A People's History of Lake Forest Park

A Manuscript Prepared By

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Map of Lake Forest Park and Surroundings by David M. Buerge, 2025

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CHAPTER ONE

Preliminaries

The small city of Lake Forest Park borders Lake Washington, a 22-mile-long Lake in King County, Washington State. Bounded in the south by Seattle, the largest city in the Pacific Northwest, neighboring suburban communities are, west and north, Shoreline, Mountlake Terrace and Briar and to the east, Kenmore. Most would not associate the city with an epic Native American Past.

Park comes from Latin, ***parcus***, a fenced stock enclosure. In Old Frankish ***parrik*** was wooded hunting ground for nobility, protected by anti-poaching laws. The hint of exclusivity led future Seattle mayor, Ole Hanson, and Alex Reid, real estate developers, to plat Lake Forest Park in 1910, hoping to attract upwardly mobile monied professionals eager for comfortable homes in a protected forest setting.

Earlier settlers sold rights to their claims' timber to lumber companies that cut the large trees close to shore. Surviving forest was protected. In place of a rectilinear street grid, roads followed natural contours. Commercial growth was limited, and industrial development banned. But the idea of living in a well-managed parkland had also appealed to ancient people who called the area home for thousands of years.

Prehistory

Recent archaeological work carried out in King County documents a human presence over the last 14,000 years. Enough data has been uncovered for us to understand how early human inhabitants lived in the area and transform land into a park. The ideas of conservation and sustainability that they developed over this long time remain relevant.

To understand this, we need guideposts to help us find our way through deep prehistory. Human ancestors have had similar evolutionary experiences, and today's human family features a multitude of unique societies and cultures. To grasp this long curve of time our thinking must encompass great distances and thousands, even millions of years. Geological events that defined life for people here have only recently been recognized to pertain to and even threaten ours.

Cascadia

Human history is Earth history. Lake Forest Park lies in Cascadia, a vast region reaching from the Cascadia Subduction Zone, about 100 miles off the Canadian and U. S. West coasts, to Cascade volcanoes hundreds of miles inland. On Cascadia's western edge the Pacific Ocean floor forces itself beneath the westward-moving North American continent, producing enormous subduction earthquakes. The movement has lifted the Olympics and caused the Puget lowland between them and the Cascades to fold and fault. As the Pacific plate subducts, friction and heat melts rock that rises and erupts from Cascade volcanoes such as Mount Baker, Glacier Peak, Mt. Rainier, Mt. St. Helens, Mount Hood and ancient Mt. Mazama—today's Crater Lake in Oregon. It is in the lowland where most of our prehistory happens.

Earthquakes

Great subduction quakes can measure 9+ on the Richter scale of 10—each number representing an order of magnitude—ten times the preceding number. Core samples indicate that great quakes have taken place here at least 41 times in the last 10,000 years: about once every 243 years, the last occurring in January, 1700. Humans here have survived them all, and the next one is overdue.[1]

Dating these events is challenging. Year 0 in the Western calendar marks the birth of Jesus, the Christian Messiah. Years before are labeled BC, "Before Christ". Years after are counted AD, "Anno Domini, "After [the birth of] the Lord". The acronym BCE, "Before the common enumeration," removes a western bias, but helps little. Earth sciences typically make the present. year 0, a starting point to date time before as BP, "Before the Present". This is clever, but because few know that 0 is actually 1950 AD, the system can be complicated. Using the prefix 'c' for "circa" (Latin for "about") helps, but I use BP, BC and AD where they make the most sense.[2]

Earthquakes also happen in the Puget lowland along the recently discovered Seattle Fault Zone extending from the Hood Canal across Puget Sound, through down

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[1] Atwater, Brian. Masumi-Rokkaku, Satoko. Satake, Kenji. Tsuji, Yoshinobu. Ueda, Kazue. Yamaguchi, David K. ***The Orphan Tsunami of 1700*** (Reston, Virginia: United States Geologic Survey, in association with Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2005).

[2] Comparisons of historical records allows us to estimate that Jesus was born between 4 and 6 BC.

town Seattle and across Lake Washington to the City of Bellevue, Lake Sammamish and the Cascade foothills Its quakes lifting and lowering the land typically measure 6 or 7, but because they are shallow, their effects can be as devastating as deeper subduction quakes far offshore. The last major quake on the Seattle Fault zone occurred in the winter of 933-34, c1100 BP, causing tsunamis, avalanches and huge mortalities.[3]

The Ice Age

For 2.3 million years nearly a third of the earth's surface was repeatedly covered by ice. The Laurentide ice sheet in eastern Canada and the Cordilleran in its mountain west merged to cover more than three million square miles. By 19,000 BP, a lobe of ice expanded south from the Fraser River Valley and crossed the 49th parallel. Mountain rock was ground to clay in its icy churn. By 18,500 BP, this Puget Lobe blocked rivers draining the lowland, creating a vast processional lake preceding the ice's southward advance.[4]

A succession of clays, sands, cobbles and gravel were deposited and overridden by the ice. Icebergs rafted in and dropped huge boulders. So much water froze that sea level dropped several hundred feet worldwide, and local climate was as cold and dry as in central Antarctica today.

Moving about 450 feet per year, the ice reached the site of Seattle by c17950 BP, several thousand feet thick. By c16,450 BP, it reached Tenino, 30 miles south of Olympia. Slightly warmer climate then melted ice as quickly as it advanced, keeping its terminus in place for a century. Internally, the ice continued to move like a conveyor belt grinding out and dumping more debris that built up a terminal moraine 100 miles across and high enough to block views of all but the highest peaks. The ice continued to gouge out deep trenches aided by meltwater under great pressure.[5]

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[3] Atwater, Brian, and Moore, Brian. A Tsunami About 1000 Years Ago in Puget Sound, Washington (***Science***, 258:1614-1617. 1992). Siech waves are generated in enclosed bodies, for example, by avalanches that displace waves that rebound from the opposite shore and cause standing waves until their energy is dissipated.

[4] Broadly called the Fraser Glaciation, or, locally, the Vashon Glaciation.

[5] State Geologist Harlan Bretz named the lake after another geologist and researcher, Israel Cook Russell.

But as global climate warmed, ice melted faster than it was replaced, and the terminus melted back at about the same rate it advanced, followed by a growing recessional lake. As the ice sheet disintegrated, huge blocks of it were buried.[6]

By c16000 BP the ice had retreated north of the Olympics, the recessional lake poured into Juan de Fuca Strait, and the Pacific Ocean filled the deep troughs, creating ancestral Puget Sound and Hood Canal. Humans may have witnessed this.

A New World

Drumlin is a Gaelic term for low ridges deposited and shaped by ice and paralleled by shallow depressions. These gave newly exposed land a corrugated surface marking the direction the ice flowed in a broad fan trending southwest, south and southeast. The drumlins' gravel and sands absorbed water like a sponge, but impermeable clays beneath directed flow laterally into the depressions, forming wetlands drained by streams. As buried blocks of ice melted, their rounded basins made what are called kettle lakes. These features make up the present topography of the Puget lowland.

Locally, a stream drained a kettle lake into an eastern channel of Puget Sound. A flanking stream also entered the channel. These are Lake Ballinger, McAleer Creek and Lyon Creek. The channel, saltwater no more, would become Lake Washington.

The first colonizers of this harsh, windswept world were lichens, sphagnum mosses and sedges that left beds of peat in shifting basins. Despite permafrost inches below the soil surface, polar grasses, reeds and sagebrush gained a foothold. Bog pollens reveal marshy open land dotted with Engleman spruce, lodgepole pine, willow and red alder.[7]

Grazers and browsers arrived: woolly mammoths, mastodons, giant ground sloths, caribou and musk oxen. Saber-toothed cats, dire wolves and a huge, short-faced bear, the largest carnivorous mammal to inhabit North America hunted them. Scavenging vultures with 12-foot wingspans picked bones clean.

[6] Dating of glacial retreat
[7] Pollen analysis of Ronald Bog,

Homo sapiens

Anthropologists identify the first humans to arrive in the lowland as Paleo-Americans, fully modern *Homo sapiens*, "Man, wise". Social innovation had already altered their biology. *Homo* identifies a genus, a broad classification, and *sapiens* a separate breeding group within it. Paleontologists have identified nine species in genus *Homo* of which only one, *sapiens*, survives. *Homo* belongs to the primate family: lemurs, tarsiers, old and new world monkeys and the great apes. Among the latter are orangutans, gorillas, chimpanzees, bonobos and humans. One variable setting *sapiens* apart from other primates is their longevity: lemurs live about 15 years, monkeys 30, orangutans and gorillas 50, and chimpanzees 60. Humans can live over 100 years.

What evolutionary advantage did longevity provide? The aged who cared for the young while adults and older children gathered food passed on collective memory and wisdom. *Homo sapiens* appeared 300,000 years ago, but humans expressing modern behavior: abstract thinking, art and symbolic behavior leading to complex language and skills, emerged in the last 100,000 years. The capacity of the aged to interpret past and present and develop insight gave *sapiens* a biological advantage. Following paleolithic, neolithic, social, scientific, industrial and technological revolutions have magnified human abilities in societies ranging from remaining hunter-gatherer bands to nation states about to colonize planets, but the differences have long confounded us. The trajectory of development is no sure measure of human success and happiness, but prehistory, an optimistic study, offers insights we cannot afford to ignore.

The Duwamish Watershed

The watershed developed over time. Of the rivers flowing from the Cascades into Puget Sound; four draining the Duwamish basin initially entered an eastern channel separately. In the north, the ancestor of Issaquah Creek draining the Issaquah Alps, flowed through basins now occupied by Lake Sammamish, Sammamish River and Lake Washington to salt water. Further south, ancestral Cedar River did the same, as did Green River heading near Stampede Pass and White River draining the northeastern glaciers on a much taller Mount Rainier.

Freed of ice, the land slowly rebounded, overmatched at times by sea level rising as ice melted worldwide. In Lake Forest Park, rebound left evidence of sea level almost to the tops of hills holding the radio tower and water reservoir. Every few centuries powerful subduction quakes left their marks on the land and people.

> It was earthquake in the early days that shook the Indians apart. The earth is shaking. It got all broken.…There were lots of Indians who went to the left and to the right.[8]

Hunter Gatherers

Hunter-gatherer bands are typically made up of 15 to 30 members of closely related families that cooperated to survive in a post-glacial world. Near Juan de Fuca strait a band killed and butchered a mastodon, a bone point embedded in a rib showing that it had survived an earlier attack. On Orcas Island, bands butchered *Bison antiquus*, a larger relative of American bison. South of Cedar River, someone left a Clovis point in a bog.[9]

These spearpoints, flaked on both sides, have a long flake pressured off a spine, leaving a depression where a shaft was secured with sinew. Discovered in the early 1900s at Clovis, New Mexico, they are among the earliest stone points found in North America and the most sophisticated and beautiful points ever produced.[10]

New surroundings presented a steep learning curve. Learning the habits of animals and plants, band members developed itineraries leading them from camp to camp to hunt and gather. Knowledge gained and analyzed produced a growing list of medicinal plants. Knowledge also came from groups encountered on the way, leading to connections formalized through intermarriage. By exchanging their sons and daughters, bands broadened their economic and social bases and insured safer travel.

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[9] The Manis Mastodon site near Sequim dates to 13,000BP, bones of Bison antiquus date to c12,000 BP

[10] Hamilton bog. Kopperl, Robert; Hughes, Charles; Miss, Christian; Johansen, Shea; Spooner, Alicia. ***Archaeology of King County, Washington: A Contest Statement for Native American Archaeological Resources***, Project No. 24958.13, Report No. 18-264 (Seattle: SCWA Environmental Consultants, 2018), Appendix D 3. Magnificent examples, the largest known to science, dated to 13,000 BP, were uncovered at the East Wenatchee Clovis Site in 1987. It took anthropologists nearly a century to understand and master the skills necessary to reproduce Clovis points. Their similarity and widespread distribution point to rapid dispersal and widespread trade.

Bear Creek

In 2013, at site 45KI189 on Bear Creek, a Sammamish tributary in the city of Redmond, archaeologists found stone tools and stemmed points—long triangular points with stems for hafting-- in glacial sand dated to c11,500 BP. Used to hunt and butcher game and prepare hides, DNA analysis of protein residues on them indicates their use on bison, bear, bighorn sheep, deer and salmon, already migrating from the sea up the ancestral Sammamish River to spawn in Lake Sammamish and tributaries.[11]

Anthropologists theorize that paleo Indians arrived in North America from Asia via a land bridge exposed during low sea levels. Further, as Canadian ice sheet melted, they are believed to have passed between them south to the Great Plains where enormous herds inspired technical innovations like Clovis points.

More recent work suggests that others traveled along the northeastern Pacific shore in skin boats, using stemmed points similar to those used in East Asia. Presumably some Bear Creek residents descended from those ancient voyagers, but a Clovis point found near Sammamish River in the 1940s indicates that both tool-making traditions were present with their practitioners.[12]

During this time the ancestral Cedar River built a delta across the saltwater embayment to its west shore, blocking it. Fresh water from tributaries flushed saltwater from the blocked basin and formed ancestral Lake Washington. Marine shells in its bottom sediments indicate this happened c12,000 BP.

As this large lake developed, some salmon ceased returning to the sea and became lake residents, spawning in its tributaries, especially those heading in lakes. One such tributary was McAleer Creek in Lake Forest Park where people gathered to catch this flavorful fish that preserved well. People from outside the watershed prized it and married into lake groups to share in the fishery.[13]

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[11] Kopperl, ibid., p. 91.

[11] Olcott identifies the family on whose farm in Snohomish County they were discovered in the late 1950s. 45-SN-14.

[12] Greengo, Robert, DNA taken from the 9000 year-old skeleton of Kennewick Man discovered near that eastern Washinton City show connection with east Asian populations. Source

[13] This is *Onchorhynchus nerka*, whose name Halkomelem Salish name ***Suk eygh***, "red fish," is he source of the name, Sockeye. In the Sinixt Central Interior Salish language, it is konakee.

Olcott Tools

Around 9000 BP, warmer, drier climate replaced tundra with broad savanna dotted with pine and oak. As larger animals followed tundra north or were hunted out, point sizes decreased. Spearheads gave way to smaller points hafted onto long darts thrown by wooden extensions of the forearm known by its Nahuatl (Aztec) name, ***atlatl***, a lever that added torque, force and velocity to the swing. Slings, throwing sticks and bolas (rock-weighted lines whirled and thrown to ensnare game) aided the hunt. These and other tools flaked from cobbles make up the Olcott tool industry.[14]

Around the mid-Holocene Epoch (Holo, "more", Cene, "time"—11,000BP to the present), bows and arrows appeared. An early tendency to identify most projectile points as "arrowheads" made it difficult to determine which tipped darts or arrows. They were probably used together: spears and darts in group hunting, and arrows more by individuals, but smaller arrowheads come to dominate the archaeological record.[15]

Osceola Lahar

About 5600 years ago, Mount Rainier's summit collapsed during an eruption that sent nearly a cubic mile of rubble, a lahar, a Javanese word for volcanic mudflow, down White River's narrow valley into the lowland where it spread and reached saltwater. Osceola, a community on the spread, gives it its name. Like liquid concrete travelling 19 meters per second, it scoured life from its path, covered more than 100 square miles of the lowland and filled the embayment to present-day Kent, triggering tsunamis. Subsequent lahars filled the entire channel to Elliott Bay with a broad floodplain.[16]

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[14] Olcott identifies the family on whose farm on Pilchuck River in Snohomish County, site 45-SN-14, they were first identified in the late 1960s.

[15] Angelbeck, Bill. Cameron, Ian. "The Faustian Bargain of Technological Change Evaluating the Socioeconomic Effects of the Bow and Arrow Transition in the Coast Salish Past." ***Journal of Anthropological Archaeology***, Vol. 36, December 2014, pp. 93-109. Rorabaugh, Adam N. Fulkerson, Tiffany J. "Timing Of The Introduction of Arrow Technologies In The Salish Sea, Northwest North America," ***Lithic Technology***, Vol 40, 2015, Issue 1 (Taylor & Francis Online).

[16] Crandall, D. R. Waldron, H. H. "A Recent Volcanic Mudflow of Exceptional Dimensions From Mount Rainier, Washington," ***American Journal of Science***, Volume 25 (Vancouver, WA, 1956), pp. 349-362. Vlence, James W. Scott, Kevin M. "The Osceola Mudflow from Mount Rainier: Sedimentary and Hazard Implications of a huge, clay-rich debris flow,: ***Geologic Society of America Bulletin,*** February 1997) pp.143-163. "Significant Lahars at Mount Rainier," Geological Society of America Bulletin, pp. 143-163.

Sediment reaching the ***Duw*** reduced its gradient, compelling the river and lake outlet to cut new channels westward. Where White River left the foothills, debris raised the floodplain's elevation, sending Green River northward to Elliott Bay. With a steepened descent, White River became unstable, periodically switching course north to Green River and Elliott Bay or south to Commencement Bay at Tacoma.

In this way, the Duwamish watershed assumed much of its historical pattern. The ***Duw*** was its mainstream carrying water and sediment from the Issaquah Alps, Lake Sammamish, Sammamish River and Lake Washington to Cedar River delta. Further west its outflow received water from the Green and Whiter Rivers, all emptying as one stream into Elliott Bay, a deep remnant of the earlier embayment.

It is possible that the floodplain built by Mount Rainier's lahars raised the level of the ***Duw*** enough to raise the level of the lake. Delta growth caused slow, continual rise, giving the lake a menacing aspect. Along its western shore, a narrow divide, Montlake Divide near the University of Washington campus, separated it from lower Lake Union that drained via a small creek into a narrow inlet from the Sound, Salmon Bay. The pressure of the larger lake above the smaller caused springs to gush from the base of the divide. A short portage across made an easy path from saltwater to mountains.

We leave this early part of the narrative with only a general impression of Lake Forest Park's ancient people. They would likely stand comparison with historic hunter gatherer bands in Patagonia who traveled its inlets and streams in dugout canoes and hunted with atlatls, bows and arrows and bola stones. In subsequent chapters, the people of the lake will meet greater challenges and surpass their accomplishments, managing their environment in ways that astonished western explorers. For our own sake and posterity's wellbeing, we must understand how they did this.

CHAPTER TWO

Syuh yuh HUB

"Stories"

When Mt. Rainier's summit collapsed climate in the Northern Hemisphere had begun to cool. With increased rain, coniferous forest replaced much of the savannah, and the trinity of northwestern trees: Douglas fir, western hemlock and western redcedar dominated. The people that regularly burned the forest to maintain herd numbers also developed a fire-based system of agriculture.

The primary tool was the ***SQAH lukh,*** a shaft of ironwood, its straight dense stems barked and dried and its ends sharpened to fire-hardened points. A thick elkhorn handle, bored through the middle and set over a point allowed users, mostly women, to press on it and drive it into the soil. In Western culture it is called a dibble stick, and modern dibbles are used to poke holes in soil for seeds. Locally, handles worn by decades of hard use were placed in burials to help its owner in the next life.[1]

Spring offered fresh fern fiddleheads after weeks of dried winter stores. Amid towering bracken, diggers pried up rhizomes, baked and peeled its dark skin and ground the starchy core to flour for flatbreads rich in carbohydrates and vitamins. Breaking up other roots gave bracken more space to grow. In damp ground, giant horsetail rhizomes supplied carbohydrates as did prized bulbs of camas baked to sweetness from gardens up to 1000 acres in size.[2]

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[1] Ironwood, ocean spray, spirea, *Holodiscus discolor*, ***Qaht TSAH gwahts***, **qats'gwats**, *Erna.* Gunther, Erna. ***Ethnobotany Of Western Washington*** (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1973), p. 33.

bid, p. ***SQAH lukh,*** s√qa'ləẍ, Bates, Dawn. Hess, Thom. Hilberet, Vi. ***Lushootseed Dictionary*** (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1994), p. 305. Ironwood, Ocean Spray, *Holodiscus discolor, Gunther, Erna.* Gunther, Erna. ***Ethnobotany Of Western Washington*** (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1974), p. 33.

[2] Deposition of George Alexander in Duwamish, Lummi, Whidbey Island, Skagit, Upper Skagit, Swinomish, et. al, v U.S.A. (Washington, D.C. U.S. Government Printing Office, 1935), Court Of Claims of the United States LXXIX 530. Printed in Vol. II, Argus Press, Seattle, Washington, p. 315.White, Richard. Land Use, Environment and Social Change The Shaping of Island County, Washington (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1999), pp.

Stinging nettle shoots were mild in spring, and later strong stem fibers made durable lines and nets. In mixed open forest berries, nuts and seeds ripened, and needles, bark and stems brewed into dyes, teas and poultices. After harvest, fields were burnt to keep out invasive plants and saplings.[3]

Thick and round female cattail stems sewn together made springy mattresses. Cattail leaves were woven into mats and the roots baked. Sedges were split, braided and woven into hats, light baskets and hunting bags. Under its long branches women dug redcedar's thin surface roots and pulled off long sheets of inner bark to split, pound and weave into exquisite, utilitarian baskets.[4]

Somewhat closer to Lake Forest Park, another important archaeological site, Seattle's West Point Complex (45KI428/429), occupies a broad, accessible promontory extending far into Puget Sound. Excavations prompted by its discovery during construction of a sewage outfall in 1992 reflect changes in the lowland from 4250 BP. Lowest levels revealed a diet of mussels from a rocky beach augmented by fish and game gathered year-round for a nearby encampment.[5]

Erosion of sand and gravel bluffs produced broad beaches supporting an abundant mix of intertidal life. As West Point became sandier, flat fish were speared, clams replaced mussels, and layers of fire-cracked rocks evidence ovens where vast numbers of mollusks were baked and steamed to feed residents and trade. Further north near the Fraser River mouth, reliance on flatfish, primarily a winter resource, and shellfish marked a stage prior to development of food storage strategies. Food storage was improved by the development of microliths, small rectangular obsidian or cryptocrystalline blades (of glassy opal or petrified wood), traded from the interior, easily flaked and fitted into wood or bone handles to make knives, saws or sickles, early examples of mass-produced interchangeable parts. Razor-sharp, their ability to slice fish

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[3] Bracken fern, *Pteridium aquilinum,* ***CHAH lahs***, **ča'las**. Bates, et. al., 1994, Ibid. Giant horsetail, *Equisetum telmateia*, ***SQAH lukh,*** s√qa'ləx̌, Ibid., p. 311.

