "Williamsburg" took a cargo of spars--averaging 80-100 feet long--to Holland.

In 1857, Thomas Cranney arrived, and under his direction a steam saw mill was built on the western side of Utsaladdy Bay. It began sawing in 1858. This

mill brought more non-Indians to Camano. It also brought a new source of income to the Kikialos, who worked in the mill, sold bear and deer hides to the mill for belting, dogfish oil for lubrication, and fish for the mill hands to eat. The mill also brought other Indians to ACALA'DI. Some of these were Snohomish, with whom the Kikialos gambled, and "northern Indians", (Haida ?) who were not regarded with affection by the Kikialos. Shortly after the mill was built, there were some 45 of these northern Indians at ACALA'DI, living in 4 or 5 tents, and using canoes with sails. In 1858, a boat load of these attacked a group of Kikialos on the beach near Brown's Point, killing six of them with musket fire. The Kikialos returned the fire, and the northern Indians withdrew.

In 1863 there were enough non-Indians living at ACALA'DI to organize a school with 14 pupils. There was a shipwright working there in that year. Two steamboats were eventually built at Utsaladdy--the "J. B. Libby" (a side-wheeler) and the "Cascade" (a sternwheeler).

In 1866, the town of Stanwood, at the mouth of the Stillaguamish River, was begun. It had no effect on Camano at that time.

The Kikialos were intermarrying with non-Indians during this period. In 1867 a white man married an Indian girl he had met at Utsaladdy.

In 1874 a "war" occurred between the Kikialos and the S^bA' LIUQ^u (a Skagit River group) over the killing of a S^bA' LIUQ^u named Jim by a Kikialos during a drunken brawl at Utsaladdy. This occurred on Cranney's property, so he sent word to the S^bA' LIUQ^u to come and get the body. The Kikialos went up the Skagit, fought the S^bA' LIUQ^u near Skagit City, defeated them and returned to Camano.

In 1876 the mill was sold to the Puget Mill Co.

In 1881 a mail boat began to call regularly at Utsaladdy, which became the post office for Stanwood and the Skagit River settlements.

In 1882 a rise in the price of lumber meant capacity production for the mill.

In 1883 the mail boats began to run from Utsaladdy up the Skagit.

In 1884 a group of people from Coupeville came to Utsaladdy for a dance at the hotel there--indicating fairly close connections with Whidby Island.

In 1886 the mail boat from Seattle began 3-times-weekly service to Utsaladdy.

In 1890 the mill closed.

During this period travel was still entirely by water, the Puget Sound dugout being supplemented by the sailing vessel and the small steamer. Camano Island was still oriented toward the Skagit. Utsaladdy served as a base of supplies for settlement in the Skagit Valley, being a source of lumber, mail, tools, garden seeds, etc., for them. Until about 1880 logs cut in the Skagit Valley were sent to Utsaladdy to be sawed. Boats were built at Utsaladdy, and a freight line (using sailing vessels) carried goods up the Skagit. Logging was selective, most of it being done on the north end of Camano, near the mill.

A reservation was established near the present town of La Conner during this period, but the Camano Kikialos do not seem to have moved onto it in any numbers, at least at first. They had a market for their goods and services at the mill, as did members of other Indian groups. The entire non-Indian population on Camano seems to have been concentrated at Utsaladdy, and there was some inter-marriage between the Kikialos and these new-comers. A doctor immunized the Kikialos children against smallpox early in the period. Although the mill was a source of a great number of non-Indian goods and ideas, the life of the Kikialos seems to have been essentially unchanged. Even native warfare seems to have persisted into the 1870's.

The remainder of Camano, aside from Utsaladdy, appears to have continued to be used by the Indians in the traditional way. Although concentration on reservations had at least begun, all the former Camano territory of the Kikialos and Snohomish still yielded a livelihood to those groups--its yield for them actually enhanced, rather than diminished, by white settlement.

There was evidently no farming on Camano Island during this period. All non-Indians seem to have been engaged in logging or in work at the mill.

Period III can be called "Late Logging" (1895-1920). Probably during the late 1890's a man by the name of Esary acquired a considerable tract of land around Camano City (O-OW/ALUS) and began intensive logging operations.