[4] Cattail, *Typha latifolia*, ***OO lahl***, **ʔu'la'l,** Bates, et. al., 1994, Ibid., p. 297. Sedges, tules, bullrushes, *Scirpus acutus,* ***Sqwee QWAHDS***, **sqwiqwa'ds.** Gunther, 1973, Ibid., p. 22. Western redcedar, *Thuja plicata,* ***Khehl pai eets***, **xēłpai'its** Gunther, Ibid., p. 20.

[5] Lesson Plans—Archaeology of West Point—Burke Museum, https://www.burkemuseum.org/static/westpoint/text html

and flesh thin and dry more quickly provided more protein for winter stores and population growth.[6]

Ground stone points and labrets—elaborately ground lip plugs—at West Point show connection with Fraser River groups. Over time West Point became less a year-round residence than a seasonal processing camp supplying larger village groups.[7]

The cool, wet maritime climate favored redcedar's growth. Wonderful to carve, strong, light, supple and resistant to rot, cedar lent itself to carpentry. Fires confined in root bases toppled giants, and axes and adzes ground from tough jadeite cobbles also traded from the north shaped trunks into canoes hulls. Prior to western lumbering, these were hauled down skidways to water. With timbers and planks split with bone and antler wedges, a band could shelter its members under a single roof in a sturdy longhouse. Spacious comfort during winter months enabled gear repair, tool making and weaving lines and nets for the coming spring.[8]

Cooler climate also favored salmon, and anadromous fish stocks grew. The innovations and logistical planning that made forest management and hunting successful were applied to fisheries, and salmon became the primary protein source in the lowland. But managing this resource proved challenging.[9]

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[6] Croes, Dale R. Hackenberger, Steven. "Hoko River Archaeological Complex: Modeling Prehistoric Northwest Coast Economic Evolution," ***Research in economic Archaeology***, Supplement 3, pp. 1985. JAI Press, Inc., 1988.

[7] Matson, R. G. Pratt, H. "The Crescent Beach Site and the Place of the Lacarno Beach Phase," Chapter 1, November 20, 2008 Burke Museum, lesson plans, pp. Croes, Dale R. Hackenberger, Steven. "Hoko River—Archaeological Complex Modeling Prehistoric Northwest Coast Economic Evolution," Research in Economic Anthropology, Supplement 5, 1988, pp. 19-85. Journal of Artificial Intelligence (Connecticut, Greenwich).

[8] Waterman, Thomas Talbot. ***Puget Sound Geography***, ms, ts 1864 (Washington D.C. National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, 1920), p. 174, # 224a, ***Stuh KHWAHB tsah lee***, **stExwa'btsali,** "an arrangement for pulling something. This term is applied to a skid road".

The Marpole Site, the Great Fraser River midden in southern Vancouver city, British Columbia (a few miles South of Vancouver's Crescent Beach site), dating from 2400 BP featured large, rectangular plank houses. Ball, Brian F. "The Marpole Site: The Great Fraser Midden: A Retrospective of Archaeology and Historical Change," Chapter 22, pp. 179-182 in, ***Archaeology of the Lower Fraser River Region***, Ed. Rousseau, Mike K. (Burnaby, BC, Simon Fraser University, Department of Archeology: Archaeological Press, 2007).

[9] Koperel, et. al., 2016, Ibid., pp. 39-42. Paleo-vegetal maps of King County: p. 39, Fig, 2-14 of Analytic Period 1 (14,000- 12,000 cal BP); p. 40, Fig 2-15 Analytic Period 2 (12,000-8000 cal BP), and p. 41, Fig 2-16 Analytic Period 3 (8000 – 5000 cal BP), show riparian vegetation in the Lake Forest Park area. Paleo-vegetal map 2-17 Analytic Period 4 (5000- 2500 cal BP) shows the riparian forest replaced by Lower Elevation Maritime Forest. It would appear that the people allowed forest to replace more open wetland, presumably to develop a hunting park.

Fishing Protocols

Anyone could set a fire to clear land, but many bands were needed to successfully manage a fishery. The most efficient device used on Puget lowland rivers was the ***Sts LOH seed***, the tripod weir. Heavy log tripods erected in swift-flowing rivers supported fence screens across channels that could catch every fish migrating upstream. Myths about weirs used in this way describe the danger to upriver groups and the violence it spawned. To protect groups and mitigate violence strict fishing protocols were maintained through intermarriage. For example, weir screens were kept in water only for certain periods of time, and weir staves were calibrated to let fish of a certain size pass. Strong leadership required to cajole and enforce protocols among river groups molded a robust River identity captured in the phrase, "Every river has its people". Correspondingly, watersheds took their name from their mainstream: Duwamish, Puyallup, Skagit, etc. But it was not unknown for angry upstream fishers to send trees downriver to sweep away offending weirs.[10]

Protocols differed on Lakes, in particular, Lake Washington, whose tributaries, excepting Sammamish River, were smaller creeks. A weir supporting a winter village on a creek with no upstream groups had only to make sure enough fish spawned to sustain the fishery. Thus, protocols were established with village groups around the lake in case a creek's run failed from disease, landslide or other obstruction. Instead of linear kin networks as on rivers, networks circled lakes as did those of Saltwater groups around the Sound. This played a significant role in subsequent Lake history.[11]

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[10] The creation myths describing the battles between Northwind and Stormwind describe the conflict beginning with Northwind's erection of an ice weir across the Duwamish that had fatal impact on upriver villages. Ballard, Arthur C. ."North Wind and Storm Wind," seven versions, in "Mythology Of Southern Puget Sound," ***University of Washington Publications in Anthropology*** (Seattle; 1929), , pp 55-64. Ethnographer Arthur C. Ballard, raised in a pioneer family in Auburn, Washington, recorded a native account of an angry fisher who sent a tree floating down stream to destroy the weir of an offending group. Ballard, Arthur C. "The Salmon Weir On Green River In Western Washington," ***Davidson Journal of Anthropology*** 3:37-53 (Seattle, 1957), p. 44. Conversation with Harriet Turner, April, 198? The quote she provided was from Swinomish elder, John Sam, for the 1975 case heard in the 9th District Court, United States v. Washington, 384 F. aff'd, 520 F. 2d 676 (9th Cir. 1975), also known as the Boldt Decision.

[11] Buerge, David M. "The Lost Tribes Of Lake Washington: Reconstructing the Prehistoric World of the Lake People" (Seattle: The Weekly, August 1, 1984), pp. 29-33.

Shell Middens

Beset by tides, waves and tidal waves, West Point nevertheless preserves a record of habitation lasting to historic times even after being dropped four feet along the Seattle Fault and covered by a tidal marsh. Preservation was aided by calcium carbonate from shells at the site that acted as a chemical buffer protecting organic materials like bone, antler and wood from acidic or basic environments.

Shell middens: heaps of discarded shell and materials that served as outdoor storage survive in British Columbia from 10,000 BP, but only from 3000 BP on the Sound. This may be due to differing geologic histories and sea level rise. Future searches may be carried out underwater.[12]

Lushootseed Place Names

The appearance of Lushootseed place names describing events happening over a thousand years ago lets us know that Lushootseed speakers were here. The HBC practice of identifying groups by rivers likely reflected traditional nomenclature. The Duwamish first show up in Company records as **An noo waw mish, Tuamish** and **Duwamps**, but within the watershed other names prevailed.[13]

The ***Dkhw duw AHBSH*** lived on the ***Duw***. The Lake draining into it was ***KHAH chu***, "THE lake," the largest of three, and its people were ***Khah chu AHBSH***, "The Lake people". At The Lake's north end, towering black cottonwood trees, ***Sts AHP***, rose from the levees of the tributary that took its name from them. Sts ah ***PAHBSH, "Sts AHP people,"*** identified its people, since anglicized into Sammamish. The river drained ***Khach kah chu*** "Second Lake," Lake Sammamish, second in size to ***KHAH chu***. **I**ts people were

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[12] Mackie, Quentin. Fedje, Daryl. McClaren, Duncan. ***Archaeology and Sea Level Change on the British Columbia Coast,*** June, 2008. https://www.researchgate,net/publication/326635782_archaeology_and_sea_level_change_on_the-_ British Columbia coast. Bell, Bruce F. "The Marpole Site—The Great Fraser Midden—A Retrospective of Archaeological and Historical Change," Chapter 22, in ***Archaeology of the Lower Fraser River***, Ed. Rouseau, Mike K. (Burnaby, British Columbia, Canada: Simon Fraser University Archaeological Press), pp. 179-192.

[13] **An noo waw mish**, Douglas, Sir James. ***Private Papers*** (Second Series), 1853, p. 23. Victoria, B. C. MS Provincial Archives. **Tuamish**, Tolmie, William Fraser. ***The Journals of William Fraser Tolmie Physician And Fur Trader.*** Ed. Large, R. G. (Vancouver, Canada: Mitchell Press, Limited, 1963), p. 216. **Duwamps**, Watt, Roberta Frye. ***4 Wagons West the story of Seattle*** (Portland, Oregon: Binfords & Mort, Publishers, 19310, p. 70.

the ***Khat kha chu AHBSH***, "Second lake people". At the south end of Lake Sammamish, ***EESH qwo***, "confluence," Issaquah Creek, flowed beside the winter village, ***Ees qwo AHBSH***—modern day Issaquah. Another name for the lake, river and people: ***Squak / Squak AHBSH***, a version of Issaquah, underscores their leadership.[14]

Montlake Divide, a narrow isthmus near the University of Washington campus, separated The Lake from ***KHAH—chu***, "Littlest lake". The dash (–), a glottal stop (a catch or pause in its name, not heard in ***KHAH chu***), made it a diminutive identifying it as the smallest of the three lakes. Near the springs below the Montlake divide entered Lake Union's Portage Bay, was ***SWAH tsu gweel***, "Where one picks up a canoe," marking the canoe portage between the lakes. The route from Salmon Bay, ***SHEEL shol***, "narrow" on Puget Sound, up ***GWAH khwop***, "outlet" of Lake Union (Ross Creek), through the lake and over the divide made a ***Dzee LAH letch***, "Crossing Place," a well-travelled route connecting ***WHULJ***, "Saltwater," to the ***SPAH deel***, "mountains," the northern outlet of the Duwamish watershed.[15]

In the present city of Tukwila, the ***Duw*** joined White River, ***Kah TLAHL qo***, "Cloudy water," flowing north. The flood plain above the confluence, ***TSQWAH leets***, "Upriver portion"--upriver from the ***Duw***--described its open, marshy character in contrast to its more forested upper section. Neither name identified village groups located in them, being named instead after specific places, in part because of the chaotic historic events (described in chapter 3), affecting them.[16]

Joining White River at the present city of Auburn was ***Skop,*** "First big then little" (Green River) describing its rise and fall following rainstorms or rapid snowmelt. Its people were ***Skop AHBSH.*** South of this, as mentioned, White River divided into two distributaries: ***Kah TLAHL qo*** flowing north and ***Stukh***, "Plowed-though," Stuck River

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[14] Waterman, Ibid., 1922, "Names Of Places On Lake Union And Lake Washington," p. 189.
Black cottonwood, Populus trichocarpa.

[15] Waterman, Ibid,.920, p. 189, #32; p. 192, #112. ***Whulj***, **xʷəʾlč;** *SPAH deel***, sbaʾdil.** Bates, et. al., 1994, pp. 348, 332.; Harrington, Vol. 15, Ibid., frame 428. ***The Papers of John Peabody Harrington***, 1907-1952,

[16] Harrington, John Peabody, *Kah TLAHL qo, Alaska-Northwest Coast*, Vol. 1, Reel 15, frame, 314, also duˣ koʾkub and xʷekoku; *TSQWAH leets*, tsqwaʾlitc, Reel 15, frame 314; *Duwamish Field Notes – Lecture Notes,* 1910, freme 365, *The Papers of John Peabody Harrington*, 1907-1952, (Washinton D. C. Smithsonian Anthropological Archives. New Jersey, Kraus-Thompson, microfilm. Frame 365.

flowing south. A myth about whales trapped in a lake who bored their way to the Sound recalls the upheaval.

> The valley was all salt water. The country dried and (the valley) became a lake. It was worthless **spaLkad** (swamp) and whales stayed there. It grew cold. There came a high wind. The whales kept boring until they reached the point where the town of Sumner now is. They were glad when they reached the bay….Beaver came. Now White River and Green River came. The river broke through.

Whales and Beavers image destructive events, recalling the Osceola lahar and the disappearance of the marine embayment. Stuck River people were ***Stukh AHBSH***. On White River, ***Kah TLAHL qo***, cloudy from the rock flour ground in Rainier's glaciers, the point of division, ***Sbahl qo***, "divided water," identified the people on its upper course: ***Sbahl qo AHBSH***.[17]

Sheel shol, Salmon Bay, was the watershed's northern outlet. The ***Duw*** entering Elliott Bay was the central outlet, and Stuck River, entering the Puyallup River and Commencement Bay, its southern outlet. Three widely separate outlets, unique for a river basin, served as a broad stage for a complicated history.

Fecund beaches, broad rivers, large lakes, innumerable creeks and a mosaic of mixed forests made a beautiful and fertile homeland. And its developing biomes led resident groups to adapt their lifeways and technologies to each setting.

Swahwl JAHBSH, "Saltwater People"

Travelling the Sound and its estuaries in large, high-sided high-prowed canoes, hunter-fishers harpooned small whales and seals and took 80+ pound chinook salmon with spears and hook and line. Fish were netted or trapped in stone catch basins and timber weirs along shore. Shellfish were farmed in tidal clam gardens.[18]

In winter when vast shoals of herring spawned offshore, husbands in the bows of canoes paddled by wives swept a long oar toothed with sharp hardwood pegs through the mass and shook impaled fish into the hull behind. Herring eggs laid on eelgrass beds

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[17] Milroy, Tom. "How The Whales Reached The Sea," Fifth Version, in Ballard, 1929, Op. Cit., p. 88.

[18] Saltwater people, Chinook Salmon--*Oncorhynchus tshawytscha*. So-called clam gardens are known from the Northwest Coast and northern Puget Sound. Boulders and cobbles from a beach would be moved aside to clear space for bivalves to proliferate. People would regularly clear these of predators like moon snails, drilling snails and starfish, and a low berm of rocks on the lowest margin mitigated wave impact. In this modified environment clams grew larger and more numerous and were regularly harvested. Buerge, David M.. "Clam Gardens," ***Post Alley, A Marketplace of Ideas***, (Seattle, 2022),

and on fir branches placed in them were stripped off and eaten fresh, popping deliciously between back teeth or packed in deer intestines to preserved like sausages.[19]

The primary clam-digging tool was the digging stick. Waterman writes:

> a short piece of ironwood flattened at each end and pointed. It is carefully seasoned and its ends sharpened and hardened in the fire. For digging clams, it is used just as it is. Clam diggers loaf around camp and take things very easily until the tide is at its lowest ebb. When the best beds are exposed, they set to work and move with remarkable quickness, gathering a supply of the best clams before the tide returns. The clam digger jams one end in the mud and gives the other a circular motion. It goes into the mud very rapidly. In this exercise the old women, who are very adept, flex their bodies at the hips, the head far down, as though they were trying to touch their faces with their feet. In this position they reach around very quickly and easily, and work with astonishing speed.[20]

Near Elliot Bay and estuary of the *Duw*, men hoisted huge nets up masts across habitual flyways to catch waterfowl driven to fly at night or in foggy days. When they collided, the nets were dropped and necks wrung. On winter nights flat fish were speared in lagoons by the light of blazing torches.[21]

Having no salmon river in their homeland, the Suquamish intermarried with Duwamish to access their fisheries, but these wealthy, populous people lived in larger longhouses in large villages, some featuring immense ceremonial houses.[22]

Sto lo GWAHBSH, "River people,"

These lived in winter villages up the ***Duw*** and White River, where they harvested anadromous salmon and smelt, along with sturgeon, trout, lamprey, dace, peamouth and

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[19] Waterman, T. T. "Notes On The Ethnology Of The Indians Of Puget Sound," ***Indian Notes And Monographs, Miscellaneous Series No. 59.*** New York: Museum Of The American Indian, Heye Foundation, 1973., pp. 61-62.

[20] Ibid., pp. 51-53. Waterman, T. T., Coffin, Geraldine. "Types Of Canoes On Puget Sound," ***Indian Notes and Monographs, Miscellaneous Series 5*** (New York: Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, 1920), pp. 7-43, pp. 10-17, 19-20. Lincoln, Leslie. ***Coast Salish Canoes*** (Seattle: Center For Wooden Boats, 1991), pp. 8-15.

[21] Buerge, David M. Seattle And The Town That Took His Name (Seattle: Sasquatch Press, 2017). Pp. 1-17. Testimony of George Alexander for Lower Skagit Tribe.], Duwamish et. al., Tribes of Indians, vs. United States of America, in the U. S Court of Claims, 1927. Reprinted by Argus Press, Volume 2, pp. 314-315. White, Richard. Land Use, Environment and Social Change The Shaping of Island County, Washington (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1980), pp. 14-36.

[22] Old Man House at the present town of Suquamish on the east side of the Sound measured 570 feet in length. A ceremonial house in West Seattle was 360 feet long, and one at Salmon Bay 120 feet. Snyder, Warren A. "Archaeological Sampling At "Old Man House On Puget Sound," ***Research Studies,*** Vol. XXIV (Pullman, Washington: State College Of Washington), pp. 17-37. "Number of Duwamish Villages on White River Valley" [on Salmon Bay, Elliott Bay, Duwamish River, Black River and White River], ***Duwamish et. al., Tribes of Indians, vs. United States of America, in the U. S Court of Claims***, 1927.

a host of other fish during seasonal runs. On tripod platforms, men dip-netted salmon milling downstream from the fence screens and had them canoed ashore where women cleaned, filleted and hung them on racks to dry in the sun or over low fires. Weirs stood at open spaces, less for scenic views than to watch for dangerous drift floating downstream, yet fishing was most effectively done at night by torch light.[23]

Lah-luh-biukh, "Inland People"

Green River, the upper White and Stuck Rivers supported somewhat smaller fisheries, and **Lah-luh-biukh,** "Inland people," hunted as much as they fished. Far up valleys where snow persisted, houses were double walled and the space between insulated with moss. A robe of cougar or marmot pelts marked a brave hunter. Farther up in sub-alpine parkland maintained by judicious burning, animals normally grazed in several watersheds, and hunters cooperated to manage herds. The idea of boundary figured more in the thinking of inland groups than it did those living downstream where resources crowded waters. High country suffered avalanches and wildfire, but nobles prided themselves on generosity.[24]

Khah chu AHBSH, "Lake People"

At last, we focus our narrative on The Lake, Lake Washington and the ***Khah chu AHBSH*** on all three lakes, specifically those in Lake Forest Park. Lack of data has kept most anthropologists from studying Lake people, but no other lake system in western Washington was as complex. We know Snoqualmie, Skykomish, Snohomish and even Suquamish married into Lake families to access the abundant resources. Ballard noted that Lake people and the Sammamish had ties with Snoqualmie families, but that they more closely "…affiliated with the Duwamish…"[25]

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[23] The salmon were Chu, Oncorhynchus keta, coho, *O. kisutch*, humpback or pink salmon, *O. gorbuscha*, sockeye, *O. Nerka*, steelhead, *O. mykiss*, Pacific smelt, *Thaleichthys pacificus*, and trout: cutthroat, *O. clarkii*, rainbow, *Salmo gairdenari*. Summers, R. W. ***Indian Journal of Rev. R. W. Summers*** First Episcopal Priest of Seattle (1871-73) and of McMinnville (1873-81) transcribed by (Fr) Martinus Cawley, ocso. Browsers' Edition Guadalupe Translation P.P. Box 97, Lafayette, OR 97127, 1994., pp. 3-5.

[24] Smith, 1940, Ibid., pp. 23-32.

[25] Buerge, David M. "The Lost Tribes of Lake Washington: Reconstructing the prehistoric world of the Lake People," ***The Weekly***, August 1, 1984, pp.29-33. Ballard, 1929, Ibid., p. 38. Smith, 1940, Ibid., p. 17, #16. Ballard writes **xacua'bš** as **xa'tcoabc**.