Much more machinery was used in logging operations during this period. The steam donkey engine was in use, and steam railroads were used in hauling the logs out of the woods. A typical logging camp during this period would be established near the Sound, where there was enough timber to last for several years. The personnel would consist of: a foreman, a teamster, 2 fallers, 2 sawyers, 2 skidders, 2 swampers, 2 barkers, a hand skidder, a hook tender, a skid-greaser, a landing man, and two or three extra hands. The logs were cut high up on the tree trunk, so that the rough butt would not tear up the skids in the skid road. These last were simply narrow roads through the woods, with wooden skids laid across the road at intervals of about six feet. These skids were kept greased and logs were hauled over them by horses or oxen.

As Esary logged off the land around Camano City, he divided it into lots and sold it. Some farmers began coming into Camano at this time, clearing brush and stumps off logged over land for farms.

In 1904, a school and a shingle mill were built at Camano City. The shingle mill used cedar from logged-off land as raw material.

In 1905 a saw mill was added.

In 1907, two Kikialos, Pete Sam and Kikialos Jack, were living in tents at Camano City with their wives. They worked in the logging camps, and also worked for some of the farmers, clearing land, building fences, etc.

In 1908, Camano City boasted a general store, a confectionary, a saw mill, a planer mill (probably housed in the same building as the sawmill) a shingle mill, a blacksmith shop, a logging camp, and a logging railroad running four miles inland which hauled logs to the mill. There was a telephone company

(with wires to Stanwood), electric lights (from a generator in the shingle mill), a water system, two hotels and a boat shop (which could build launches up to 50 feet long). There were 50 pupils in the school. The population of the entire Island at this time was around 350.

In 1910 the shingle mill burned, putting an end to the electric lights. Pete Sam left the Island. There were 2 or 3 small shovel-nosed dugouts "laying around" near the general store.

In 1914 there was a public dock at Camano, with daily boat service--the boat brought the mail to the Camano post office.

In 1915 a 50-foot long Puget Sound dugout visited Camano City. This boat was from La Conner, and had been built the previous winter. Indian women knitted socks which were sold through the Camano City store. "Everyone" wore these socks.

In 1918 some barges were built at Camano City on government contract.

At Indian Beach (H^wIGSAP' - 45-IS-3) there was a small logging camp during this period. Aside from this, the Indians continued to use the site in the traditional way. A group of 15-20 Indians at a time would visit the site in 3 or 4 Puget Sound dugouts. They stayed in canvas tents, and dug and dried clams. These Indians do not seem to have been Kikialos - Kikialos Jack and Pete Sam had no connections with them. They were said to come from Tulalip, and thus were probably Snohomish.

At Elger Bay there was a shingle mill which closed before 1907. By 1914 there was a school there, and Kikialos Jack died there in 1918.

At Madrona (XUYTXUYTKAB) Esary had one of his logging camps. By 1919 there were tourist cabins there.

There was a shingle mill on the spit at Triangle Bay which closed in 1917.

Livingston Bay is said to be an "old community." By 1919 there were farms there.

The Snohomish continued to hunt on the southern part of Camano Island, and this area received some permanent inhabitants during this period. At a spot called Mabana (where there appears to have been no previous settlement), a man named Anderson established a logging camp. Like Esary, he divided the logged-over land into tracts of from 5 to 40 acres each, and sold them. By 1914, Mabana had a dock, daily boat service, and a post office. The Postmaster had arrived there about 1907, and he raised chickens.

In 1919 there were several farms in the vicinity.

At one of the places along the southeastern shore of Camano, (that long stretch of shoreline evidently never utilized by the Indians) Esary had another logging camp. This place was called Cavalero's after an early settler there who had raised goats. Some of the goats escaped, went wild, and there were goats roaming at large on Camano for a number of years thereafter.

There was a logging camp at Š^ŸDWKS^ŸD (45-IS-84) during this period.

There was also a logging camp at YA-LKED (45-IS-2).

There was still some activity at Utsaladdy. In 1907, Esary had a large logging camp there, and there was a granery where grain was loaded onto sailing craft. By 1919 the old Utsaladdy mill was in ruins, some tourist cabins had been built, and there was a ferry to Oak Harbor. By 1920, Esary began using trucks at Utsaladdy for hauling logs.