Southerly winds raising surf on lake reaches necessitated high-sided travelling and freight canoes, but shallow river canoes handled best in creeks. A light, sharp-nosed ***DEET weel***, "one person canoe," could penetrate and navigate dense marshes. For example, where Ravenna Creek trickled through Lake Washington's Union Bay marsh in near-invisible channels, women who knew the network pressed a ***DEE tweel's*** nose into the openings, grasped vegetation on both sides on both sides and pulled the craft through to collecting sites. ***Slhu WEELH,*** a carpenter's term for tiny holes drilled into canoe hulls to measure thickness during final construction imaged the elusive channels and gave the Union Bay people their name, ***Slhu weehl AHBSH***, "Narrow passage people."[26]

Of the salmonid genus *Onchorhynchus*, one species, the anadromous *nerka,* migrates from the Pacific upriver to spawn and die. At sea it is called blueback salmon, but when it spawns its color changes to red. On lower Fraser River, people speaking the Halkomelem form of Coast Salish called it **Sdoq uy** "Redfish," anglicized to **sockeye**. A variety adapted entirely to freshwater is known regionally as **Kokanee,** an Interior Salish name. On the lakes it was and is highly prized for fine flavor and preservability, and its Lushootseed name, ***Stsah WAHD,*** also means "Redfish." Another valued lake specie, rainbow trout, *Onchorhynchus mykiss***,** is ***STUH shub*, s√təšəb** or ***SQWAH wul*, sqʷa'wəl**.[27]

In shallow lakeside gardens, people cultivated SPE oh kohts, Sagittaria latifolia, also known as wapato, "Indian potato," or ground nuts. Sammamish, Duwamish and Snohomish as well as Saltwater Suquamish and Inland Snoqualmie arrived in spring to help harvest its thick green leaves. In winter, women waded into frigid lake water and wriggled its carbohydrate-rich corms from the mud with their toes.[28]

Thousands of years ago, people fished tributaries entering the long saltwater embayment. Over time it became a brackish lagoon that grew less so as the Cedar River delta expanded and the influx of freshwater made it ***KHAH chu,*** The Lake**.** They adapted

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[26] Waterman, Coffin., 1920, Ibid., pp. 14-18, k9-20. Leslie Lincoln. *Coast Salish Canoes* (Seattle: The Center for Wooden Boats, 1991). Waterman, 1922, Ibid., p. 189, #38.

[27]Turner, Harriet. ***Ethnozoology Of The Snoqualmie***, Second Edition, Revised, Ms, ts, np. (1976), 110 pages, p. 29. Bates, et. al. 1994, Ibid., p. 312.

[28] Gibbs, George. "Niskwalli—English, English--NIsqwally Dictionary," ***Contribution to North American Ethnology*** (Washington D.C. Government Printing Office, 1877), 1: 285-361, p. 303, **Spe'-o-kōts.** Wapato likely comes from the upper Chinook language on the lower Columbia.

to the change, and as the delta grew and massive lahars from Tahoma raised the outlet further, rising water level slowly but inexorably flooded its shoreline. Despite having to move constantly upslope, the ***Khah chu AHBSH***, developed a vital lifeway. But nothing could prepare them for the cataclysm about to engulf them.

CHAPTER THREE

Chuh qwuh lu & Ai YAH hos

"Whales and Horned Serpents"

Late in the winter of 923-924 AD, in the space of a few minutes, a powerful earthquake on the Seattle Fault zone lifted southern Bainbridge Island, Alki Point and the lower ***Duw*** more than 20 feet. In local mythology, earthquakes happen when whales bore channels through the land or force their way through subterranean passageways connecting Puget Sound to lakes.[1]

The experience of being too near a breaching whale made these monstrous creatures suitable mythic symbols for chaos. Terrific battles between whales and Thunderbird, ***Whoh KWAH dee***, whose wings beat thunder and eyes flash lightning, aptly described powerful Cascadian subduction quakes. Dam-building by beavers and the consequences of washouts made giant Beavers central in myths about floods.[2]

Violence also came from volcanoes, dramatized in myths generally as angry female monsters vomiting fire and ash clouds—burnt bones of victims--over the land. Local excavations reveal the thin ash layers the people called "dry snow".[3]

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[1] Tom Millroy in Ballard, Arthur C., "How The Whales Reached The Sea," fifth version; "Mythology of Southern Puget Sound," ***University of Washington Publications In Anthropology***, Vol 3, No. 2, 1929), pp. 31-150, p. 88-9. ***The Papers of John Peabody Harrington, 1907-1952***. (Washington, D. C., Smithsonian Anthropological Archives. Vol. 30, Alaska—Northwest Coast, frames 367?-369. Volume 15, ***Duwamish Field Notes – Lecture Notes***, 1910), (New Jersey, Kraus-Thompson, microfilm). Waterman, Ibid., 1922,

[2] Ruth S., Ludwin, C. P. Thrush, K. James, D. Buerge, C. Jonientz-Trisler, J. Rasmussen, K. Troost, and A. de los Angeles. "Serpent- Spirit- Power Stories along the Seattle Fault," ***Seismological Research Letters*** V. 7, No. 4 426-431. Waterman, Thomas Talbot. "The Geographic Names Used By The Indians of the Pacific Coast," ***Geographical Review***, Vol. 12, part 2 (New York: Taylor & Francis, April, 1922), pp. 175-194, p. 194, #140, 142.

[3] As a teen in the 1960s, I uncovered an ash layer about two inches thick 18 to 24 inches below a slope near the house in which I grew up in southern Snohomish County northeast of Lake Forest Park. I was later told the ash was from Glacier Peak, but recent research indicates that the its ashfalls spread north or east of that volcano. The leaves the Mt. Mazama eruption that produced Oregon's Crater Lake as the likely origin.

Fears imprinted by ancient disasters remained in living memory. In December 1894, witnesses reported plumes erupting from Mount Rainier. In distant Snohomish County, native groups reacted dramatically.

> The Indians would squat with their hands over their faces, perhaps rocking back and forth and talking to themselves. This was observed on two occasions by Mrs. Ruff of Monroe and Pilchuck, one occasion being when Seattle burned in…1889, and the other when Mt. Rainier erupted when she was small.

The report was false, but the fear it triggered was real.[4]

Pertinent to this narrative was another supernatural shaker, ***Ai YAH hos,*** "a monster snake with the forepart of the body, and head and horns of the deer". Like the Chinese dragon, ***Ai YAH hos*** lived below ground where its movements caused landslides. In West Seattle's Fauntleroy neighborhood, ***Psai YAH hos***, "where there is a Horned Serpent," identifies a reddish beach boulder, a shape-shifter believed to be so dangerous that looking at it threatened to twist one into a knot. A LiDAR (Light Detection And Ranging) scan of the area revealed numerous landslide scars.[5]

The quake of 923-924 AD, tsunamis swept the Sound. North of the zone, the West Point site 45KI428/429 and residents dropped four feet. From Hood Canal to Lake Sammamish, ***Psai YAH hos*** and other place names warn of danger. Geologists propose

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[4] Tweddell, Colin. "A Historical and Ethnological Study of the Snohomish Indian People: A Report Specifically Covering Their Aboriginal and Continued Existence, and Their Effective Occupation of a Definable Territory." ***Coast Salish and Western Washington Indians, II (American Indian Ethnohistory: Indians of the Northwest,*** New York: Garland), Pp. 574-694, pp. 552-553. Sisson, T.W. Vallance, J. W. "Frequent Eruptions of Mount Rainier over the last ~ 2,600 years. DOI: 10.1007/s00445-008-0245-7 USGS, Jan. 1, 2009. "Holocene, or Post-Glacial, Eruptions of Mount Rainier," Mount Rainier Geology usgs.gov/volcanoes/mount-rainier/Holocene-or-post-glacial-eruption, n.d. Granite Falls Historical Museum. http: www.gfhistory.org/PILCHUCK%20lost%20time/pdf.

[5] Hines, Donald M. "Legend of the I-Yah-House or I-Yah-Horce," ***Ghost Voices Yakima Indian Myths, Legends, Humor and Hunting Stories*** (Issaquah: Great Eagle Publishing, Inc., 1992), pp. 83-84.
Haeberlin, Hermann. Gunther, Erna. ***The Indians of Puget Sound*** (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1973). P. 80. Smith, Marian W. ***The Puyallup-Nisqually*** (New York, Columbia University Press, 1940), p. 73. Waterman, T. T. "Indian Names For Places About Seattle," ***Puget Sound Geography,*** Ms. 1864, 1920, National Anthropological Archives, Washington, D. C., Smithsonian Institution), p. #29 [Brace Point on the beach in the Fauntleroy neighborhood], #142 [Colman Park on Lake Washington's west shore]. See also, Thompson, Nile., PhD, in Thrush, Coll. "An Atlas Of Indigenous Seattle Southwest (Image p. 231, #40), p. ," in ***Native Seattle Histories From The Crossing Over Place*** (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2007). Harrington, John Peabody. ***The Papers of John Peabody Harrington, 1907-1952***. Smithsonian Anthropological Archives. ***Duwamish Field Notes – Lecture Notes*** (Washinton D. C., 1910, New Jersey, Kraus-Thompson, microfilm, Volume 15, frame 18. Waterman, Ibid., 1922, p. 189, #30.

that a subduction quake may have triggered the Seattle Fault zone quake and amplified its effects. On The Lake, these were catastrophic.[6]

Terrific shaking sent mile-wide forested hillsides plunging into the water, two from Mercer Island alone. These, and another north of Kirkland, sent great waves that rebounded from opposite shores again and again until their energy dissipated. A hillside spilled into southwestern Lake Sammamish with the same terrible effects.

Surges from both lakes swept the Sammamish flood plain obliterating topography, environment and people. It is difficult to imagine how anyone in the affected areas could have survived. The lack of detailed accounts on The Lake, like that from west and north of Mount Rainier, suggest that few if any did so.[7]

A Parallel

Mt. St. Helens' eruption on May 18, 1980 devastated Spirit Lake and its outlet, Toutle River's North Fork. Records of life's return to a devastated area show that coho salmon returned upriver to lay eggs only months after the eruption, and fingerlings descended the following spring albeit in smaller numbers. Remarkable resilience, but decades will pass before environment restores itself to pre-eruption conditions.[8]

Vegetation recolonizing Lake Washington's denuded shore had to grow enough to shade streams and keep water cool enough for juvenile salmon to rebuild their populations. This likely took generations, but people did return.[9]

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[6] The year was identified dendrochronologically using tree rings. Baker Harry. "Simultaneous rupture of faults triggered massive earthquake in Seattle area 1,100 years ago—and could happen again," ***Live Science Newsletter***, http://www.livesciencence.com/newsletter,, Sept. 27, 2023. Owen, Rebecca. "Piecing together the puzzle of the Seatle fault zone," ***Tremblor*** http://doi.org/10.32858/tremblor, 298 March 1, 2023.

[7] Atwater, Brian B. P.; Moore, M. L. "A Tsunami In Puget Sound About 1000 Years Ago" (***Science***, 258 (5088): 1614-1617.

[8] Martin, Douglas J., Wasserman, Lawrence J., Jones, Robert P., and Salo, ***Ernest O. Effects Of Mount St. Eruption On Salmon Populations And Habitat In The Toutle River*** (Washington , D. C., U. S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Reclamation, Draft, Technical Compilation Report, October 26, 1984), p. 94.

[9] That fact of survivors recalls the behavior of "primitive people," on the Indian Ocean's Andaman Islands who, following the megaquake of 2004, knew to leave where they were fishing on the ocean shore for higher ground and avoid the tsunami that killed nearly 200,000 moderns. The area is as prone to megaquakes and tsunamis as the Pacific Northwest, and survivors along Puget Sound likely acted similarly. Neeleesh, Misra. "Primitive tribes fled beaches long before tsunamis" (Port Blair, India: ***Associated Press***, January 5, 2005).

The human absence they encountered left its own imprint. Suzie, a Ballard informant from Lake Washington, told of a shadow monster sliding down wet branches, "when darkness…covered all the earth," and devoured sleepers' hearts, perhaps recalling the event's timing. After a terrible storm, Lake hero, ***See SOHB sheed***, killed and dismembered a devouring monster, throwing its parts in four directions, a bloody rite associated with violent creation.[10]

The encroaching lake was an ambivalent presence. Maps of The Lake bottom show wave terraces at 100 and 40-foot depths, shores once inhabited. Stone hearth circles on May Creek delta reappeared when the lake was lowered nine feet in 1916, as did stumps of elaborate fish pens in Union Bay. Evocative synonyms may have charged the syllable ***KHAH*** in ***KHAH chu***. **Khah** can mean "an especially great amount, an amount that supernaturally increases", also "great, sacred, taboo". ***KAHTS*** means "to cover". Dr. Thompson cautions that our limited understanding makes pressing such connections risky, but because we know little and wish to know more, we do.[11]

A phantasmagoria of dangerous supernatural beings inhabits The Lake's west shore. One haunted Martha Washington Park near a place of tree-burial. The isthmus connecting Seward Peninsula to the shore was called ***SKAHL ahp sud***, "the upper part of one's neck. The peninsula's rocky point was ***Skub AHKST***, "nose," making the peninsula a head. When the lake level covered the isthmus in winter, it decapitated the head, recalling ***See SOHB sheed's*** dismemberment of the monster. The placename ***Ai yah hos*** at Colman Park likely recalled a landslide that destroyed a sawmill there in 1898 but also underscored The Lake's legendary animus. There were other clues.[12]

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[10] Ballard, Arthur C. Suzie's name was ***KHWAI kwo lit sah***. "The Brothers Killed By A Monster," "Mythology of Southern Puget Sound," ***University of Washington Publications in Anthropology***, Vol. 3, No. 2 (Seattle, 1929), pp 31-150, pp 38, 115.

[11] Chrzastowsky, Michael. "Historical Changes To Lake Washington And Route Of The Lake Washington Ship Canal, King County, Washington," To Accompany ***Water Resources Investigation Open File Report 91-1182*** (Department Of The Interior United States Geological Survey, 1981), p. 3. Kopperl, et. al. 2016, Ibid., p. 30. Waterman, Thomas Talbot. "The Geographical Names Used By The Indians Of The Pacific Coast," ***The Geographical Review***, Vol 12, No. 2 (New York: Taylor & Francis, April, 1922), p. 189, #38. Reference to May Creek.

ẋaˀ), (ẋa'c'),

[12] ***Sqwah lukh,*** "digging stick," Bates, Dawn. Hess, Thom. Hilvert, Vi. ***Lushootseed Dictionary*** (Seattle and London, University Of Washington Press, 1994), p. 305. Waterman, 1922, Ibid., p. 192, #101, 102. I am told that drownings are most common on the Lake at that point near Lake City. MacDonald, Lucille.

A legendary elk drowned a hunter in Mud Lake at Sand Point. Passing through a subterranean passage, the body ended up at Richmond Beach. Thunderbirds were said to roost in trees north of Matthews Beach Park. Where NE 125th reaches the lake, ***STLUP qs***, "Deep point," identified where "People swimming…were formerly taken away by something supernatural".[13]

The lake's seasonal rise and fall was likened to tides on the Sound. At Mercer Island's south end trunks of a drowned forest---circa 923-924 AD--surfaced during low water, many still wearing their bark. When a man collecting it for fuel felt oddly threatened, he fled, deducing that ***SWAH wah tyu tid***, "Supernatural earth beings," inhabiting the trunks resented being "stripped" of their clothing. It was never wise to anger these, and Waterman wrote "The Indians were afraid to go to the spot after that." A legend about why there were no villages on Mercer Island described an evil presence at the Island's top that submerged itself every night and resurfaced next morning.[14]

Interestingly, these stories are sited largely on The Lake's western shore. A tsunami entering the Snohomish River during the great quake had little effect further up or on the Skykomish and Snoqualmie Rivers. As members of these groups migrated to The Lake's east side, they would have brought few personal accounts of the disaster. On the Sound, however, survivors migrating to the western shore carried enough to memorialize that stricken landscape.

As mentioned, no significant archaeological work has taken place on Lake Washington's shore. But a thousand years of language memory details how Lake people lived before Americans obliterated their world. Available evidence indicates Duwamish and their neighbors followed a village-centered semi-migratory way of life.

In late February or early March, when trillium spears pierced leaf mold on the forest floor, families left longhouses on short day trips to gather vitamin-rich shoots and fern fiddleheads. Green salads dressed in oils made stews of dried game, fish, roots and bulbs palatable. As myths recited to revivify the earth did their work, trips became longer.

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[13] Waterman. 1922, Ibid., ppl 175-194. P. 190, 192, #'s 100, 105, 45, 54, 119. Gellatley, Judy, ***Mercer Island the first hundred years*** (Mercer Island Bicentennial Committee, 1977). P. 7.

[14] Waterman, Ibid., 1922, p. 193, #119. The drowned forests were cut to eliminate hazards to navigation in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Gellatly, Ibid., 1977, p. 7.

Women and children traveled during short outings, but for longer stays men provided protection and supplied game to encampments.

Calendric Terms

Phases of the moon measured time. Frogs greeted February's full moon, ***Wahq whaq US***, "When Frog talks," and people shared the seasonal greeting: "Mink is coming ashore!" In myth, Mink kills all-powerful ***Ai YAH hos***, but hides in a swamp with his keening frog sisters who cry he will be killed by angry relatives. Covered with pitch, he dashed ashore, entered their house, set himself aflame and drove them out. Empowered by Mink and dressed in sanguine red with women rouged, the people begin leaving longhouses to gather supplies in a new year. Pioneer writer Catherine Leighton captured their joyous mood: "The frogs have begun to sing in the marsh and the Indians in their camps. How well their voices chime together!" [15]

It was said that if one knew the family, one knew where they would be at any time. Along the ***Duw*** in late winter, longfin smelt migrated upstream in large schools. Individuals believed to have the power to call them led fishers to scoop them up with dipnets by the light of torches. March blew in; its moon is ***Po po EE gwahd***, the first syllables puffed-- "Everything tips over." Few plant carbohydrates yet meant "You'll be hungry all the time." At the base of a stone hill on the ***Duw***, women washed the face of Grandmother who had the power to bring warming spring rain. Boys swung bull-roarers to mimic the sound of Storm Wind, her grandson, who with her drove out North Wind and winter. Without spring rains and consequent floods, anadromous fish would not respond to the chemical signature of their birth rives and return to spawn. [16]

Wind lessened during the moon of ***Sk AH gwah lahb, K ah gwah LAPK***, "quiet now; ducks go north. Out in the bay on beds of kelp porpoise gives birth to her young". Blooming dogwood signaled the time to head for beaches and dig clams. Using house

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[15] Ballard, Arthur C. "Calendric Terms Of The Puget Sound Salish," ***Southwestern Journal of Anthropology***, (6)1: 79-99 (Albuquerque, New Mexico: 1950), p. 81. Leighton, Catherine C. ***West Coast Journeys The Travelogue Of A Remarkable Woman***, Ed. David M. Buerge, Seattle: Sasquatch Books, 1995), p. 27.

[16] Haeberlin, Hermann. Gunther, Erna. ***The Indians of Puget Sound*** (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1973), pp. 15. Smith, Marian W., ***The Puyallup-Nisqually*** (New York: Columbia University Press, 1940), pp. 32-55. Ballard, 1929, Ibid., p.

planks, people decked canoes into catamarans to haul bulky mats and gear downstream. Waterman described what followed:

> The digging stick is a short piece of ironwood flattened at each end and pointed. It is carefully seasoned and its ends sharpened and hardened in the fire. For digging clams it is used just as it is. Clam diggers loaf around camp and take things very easily until the tide is at its lowest ebb. When the best beds are exposed, they set to work and move with remarkable quickness, gathering a supply of the best clams before the tide returns. The clam digger jams one end in the mud and gives the other a circular motion. It goes into the mud very rapidly. In this exercise the old women, who are very adept, flex their bodies at the hips, the head far down, as though they were trying to touch their faces with their feet. In this position they reach around very quickly and easily, and work with astonishing speed.

From beach to beach, tide to tide, they visited with relatives, their children at play. As at West Point, clams dried and baked by the hundred weight gave villages ample stores for next winter and trade. Pulled off withes around the neck they made convenient travelling snacks. The abundance of shells on The Lake's modern shores suggests shellfish were harvested there, but only archeology can give confirmation.[17]

Blooming dogwood also signaled the time to collect cedar bark. Selecting a tree, collectors asked its blessing and made a horizontal cut low on the trunk to peel bark upward many feet until it separated from the tree. The soft, golden inner bark was separated from the rough outer bark. Dried and beaten gently to softness, it was woven into baskets, clothing, line and softer still for baby diapers or sanitary pads.

Connection between tides and lunar phases was understood. On the Sound, berry seasons from June to August were identified as tides. ***Pahd SAHBT tah DETCH chu***, "Tide of yellow salmonberries," while on rivers and lakes it was ***Pahd TAH gwahd***, "Moon of yellow salmonberries". These marked seasons of red elderberries, creeping blackberries and salal berries or more generally, ***Pahd kwo LAHD hlahd,*** "berry time".[18]

Spring also saw the arrival of anadromous surf smelt, night smelt and Chinook salmon. On The Lake, peamouth and members of the minnow family schooled in great

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[17] Waterman, T. T. "Notes On The Ethnology Of The Indians Of Puget Sound," ***Indian Notes And Monographs***, Miscellaneous Series No. 59, (New York: Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, 1973), pp. 51-53. The tool is also called a dibble stick, and the style of cultivation using it is called dibble agriculture. Waterman, T. T., Coffin, Geraldine. "Types Of Canoes On Puget Sound," ***Indian Notes and Monographs, Miscellaneous Series 5*** (New York: Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, 1920), pp. 7-43, pp. 10-17, 19-20. Lincoln, Leslie. ***Coast Salish Canoes*** (Seattle: Center For Wooden Boats, 1991), pp. 8-15.

[18] Ballard, Arthur C. "Calendric Terms Of The Southern Puget Sound Salish," ***Southwestern Journal Of Anthropology*** 61 (1): 79-99 (Albuquerque, New Mexico: 1950).

numbers at shallow creek mouths. Green sturgeon spawned in spring. Summer sockeye arrived in June along with Chum salmon. The coho salmon run peaked from July to August, joined every other year by pink salmon. From late August, river runs were huge: the "moon of the Jack salmon (early spawning male salmon), followed by that of dog salmon (chum) and silver salmon (coho), lasting to November."[19]

Berries ripening and fish migrating at the same time presented logistical challenges, as did berries ripening later at higher altitude, requiring late-summer journeys to distant mountain parklands. Large weirs required labor-intensive maintenance and operation. Longhouse groups were self-supporting, but cooperation within and between house groups required adroit leadership based on consensus. Cooperative families made life richer, circulated news, and socialized the young. Anthropologist Wayne Suttles wrote that "…where people are faced with great seasonal and local variations in the amount of food offered by the habitat, their success in exploiting the abundance depends on more than technology alone."[20]

Ceremonial gatherings took place in summer/fall when travelling was easiest. At a ***SGWEY gwey***, "Come! Come!" the Puget Sound version of the northern potlatch, wealthy hosts amassing valuables and vast amounts of food invited many guests to a large house readied for them. Days were spent feasting, attending athletic contests, gambling matches, secret society initiations, naming ceremonies and marriages before the much-awaited distribution of gifts. Speakers called forward guests by rank to receive commensurate gifts. A successful ***SGWEY sgwey*** created good will, spread wealth and groomed leadership in a culture that prized wealth, honor and generosity. It was how the game of power was played on Puget Sound.[21]

Stormy November was the time of "leaves fluttering down; time to put your paddles away." For much of a year people had collected winter supplies stored in longhouses up to 60 feet wide and 120 feet long. Three to six biological families—a band—lived under one roof around its own hearth and slept on a wide platform abutting inner

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[19] Ballard, Ibid., 1950. Pp. 82-83.

[20] Suttles, Wayne. "Coping with Abundance: Subsistence on the Northwest Coast," pp. 56-68 in ***Man the Hunter***: eds., Lee, Richard B., and DeVore, Irven (Chicago, Aldine, 1968). ***SGWE gwe –*** sgwē'gwē.

[21] Smith, Ibid., 1940, pp. 31-

walls. Bedding and necessary paraphernalia along with baskets and boxes of preserved foods crowded the interior. Dried fish, strips and haunches of meat, necklaces of smoked smelt, herring and clams cured on ceiling racks over hearths extending the length of the house in air redolent with smoke and cedar.[22]

The few surviving historical images of house interiors show fascinating spaces. Hearth fires illumined faces carved on posts, boards and tools that animated the dreams of children never far from doting aunts, uncles and grandparents, amiable cousins, brusque parents and ambivalent siblings.

Winter dances facilitated the transition from freer outdoor life into a disciplined household. The dances honored returning supernatural guardians, who, like their human hosts, had spent months travelling the edge of the world in canoes. Children had been trained to recognize guardian powers-- some were the Elip Tilikum—and taught how to seek their favor. Beaver gifted skill in carpentry, Crow, basketry; Skate gave beauty, Bluejay a brash, talkative persona. Wolf and Cougar favored hunters; Cloud enabled a person to disappear and Hazelnut that shot away when struck gave the ability to escape difficult situations. These helpful spirits and many more were ***Ska LAHL ee toot***, a name related to dreams in which they often appeared. Another category, ***Khu DAHB***, gave shamans dangerous powers to cure and kill.[23]

A girl's first menses signaled her power to birth life. Sequestered in a hut, an older female relative schooled her in weaving, basketry and the arts of marriage. In good weather, adolescent boys and girls undertook power quests at isolated locales, fasting and purifying themselves for days. The guardian power came in a dream or vision and, if agreeable, gifted a song sung to call upon its power. Adults sought important powers offering skills, wealth and status.

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[22] Ballard, Ibid., 1950, p. 84. Waterman, Thomas Talbot., and Greiner, Ruth. "Indian Houses Of Puget Sound," Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, ***Indian Notes and Monographs***, Miscellaneous Series 9 (New York: 1921), pp. 7-53.

[23] Collins, June McCormick. ***Valley Of The Spirits The Upper Skagit Indians Of Western Washington*** (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1974), pp. 144-189. Elmendorf, William, W. Kroeber, A. L. "The Structure of Twana Culture With Comparative Notes on the Structure of Yurok Culture," **Research Studies**, Vol. XXVIII, No. 3 (Pullman, Washington: 1960), pp. 334-337. Gibbs, George. Niskwalli—English, English—Niskwalli Dictionary, ***Contributions To Native American Ethnology***, Part II (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1877), pp. 337-338. Haeberlin & Gunther, Ibid., 1973, pp. 67-75. Smith, Marian W. Op. Cit., pp. 32-5.

A sense of illness felt by a host at the arrival of their guardian ***Ska LAHL ee toot*** was interpreted as the power's need "to be fed," by having hosts sing their songs. The central axis of the longhouse was cleared so singers could dance its length, illumined by hearth fires. Family and kin perched on the sleeping platform, and those who knew the songs joined in. This was ***SPEG peh gud***, "Power Singing," an intense religious celebration during which family and kin, moving from house to house, brought food to share and were themselves fed and gifted for their support.[24]

Audiences kept time by striking roof planks with decorated cedar staves, raising a thunderous beat heard for miles. Excitement increased when those with supernatural powers displayed miraculous abilities: handling fire without harm, inflicting wounds that healed quickly, animating inert objects that dragged people around the house and out of doors. Others enabled hosts to find lost items or to prophesy.

Winter dancing preceded solstice when it was believed that the road to the land of the dead opened, and lonely ghosts visited the living world to kidnap souls they brought back for company. A symptom of soul theft could be property loss, for example, a bad run of gambling luck. During the dramatic ***SPUT tut dahq*** "Spirit Canoe" ceremony, ceremonialists hired to re-enact the journey traveled to the Land of the Dead to retrieve the stolen soul. A special house might be built for this, and the host's family, kin and friends from several house groups joined in the sacred drama.[25]

Among Puget Sound groups, the Duwamish held the most elaborate Spirit-canoe ceremonies lasting five to seven consecutive nights. Night in the living world was day in ghost land, the best time to travel and reconnoiter. Following a long night, exhausted participants slept during the short day until the next nocturnal session.

The route to ghost-land was well-known with many points of interest. At a spectral berry field, the size of berries forecast the next summer's crop. Crossing a dangerous bridge to the ghost village, ceremonialists recaptured the soul in a battle with ghosts during which village boys shot flaming splints against the roof with dramatic showers of

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[24] Smith, Ibid, 1940.

[25] Haeberlin, Hermann. "SbEtEda'q A Shamanistic Performance of the Coast Salish," American Anthropologist, 20(3): pp. 249-257. Waterman, T. T. "The Paraphernalia Of The Duwamish "Spirit Canoe," Ceremony," ***Indian Notes***, Vol VII, April, 1930, No. 2 (New York: Museum of the American Indian), pp. 129-148; 295-312; 535-560.

sparks. At last, the retrieved soul was presented to its owner amid a deafening crescendo and gasping emotion. One of Waterman's informants recalled that he was "…frightened out of his wits at his first attendance at a performance, being then a small child."[26]

Approaching the historic period, outside events began to crowd local attention. Passing travelers shared with villagers on the lake accounts of strange happenings along the coast or in the interior, some accompanied by astounding apparitions.

[26] The child who became Waterman's informant was Edward Davis, at the time, a Duwamish man living among the Snoqualmie. Waterman, Thomas Talbott. "The Paraphernalia the Duwamish "Spirit Canoe" Ceremony," ***Indian Notes***, Vol. VII, April, 1930, No. 2 (New York: Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation), 00. 129-148), p. 144.

CHAPTER FOUR

GWUL

"Capsizing"

At 2 AM, October 12, 1492, Juan de Triana, lookout on the caravel ***Pinta,*** cried out Tierra! Tierra!, "Land! Land!" Christopher Columbus had reached **Guanahani,** Iguana Island, in the Bahamas. After a 33-day voyage, he believed he had reached Asia, and Papal decrees in the 1450s granting Portuguese and Spanish rights to enslave and sell non-Christians to finance crusades informed his thought. In his candle-lit stern cabin on board S***anta Maria***, he described the extraordinary day to his cash-strapped patrons, the Spanish Catholic Monarchs Ferdinand and Isabella, assuring them that they would profit greatly from his success. His words were prophetic.

> These people should make intelligent and intelligent servants. …all of them can be taken to Castile or held captive in this same island; because with 50 men all of them could be held to subjection and can be made to do whatever one might wish.

For the islanders who greeted him rapturously on that sunny morning, his success was their apocalypse. Enslavement and disease would kill them and millions more. [1]

The historical period called **Contact** began at this moment and still approaches isolated refugia where Native Americans are not yet victims. Historian Alfred W. Crosby redefined contact as the Columbian Exchange: the transfer of plants, animals, peoples, diseases, technologies and cultures between the Old and the New Worlds, revolutionary and catastrophic. [2]

When did the wave of contact reach Puget Sound? In the Columbian exchange, rheumatoid arthritis and syphilis invaded the Old World as smallpox, typhus, measles and influenza swept the New. In the 1520s, smallpox that devastated the Aztec and Incan empires may have spread north to the Columbia basin. Columbus brought Andalusian

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[1] Recall that Queen Isabella pawned her jewelry to help finance Columbus's first voyage. De las Casas, Bartolomeo, O. P. ***The Diario of Christopher Columbus's First Voyage to America 1492-1493***. Abstracted by Fray Bartolome' De Las Casas. Transcribed and Translated into English with notes and a concordance of the Spanish by Oliver Dunn and James E. Kelly, Jr. (Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), pp. 67-68, 75.

[2] Alfred W. Crosby, 1931-2018. The Columbian Exchange Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492 (Connecticut, Westport, 1972).

horses to the New World in 1493. Conquistadors rode them into the American Southwest, and by the 1730s, native breeders traded Cayuse ponies and Appaloosas on the Columbia River. Inland people in the Duwamish watershed stared astonished as interior kin rode down pass trails on elk-like animals having no antlers. Toward the end of that century, maritime fur traders arrived on the coast.[3]

Horses hauled families and gear farther, and this led many equestrians to winter in more temperate western Cascade valleys. Called ***TOB she dahd***, "raiders," they traded slaves, but wealth and influence made them attractive marriage partners.[4]

Pressing on through North America, Spanish, French and British colonials, and Great Britain's disaffected heirs, the Americans, fought for territorial gain. To maintain claims in the north Pacific, Spanish charted the coast and noted evidence of smallpox.

Vancouver

To lessen the likelihood of war, Great Britain sent Captain George Vancouver to negotiate with Spanish officials. In late April 1792, he entered Juan de Fuca Strait. In early May, while exploring a long channel he named Hood's Channel (Hood Canal), after Admiral Lord Samuel Hood, he observed among the people he met that smallpox:

> "…is very fatal among them and its indelible marks were seen on many; and several had lost the sighty of one eye."

He concluded that they had suffered a recent and severe depopulation.[5]

On May 19th he anchored ***Discovery*** off today's Bainbridge Island. The people camped on a point launched canoes and sang welcoming songs as they circled the ship,

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[3] Campbell, Sarah. "Postcolumbian Culture History in the Northern Columbia Plateau, A. D. 1500—1900." Ph.D. dissertation., University of Washington, Seattle, 1989. She argues that disruptions of living patterns in the early 1500s were likely caused by the introduction of western diseases from the continental interior. Saltwater and River people travelling by canoe and having no need for horses were called "Canoe Indians," in contrast to Inland "Horse Indians". The latter cultivated pastures on trails from upper valleys to saltwater and rode to camps on Lake Washington shores.

[4] ***TOB sheh dahd,*** Smith, Marian W. ***The Puyallup-Nisqually*** (New York, Columbia University Press, 1940), pp.

[5] ***HMS Discovery*** was a bring. Supply vessels were brigs **HMS Chatham** and ***HMS Daedalus*****.** He refitted Discovery and measured latitude and longitude at Port Discovery and nearby Point Wilson on the North east Olympic Peninsula. Rounding the point, he noted "..a high round peak" to the south he named after friend and fellow officer, Peter Rainier. Vancouver, George. Notes For Saturday, May 12, 1792, in Merany, Edmund S. ***Vancouver's Discovery of Puget Sound*** (Portland, Oregon, U.S.A.: Binfords & Mort, Publishers, 1957), p. 108. Notes for May depopulation

keeping time by striking paddle grips on the hulls. Days later a group from the eastern shore arrived with their ceremonial welcome. He noted the canoes of those at the point:

> …corresponded with the canoes at Nootka, while those of our new visitors were cut off square at each end; and were in shape precisely like those seen to the southward of cape Orford, though of greater length and considerably larger." [6]

Seagoing canoes at Nootka Sound had high prows and sides. The Suquamish on the point called them ***Ah OT ks,*** "war" canoes. Those near Oregon's Cape Orford (Cape Blanco), were shallow, able to be poled over riverine obstructions. The Duwamish called them ***TLAI***. This is the first written evidence of Saltwater and River peoples and our first historical glimpse of the Duwamish.

Smallpox spread by canoe and horse swept Puget Sound in the 1780s. Population plummeted; societies crashed, and survivors attacked neighbors, seizing women and children to rebuild their populations. Some used muskets traded by **Pasted**, "Boston," hailing from the American port. For their own defense, the British did not trade weapons. They were ***King chauch***, "King George's" men.[7]

An important figure emerging from this tumult was ***Si AH hl***, later chief of the Duwamish and namesake of **Seattle**, the largest city on earth named after a Native American. Born c1780 he grew up in the village of ***Choo tah PAHLT hw***, "Flea's house" on White River. Disease appears to have devastated them at a time when a flood left a mile-long ***Stuq***, "logjam," below the village, requiring canoes be portaged around it.[8]

Seeing advantage, five noble families from the ***Duw*** pulled up their house posts and rebuilt their longhouse at the jam's downstream end. Aggressive and arrogant they treated Flea's house people "like slaves." A purported slave ancestry caused Seattle

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[6] Nootkan people identify themselves as **Nuu chahl nulth.** Vancouver, George. Tuesday, May 22, 1792, in Meany, Edmund S. ***Vancouver's Discovery Of Puget Sound*** (Portland, Oregon, U.S. A.: Binfords & Mort, Publishers, 1957), p. 134. . Waterman, T. T., Coffin, Geraldine. "Types Of Canoes On Puget Sound," ***Indian Notes and Monographs, Miscellaneous Series 5*** (New York: Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, 1920), pp. 7-43, pp. 10-17, 19-20. Lincoln, Leslie. ***Coast Salish Canoes*** (Seattle: Center For Wooden Boats, 1991), pp. 8-15.

[7] A week or more would pass before an infected person showed the first symptoms: headaches, fevers, chills, vomiting and muscle pain. These mimicked less fatal maladies, but the eruption of suppurating blisters over the body that scabbed over and left scars marked its virulent final stage. Combating fever and chills in traditional ways: by sweating and plunging into cold water, often proved fatal. Boyd, Robert. ***The Coming of the Spirit of Pestilence*** (Vancouver and Toronto: UBC Press, and (Seattle and London: University Of Washington Press, 1999), pp. 7-20.

[8] Buerge, David M. ***Seattle And The Town That Took His Name*** (Seattle: Sasquatch Books: 2017), pp. Ballard, Arthur C. ***Listen My Nephew***, Ms. Np. C1950.

trouble all during his lifetime. Despite this, or because of it, he became a feared war leader, a skilled orator and a catalyst for much subsequent history.

By the early 1800s, Great Britain and the U.S. gained possession of the Northwest Coast from Russian America at 54° 40" north latitude to Spain's Alta California at 42° N., and from the Pacific to the Continental Divide. In 1792 Vancouver claimed all for Great Britain, but Captain Robert Gray claimed the Columbia River for the United States the same year. Lewis and Clark reaffirmed it in 1806-7. The Pacific Fur Company from New York built Fort Astoria at its mouth in 1811, but the British-Canadian North West Company (NWC) purchased it in 1813. In 1818, the United States and Greak Britian agreed to jointly occupy what the British called the Columbia Department, and Americans, Oregon Country, where both subjects and citizens could settle.

In 1821 London's Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) absorbed the NWC and represented British interests in Oregon into the 1850s. Traders' written accounts outline early history in the Puget lowland. We begin with a name: Jean Baptiste Ouvre.

Born c1790 in Montreal, he joined the Pacific Fur Company in 1810, the NWC in 1813 and the HBC in 1821, serving all as a middleman. As paddlers in a canoe's middle their strokes powered it, but the term also defined go-betweens that established trade between trading posts and outlying groups. Making contacts on the ***Duw***, named "Ouvre's River" in early sources, Ouvre lauded it as a good site for a post.

In 1832, the Company selected a post site on the south Sound named **Nisqually House**. A year later, on July 7, groups Ouvre had invited from his river came to trade. In the post's ***Journal of Occurrences***, a clerk wrote "Traded a few beaver and some excellent leather from the Nuamish tribe". Next day, "Traded 21 beaver from another party of Sinnamish…": our first record of the Duwamish and Sammamish. Impressed, Chief Trader Francis Heron, not pleased with Nisqually House's location, directed William Fraser Tolmie, a young Scottish physician hired to tend HBC personnel, and several of the people to go north with Ouvre and examine his "Land of promise."[9]

[9] In early October, 1833, hearing native threats of attack, HBC personnel protected Nisqually with a palisade. With added defenses and armament, Nisqually House became Fort Nisqually. ***The Journal Of Occurrences At Fort Nisqually Commencing May 10, 1833; Ending May 3, 1859***. Transcribed and Edited by George Dickey, November, 1989 (Tacoma: Fort Nisqually Association), Section One, May 30, 1833 to April 5, 1835, entry for Thursday, October 3, 1833, p. 13.

Tuamish Indians

This was a prominent mile-long point, a sandy prairie dotted with pines (Alki Point). Rounding another point (Duwamish Head) on July 9th, the party entered a broad bay (Elliott Bay) fed by the ***Duw*** and met "the Tuamish Indians, of whom we saw several parties along the coast, miserably poor and destitute of firearms."[10]

In an 1838-39 HBC census of the Nisqually District, the Duwamish appear as the **An noo waw mish**, numbering 363. The Sammamish are not named. The Company had learned something of a watershed's social complexity. But to understand the emerging political reality on the Sound, some history is necessary.[11]

Oregon Territory

In 1846, Great Britain and the United States agreed to partition Oregon along the 49th parallel. South of this, the American Oregon Territory was organized two years later. To ensure demographic advantage, Congress passed the Oregon Donation Land Claim Act giving citizens (white males and mixed native-white men over 18) 320 acres of free land, and his wife another 320--a square mile--if they lived on it for four years and improved it: lived on it, built a cabin and plowed a field. The legislation worked.[12]

In debt after the Revolution, the U.S. earned revenue by surveying land, clearing it of native inhabitants and selling it. In Oregon Territory, surveying began on July 4, 1850, four miles west of Portland where a stake marked the intersection of the Willamette Meridian, a north-south line of longitude, and the Oregon Baseline, an east-west parallel of latitude. From that point townships six miles on a side were surveyed, each made up of 36 square-mile sections.[13]

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[10] Tolmie, William Fraser. ***The Journals of William Fraser Tolmie Physician And Fur*** Trader (Vancouver, Canada: Mitchell Press Limited, 1963), p. 218. Tolmie refers to the Sammamish as Sinuamish, p. 220. ***Journal Of Occurrences***, Ibid, 1989, entries for July, 1833, Wednesday, 17th and Thursday, 18th, p. 6.

[11] "Census of the Indian Population in Fort Nisqually District as taken in the years 1838-39." Douglas, Sir James. ***Private Paper*** (Second Series) 1853, p. 23 (Ms in Provincial Archives, Victoria, B. C.).

[12] African Americans and full-blood Indians were not allowed to claim lands. Originally the act expired on December 1, 1853, but owing to the time taken to carry out the surveys, it was extended to December 1, 1855. Improvement meant building structures, farming or raising stock or selling it.

[13] Atwood, Kay. ***Chaining Oregon Surveying the Public Lands of the Pacific Northwest, 1851-1855*** (Blacksburg, Virginia: The McDonald & Woodward Publishing Company, 2008), pp. 36-37.

From its northeast corner, a township's sections were numbered from 1 west to Section 6, south to Section 7, and east to Section 13, the process repeated back and forth, as an ox would plow a field, to section 36 at the township's southeast corner, preventing section numbers from matching any others along township boundaries.[14]

Surveyors measured distance with hand-forged 66-foot steel chain of 100 links, each with a long internal diameter of 7.92 inches--80 chains to a mile--5280 feet. A compass defined direction. Rather than bend a chain around a tree on a line (and shorten the measure), the tree's identity, its distance on the chain, and its diameter at breast height were measured and logged in a register book. Topography was noted (rolling, flat, forested, etc.), undergrowth identified, and soil judged: 1st-rate (dark, moist loam), 2nd-rate (sandy, dryer, sloping), and 3rd-rate (steep, gravelly).

Stakes were driven where section lines began, at midway (the half-mile or quarter section mark dividing sections into four 160-acre plots), at ends and intersections. At these, "witness trees" were selected, identified diameters measured in inches and distances measured in links along with compass headings. The data appeared on cadastral maps, from the French '**cadastre**,' "registered survey of lands," used to record accurate property boundaries. T1NR1E was the first township surveyed north of the Oregon Baseline in the first Range of sections east of the Willamette Meridian. Slowly but precisely, surveyors mapped most of the continental U. S. using this method. The program also served as an effective engine of genocide, clearing native groups from surveyed lands often by armed force under harrowing conditions.[15]

Washington Territory

President Franklin Pierce created Washington Territory from Oregon Territory on March 2, 1853, and appointed Isaac I. Stevens, a fellow officer in the Mexican War, its first Territorial Governor. The Oregon Donation Land Claim Act expired on December 1, 1855. After that public land would be sold for $1.25 per acre. As Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Stevens had less than two years to convince native groups in the territory to give

[14] The numbering system was identified as boustrophedon, "as the ox plows."