Travel was still largely by water during this period, and during the first part of the period, Camano Island was still oriented toward the Skagit Valley. The Island was completely logged over, all timber that could possibly be used was used. The Utsaladdy mill was no longer operating, but mills were established at Camano City (which replaced Utsaladdy as the "metropolis" of Camano Island), Elger Bay and Triangle Bay. There were logging camps at Utsaladdy, Maple Grove, Madrona, Camano City, Mabana, Indian Beach, Cana Beach and Cavalero's. Logging was much more mechanized--a small logging railroad operated out of Camano City. All mills and logging camps were located on the shore, however, since lumber and supplies moved by boat. Skidroads were built in every part of Camano. Around 1907 there were six logging operators working on the Island, Esary being the largest with between 30-40 employees.

Some of the skidroads were improved enough to take a car or wagon during the latter part of this period. In 1907 there was a cable ferry between Camano and Stanwood, and in 1912 a bridge was built on the site of this ferry. A Skidroad between Camano City and Stanwood was improved sufficiently to permit the passage of a Model T.

Some farming (around Camano City, Livingston Bay and Mabana) began in the latter part of this period. During this period also began the influx of Scandinavians (mostly Norwegians) who make up a significant proportion of the population at present. They came to work in the logging camps, and took up land for farming as it was logged off.

Indian use of Camano seems to have declined. Some of the Kikialos at ACALA'DI were absorbed into the non-Indian population, and the rest seem to have spent more time on the reservations. Indians (both Kikialos and others) worked in the logging camps. Some of the Kikialos worked for the farmers, and Indian-made socks were sold in the Camano City store. Kikialos continued to visit O-ONALUS, in groups of 15 or 20. They came by boat, and camped on top of the cliff or on the beach in canvas tents, coming up from the beach by way of the northernmost ravine (45-IS-86). They dug clams, and caught and dried fish. There seems to have been a northward expansion of the Snohomish, who utilized H'IGSAP'. They also continued hunting over the south end of Camano. This south end was the scene of some farming and logging at this time, but as in all previous periods, it was the least used part of the Island.

Period IV can be called the "Subsistence Farming" period. (1920-1940). The Island had been totally logged off, and divided up into small farms, averaging from 40 to 350 acres in size. A typical subsistence farm would be arranged something like this: a dwelling house (some small and simple, some fairly elaborate), a semi-subterranean "root cellar" used for the storage of carrots, potatoes and other root crops, (hence the name) as well as home-canned fruit and vegetables.

There would be a woodshed (wood was generally cut on the farm, using a "drag-saw," or a buzz saw), a chicken house (sometimes very large - there was a boom in chicken raising during this period), a garage (all or most of these farmers had cars and some had trucks), a barn (where hay and miscellaneous equipment was stored and cows were milked), and perhaps a pigpen. There would also be a number of fruit trees (apple, cherry, pear and sometimes plum), and a garden (with potatoes, corn, carrots, tomatoes, peas, lettuce, and many other vegetables in it.)

Livestock would include several cows (for milk), perhaps a couple of steers being fattened up for beef, chickens (from a few dozen to several hundred) some pigs and a dog. More rarely there were sheep and rabbits, and horses seem to have been rather rare. There were meadows where the cattle grazed and where grass was cut for hay.

A number of resorts were also built during this period. A typical resort would consist of a small store (generally a part of the owner's dwelling house) a gas pump, a number of small cabins, a boat-house where boats were rented, and a marine railway for getting the boats into the water. Bait was sold, and outboard motors and fishing tackle were rented to those who did not provide their own. The resorts did most of their business in the summer.

The subsistence farms frequently did not yield an adequate cash income, so their owners were forced to work in logging camps on the mainland, as commercial fishermen or at other work to supplement their income from farming. Even the smaller resort owners would sometimes "work out" during the slack season, and many of those who had jobs did not work on Camano--their jobs were in Stanwood, or even farther away.

In 1921 the mill at Camano City closed. A lumber schooner came to the dock there for a load of lumber--the last load of lumber to be shipped from the Island by water.

In 1922 the population of Camano City was around 75 souls. The storekeeper had several small boats for rent, and there were 25 children in the school.

By 1924 the mill at Camano City was in ruins, and the dock collapsed, bringing the daily boat service to a close, as there was now no place for cargo to be loaded. It also brought the Camano City post office to a close, as the mail no longer came by boat. Instead, RFD (by road from Stanwood) was instituted.

In 1925, an Indian (Snohomish ?) logger from Warm Beach named George Adams was living at Camano City. He was said to be a "good hunter."

By 1929, the Camano City mill had completely disappeared.

1930 was the last year the Kikialos visited their traditional site at Camano City to dry fish and clams. After the establishment of farms in the area, these Kikialos bought chickens from the local farmers to vary their diet while at Camano. Sometime before 1930, they had stopped coming by water and came in cars by road through Stanwood instead.

At Indian Beach a resort was built in 1924. This seems to be more or less the terminal date for Indian use of that site.

The dock at Mabana was gone by 1930, and the post office there probably closed when the one at Camano did - 1924.

At the beginning of this period logging, which had dominated the Camano Island economy since 1855, ceased. The last mill closed, and the land was parcelled out in a series of small farms. The interior of the Island, however, was not farmed very intensively. It was covered with second growth timber, and fire wood was cut there. Some cattle were pastured there, and deer were hunted to supplement domestic beef. Blackberries and salmon berries, which grew up in large thickets, were picked. Some of these berries were eaten on the spot, while others were made into jams and jellies, or canned for winter use. Since Prohibition was in force during the first half of the Subsistence Farming Period, there were some small but flourishing distilling operations in the interior as well, carefully hidden away from the curious.

The southern part of the Island remained the least utilized. Here the farms were few and far between, the roads were the poorest and there were few resorts.

A great change took place during this period--water travel ceased, and the old orientation toward the Skagit Valley, which had persisted at least since Kikialos times, came to an end. Instead Camano Island became oriented toward the Stillaguamish, and especially the town of Stanwood. The reason for this was the use of the automobile and the consequent enlargement of the road system. Between 1921 and 1940, the road system was virtually doubled, and in the latter part of the period the main roads were asphalted. Stanwood became the shopping center, amusement center and post office for Camano. There was never a high school on Camano Island, so all Camano adolescents who wanted to go to high school had to go to Stanwood. After about 1938, all Island schools (there were about 5) were closed, and all Island children went to school in Stanwood.

Automobiles brought considerable numbers of tourists--mostly from Seattle--and a large number of resorts were built. These were resorts at Juniper Beach (CAGUS), Utsaladdy, Maple Grove (S?DOKS?D), and Camp Grande. Madrona had no less than four separate resorts in something like two miles of beach, there were two resorts near Onamac Point, a resort at Camano City, two at Indian Beach, one at Cana Beach, one at Mabana and Livingston Bay.

This period marks the end of Indian utilization of Camano. The last sites to be used were H^wIGSAP' (Indian Beach) and O-OWALUS (Camano City). This abandonment probably reflects changing economic activities among the Indians.

All in all, this was a great period of change and transition. The major changes can be summed up as follows:

- (1) End of the old economy based on logging and mills.
- (2) Farming becomes important for the first time in the Island's history. The tourist trade becomes important, also.
- (3) The end of water travel--travel is by road from this period on.
- (4) The end of orientation toward the Skagit--beginning of orientation toward the Stillaguamish.

(5) The end of Indian use of Camano Island.

Period V can be called the "Real Estate" period. (1940 - present). During this period land values rose sharply. Many of the subsistence farms (especially those within sight of the water) were sold off piecemeal as building lots. This was sometimes done by the original owner of the farm, or the farm might be purchased by an outsider for subdivision. Some of these new houses were built for permanent residence, some for summer or week end use only.

Much of this building took place around Madrona, although Utsaladdy also gained in population.

Immediately following World War II, there was a minor resurgence of logging. It had been some 25 years since the Island had been logged off, and in many places there were stands of timber large enough to cut. A number of small mills were constructed at various inland points--unlike the previous logging operations there were no mills on the shore--and moved when the trees in the immediate vicinity were cut. Logs and lumber were hauled by trucks, and there were no logging camps. These logging activities were small affairs--the largest only engaged 8 or 10 men. This logging came to an end around 1952. In some cases, the logged-over land was sold off for building lots.