[15] Atwood, 2008, Ibid., p. 40. At places where witness trees were not present (for example, beaches), a quart of charcoal was deposited in the soil and a pile of rocks raised above it. Andrews, Simon. **Register book T24NR3E**, September 19, 1862—October 3, 1862, p. 4.

up homelands in exchange for reservations, promised government payments and services. As an elected official conscious of voter opinion, Steven's treaty councils were necessarily rushed.[16]

Demands that native people give up their lands at the first council, Medicine Creek near Olympia in December 1854, shocked native leaders who, with the reported exception of Leschi, a popular Nisqually noble, nevertheless placed their marks on the treaty document as a gesture of friendship. But between Medicine Creek and the next council at Point Elliott (Mukilteo) in January 1855, native leaders devised a strategy of having as few headmen sign to convince Americans of their agreement. At the time surveyors were already at work in the lowland, alarming native groups further.[17]

The Medicine Creek Treaty was ratified by the U.S. Senate in 1856, giving its signatories one year to remove themselves to small, sterile reservations. Anger replaced shock. The Point Elliott Treaty was ratified in March 1859, and the bloody Treaty War (1855-58) followed.[18]

On May 24, 1859, William Carlton began surveying township T26NR4E, future location of Lake Forest Park: the 26th township north of the Oregon Baseline, in the 4th range east of the Willamette Meridian. Conifers and deciduous trees roofed an open forest canopy; shrubbery and ferns covered the ground.[19]

At this point, with the township neither settled nor logged and the Duwamish facing removal, Carlton's survey provides important clues about how they managed their

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[16] The amount of land offered settlers was halved in 1854 from 320 acres to a settler and 320 to his wife, to 120 acres each.

[17] Later evidence suggests that many native leaders assumed the treaty councils were part of a longer negotiation. Buerge, It is in the Point Elliott treaty that the ***Skah TELB shahbsh***, a group at the southern end of Lake Washington appear. Seattle's wife had belonged to the group, and his first child, a daughter pioneers called Angeline, was born there around 1810. His wife died soon after, but his bond with this group got them named on the treaty document. Sherwood Don. "Atlantic City Park," Interpretive Essays Of The Histories of Seattle's Parks & Playgrounds, Vol. 1, A-C. Dover, Harriet Shelton, ***Tulalip From My Heart*** (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2013). Pp. 21-30.

[18] Evidence that Lushootseed pronunciation had not yet changed the 'n' sound to 'd' or 'm' to 'b' as happened later

[19] Douglas fir, Pseudotsuga menziesii; western redcedar, Thuja plicata; western hemlock, Pseudotsuga heterophylla; red alder, Alnus rubra, big-leaf maple, Acer macrophyllum; vine maple, Acer circinatum; Pacific willow, Salix lucida; salal, Gaultheria shallon; sword fern, Polystichum munitum; hardhack, Spiraea douglassi. The common belief of the time was that large trees meant richer soil. This may have been true in the deciduous Midwest, but needles falling from coniferous trees' makes soils too acidic for most American crops. Carlton, William H. **Register book** for T26NR4E, Survey commenced May 24rh, 1859; completed June 12th, 1859.

environment. It also provides a baseline against which the subsequent cataclysm—the human and natural capsizing, turning over--can be measured.

Most of Lake Forest Park occupies sections 3 and 4, 9 and 10, and 15 and 16 in the township. 35th Avenue N.E. follows most of the line dividing them north. At the city's south end where sections 21, 22, 15 and 16 intersect, where NE 145th presently meets 35the Avenue NE, Carlton had pounded in a stake.[20]

From this a 72-inch diameter cedar bore N. 75°E., 26 feet distant; and a fir 16 inches, N. 55° W., 21 feet distant. The cedar had the largest diameter of any tree measured within the present boundaries of Lake Forest Park. If we pace 21 feet on the same heading from the intersection, we reach where the tree stood, its ghost.[21]

Heading north between sections 16 and 15 he crossed a rivulet two links wide flowing east, **Bsche'tla** Creek. At quarter-section he drove a stake flanked on the west by a 14-inch cedar bearing N, 76° W, 13.5 feet distant and another east, 8-inches, at N. 37°, E., 16 feet distant. At 80 chains, section's end, he blazed a 15-inch maple, N. 80°W., 25 feet distant; a 40-inch cedar N. 27° E., 8 feet distant; a 20-inch fir, S. 80° W., 43 feet distant and a three-inch alder, S. 10° E., 52 feet distant. The hilly land had 3rd rate soil and an understory of immature fir, cedar, hemlock, salal and ferns.[22]

North between sections 9 and 10, he entered a wetland and crossed a yard-wide stream, probably Brookside Creek. The land rose, and at quarter-section, witness trees were a 12-inch cedar, N. 60° E., 9.5 feet distant and a three-inch maple, N. 10°W., 15 feet distant. At 60 and 76 chains flowed two streams, 6.5 and 5 feet wide--McAleer and Lyon Creeks. Witness trees at section's end were a 16-inch hemlock, N. 50° E, 43 feet distant, and another 16 inches, S. 71° W., 50 feet distant. A 16-inch maple stood S. 50° E., 11 feet distant, and 15-inch hemlock, S. 2° W., 30 feet distant. High ground was gravelly, but 1st-rate bottom soil nourished hemlock, maple saplings and ferns.[23]

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[20] Ibid.,

[21] Ibid., pp. 63-64. The measurements of two witness trees bearing south of the stake are left out for brevity and not being in Lake Forest Park. But they are "a fir 18 inches in diameter S. 66° E., 51 links or 27 feet distant and a fir 36 inches in diameter, S. 54° W., 3 links or not quite 2 few feet distant.

[22] Ibid. pp. 65-66.

[23] Ibid., p. 66.

Finally, north between sections 4 and 3, he repeatedly crossed Lyon Creek and at quarter-section blazed a six-inch alder, N. 80° E., 10 feet distant and another four inches in diameter, S. 66° W, seven feet distant. At section end atop a north-south ridge flanked by 100-foot ravines, he blazed a five-inch cedar, S. 50° W., 36 feet distant, a fir, 15 inches, S. 50° E., 11.5 feet distant, a 15-inch fir N. 69° E, less than two feet distant and an eight-inch fir, N. 40°W, six-feet distant. Fir, cedar, hemlock and maple grew on hilly, 3rd-rate soil with an understory of maple and hemlock with ferns and salal.[24]?

What can these numbers tell us? Other than the 72-inch cedar, most of the trees measured are smaller than many in Lake Forest Park today. 22 trees nest to the line, at least seven per mile but allowing sunlight to sustain forage for browsing elk, deer and bear and a haven for birds and small animals. In sworn testimony before the U. S. Court of Claims, ***Duwamish et. al***. ***Tribes of Indians, v. U.S.A.*** in 1927, native witnesses described fires set every three to five years. From other sources we read of summer smoke so thick navigating the Sound required a compass.[25]

Tree diameters bunch: a group of eight from three to eight inches, ten 12 to 20 inches, and larger outliers, a 36 inch fir, a 40 inch cedar and a 72-inch cedar marking successive burns. The pattern repeats itself throughout the lowland. From such data, forest biologists estimate that 60% of the Puget Lowland was burned regularly over centuries if not millennia. Repeated burning left less material to sustain conflagrations as intense as we have today, leaving mature trees with thick bark to survive low-intensity burns. These were not primitive people eking out survival from what nature allowed, but thoughtful groups carrying out forest management benefiting them and selected animals and plants in sustainable ways.[26]

The data also provides clues about how the people managed fisheries. In the same township, Carlton encountered a fishing weir on Thornton Creek. Running east on a line

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[24] Ibid., pp. 69-70, 93-94.

[25] "Duwamish testimony," in Duwamish et. al., Ibid., pp. 682-717, references to fires, p. 691, 3, 6, 708. Berger, Knute. "Wildfires are burned into Washington's History—and our headlines" (***Crosscut, Northwest, Nonprofit News***. Cascade Public Media, September 10, 2019.

[26] Schroeder, Tom. ***Pre-settlement Forests around Puget Sound: Eyewitness Evidence*** (New York: Cold Spring Harbor: Cold Spring Harbor Laboratory, bioRxiv, the preprint server for biology, 2019).

between sections 27 and 34, "…At 19.92 chains, a stream 15 lks. Wide running S. and an Indian trail and a fish trap."[27]

NE 105th Street follows Carlton's line east from 35th Avenue NE. The fish weir stood 1,314 feet east of the intersection, probably a fence weir supported by posts driven into the creek bed below where tributary channels joined to form the main branch. The trail crossed a drumlin to a canoe landing near a longhouse. Downstream may have been too overgrown for canoe passage or left that way to shade and cool the water.[28]

With the weir at a controlling point, the house group managed the 11-mile creek's fishery. A temporary camp would have stood where fish were gutted, filleted and dried in the sun or over small fires. Hauled in burden baskets over the trail to the lake, canoes took them to the longhouse for winter stores. Those who married into the house group provided fish for their own group. Fish were also traded.[29]

It was happenstance that Carolton encountered the weir. Had it not been on a section line, he would have ignored it. But his notes are the only record of any weir site on the lake. Other documents, however, provide more information about this group and other Lake people.

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[27] Carlton, William H. ***Register book*** for T26NR4E, May 18, 1859. Map Desk, King County Administration Building, 500 5th Avenue, Seattle, WA 98104.

[28] Harrington, 1907-1965, ibid., frame 421.

[29] As when Duwamish at the Lake Fork traded dried salmon to Snoqualmie for potatoes James Goudy to George Paige, Holderness Point, November 21, 1856, in RWSIA

CHAPTER FIVE

Ee chukh^{w}

"Hello!"

Isaac Ingalls Stevens, Territorial Governor, Democrat, Superintendent of Indian Affairs and head of the Northern Railroad Survey arrived in Olympia on November 23, 1853. As superintendent, he organized a commission of settlers to advise him on native affairs and draw up treaties. Settlers who came to found market towns like Seattle profited greatly by platting their free land and selling lots to newcomers. But commoditizing the land and rapid settlement alarmed native groups. In March 1854, murders of settlers by native people brought Stevens back to Seattle. To enforce a peace, he directed Chiefs Seattle and Patkanim who were present to select headmen he could approve to carry out policies Americans demanded. 22 headmen were selected for Seattle's Duwamish. In a stroke, traditional governance by consensus ended and liberty vanished.[1]

In December the commission made plans to remove the Suquamish and Duwamish, about 1000 people, to a square mile on the east side of Hood Canal, a resource-poor area. Apparently, word of this got out, and toward the end of the Medicine Creek Council, Chief Seattle and the Duwamish said they would not attend the upcoming council at Point Elliott (Mukilteo). A boycott this early threatened the entire treaty process.[2]

In settlers' minds the discovery of coal on the ***Duw*** and Stevens' earlier announcement that the railroad would come to Seattle made King County too valuable for any part to be sequestered as a reservation. But with the Hood Canal site out, a new reservation was selected at Port Madison on the Kitsap Peninsula where the Suquamish

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[1] Gibbs, George. Journal, 0005-0048, May 11, 0009-0011. ***Records Relating to the First Northwest Boundary Commission, 1853-1869***. Role 4, Miscellaneous documents, 1854-66. Richards, Kent D. ***Isaac I. Stevens Young Man In A Hurry*** (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1979), p. 196.

[2] Records Of the Proceedings Of The Commission To Hold Treaties With The Indian Tribes In Washington Territory And the Blackfoot Country, December 7, 1854 to March 3, 1855, p. 4, Probable Reserves. National Archives, Records of the Washington Superintendency of Indian Affairs, Treaty Proceedings, 1854-1855, p. 50.

had recently made Seattle their head chief to represent them in negotiations. Native memory recalls meetings with Stevens' representatives who sought to mollify protest with promises of gold and further negotiations.[3]

The decision among officials and settlers that no land along the ***Duw*** would become a reservation was kept from the Duwamish. But aware of Americans' legalistic obsessions, native groups heading to Point Elliott agreed that only as many would sign the treaty to convince officials that the document was valid. At Point Elliott, only three of the 22 approved Duwamish signed it, but heedless officials were satisfied. Throughout the Territory, American hubris and blundering drove native groups to arms, and in October 1855, war broke out on both sides of the Cascades.[4]

The Treaty War

Stevens was then in western Montana in council with the Blackfeet. Left in charge, acting-governor Charles Mason and others cobbled together a strategy to remove native people east of the Sound, the "war ground," and concentrate them in camps on islands and the western shore to prevent their supporting hostile forces.

On The Lake

Appointed Special Indian Agent on November 7, 1855, Dr. David Maynard was given charge of the Suquamish, Duwamish, Sammamish and the **Sceach-wamish**-- his version of ***Khah chu AHBSH***. As people were returning to winter over in their well-stocked longhouses, he convinced 312 Duwamish under their headmen **Gualsh-Canam** (renamed Tecumseh by Arthur Denny), and 64 Sammamish under their headman, **Sa-wich-ol-gad,** but only 16 **Sceach-wamish**, under ***Chats-Canam***, to leave for a holding area beside a tidal lagoon in Seattle before settling at the Fort Kitsap Reservation east of the Sound on the Kitsap Peninsula. In Seattle, reduced to scant rations in drafty huts made from scrap lumber, the people starved, and children became sick.[5]

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[3] Buerge, David M. ***Seattle And The Town That Took His Name*** (Seattle and London: Sasquatch Books, 2017), pp. 121-125. Snyder, Warren. Suquamish Traditions, Ed. Jay Miller. ***Northwest Anthropological Research Notes***, 33(1): 105-175(1999), P. 144.

[4] Dover, Hariette Shelton. ***Tulalip From My Heart*** (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press), pp. 21-30.

[5] Maynard to Simmons, September 9, 1856. ***The Records of the Washington Superintendency of Indian Affairs,*** 1853-1874 (hereafter identified as **R.W.S.I.A.),** Reel 20, Letters from Employees Assigned to

On the 9th Maynard returned upriver and "along the east coast of Lake Washington…and settlements of the **Sceach-wamish** + the **Tsab-ab-bish** [Sammamish]" asking them to come in." **Sa-wich-ol-gad** spoke for both groups and promised Maynard he and his people would do so when **Elk-kla-cum / Clay-cum** returned from a visit with Klickitat who owed him blankets for a horse.[6]

Klickitat people lived on Klickitat River in southern Washington, but Americans applied the name to any Indian on a horse. An influential war leader, **Elk-clay-cum,** lived with the Duwamish at The Lake outlet. Maynard returned to Seattle with a few more families on the 13th but learned that Arthur Denny and Henry Yesler planned to keep Indian labor in town and had told his people that they were fools if they listened to him and left for the reservation. He also learned that '**Clay- cum'** was hiding among The Lake people during his visit. When Maynard returned to The Lake, the people there repeated what **Sa-wich-ol-gad** had said and exhibited uneasiness about **Clay-cum**. Meanwhile, Tecumseh and his people returned to their longhouses out of the way and, hopefully, out of trouble.[7]

But the situation had become critical at ***SAH tsah kalhl*** on Mercer Slough. At Leschi's request Yakama war leader ***Ow hi*** led many warriors there on snowshoes over the wintery Cascades. Meanwhile, on January 24, occupying a fortified look-out near the confluence of the ***Duw*** and White River, American militiamen nearing the end of their enlistment blithely abandoned their post early and returned to Seattle. As an American

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Local Agencies of the Puget Sound District …Letters from Bellingham Bay and Fort Kitsap, January 1, 1856-November 29, 1859. The old Duwamish head chief ***QWAHWS cheen***, **Qwa'sčin** visited the Denny/Boren/Bell party when they landed at Alki Point in 1851 bringing his three sons so at Arthur Denny, judged by native people to be the white's headman or 'chief', could give them "Boston Names," white names to build a closer relationship to the Americans. The three sons were, from oldest to youngest, ***K^{w}ils ke'dəb*** (**kweels KAY dub**), ***Xase'dut*** (**Khas EH doot**) and ***Stoda'*** (**sto DAH**). Denny gave them the names of famous Midwestern native chiefs: respectively, Tecumseh, Keokuck and William. Buerge, Ibid., 2017, p. 106. The suffix ***Kah deem,*** attached to names was common and may have referred to heads or headdresses worn on occasions by ***See AHB***.

[6] Maynard to Simmons, Maynard's words suggest that the Sammamish headman **Saw wich ol gad** had authority among more lake people than Ed Davis suggested: that he was influential among the ***TAHB tahb BEhuo AHBSH*** of Juanita Creek, but not among the ***TSAH tsah kahtlh ahbsh*** of Mercer Slough where the Snoqualmie had influence. His authority may have extended from the northeast shore to the ***Skah TELB shahbsh*** on the southeastern shore.

[7] Buerge, David M. Ibid., pp. 157-158, 167. This return of Tecumseh and his Duwamish to their longhouses in the late fall of 1855 is nowhere mentioned, but the later note that Tecumseh left his longhouse with his people in January presupposes their return. His doing so a year later caused him to be dismissed as chief of the Duwamish in favor of his younger brother, ***Stodah***, William.

ally who knew what was coming, Tecumseh and over 100 Duwamish followed them back to Seattle. The rest resolved to stay put.[8]

Taking the opportunity to cross the lake unobserved, native fighters, men and women, were canoed to the west shore with weapons, ammunition, and firebombs (cedar bark bags filled with pitch). On the evening of the 25th, they moved over forested hills to within a few yards of town.

That afternoon, Stevens, returning from a visit to James Doughlas, the Canadian governor of Vancouver Colony to ask for support, arrived in Seattle where ***Decatur*** rode at anchor. Accompanying him was Patcanim, seeking Steven's permission to create an armed native force to attack hostile fighters. When settlers warned Stevens of a pending attack, he joked that New York and San Franisco were in greater danger.

At 7 AM, Duwamish in town were observed loading canoes and paddling out beyond rifle shot. Asked why, one woman said calmly that "***Hiyu,*** (many) Klickitat had come to kill all the Bostons." Warned of hostile movement in a cabin across the lagoon, Captain Isaac Sterrett on ***Decatur*** ordered crew to fire an exploding shell. As the cabin blew apart as war cries and a fusillade of musket fire shattered the morning hush. The battle continued 'til nightfall, killing two settlers, wounding nine and an unknown number of attackers. The latter could not overrun the town or defenders and U.S. Marines drive them away. But attackers occupied King County for months and fired homesteads. Adding to the chaos, Patkanim's armed raiders, accompanied by Americans, left a bloody trail from the Snohomish River to his home territory, beheading enemies and driving more Snohomish from their villages.[9]

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[8] Harrington's translation of the place name, ***Pahl u oh shed,*** **paluo∫ed** "looks like feet," points to where the confluence of streams and slough resembled a three-toed bird footprint, adjacent, today, to SE 24th. Two longhouse sites: ***Pah pah DEEL,*** **papadi'l**, "padel--a place where things that can't move are drifted ashore," at the mouth of the slough, and ***Paluo∫ed***, sheltered the attacking force. Harrington, Vol. 15, Ibid., frame, 695. U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, 1902, Lake Washington-Middle Part, H2609, Scale 1:10,000. In, Chrzaztowski, Michael. ***Historic Changes To Lake Washington And Route Of The Lake Washington Ship Canal, King County, Washington*** (Department Of The Interior, United States Geological Survey, 1983).

[9] ***Pioneer and Democrat***, February 15, 1856, p. 2, c. 4. Buerge, Ibid, 2017, pp. 163-164.

Court Martial

In April, militia succeeded in reaching The Lake and longhouses where attackers had dined on settler livestock. In May a military Court Martial convened in Seattle tried those accused of murdering settlers. Native witnesses said Leschi was at The Lake with eight canoes and 50 men, but none admitted to seeing him. But **Kitsap** (not the Suquamish Kitsap), a Green River war leader, and **Clay cum** were present.[10]

From testimony we learn that young boys served as couriers between hostile and neutral native camps. People at The Lake's north end said they did not want to attack the whites. **Clay cum** told them that they would be in trouble if they did not support him. Settlers wanted the accused hung, but the court acquitted all, judging them guilty only of engaging in legitimate warfare. Frustrated and broke, many settlers left.

Tecumseh's Duwamish ran Yesler's sawmill, the town's economic engine, while militiamen trained and fought. They helped build a defensive palisade. On The Lake group were divided pro- and antiwar, as were the Sammamish, among whom **Elk Clay cum** had allies. Those who supported Seattle's determination to stand with the

Americans faced threats, and the decision not to fight was difficult, especially given the legendary valor of the Sammamish.

In the 1940s, anthropologist June Collins interviewed a Skagit shaman, John Fornsby, born in 1854. He described a ***tsah BAHBSH*** attack on t the lower Skagit of Whidbey Island before people had acquired guns: "t'saba'bc came to kill the lower Skagits. They came in shovel-nose canoes, some of them." The lower Skagit leader, **Snaetlum**, called on his supernatural power, Wind, to swamp the shallow canoes, forcing the Sammamish to swim ashore and hike south on Whidbey and cross to Mukilteo on a raft.[11]

If their resistance to ***Elk Clay Cum*** and Owhi's warriors put Lake people in danger, the Green, Upper White and Stuck peoples, the Inland "Horse Indians," who signed no treaty, killed settlers and repulsed American troops were placated by Stevens who, by

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[10] Proceedings of the Military Commission Convened in Seattle, May 10, 1856. ***Washington Territorial Volunteer Papers***. A partial copy of this document, now missing from the Washington State Archives, was generously provided to the author by historian J. Eckrom.

[11] Collins, June, M. "John Fornsby: The Personal Document Of A Coast Salish Indian," ***Indians of the Urban Northwest*** (New York: Columbia University, 1949), pp. 287-341,

executive action, created a reservation for them named after a military post on a grassy prairie between the Green and upper White Rivers called ***BUKUL schoolh***, "Muckleshoot". Settlers mindful their Duwamish allies' loyalty were shocked by Stevens' action.[12]

The Treaty War decimated King County and set back growth for a decade. In 1859, the U.S. Senate ratified the Point Elliott Treaty, giving the Duwamish one year to remove themselves to reservations in others' homelands. But settlers returning to burnt homesteads encouraged them to stay and help rebuild. Duwamish also showed settlers coal seams on The Lake, and helped develop mines, helping transport coal to Seattle wharfs. As they had before the war, many from both races worked together.[13]

Native people worked as loggers, fishers, store clerks, menial laborers and housekeepers although they were paid wages only half those of whites. Like many poor, ones who managed to purchase town lots often lost them to property taxes. Native communities survived off reservations only by white sufferance. Tecumseh, acknowledged as Duwamish chief, defied military orders and brought his people back to their homes on the ***Duw***. Officers replaced him with his younger brother, William, but he was no less independent.[14]

On several occasions, settlers coveting village and garden sites petitioned that the Duwamish be removed. When armed soldiers came upriver to do that, William reminded them that he had not signed the treaty and that he and his people had no intention of leaving. They would rather be shot down like dogs than move. They stayed, but William's

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[12] Simmons to Nesmith, December 31, 1857, ***RWSIA,*** Roll 9, Letters from Agents assigned to the Puget Sound District as a Whole, December 4, 1853—August 18, 1862. Reel 17, Letters from Agents Assigned to the Puget Sound District as a Whole, December 4, 1853—July 27, 1858.

[13] McDonald, Richard K. McDonald, Lucille. ***The Coals of Newcastle A Hundred Years of Hidden History*** (Seattle: The Issaquah Alps trails Club, June, 1987), p. 6. Slauson, Morda C. ***Renton – From Coal to Jets*** (Renton: Renton Historical Society, 1976), p. 6. Assistant Secretary—Indian Affairs. ***Summary under the Criteria and Evidence for Proposed Finding Against Acknowledgement of the Duwamish Tribal Organization.*** Prepared in response to a petition submitted to the Secretary of the Interior for Federal Acknowledgement that this group exists as an Indian Tribe. Approved [finding against the Duwamish], June 18, 1996.

[14] Buerge, David M. "We Are Still Here!" A History Of The Duwamish People, Chapter 4, MS, 2023, pp. 8-9

son later recalled: "Every day of his life he lived in fear that he'd see some white man coming down the path waving legal papers."[15]

By 1865, Seattle's slow-growing American population had outnumbered its native residents. Many newcomers brought racist intolerance, and an early ordnance passed after the town incorporated forbid Indians from staying after dark unless provided lodging by whites. This included Chief Seattle who moved to a house near Port Madison where he died in 1866.[16]

In the early 1860s, logging companies eyeing forests beside Lake Washington but prohibited by law from receiving government land patents, had settlers, called "dummy entrymen" stake claims and sell them the timber rights. "Floating cook-bunkhouses" moved along the shore where loggers, many native men, cut the bigger trees, moved them to shore and floated them to mills. Native family members often cooked and did washing.[17]

Settlers arrived at Moss Bay (Kirkland) in 1871, and Juanita Bay where native women traded and sold fish, game, wapato, and clams from Puget Sound. Frank and Wade Kirtley recalled life at Houghton on the lake's eastern shore.

> When they [great-grandparents] first came here the Indians still camped at Yarrow Bay. They'd come over in the summertime and camp there in the summer. They'd come to the house and sell fish and clams and things like that. My grandmother was about fourteen years old, and she was scared to death of them. She'd never seen an Indian before. She'd run and hide, and they'd laugh. They'd walk right in the kitchen and talk to my great-grandmother and make the sale. Grandma was just scared to death, and they'd get a big kick out of that—they'd laugh at her! They'd chuckle because they thought it was so funny that she was afraid of them.

The family of Dell Forbes, of Forbes Lake, recalled that Mrs. Forbes was terrified when wapato harvesters made a winter visit to her home at Juanita Bay.

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[15] Buerge, David M. ***Renton: Where The Water Took Wing*** (Chatsworth, CA: Windsor Publications, Inc., 1989, pp. 46-47.

[16] Ordinance #5. Ott, Jennifer. "Seattle Board of Trustees passes ordinance calling for removal of Indians from the town, on February 7, 1865," ***HistoryLink.org*** Essay 10979. Posted 12/7/2014. After the treaty's ratification, the Reservation name was changed from Fort Kitsap Indian Reservation to Port Madison Indian Reservation.

[17] Drake-Bender, Barbara L. ***Growing Up With Lake Forest Park The Early Decades in "North Seattle"*** (Edmonds WA: Creative Communications, 1983). Pp. 17-22. I rely on information from Kitsap County, Perry, Fredi. ***Port Madison Washington Territory 1854-1889*** (Bremerton, WA: Bainbridge Island Historical Society, et. al., 198), once part of King County, and from the Duwamish Garrison and Sackman families. "Research brings rich but obscure heritage to life," ***Kitsap Sun,*** nd. p. A1.

> I remember her story about the biggest scare she ever had. Half a dozen squaws tried to get into the house when she was living alone there. It turned out that all they wanted was to warm their bare feet at her stove. [18]

Anthropologists

Carlton's data revealed native forest management practices reaching back more than a century. Naturalist George Gibbs, writer James Swan and missionary Myron Eells began collecting information about native people in Washington Territory in the 19th century. In the 20th, local informants shared their knowledge with anthropologists John P. Harrington and Thomas Talbot Waterman, enabling us to focus on native settlement nearer Lake Forest Park.

John Peabody Harrington

Born in Massachusetts in 1884, Harrington's family moved to California where he graduated from Stanford University in 1906 at the head of his class. A brilliant linguist, he made the recording of disappearing native languages his life's work, often living with isolated groups for long periods in harsh conditions. In 1910, he taught summer school courses on the languages and cultures of the Northwest Coast at the University of Washington while interviewing local native informants. He was said to have had the best ear among ethnographers working in the field. Compelled by the lack of a common set of symbols used to record sounds often radically different from English pronunciation, he developed his own including sub-and superscript letters akin to musical notes and variations of Cyrillic letters to record what he heard. To the best of my keyboard, approximations of these are listed in the endnotes. [19]

Harrington's Map

Among his notes, a hand-drawn map locates seven named groups on Lake Washington (Appendix). It is oriented with south and The Lake's southern outlet at its top. Left, east of the outlet, are the ***Skah TELB shahbsh***, named after ***SKAI taw***, a

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[18] McDonald, 1855, Ibid., "Juanita Once Was Named Hubbard," ***Seattle Times***, Oct. 16, 1955, p. 8. "Early Days at Kirkland, Houghton" October 23, 1855, p. 9. McConaghy, Lorraine. Interview with Frank and Wayne Kirtley, February 23, 1986. P. 16. McDonald, Ibid.

[19] Golding, Daniel. ***Chasing Voices The Story Of John Peabody Harrington***. Film, nd. "John Peabody Harrington, 1884—1961." Obituaries, ***American Anthropologist*** (65), 1963, pp. 370-381.

longhaired merman and wealth-giving power that inhabited a deep hole in the river. George Gibbs first identifies them as **S'k-tehl-mish** in an 1854 report.[20]

Immediately east of them are the ***Shuob ahl tu ahbsh***, from ***Shuob ahl tu***, "Drying house," a structure at May Creek where fish were dried outside on racks or in a roofed shed over low fires. Moving counterclockwise up the eastern shore, Harrington locates the ***TSAH tsah kah tlahbsh*** at Mercer Slough, ***TSAH tsah kahtlh***, the mouth of the Kelsey Creek that drains most of present-day Bellevue. Further north, Harrington locates the ***Tahb tahb BEhuo AHBSH*** at Juanita Creek, ***Tahb Tahb bė huo***, in modern Kirkland**.** The name may refer to where people waded to their waists in aquatic gardens to bring up wapato corms.[21]

He wrote that residents at ***Tsah tsah kahlh*** (Mercer Slough) lived in Snoqualmie country which suggests that Snoqualmie had married into this group. River and Inland Snoqualmie lived on prairies below and above Snoqualmie Falls and caused great turmoil raiding on the Sound during the 1840s and '50s. Snoqualmie River joins the Skykomish River, home of the Skykomish, another vigorous people, at the present town of Tolt. They form the Snohomish River that empties into Port Gardiner Bay at the City of Everett. The Snohomish suffered at the hands of Snoqualmie raiders who drove many from their homeland to seek refuge among lowland kin. According to Duwamish born--Snoqualmie

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[20] *The Notes of John Peabody Harrington, 1907-1952*. skaTė'lbʃabʃ, frame 420. Gibbs' 1854 record of the **S'k-tehl-mish** is from his report to Lieutenant James McClellan in appears in "Reports of Explorations and Surveys. To Ascertain the Most Practical and Economical Route for a Railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean, Made Under the Direction of the Secretary of War, in 1853, According to Acts of Congress of March 3, 1853, , and August 5, 1854." ***Executive Document No. 91, House of*** Representatives for the Second Session of the 33rd Congress, as printed in Washington City by A. O. P. Nicholson, printer. It has been reprinted as ***Indian Tribes of Washington Territory*** (Fairfield, Washington, Ye Galleon Press, 1967), p. 42. Their appearance as **S'k-tahl-mish** in the treaty of Point Elliot likely resulted from Seattle's close ties with this group. His first wife who died giving birth to his first child, the daughter ***Sahbol EEt sah,*** renamed Angeline by pioneers, is said to have come from this winter village group. Buerge, David M. ***Seattle And The Town That Took His Name*** (Seattle: Sasquatch Books, 2017), pp. 34-35. Sherwood, Don. "Atlantic City Park," ***Interpretive Essays Of The Histories of*** Seattle's Parks and the Skah TELB shahbsh, Playgrounds, Vol. 1 A-C.

[21] **Tab Tab be'ŏ^{H,}** Possibly referring to wading hip-deep for ***SPEY qwots***, wapato, as we know happened there. təb+√ təbula'g^{w}ap, "thigh". Bates, Dawn. Hess, Thom. Hilbert, Vi. ***Lushootseed Dictionary*** (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1994), p. 215. Interview of Ed Davis by author at the home of Harriet Turner, April 29, 1980. ***Shuob ahl tu ahbsh,*** **Sŏbaltuabʃ;** ***Shuob ahl tu,*** **Sŏbaltu;** ***TSAH tsah kahtlh ahbsh,*** **tsa'tsakatłabʃ;** ***TSAH tsah kahtlh,*** **Tsa'tsakatł;** ***TAHB tahb BEhuo AHBSH,*** **Ta'btabe'ŏ^{H}abʃ** [O has a same-size U over it and an H under. The H has inward curving verticals,) (, connected by a bar, which may be the Cyrillic Ж minus the central vertical indicating a softer **Zheh** sound]. ***TAHB Tahb BE*** huo, **TabTabe'ŏ^{H}** [same as bracket comment above].

elder, Ed Davis, the Sammamish were dominant at Juanita Bay and the Snoqualmie at Mercer Slough.[22]

At the bottom of the map, the lake's north end, Harrington identifies the Sammamish River as ***Stsahb,*** and its people as ***Sts ah bahbsb.*** He also identified the river as ***Skwao kou***, and the people as ***Skwah kwahbsh***. This has become **Squak**, another name for the Sammamish River, Squak Slough. ***Skwao kou*** likely derives from ***EESH quo***, the name for the Issaquah village, and may provide clues to the identities of Lake Forest Park villages and their near neighbors.[23]

Continuing down the west shore of The Lake, Harrington locates the ***Tuo beh dahbsh*** at Thornton Creek. He writes that their name comes from the creek, **Tuo bed,** identified by Waterman as ***Tu khu beed***, recently translated as "Silenced, Quieted."[24]

The seventh and last name on Harrington's map, ***Tlhah wetl ahbsh,*** is at the Montlake Divide separating Lake Washington from Lake Union. This is Waterman's ***Slhu weehl AHBSh,*** "Narrow passages people," of Union Bay, and on the map they span the divide. Collectively, these seven groups make up the ***Kah chu AHBSH*** described by Gibbs as a tribal band on "D'wamish lake."[25]

Harrington locates no named groups of The Lake's northwest and southwest shores, home to many salmon spawning creeks including McAleer and Lyon Creeks. But informants recalled placenames all around The Lake including in these areas. That only seven match names on Harrington's map, suggests that it identifies winter village groups with longhouses at widespread locations. In a lawsuit filed at the U. S. Court of Claims

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[22] Harrington, 1907-1952, ibid, frame 420. The Snohomish (***Sdu hubsh***) were River and Saltwater people, the latter living on south Whidbey Island.

[23]Ibid. ***Stsahb,*** **stsab**; ***Sts ah bahbsb,*** **stsabab∫.** Another name Harrington recorded for the river, ***Skwao ko***, commonly written as **Squak** Slough, and the entire river and lake valley, **Squak** Valley. ***SKWAH kwahbsh,*** **skwa'kwab∫.** ***Skwao kou,*** **skwa'kʊ** (W has an O beneath it) seems to come from ***EESH quo***, anglicized to Issaquah. Harrington, Ibid, c1910, frame 420. Interview with Ed Davis by author at the home of Harriet Turner, April 29, 1980.

[24] **Tʊobed,** Harrington, Ibid. ***Tu KHU beed***, **tuxu'bid**, Waterman, 1922, Ibid., p. 190, #51. The translation of then native name for Thornton Creek, **dxWXo'o'bud**, "Silenced (or Quieted) Place," comes from Dr. Nile Thompson, in Thrush, Col**.** ***Native Seattle Histories From The Crossing-Over Place*** (Seattle & London: University of Washington Press, 2007), pp. Map, 250, #122, 254. ***Tuo beh dahbsh,*** **tʊobedab∫** Harrington, Ibid**.** [ʊ is a U with an O beneath], the people at Thornton Creek. He writes that the name comes from the creek, ***Tuo bed*****, tʊobed.**

[25] In his report to Captain George McClellan on March 4, 1854, to McClellan, Gibbs identifies two Duwamish groups: **Sa-ma-mish** and **S'ke-tehl-mish** as located on "D'Wamish lake &c," and numbering 101 individuals.

in 1927, the Duwamish and eighteen other tribal plaintiffs, ***Duwamish et. al. Tribes of Indians, vs The United States of America***, identified 14 villages on Lake Washington, the numbers of longhouses in each (34 total) and their dimensions, allowing us to estimate each village's population and that of The Lake as a whole.

Combining these with historic accounts, we can assemble a list of 17 villages and more longhouses, not all of which would have been occupied at the same time. Four longhouses at two villages in Lake Forest Park sheltered perhaps 60 to 120 people for centuries, if not millennia, living in and managing their beautiful world. Get ready to meet the city's ancient predecessors.

CHAPTER SIX

Ahl Ahl

"Houses"

Carlton's T26NR4E map shows McAleer and Lyon Creeks merging into a single stream half a mile inland. Later maps show them draining separately into The Lake. As at Thornton Creek, a single weir and camp below merging the tributaries made sense. But would the streams' separation result in a weir and camp on both? Answering this became more difficult after 1877.

On August 18 of that year Indian Agent Edmund Mallet at Port Madison wrote to his superior, J. Critchlow, at Tulalip, that 64 ***Rho-choabsh*** had been removed to his reservation. ***Rho-choabsh*** was the final, official American effort to write ***Khah chu AHBNSH***. The bulk of The Lake People, rounded up and removed from their homeland, were part of a larger federal program of assimilation that Theodore Roosevelt described as "a mighty pulverizing engine to break up the tribal mass."[1]

Which informants shared knowledge of the exiles' world with J. P. Harrington and T. T. Waterman is not clear, but ***Cheh Shee ah hud***, Lake Union John, born on Union Bay c1820, who guided settlers on local hunting/fishing trips knew it well. His daughter, Jenny Davis, provided the place names around the University of Washington campus. ***Dah gu lih tsah***, Lucy, was ***Ske TAHL bsh,*** and Suzie, who narrated lake myths to Ballard, were both born c1850. Another, ***Tse OO lh***, Sampson, spent most of his life on The Lake. Harrington interviewed informants in 1910, but his later Duwamish material relied heavily on Waterman's work.[2]

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[1] Mallet, Edmund to Critchlow, J. J., August 18, 1877. United States Office of Indian Affairs / ***Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, for the year 1877*** (18977). Reports of Agents in Washington Territory, Tulalip Special Agency, pp. 186-202, p. 198. Roosevelt, Theodore, President, First Message to Congress, Dec. 3, 1901. The "engine" was the Dawes Severalty Act, aka, General Allotment Act of 1887 that broke up tribal lands into individual holdings (c160 acres) for heads of families in the effort to make Native people farmers.

[2] Raymond, Vvaun S. ***Chesiahud: The Last of the First*** (Lake Union Virtual Museum, 2008) www.lakeunionhistory.org/chesiahud_Duwamish_Tribe_on_Lake_Union.html. Waterman, Thomas Talbot. "Informants," ***Puget Sound Geography***, MS 1864 (Washington D. C.: Smithsonian Anthropological Archives, 1920). Ballard, Arthur C. "Introduction", pp. 35-41, in "Mythology of

Thomas Talbot Waterman

Born in Missouri in 1885, T. T. Waterman grew up in Fresno, California. Expecting to become an Episcopal clergyman like his father, he majored in Hebrew at the University of California at Berkley, but a class in linguistics and field work among northern California's Athapaskan-speaking tribes in 1909 led him to anthropology. Studying under Franz Boas at Columbia in New York, he received his Ph.D. in 1913, and taught anthropology at the U.W. from 1918 to 1920, recording over 700 place names on Puget Sound and the Olympic Peninsula coast from informants.[3]

Among more than 90 place names on Lakes Washington and Union, he recorded 16 from Pontiac Bay north of Sand Point to ***Tlhah WHAH dees,*** an old village site at The Lake's north end. ***Tseekh tseekh ahl tu*** "Osprey's house," north of Matthews Beach, and ***Bs CHET lah***, the Sheridan Beach monolith, were prominent markers. ***Khwee yah QWAH deeAHL tu*** "Thunderbird's house," in the Briarcrest neighborhood and ***Stlh up ks***, '…a very dangerous place," where something drowned swimmers near Lake City, are myth sites. Others, ***Tu KHU beed,*** Thornton Creek; ***S-AH tsu tseed,*** McAleer Creek; **Sts KUL**, Lyon Creek; ***Tchet TCHAHLH***, Tributary 0056, also known as Cat's Whiskers Creek; and ***Tulhq AHB***, Swamp Creek, were salmon creeks.[4]

Prime fishing sites were: ***Khwuh KHWEE yah quais***, where seines attached to trees on shore near Pontyiac Bay brought fish onshore; ***S-AH tsu***, Lake Ballinger, and McAleer, Lyon and Swamp Creeks. North of Pontiac Bay, at ***SLAH gwul ah gwuts***, "Cedar bark," was collected. Cranberries came from ***SLHOQ qud***, the Denny marsh by North Seattle Community College, from unnamed Ronald Bog and elderberries grew at ***Tsubt AHL tu***, "Elderberries house," near the ***Sts ahp,*** mouth.[5]

Harrington recorded only eight place names in that area. Suffix ***ks*** in his ***Stlhah po ks*** and Waterman's ***Stlh up ks--***suggests the something was a ***Dzug wah***, a long-nosed

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Southern Puget Sound," ***University of Washington Publications in Anthropology***, Vol. 3, #2, pp. 31-150 (Seattle: University of Washington, 1929), pp. 35-41.

[3] Waterman, 1920, Ibid., 1922, Ibid.

[4] Waterman, 1922, Ibid., "p. 190, #64, **TL !ahwa'dĭs**; 53, **Tsixtsix-a'lt^{u}** (Waterman translates it as Eagle's House," but Dr. Thompson corrects it as "Osprey's house"); 56, **Bs tcĕ'tla** ; **Xwiyaqwadĭa;lt ^{u}**; 55, **StL!Epqs**. The latter site is in Lake City is where NE 135th would reach the lake shore. #51, **Tu xu'bĭd**; 57, **S!a'tsucid**; 59, **Sts!kE'l**; 61, **Tcĕtca'L**; 63, **TuLq!a'b.**

[5] Ibid., p. 190, #50, XwExwi'yaqwais; 58, S!a'tsu; 49, Sla'gwElagwEts; 52, SLo'q!qed; 62, Ts!Ebta'lt^{u}; 66, sts!ap.

sucking monster like Bailey Peninsula. All the names help detail ***Village List Y-2***: "Villages of the Duwamish at Lak [sic] Washington," submitted by the Duwamish Tribe when it and 18 other tribes sued the United States in the U.S. Court of Claims in 1926 for losses suffered during war and dispossession. Some background is necessary.

The Duwamish Tribal Organization

When Chief William died in 1894, leadership passed to his nephew, William Rogers from a Renton village. Still largely an oral culture, village identity and lineage defined traditional leadership. But Western commerce and legal procedure required that groups organize differently and document efforts. Engaging in political and legal action, native groups organizing the **Society of American Indians** (SAI), in Ohio and the **Brotherhood of North American Indians** in Washington D.C. both in 1911. To build a legal case, Rogers and tribal member Peter James issued sworn affidavits testifying that Governor Stevens promised a reservation in the Duwamish homeland.[6]

In 1913 Snohomish activist Thomas Bishop called 50 local native leaders including Rogers and James together in Tacoma to organize the ***Northwestern Federation of American Indians*** (NFAI), to provide a forum for off-reservation Indians to meet and discuss collective remedies and a way for poor groups to pool funds for travel and legal expenses.[7]

In 1915, ***So TAI ah kub***—Satiacum—a headman from lower White River and Peter James' grandfather, appeared on record as Duwamish chief with William Rogers as sub-chief. The pairing recalls the distinction between chief and speaker, but like Chief Seattle, both were activists.[8]

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[6] Becham, Stephen Dow. ***The Duwamish S!a'tsu; Indian tribe: Tribal Initiatives, 1896, 1935 and the Continuity of Membership***. Federal Acknowledgement Project. Report Submitted to Duwamish Indian Tribe, Renton, Washington, January 1998, pp. 12-20.