The road system was not greatly expanded, but almost all roads were asphalted. A new bridge to Stanwood--30 or 40 feet up-river from the old one--was built in 1950. During roughly the first ten years of the period, the resorts flourished exceedingly in spite of the fact that one or two of the smaller ones had closed. Later, however, their trade diminished. Some of them were closed, divided into beach-front lots, and sold off piece by piece.

A state park was established at the site of X^{ES}ES^{ES}D (45-IS-44) in 1949. This park had a series of campsites (for tents), a picnic area--with two community kitchens--swings and a slide for children, and a small space for trailers. There was a house for the superintendent. A great many people were attracted to the park, and possibly it was a factor in the decline of the resorts. Ten years after the park's beginning, Pt. Lowell was added to its area.

A major real estate development was begun at Cavalero's around 1950. This area was logged off and then bulldozed and divided into building lots. A number of roads were laid out, and it was proposed to build a golf course there. This last has never materialized, however. In 1960 another real estate development similar to that mentioned above was begun at Utsaladdy.

The most heavily propulated spot on the Island is now Madrona (XUYTXUYTKAB), with Utsaladdy a close second. The southern part of the Island is still the most sparsely settled part, although even there the Real Estate Period has brought a rise in population.

There has been a distinct decline in farming during this period--many people do not even have vegetable gardens. Home canning has declined very sharply, and I don't believe that there are any root cellars left. The cattle and chicken population has declined, but there seem to be a few more horses than in the preceding period--these are used for riding. Most of the surviving farms are around Livingston Bay.

The population figures as of 1950 were as follows -

Total population - 1160

Foreign born white	-	male	94	female	53
Native born white	-	male	535	female	474
Other races	-	male	2	female	2

Total of 804 dwelling units

Ages - all males

Under 5 years	53	5 - 14 years	74	15 - 20 years	39
21 - 24 years	19	25 - 34 years	56	35 - 44 years	90
45 - 54 years	73	55 - 64 years	96	65 and over	131

All females

Under 5 years	51	5 - 14 years	81	15 - 20 years	25
21 - 24 years	17	25 - 34 years	61	35 - 44 years	76
45 - 54 years	70	55 - 64 years	72	65 and over	76

Some 456 people were listed as "farm population" -- well under half of the total and most of these were not very intensive farmers, even by the standards of the preceding "Subsistence Farm" Period. Many of the subsistence farms had already been sold off as building sites by 1950, either entirely or in part. It can also be seen from these figures that there are many old people in this population - 518 out of the 1160 were 45 or older. Many of the new people who moved onto Camano during the "Real Estate Period" were retired people - many of them from Seattle - looking for a quiet place to spend their declining days. Some of the so-called "farm population" would probably fall into this category. If their land holdings were large enough, "retired" people might acquire a cow and a few chickens.

There were relatively few young adults - only 153 individuals, out of the total of 1160 were age 21 to 34.

As has been the case since the Late Logging Period, many of the people are Scandinavian. However, with the beginning of the "Real Estate Period" the population became much more mobile. People move on and off the Island with great ease. Comparatively few of the families who lived on Camano during the Subsistence Farming Period are still there.

I have not seen the 1960 census figures, but it seems very probable that none of the above trends have changed. There is probably an even larger percentage of older people, the "farm population" may have shrunk, and the total population has undoubtedly grown.

To sum up - (1) This is an elderly population, many of them retired or semi-retired.

(2) There are a considerable number of Scandinavians.

(3) This is a mobile population - many have not lived here long.

- (4) Although this is a rural area (there are no incorporated towns on Camano) this is not an area where farming is very important.
- (5) Most income is derived from off-Island sources - there are few sources of income on Camano.

From prehistoric times down to the present, settlement patterns have changed surprisingly little. All during Camano Island's history, population has centered on the northern and western shores - roughly from Brown's Point to Indian Beach. Within this area, the same localities have retained their importance from earliest times to the present - Utsaladdy (ACALA' DI), Madrona (XUYTXUYTKAB, T^WWAIK'OW) and Camano City (K^WAS'ALAB - O'OWALUS - H^WIGSAP). These three places were never completely abandoned - they have always been occupied at least seasonally - and during much of their history they have probably been permanent settlements. Utsaladdy, at least, has been a permanent settlement since prehistoric times.