[7] Harmon, Alexandra. Indians In the Making Ethnic Relations and Indian Identities around Puget Sound (Berkeley Los Angeles London: University of California Press, 1998), pp. 178-181. Barsh, Russell. Bishop, William Sr (1833-1906 and Sally Bishop (1846-1916), HistoryLink.org Essay 20249, posted1/25/2017.posted 1/25/2017. Bishop, Thomas G. (1859-1923), and William Bishop Jr. (1841-1934). HistoryLink.org Essay 2025, posted 1/27/2017.

[8] Sotiacum's mother was sister to a Duwamish chief. Ballard, Ibid., 1929, p. 39. An example of how chiefs were made and unmade is that of James Seattle at Suquamish. Inheriting the chiefship after Seattle's death, he had his father's temper but less his diplomatic skills, and there were calls for his dismissal because he "talked rough to the people". Snyder, Warren S. "Suquamish Traditions," ed. Jay Miller. Northwest Anthropological Research Notes, Spring, 1999, vol. 33, No. 1 (Pocatello, Idaho), p. 125. At

Between 1906 and 1916, depending on one's viewpoint, the Duwamish basin was developed or trashed. After a 1906 flood redirected White River into the Puyallup, a concrete barrier made the change permanent. As part of the Lake Washington Ship Canal project, Cedar River was diverted into Lake Washington in 1910. The project's 1916 lowering of Lake Washington eliminated the Black River section of the ***Duw***, destroying the fishery, the life blood of the Duwamish people. Joseph Moses remembered.

> That was quite a day for the white people at least. The waters just went down, down until our landing and canoes stood high and dry, and there was no Black River at all. There were pools, of course, and the struggling fish trapped in them. People came from miles around, laughing and hollering and stuffing the fish into gunny sacks.[9]

On December 22, 1915, Satiacum and Rogers called a meeting of the Duwamish to elect a council and draw up a membership roll. 319 adults and 42 unnamed children were enumerated as "True Duwamish," not identified with any other group, a first step in removing themselves from the power of reservation agents and the Office of Indian Affairs (OIA). One of the first moves toward local tribal self-government, it inspired the Snoqualmie and the Snohomish to follow suit some years later.[10]

In January 1916, Bishop's ***An Appeal to the Government to Fulfill Sacred Promises Made 61 Years Ago***, appeared in the ***Tacoma Daily Ledger*** as an indictment of federal

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Tulalip, in charge of many reservations, Father Chirouse, O.M.I. (Order of Mary Immaculate, a French missionary order), accepted the Suquamish decision and recommended their choice, Jacob Wahelchu, to Superintendent of Indian Affairs Waterman in Olympia. Chirouse to William H. Waterman, 1867. Catholic Archdiocesan Archives, Seattle, WA. Jacob was a Catholic and with Chirouse's blessing, forbade traditional rites on the reservation, although not to the degree Chirouse hoped.

[9] The flood separating White River from the Green River took place in 1906: Buerge, 1989, Ibid., p. 42.. In 1911, Puget Sound Power and Light began directing White River water into Lake Tapps for electrical generation. In 1915, the King-Pierce Intercounty Flood Control Agency built a masonry diversion that permanently directed White and Stuck River into the Puyallup River and Commencement Bay.

[10] Bishop, Thomas G., in Walls, Robert E. "Treaties, Coast Salish Literacy, and Thomas G. Bishop; "An Appeal To The Government To Fulfill Sacred Promises Made 61 Years Ago". ***Journal of Northwest Anthropology***, Vol. 51, Fall, 2017 (Richland, Washington, 2017), pp. 184-216. At this time Satiacum was living on the Puyallup Reservation where he had been voted an allotment by the Puyallup Tribe. Harmon, 1998, Ibid. Barsh, Russel. "Bishop, Thomas G. (1859-1923) and William Bishop Jr. (1861-1934)," ***HistoryLink.Org Essay 20250***, p. 8. Beckham, Ibid., p. 15. Satiacum was given land by the Puyallup Tribe because he was unable to obtain any in the Duwamish homeland. Although John C. Calhoun referred to the new 1824 department as the Bureau of Indian Affairs, it's firs head, Thomas L. McKenny, preferred the name "Office of Indian Affairs", and it generally remains so in official correspondence until officially renamed the Bureau of Indian Affairs in 1947.

failure to fulfill treaty obligations and protect native hunting and fishing rights. In it were supporting statements from Satiacum, Rogers and James Moses.[11]

That summer Duwamish council members asked Judge Arthur Griffin of Seattle to represent them in legal action against the government. Griffin wrote OIA asking for information regarding their land request, but the off-hand reply that treaty reservations were sufficient shocked Griffin who agreed to represent the Duwamish.[12]

On February 6, 1925, the Duwamish tribal council adopted a constitution for the "Duwamish Tribal Organization of the Duwamish American Indians". Shortened to Duwamish Tribal Organization (DTO), the Duwamish were one of the first tribes locally or nationally to declare independence from government agencies.[13]

Satiacum died in 1925; Rogers was seriously ill, and leadership passed to Peter James. Congress authorized 19 Puget Sound tribes to proceed with their suits, and on August 21, 1926, in ***Duwamish et. al., Tribes of Indians vs. The United States of America,*** the DTO sued in the U. S. Court of Claims asking $4,176,800 for losses suffered from war and dispossession and to pay Griffin's fee.[14]

To prepare, elders identified Duwamish homeland boundaries and fishing and hunting sites outside Muckleshoot territory. They named winter villages, gave the sizes and number of longhouses, the number of hearths in each and estimated costs of labor and materials building them and clearing and cultivating gardens. On March 28th, 1927, at Griffin's direction they testified in Renton and were cross-examined by government attorney George T. Stormont over a long day.

List Y-2, Appendix 1

Village ***List Y-2***, has 14 villages and a map showing locations. The first nine, from **Su-Tachuman** to **Qui Qui Alough,** reach from The Lake's southern outlet to Juanita

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[11] ***Tacoma Daily Ledger***, January 2, 1916. Later published as a 41-page booklet, it was one of the first books printed in Washington by a Native American.

[12] Griffin was hired on December 13, 1917. "Summary under the criteria and Evidence for Proposed Finding Against Acknowledgement of the Duwamish Tribal Organization," July 1, 1996, Bureau of Acknowledgements and Recognitions, p. 46, 49, hereafter referred to as ***BAR***. Beckham, Ibid., p. 16.

[13] Barsh, Russel. Bishop, Thomas G (1859-1923) and William Bishop, Jr. (1861-1934). Posted, 1/25/2017. HistoryLink Essay 20250.

[14] The phrase "Duwamish and Allied Tribes," comes from the Treaty of Point Elliott. ***BAR***, Historical Report—Duwamish, Ibid., p. 56-7.

Creek on the northeast shore. Of these, **Su-Tach uman, Kla-Huchus** and **Qui-Qui-Alough** are on the west shore. The last five names, from **Tho-chu-achel** to **Thu-wahl**, are located on the west shore from Lake Forest Park south to Union Bay. Endings **al-oulsh**, **alugh** and **alough** are variants of the suffix ***Ah lahl***, or ***ALT khw***, "house". All houses in ***List Y-2*** are "Medium 8 X 16 fathoms," about 50 by 100 feet.[15]

Collective List, Appendix 2

A collective list matching ***List Y-2***'s village names with Harrington's and Waterman's place names helps locate them. **Fleaburg** appears not to have been a traditional village but one assembled in response to American settlement. Village number 8 on the collective list, ***Tlah WAH dees***, is not in ***List Y-2***, presumably because the Duwamish considered it a Sammamish village and not part of their claim.

Multiple Identities

Seattle had been Chief of the Duwamish prior to the Suquamish acknowledging him as chief to represent them at Point Elliott. As such, American officials regarded him as the primary native leader at the council and honored his people in the treaty document: **"TREATY WITH THE DWAMISH, SUQUAMISH, ETC., 1855"**. In the treaty preamble, 22 native groups are introduced as "**Dwa'mish, Suqua'mish, Sk-ta'hl-mish, Sam-a'mish, Smalh-kamish, Skope-a'mish, St-**ka'hmish…" and on to the final summary phrase, "**and other allied and subordinate tribes and bands of Indians…**". The initial seven are much the same groups Gibbs identified as Duwamish bands. In an 1876 map published posthumously, Gibbs depicts Duwamish territory extending from Hood Canal to Lake Sammamish, coincident with Chief Seattle's delegated authority over the "Duwamish, Suquamish and allied tribes". Later government correspondence, such as in Congressional appropriations, refers to the Point Elliott signatories in short form as "**Dwamish and Allied Tribes**."[16]

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[15] James may have combined several lists he organized into a roughly counterclockwise format. The odd spelling of lake village names suggests a writer unfamiliar with Lushootseed or a Lake dialect. By comparison, names on ***Village List W-2*** "Number of Duwamish Villages on White River Valley," listing 14 village including seven large houses measuring 10 X 20 fathoms (about 60 by 120 feet) do not differ much from their Lushootseed equivalents

[16] Gibbs died in 1873, but he made sure the letters of **Dwamish** remained above the Muckleshoot reservation, established in 1857 for the "Horse Indians," the last three of the seven Duwamish bands.

To locate where people lived, the suffix ***ahbsh***, ***bsh,*** "people of," **mish** on the treaties, or the prefix ***Dkhw***, **Tkhw,** ***du*** or ***Tu***, "place where…," is added to the name root. Waterman wrote that that Americans assumed these were tribal designations but pointed out that they regularly referred to single longhouse groups. **Duwabsh** or **Duwamish** identified groups in the watershed; ***Dkhw duw AHBSH,*** those on the ***Duw***; ***Khah chu AHBSWH*** and ***Sts ahp AHBSH***, on The Lake and the Sammamish River Peoples—on waters tributary to the ***Duw***.[17]

The seven names on Harrington's map may be major creek-shed groupings on this the largest lake in western Washinton. ***List Y-2*** identifies 14 winter village groups made up of 34 house groups. Several place names Waterman and Harrington collected identify places where longhouses stood: the actual **alough**, ***Ah lahl*** or ***ALT khw*** that housed residents. Using such sub-sets is not different from how we identify ourselves as Americans, Washingtonians, residents of King County, Lake Forest Park, a neighborhood or by a street address depending on the questions asked.

Not all groups may have occupied the locations at the same time. As settlement developed, villages at **Kirkland** and **Fleaburg** may have been like what Arthur Denny wrote about after the settlers landed at Alki: "[native people]… commenced to congregate and continued coming until we had over 1000 in our midst, and most of them remained all winter". As settlers staked claims on The Lake, similar shifts likely took place. This may have happened at Lake Forest Park. [18]

Villages at Lake Forest Park

In or near Lake Forest Park were three villages. At Thornton Creek, ***Tu KHU beed*** (Waterman's **tuxu'bid** and Harrington's **toO^{H} abid**), was the Y-2 village of **Dua-hoabun** with one medium-sized longhouse and a fish weir upstream. Harrington recorded their name as ***To oh beh dahbsh*** (**ToO bedab∫,** the final ∫ sounded as sh as in the ***Declara∫ion of Independence***), "**toO^{H} abid**, people," a household of families with parents,

His putting the eastern boundary of their homeland at the west shore of Lake Washington defies his earlier notes and is not supported by later ethnographic work, specifically by Ballard who associated the Sammamish with the Duwamish. Ballard

[17] Waterman, 1920, Ibid., pp. 83-84.

[18] Denny Arthur. ***Pioneer Days On Puget Sound*** (Seattle, Washington Territory: C. B. Bagley, Printer, 1888), p. 13

grandparents, aunts, uncles, children and grandchildren, nieces and nephews. At ***SAH tsu tseed***, McAleer Creek's mouth, the Y-2 village of **Sazo-chaghin** had one medium-sized house. Clearly, **Sazo** is ***SAH tsu,*** "face". **Chaghin** may be a variant of ***Chah khwah*** (**č'a'x^{w}(a)**, "hit with a stick," where people beat shallows with branches to drive peamouth or minnow schools up-creek into tubular basket weirs.[19]

A third village was at Lyon Creek or the creek identified as **Tributary 0056**, aka., **Cat's Whiskers Creek**. Waterman's recorded name for Lyon Creek: **StsKUL**, "a certain small bird," may be the winter wren, ***Schuh chul.*** The bird's place, however, would require the prefix ***Dkhw*** or ***Tkhw***, "where there is…," giving ***Tkhw sts KUL***, which is close to Harrington's recorded ***Tu chet Shahtl***. Waterman identifies Tributary 0056 as ***Tchet TCHAHL,*** close enough to be the same bird. List Y-2's village name, **Tho-chu-achel**, north of **Sazo-chaghin,** is a close match (**tu** a variant of ***Tkhw***) to both, suggesting the village may have been at either place. But historical sources recall a village of three or four houses located at Lyon Creek as late as 1903. By then, rapid settlement and landscape changes may have convinced the three villages to combine as one nearest a growing American settlement.[20]

The Mouth of the Face

Amid this tongue-twisting torture there is a prize. Place names are warp threads of narrative. Gossamer strands of history interwoven between reveal patterns and images. ***SAH tsu tseed*** is the mouth of the face. Does the face breathe? Fish follow the molecular signal of their birth stream to where they were born and where they spawn and die. Lakes breathe them in; flesh disintegrates or is eaten, but the fish's spirits live in the eggs that hatch into fingerlings. The lakes exhale them downstream, another generation sent on a life journey. The image is surreal, a painterly term meaning 'super real,' the stuff of myth. Did it become a myth? We have no record, but there is more.

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[19] Bates, Dawn., Hess, Thom., Hilbert., ***Lushootseed Dictionary*** (Seattle and London, University of Washington Press, 1984 p. 69. Waterman, Ibid., 1922, p. The Geographic Names Used By The Indians of the Pacific Coast," ***The Geographical Review,*** Vol. 12 # 2 (New York: Taylor & Francis, April, 1922), pp. 175-194, 190, #42, #43.

[20] **Sts kE'l**, Waterman, Ibid., #59. **Sčəčl,** *Troglodytes.* Turner, Hariette. ***Ethnozoology of the Snoqualmie,*** Second Edition, Revised (ts.), 1976, p. 66.

A bathymetric map of Lake Ballinger shows what looks like a very large avalanche deposit on west side, filling much of the lake. Avalanches leave a scarp, what we call a 'face' on a slope. Woe to those camping on the opposite shore! Did pain of loss become a warning as elsewhere on The Lake? Grief lasts, but life persists.[21]

At Sheridan Beach the huge monolith hulks on the beach. When the lake was higher only its top broke surface, but its mass undulated in the clear water: ***Bis CHET tlah***, "where there is a boulder". Further inland, place names identified camps where families spent time collecting resources: salmon at ***SAH tsu***; ***CHAHL qwah dee***, "Black cap berries," at Bitter Lake; ***See SAHL tub***, "calm down," a place at Haller Lake where people could hide from raiders on the Sound. In 1957, an ancient willow-leafed shaped Olcott point was found at Haller Lake. ***SLOHQ qed***, "Bald head," was the cranberry bog near North Seattle Community College, called 'bald-headed' for the same reason cranberry wetlands are in New England. A web of trails connected all these. ***Bis CHET tlah*** marked the foot of one reaching to the Sound via Bitter Lake.[22]

Another left the lake near ***SAH tsu tseed*** for Lake Ballinger. Beyond, it crossed a watershed divide and descended the valley of ***SBAHL***, "Supernatural spirits," Shell Creek, to ***Bis oh LAHL***, a cattail marsh still thriving in Edmonds. The spirits were ***KHU dahb,*** sought by shamans for curing and killing. The gossamer strand holding these also held mention of Snohomish People fishing at a camp in Edmonds and living at ***Tu chet Shaht--*** **Tho-chu achel**--Lyon Creek. More refugees. Travelers trekked between the lakes and the Sound for thousands of years. Baring discovery of a stemmed or fluted Clovis points in Lake Forest Park, it is our oldest human connection with the area. A topographic map will guide walkers, bikers and drivers over it, to feel the land rise and fall while passing through remnant woodland as was for so long.[23]

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[21] Bathymetric map of Lake Ballinger. http://fishing-app.gpsnauticalcharts.com/i-boating-fishing-webapp/fishing-marine-charts-navigation.html?title=Ballinger+Lake%2C++Snohomish+County+boating+app#16/4%7827/-122,3310

[22] Buerge, David M. ***The Maps Of The Early Shoreline Area The Ethnographic Context*** (TS, December 31, 1996. The Shoreline Historical Museum, P.O. Bos 7171, Seatle, Washington, 98133. 21 pages. Buerge David M. ***Shoreline Ethnography 2020*** [TS including maps, 48 pages.] Ted Weld, whose house was at Haller Lake, found it.

[23] Waterman, 1920, Ibid., Map A. "Indian Names for Places About Seattle," [place names on Puget Sound from Edmunds to Salmon Bay; on Salmon Bay, Lake Union and Lake Washington]. Waterman, Ibid., 1922, Names on Sammamish River and Lake Sammamish].

Place names conjure the face of the land as the people knew it. They lead us

closer if not face to face to those thinking, robust souls who managed their forests and fisheries in sustainable ways for a long, long time.

Poor

Waterman's informants told him that people at the north end of the lake were poor. To us poor means not having what one needs, but The Lake was an abundant provider. What did poor mean to them? We hear the Saltwater father scolding his child for "behaving just like one of the Issaquah Creek people!" Waterman wrote that the poverty of the people there was proverbial.[24]

There were smallpox epidemics in the 1830s and 1860s that further decimated the people. An 1874 earthquake shook Seattle, and young whales were said to shake the land as they muscled through a subterranean passage from Elliott Bay to the lakes. Did these events make those far up The Lake poor?[25]

But to better-off Saltwater and River people, poor may simply have meant distant people, not like us. By foot or canoe, 20 miles is a long way. Back-country Sammamish were a presence there. Aggressive, sharp-eyed hunters with mountain lion skins draped impressively over the shoulder; whooping riders lashing snorting Cayuse ponies through villages. A snide put-down is a human foible we can relate to, but one that also provides a glimpse into an ancient, complex, vivid, engrossing world. But we are in the historic period now when all of this comes to an end.

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[24] Waterman, T. T. and Greiner, Ruth. "Indian Houses On Puget Sound," ***Indian Notes and Monographs*** Miscellaneous Series 9, Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, (New York: 1921), p. 46. Waterman, ibid., 1922, p. 190, #64.

[25] Reverend Summers, R. W. ***Indian Journal Of Rev. R.W. Summers First Episcopal Priest of Seattle (1871-73) and of McMinnville (1873-81).*** Translated by Martinus Cawley, OCSO (Browsers Edition, Guadelupe Translations P.O. Box 97, Lafayette, Oregon 97127, 1994), pp. 7-8.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Tud ZOO tseed

"Answer"

Along Lake Washington native people worked as loggers and miners and as laborers on small settler farms drained from narrow creek wetlands. One native woman ran a store at Lyon Creek, the first in what became Lake Fores Park.[150]

Measuring need and cost versus profit, she paddled to the general store at Bracketts' logging camp, soon named Bothell, and purchased supplies. Back home, "…at a small village of three or four houses, located in the marsh between McAleer and Lyon Creeks," she stocked shelves and opened for business.

We would like to know more about this village where she and her people had integrated themselves into American life. This was not assimilation, the reservation goal of erasing native language and culture, to "kill the Indian… but save the man". Indeed, a pervasive racism never allowed native people to forget who they were. [151]

Non-natives called them "**Siwash**," from the French **Sauvage**, "savage," a derogatory racist term akin to the n-word describing African Americans. Non-

native men married to native wives were derided as "squaw men," their wives,

"squaws," and their children, "half-breeds". But history provides the real names: ***Ah tsee tahl beekhw***, "Waiting people"; ***Tu duw AHBSH***, "***Duw*** watershed people"; ***Dukhw duw AHBSH***, "People of the ***Duw***"; ***Khah chu AHBSH,*** "People of The Lake"; ***Tu oh beh DAHBSH***, "***Tu KHU beed*** (Thornton Creek), people". Native families at McAleer Creek were ***SAH tsah kah LAHBSH***, "Mouth of the Face people," on Lyon Creek, ***Sts KUL ahbsh***, "Small bird people," and on Tributary 0056 , Cat Whiskers' Creek, ***Tu chet Shahtl AHBSB,*** "Winter Wren people". As the railroad approached in the 1880s, Thornton and McAleer Creek house groups moved north to a place of changing names:

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[150] Bender, Barbara L. Drake. ***Growing Up With Lake Forest Park The Early Decades In "North Seattle"*** (Edmonds, Washington: Creeative Communications, 1983), pp. 17-18.

[151] The words are from a 1892 speech given by Richard Henry Pratt, founder of the The Carlisle Indian and Industrial School in Pennsylvania, founded in 1879. They expressed his and the school's philosophy.

Lyon, Terrance and Fish's Landing, combining in a new village of three to four houses. A mouthful to be sure, but exotic and melodious after a century of silence.[152]

They were thought Snohomish as in the fishing camp at Edmonds, but branding them Siwash suggests the community was recent. Arthur Denny assumed the 1000 gathered beside pioneers at Alki Point fled there for protection, but altercations among them suggests their vying for trading advantage.

The woman and her kin moved to also trade dried fish, venison, wapato and labor for the same reason their men worked as a loggers: for mutual advantage. Elsewhere Lake, people also traded baskets, mats and rag-rugs and bartered ducks and geese with Chinese and Japanese workers. Some intermarried. From the Lake Fork, two sisters from ***SBAH bah deed***: **Quio-litza**, married Ruben Bigelow, and Ellen married Gerald Proctor. William, "Uncle Joe," Surber who owned a hunting lodge near Henry Yesler's mill on Union Bay had a native wife, as did many other settlers.[153]

Stories like these appear in early letters and memoires but rarely so in early printed histories. Frederick Grant, who published the first ***History of Seattle*** in 1891, reflected the mood of many white residents seeking to downplay hardscrabble beginnings and interracial unions when he wrote that "we who reside in Seattle today do not regard ourselves in any way as pioneers".[154]

The Seattle, Lake Shore and Eastern Railroad

Between Seattle and Bothell, farmers hauling produced raised on narrow, drained creek bottoms long miles over muddy paths eked out a living. But the long fight for rail connections to eastern markets gained strength with the incorporation of the **Seattle, Lake Shore and Eastern Railroad** (**S.L.S. & E. RR**) in 1885. By 1887, crews working north from Seattle logged, grubbed out vegetation, graded high spots into low and spiked down rails to green ties. From Pontiac Bay at Sand Point, work crowded narrow spaces

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[152] The Lake people and those on any of its creeks would not call themselves ***Tkhw duw AHBSh*** because they did not live on the ***Duw***.

[153] Cummings, B. J. ***The River That Made Seattle*** (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2020, p. 54. McDonald, Lucile.

[154] Building close to settlers' cabins likely had more to do with controlling access to contact and trade. Grant, Frederic James. ***History of Seattle, Washington*** (New York: American Publishing and Engraving Company, Publisher, 1891), p. 2.

at the "…side of the tracks at the mouths of streams". This was where the native people lived, and their forced removal preceding construction and retreat

to Lyon Creek were not accidental.[155]

Industry followed the tracks. Near Sand Point Edmund Lee's shipyard launched wooden ships onto the lake. The Pontiac Bay Brick and Tile Co. opened a clay deposit to capitalize on the 1889 Seattle fire, and near the Maple Leaf Shingle Mill a sign announced the approach to "Lake," the future Lake City.[156] Water remained the easiest way to travel the lake shore, and sailboats, steamers and native canoes were common sights. The muddy military telegraph road from Green Lake to the north shore was one of several attempts to traverse King County, but by October 1887, **S.L.S.&E. RR** tracks had reached **Lyons**, on John L. Lyon's 1870 claim beside the creek bearing his name. It became **Terrance**, a stop "not far from the Indian village". Drier soils moderated local forest growth, but toward the county line higher water tables nourished huge cedars and drew sawmills further.[157]

Bothell's **French and Fish Lumber Company** built a 200-foot pier at Lyon Creek, with narrow-gage tracks west of and parallel to today's Highway 104 reaching the county line. From the pier five- to eight-foot diameter logs 100 feet long splashed hugely into the lake. Skid roads and bridges proliferated, and McAleer Creek's flow diverted into a cedar flume washed poles and shingle bolts downstream. Terrance became **Fish's Landing**, and by 1903, the native village and its residents were gone.[158]

That year the "good roads" movement in Washington began improving dirt tracks from Seattle's Ravenna Park to newly platted Lake Forest Park, paving it with asphalt and sand in 1907 and in a 1914 celebrated a "Boulevard Blowout," when 50 automobiles

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[155] An early settler, German butcher Charles Becker, settled at the confluence of the north and south branches of Thornton Creek (near the weir), around 1870. Other German farmers settling near him gave the place its name, 'German Village". Wilma, David, "Seattle Neighborhoods: Lake City," ***HistoryLink.org***, posted 7/18/2001, ***Essay # 3449.*** https://trainmuseum.org/exhibit/the_seattle_lake-shore-and-eastern-railway.

[156] McDonald, Lucille. "How Lake Washington Has Changed!" Essay No. 1, ***Seattle Sunday Times,*** Magazine Section, Sunday, October 7th, 1955, p. 2.

[157] Bender, Ibid., 1983, pp. 18-19.

[158] Ibid., pp. 17-19

drove the route, a harbinger of the future. With land shorn of merchantable timber, mills moved elsewhere, although small-scale logging continued into the 1940s.[159]

Lake Washington's fishery had remained viable. Sockeye salmon and lampreys, "thick as bananas", still crowded creek riffles. McAleer Creek's mouth remained a rich spawning and fishing site, and boys remembered Lyon Creek as "always good for a couple of trout". But all this changed with the lake's lowering.[160]

It took three months from August 28, 1916, for Lake Washington to drop 8.8 feet to the level of the ship canal during the height of salmon runs. As exposed spawning grounds dried, eggs and fingerlings died. Wapato disappeared. The diversion of Cedar River into the lake and disappearance of the lake outlet eliminated fish runs into the lakes' basin. Sammamish River became too shallow for navigation. A fish ladder at the locks dam was completed in 1917, but only when salmon from Baker River in the north were reintroduced into the Cedar in the 1940s did stocks begin to recover.[161]

After logging, open lands yielded bumper crops of wild blackberries until cleared for small dairies, truck farms and orchards. As the need for post-war housing expanded, realtors offered better money for farmers' acres. But where did the Lyon Creek villagers go? The answer is complicated.

The Duwamish Tribal Organization (DTO)

The fraught relationship between the United States Government and Native Americans is a sorry record of heedless neglect. Thomas Bishop and the Northwest Federation of American Indians (***NFAI)*** forced the Office of Indian Affairs (***OIA)*** to document conditions among native groups on- and off-reservation. The report of Samuel Eliot found ample evidence of poverty and neglect and praised NFAI for its efforts to gain recognition for unenrolled off-reservation Indians. This was not what OIA wanted, to hear, and to thwart criticism, its agents sought jurisdiction over the un-enrolled. Bishop petitioned ***OIA*** to count them, and in 1919 Special Allotting Agent Charles E. Roblin

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[159] ***Washington State Route 522.*** https://en.wikipedia.org/Washington_State_Route_522. History.

[160] Bender, Ibid., pp. 215-225.

[161] Baker River, rising in North Cascades National Park near the Canadian border, flows into the Skagit River. From 1914 to 1917, the U. S. Army Corps of Engineers built a fish ladder on the south side of the locks dam at Salmon Bay.

counted 3,840 native people enrolled on reservations in western Washington, but more than 4000 unenrolled.[162]

Surrounded by urban sprawl the Duwamish had become urban Indians a century before the term was invented, identifying themselves less by ancestral winter villages than postal addresses. To preserve and revitalize their native identity, they organized themselves as an independent tribe.[163]

Gary Snyder, celebrated as the poet-laureate of Deep Ecology, was born in San Francisco in 1930. At two, his family moved to a small farm in Lake City where they raised dairy cattle, kept laying hens, an orchard and split cedar shingles to survive the Great Depression. The family moved to Oregon, in 1940, but he remembered the Indian man who stopped by the farm to sell fresh salmon out of the back of a pick-up truck. Snyder did not know the man's name or where he came from, but in such ways, a native presence persisted.

Modernity

Lake Washington is no longer called ***KHAH chu***. Expensive waterfront homes crowd its shores. Where perhaps a thousand ***Khah chu AHBSH*** lived, the 2020 U.S. census counts1,155,650 in communities surrounding Lake Washington. Because census enumerators ask, we know that over 7000 are Native Americans. Among these, 71 live in Lake Forest Park. Most will be from elsewhere, but not all.

Many Histories

In June 1934, The Court of Claims dismissed the suit of ***Duwamish et. al.,*** writing that government had spent farm more dealing with its native wards than claimants' claimed. To reward Native Americans for service in World War II, Congress established the Indian Claims Commission (ICC) in 1946 to hear further claims. The DTO again filed suit. In 1957 the ICC agreed that the DTO was successor in interest to the group signing the Treaty of Point Elliott (that it was recognized by the government) and heard its case. In 1964, after calculating the lowest possible value of Duwamish land on the basis of

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[162] Harmon, Alexandra. ***Indians In The Making Ethnic Relations and Indian Identities around Puget Sound*** (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of Washington Press, 1998), pp. 167-168.
[163]***The Muckleshoot People of the Pacific Northwest bəqəšulalabš***, n.a. n.d., p. 6.

1850's timber prices-- $1.35 an acre--it awarded the Duwamish $74,000. But $12,000 was deducted for government efforts, itemized by the General Accounting Office, to "civilize" them between 1859 and 1960 this meant DTO members received only $62 each, enough for a cart-load of groceries, a huge disappointment after a century of dispossession and struggle.[164]

As this worked its way through the legal system, government actions further limiting hunting and fishing as resources collapsed galvanized native communities. In 1963 protesters on the Nisqually, Puyallup and Green Rivers staged "fish-ins," modeled after successful African-American 'sit-ins' to secure civil rights. State policies curtailed salmon fishing on Elliott Bay and Duwamish River and set quotas beyond reservations where tribes competed with commercial fishers and each other. Duwamish fisher Mannie Oliver recalled joining Ray Foresman, Suquamish, to out-wit the Muckleshoot.

> They [state officials] would give you a little bit of fishing…like Lake Washington. "Yeah, you guys can fish but you've got to have some kind of regulation. One time, in Lake Sammamish, they [the state] had 60-70,000 silver salmon to take out…that was harvestable surplus."

The Muckleshoot measured their nets in feet, but Oliver and his friends measured theirs in fathoms (6 feet), and clueless officials approved.

> The Muckleshoot set 600 feet [of net] per boat. Me and Ray wrote out regulations as 500 fathoms per man, 3000 feet vs. 600 feet…and we had 6000 feet, which was over a mile of net out. They were giving us 85 cents per pound for them silvers, and we were pulling 10,000 pounds per day. So we outfoxed the Muckleshoot and they ware madder than hell. [165]

Fish Wars

The conflict between tribes and the State in the 1960s and '70s, became brutally violent, and on September 13, 1970, Department of Justice attorneys filed suit against the State of Washington in federal court. Like other native fishers, Oliver was repeatedly

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[164] Congressional appropriations for OIA/BIA expenditures for "Duwamish and Allied Tribes," were directed to those enrolled on reservations designated in the Treaty of Point Elliott, not unenrolled Duwamish. The monies went largely for non-native staff salaries. Harriet Shelton Dover recalled that shortly after annual pay-outs, when reservation staff appeared driving new cars, native residents observed wryly to one another, 'there goes part our money". Shelton-Dover, Harriette. ***Tulalip From My Heart*** (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2009), p. 161.

[165] Bureau of Acknowledgement and Recognition, cited hereafter as ***BAR***. ***Summary under the Criteria and Evidence for Proposed Finding Against Acknowledgment of the Duwamish Tribal Organization, June 1, 1996. Prepared in response to a petition submitted to the Secretary of the Interior for Federal Acknowledgment that this group exists as an Indian Tribe. Approved, June 1, 1996***. Section A] Historical Report, pp., 1-75, p. 68-69.

cited and had his boat and gear confiscated. In an unsettled legal climate, most fishers won in court, but confiscations and lost time cost them dearly. Frustrated, he told his older sister, Cecile Maxwell, a housewife and mother, that she needed to get involved. How? By attending meetings.[166]

In 1973, federal judge George Boldt ruled that fishing rights came not from government but from the tribes who share their carefully managed resources "in common" with Americans. He interpreted "in common" as sharing the catch 50-50. This was a great victory for tribes who, suffering poverty, harassment and hostility, took barely 2% of the catch.

Native groups enrolled by the government were considered recognized. Some Duwamish were, but as Roblin showed, most were not. And the BIA was quick to point out that DTO membership rolls had not been approved by them or the Secretary of the Interior. Yet the ICC acknowledged the DTO as a recognized tribe, and Congress regularly dealt with it as such. But the BIA in the Department of the Interior belonged to the Executive Branch of government not the Legislative or Judicial, and ***U.S. v. Washington*** and explicitly assigned "usual and accustomed" fishing places on White, River, Green River, Duwamish River and Lakes Washington and Sammamish to the recognized Muckleshoot Tribe.[167]

The Duwamish were not a plaintiff in ***U.S. v. Washington***, but assuming unrecognized groups would intervene to seek fishing rights, the BIA established a panel to decide, "as quickly as possible" which would qualify. After two months the panel determined that the Duwamish and three others met the standards listed in the authoritative ***Handbook of Federal Indian Law***. But this was not the decision the BIA wanted, and declaring that the panel had acted too quickly, ignored its findings. The Duwamish and four other unrecognized tribes intervened again in District Court. The magistrate appointed to rule in the case dismissed the suit, and Boldt concurred.[168]

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[166] Allain, Julia Anne. ***Duwamish History In Duwamish Voices: Wearing Our Family Voices Since Colonization***. A Dissertation Submitted in partial Fulfillment for the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, ms., ts., (Canada, British Columbia: University of Victoria, 2014), pp. 240-244.
[167] ***BAR,*** Ibid, [Section B] Anthropological Report, pp. 1-156, p. 127. Cohen, Felix S. ***Handbook of Indian Law***, 1941--. Cohen,
[168] ***BAR,*** Ibid., Historical Report, pp. 72-73.

In the DTO, gloom prevailed. Chairman Willard Bill quit to enroll on the Muckleshoot Reservation; Mannie and others left. But in 1977, 41-year-old Cecile Maxwell: wife, mother and homemaker, was voted Tribal Chairwoman and with help charted a new course. She renewed the suit in 1978, but a year later, the 9th District Court issued its findings of fact against the intervenors. The Duwamish appealed the ruling, but in 1996, the BIA issued its report documenting that the DTO failed to meet three out of seven criteria required to acknowledge the Duwamish as a recognized tribe. It claimed that the Tribe failed to show it was an identifiable group in a definable area with political power in the period from 1917 to 1926.[169]

Recognition and Non-Recognition

In response the DTO carried out research providing information to meet the criteria. It succeeded, and on Friday, January 19th, 2001, the DTO received a call from the BIA's Bureau of Acknowledgement and Recognition (BAR), saying that all criteria were met and the Tribe was recognized. Members gathered to celebrate, but an email the following Monday, January 21nd, informed the DTO that the decision had been tabled indefinitely.

What had happened? That weekend saw the departure of the Democratic Clinton administration and the inauguration of the Republican Bush administration. A departing BIA official had failed to sign a minor document. As his contract expired, he returned to his office and signed a copy brought out to his car. Native groups appear to have objected to the decision, fearing a recognized Duwamish Tribe would cut into fishing, and, thanks to the 1984 Congressional passage of the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act, could open a casino that would cut into profits from other tribal casinos.[170]

For whatever reason, the DTO remains unrecognized, unable to benefit from the promises made to their chief and signatories in the Point Elliott Treaty. On Lake

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[169] The seven criteria required that petitioner can show 1., continuous historical presence; 2., evidence of habitation in a specific area; 3.,historical documentation of influence over members; 4. documentation of membership and governance; 5. a list of members showing descent from historic tribe; 6., most members do not belong to another Indian tribe, and 7., that the tribe has not been terminated by Congress. ***BAR***, Ibid., Summary, pp. 2-20.

[170] Dicker, Lia Steakley. "The Tribe That Would Not Die," ***Seattle Metropolitan,*** February 11, 2009, published March 2009.

Washington, Muckleshoot catch fish, not Duwamish. More recently, a Muckleshoot media campaign declaring that "We Are Rightful Descendants Of The Duwamish People." Other recognized tribes support them. They also approve the Native American curriculum, "Since Time Immemorial," used in Seattle public schools that ignores the DTO.[171]

If Lake Forest Park acknowledges its ***Khah chu AHBSH***-Duwamish heritage, does it risks offending recognized tribes whose gambling profits provide large contributions to the campaigns of cooperative politicians? Votes are for sale. Is history also a commodity?

Whose History?

Understanding how people managed their lives and resources in more sustainable ways is crucial. Early maps show McAleer and Lyon Creeks joined and divided. Where a group erected its fish weir defined its autonomy, and how it managed resources determined its success. Archaeology can detail this, and even after more than a century of development, Lake Forest Park retains archaeological potential. In crowded cities as old as Rome and New York, intact ancient levels yield information, and information has value.

What awaits discovery here? Stout uprights supported longhouse roofs. Post holes, fired earth and fire-cracked rock from hearth circles last millennia. As weirs aged in shifting channels, new ones were constructed year after year. The ends of weir stakes hammered into streambeds will survive. Charcoal, fire cracked rocks and stone tools mark campsites. Organic bone, horn, antler and wood, fibers and weavings preserve in anoxic stream sediments. They recall a past, but when found *in situ*--where they were left, awakens us to a day in the life of a successful society.

That you read this is evidence of civic interest. Trained eyes watching for evidence as development proceeds will be rewarded. Much earth was moved near the Thornton Creek weir site as the Seattle School District expanded John Rogers School in 2024. Were such eyes present? What did they see? A planned traffic circle where N.E. Ballinger Way

[171] Muckleshoot Indian Tribe. ***We Are Muckleshoot,*** Paid Advertisement, The Seattle Times, Sunday, August 28, 2021, News A 13, c., 1-5.

intersects 40th Place N. E., where McAleer and McKibbon Creeks met, is a potential weir site. But business offices rarely share with historical societies, librarians or educators or call for public and student involvement. Yet what could be more rewarding for students and residents? The BBC archaeological series, ***Time Team*** is a brilliant model of what could be.

Humanity faces environmental, social and historical crises. Learning how people flourished over time in a small area by sustainably managing resources over a wide area can help us if we choose to listen and learn. Answering whose history is deceptively simple. The narratives will differ, but it is ours. It belongs to us all, and all of us must answer for it.

EPILOGUE

"Lots of People Talking"

Final stories. Today, the people of Lake Forest Park are the most recent residents of an ancient community that has its roots in the Ice Age. Such longevity was made possible by success, and what constitutes success has become a critical social concern. In frontier literature, Chief Seattle's famous speech dwells at length on his people's love and rapport with their landscape.

On January 12, 1854, pioneer doctor Henry Allen Smith, recently arrived in the territory, took notes of the greeting Seattle gave Territorial Governor Isaac Stevens on the shore of Elliott Bay. Seattle's Lushootseed was reduced into Chinook Jargon and thence into English for the Governor's benefit. Smith was described as fluent in the native language, but at the time this meant the Jargon, and we can assume that his notes came from the English translation. Smith's version of Seattle's "In all the earth there is no place dedicated to solitude," alluded to the myriads of ancestors over long millennia of habitation whose voices continue to echo in the homeland they tended and loved.[172]

In mythology, the Puget Lowland was described as having its origin in mud brought up from the primordial sea by the little hero, Muskrat, who spread it out on a raft. It is a common story in North American mythology, and regionally may recall the disappearance of the ice sheet and recessional lake that revealed the muddy lake bottom as the new land surface.[173]

The story also has strong ethical and moral elements. Muskrat is small which makes his mythic role more noteworthy. But how the people ordered their societies to sustainably manage the resources of Muskrat's Island resonate in the words of another native chief, another Muskrat from the late 1600s, a Huron-Wendat leader from the Great

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[172] Buerge, David M. Chief Seattle And The Town That Took His Name (Seattle: Sasquatch Books, 2017, pp.

[173] That Muskrat is the central figure in the stories rather than its larger relative, the beaver, with its proverbial engineering skills skill may have to do with the broader use of muskrats for food and pelts by hunters.

Lakes whose name the French wrote as **Kondiaronk**, from the Huron name for muskrat, **Ondothra.**

Fluent in French, he became the most brilliant strategist, orator and diplomat in French North America. The French twitted him, calling him *Le Rat*, "The Rodent," but his signature was a powerful line drawing of the salvific animal.

In 1701, after nearly a century of war between the Huron, Iroquois and French, Kondiaronk engineered the Great Peace of Montreal establishing comity between the parties until the 1760s. Admiring French had brought him to Paris to impress him with French culture, where his intelligence, wit and charisma impressed philosophes in their salons. When they asked him what he thought of their France, their Paris, to their credit they wrote down what he said, although doubtless in no small shock.

> Do you sincerely imagine that I would be happy to live as one of the inhabitants of Paris? To take
>
> two hours every morning to put on my shirt and make-up? To bow and scrape to every obnoxious galoot I meet on the street who happens to have an inheritance? Do you actually imagine I could carry a purse full of coins and not immediately hand them over to people who are hungry? That I would carry a sword and not immediately draw it on the first band of thugs I see rounding up the destitute to press into naval service? If, on the other hand, Europeans were to adopt my people's way of life, it might take awhile to adjust, but in the end you will be far happier.[174]

Spoken honestly and with regard, these were nevertheless hard words. He was not oblivious to the difficulties of what he proposed, but when his audience countered that French culture could not endure without money, class and inequality, he persisted.

> Over and over, I have set forth the qualities that we Wyandotte believe ought to define humanity: reason, equity, etc., and demonstrated that the existence of separate material interest knocks all these on the head. A man motivated by interest cannot be a man of reason.

His words found summation in the revolutionary French phrase: **Liberté, Équalité, Fraternité** that capture attention and stir our hearts still**.**

The translated words of Seattle and Kondiaronk capture the native ethic of the thoughtful and sustainable use of resources described in this prehistory of Lake Forest Park. The inability or refusal of Euro-Americans to credit them led to the disastrous treaty

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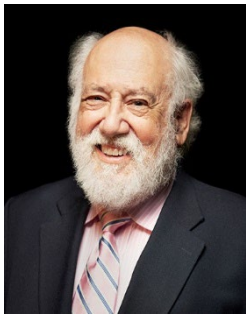
[174] De Lonhontan, Baron Louis-Armand de Lom d'Arce, in: Graber, David. Wengrow, David. ***The Dawn of Everything: A New History of Humanity*** (London: Penguine Books, Ltd., 2021).

war and virtually every other Indian /invader war from the time of contact. It defines the on-going struggle of Native Americans to retain their dignity and identify. Today rapacious development and waste threatens the environmental health of the planet and the very future of humanity. It is a central theme of this narrative. To repeat the answer to the previous chapter's question, "whose history is it?", it is our history. It is a heavy responsibility, but also an extraordinary opportunity.

David Michael Buerge, August 2, 2024.

Bird's-eye map of historic Lake Forest Park drawn by David M. Buerge for a third grade class at Lake Forest Park Elementary School, June 2025. © David M. Buerge.



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The Shoreline Historical Museum honors the Indigenous existence of the place we now call Lake Forest Park. The Museum thanks the individual residents of Lake Forest Park whose initiation of this project and generous financial contributions have made this manuscript possible.