From prehistoric times to the present the southern part of Camano - the old Snohomish territory - has been a backwater, with comparatively little settlement.

The archaeological sites on Camano Island, then, are still in use today. This is in sharp contrast to the state of affairs on the Plateau, where most archaeological remains are to be found far from the present habitations.

Farming has been of great economic significance on Camano only during a comparatively brief period - the Subsistence Farming Period, which lasted only about 20 years. There was no farming at all during the Kikialos period, probably none during the Early Logging Period, little during the Late Logging Period and little today.

Hunting has been carried on probably all during Camano's history. Deer are still hunted today, as are pheasants and ducks. There has been a considerable change in the fauna of the Island since the Kikialos period. Elk, bear and cougar have disappeared. There are still a few beaver and rabbits are abundant. Squirrels, chipmunks and porcupines are still present, as are skunks. None of these are hunted, however, the only animals which are regarded as game animals being deer, and even deer hunting has diminished, owing to the increased human population. Raccoons, possums, red fox, mink and weasel are present today, in some numbers. Domestic cats have been abandoned on the Island, and gone wild.

There seems to have been an increase in the numbers of wild animals since the end of the Subsistence Farming Period - possibly owing to more brush growing up in recently logged-over land and in abandoned pastures and bay-meadows.

Clams are still dug enthusiastically on the beaches, and some crabs are taken with smelt-rakes at Utsaladdy when they run there. The fishing in the waters surrounding Camano has greatly diminished. There is no commercial fishing and although recreational fishing still continues, it is only a shadow of its former self.

Berries are little used since the end of the Subsistence Farming Period, although blackberry thickets now cover fairly wide areas.

Much of Camano is still in woods, although this wooded area has been much affected by the growth of population. Little timber suitable for logging remains, and little firewood is cut, as most of the people use oil or electricity for heating. During the resurgence of logging after World War II, there was considerable cutting of slabwood for stoves, but this has ceased. The little wood that is cut today is intended for fireplaces. Driftwood has never been used widely for heating since the Kikialos period, partly because, being on the beach, it is hard to bring up onto the land (Camano's beaches are generally backed by steep cliffs, remember), but mostly because it is said to contain salts which have a bad effect on stoves.

Seaweed, mussels and barnacles have never been gathered or eaten by non-Indians, who regard them as inedible.

Travel now is entirely by motor vehicles along the roads. Few gravel or dirt roads remain. Almost all Island roads are asphalted. There is a small dock at Madrona, but it does not extend far enough out to be used by large vessels. There are no other docks on the Island, and there is no regular boat service - people and goods move on and off Camano via the Stanwood bridge. The boats found on the Island at present are plywood or plastic hulled small craft, built at mainland boat yards. The Puget Sound dugout has disappeared. A few fishing craft and cabin cruisers anchor in Utsaladdy Bay, but this has silted up considerably over the last 80 years or so, and larger craft cannot now enter it.

House construction is still largely of wood, as has been the case ever since Kikialos times, although since World War II a few concrete block or brick buildings have been constructed. No structures of any kind from the Kikialos period survive, and it is unlikely that any remain from the Early Logging Period. The old mills along the beaches have totally disappeared - the only visible evidence of them are a few stumps of piling, about a foot or so high, completely covered with shellfish, which can be seen at low tide at Camano City. The oldest surviving structures on Camano thus date from the Late Logging Period.

Such farms as remain are concentrated in the Livingston Bay area. It is possible that the first farms to be established on Camano were here. The ground is relatively flat in this part of the Island, and the soil is fertile.

The two most important dates in Camano's history are 1855 when the first permanent non-Indian residents arrived, and the logging-and-mill economy began, and 1920, when this economy came to an end. 1920 can also be said to mark the end of water transport as the principal means of travel, and the end of the old orientation toward the Skagit.

Today, the population of Camano Island is larger than it has ever been in the past. Most of the people are of northwestern European origin or descent - almost none are natives of the Island. However, the population is still concentrated in the same area as ever. The difference between prehistoric times and the present can be said to be one of degree rather than kind.

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